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# CESH 2019

## Youth, Youngsters and Sport from the Antiquity to the Modern Day

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## **USEFUL INFORMATION**

## WELCOME!

Dear Congress participants,

On behalf of the CESH 2019 Organising Committee, we would like to warmly welcome you to Lausanne, the Olympic capital. We did our best to make your stay as pleasant as possible and to make this scientific event a success. Please do not hesitate to tell us about your needs or to ask us questions.

We look forward to spending time with you!

**Patrick Clastres**  
CESH 2019 Manager

**Quentin Tonnerre**  
CESH 2019 Secretary General

## BIENVENUE !

Cher/ères participant-e-s,

Au nom du comité d'organisation du CESH 2019, nous vous souhaitons chaleureusement la bienvenue dans la capitale olympique, Lausanne. Nous avons tout mis en œuvre pour rendre votre séjour aussi agréable que possible et faire de cet événement scientifique un succès. N'hésitez pas à nous faire part de vos besoins ou à nous poser des questions.

Nous nous réjouissons de partager ce moment avec vous !

**Patrick Clastres**  
Responsable du CESH 2019

**Quentin Tonnerre**  
Secrétaire général du CESH 2019



## THE EUROPEAN COMMITTEE FOR SPORTS HISTORY (CESH)



CESH is a non-profit organisation which welcomes *ALL* European historians of sport of whatever background and language. It does not matter what your stage of career might be.

Many European countries have their own national sports history organisations that create opportunities to network at a national level. Some have their own sports history journals. These are often strong on their national histories, and on those sports most popular in their own country.

CESH seeks to add to this and to maintain and promote a positive sports culture right across Europe, in a spirit of co-operation, mutuality and exchange of ideas, one recognising both our commonalities and differences. We encourage high scholarly standards in both teaching and research. These goals are all the more important in the light of current political, social and cultural challenges, funding difficulties, and demands on universities.

CESH offers a wider pan-European vision, allowing historians of sport

- to share their research more widely,
- the opportunity to move beyond the national boundaries of much scholarship,
- to see sport in its wider European context,
- and to network with sports historians from early in their career right through to well-established professors at a European level.

First established in Bordeaux in 1995 under Founding President Professor [Arnd Krüger](#), its motto is '*Cognita historia futurum figurare*' (you have to know history to develop the future). Its annual Congresses, since 1996, have taken place in venues from Denmark to Italy and from Portugal to Greece. CESH is always keen to find new venues for its congresses. So do talk to us if you would like to get involved.

CESH also tries to give as much encouragement as possible to post-graduate and early-career researchers. We love to see them, hear about their work, and meet them at our Congresses. Each year we give an award to the best paper presented by a 'Early Career Scholar' of any age provided they are a masters or doctoral student or have successfully completed a doctorate no longer than 5 years prior to the paper submission deadline. Such recognition is very helpful in the competitive scholarly world. A more experienced scholar meeting our criteria can be proposed as a CESH Fellow, a useful status for any CV. If you feel you meet the criteria do get in touch.

We wish you an interesting, stimulating and enjoyable 23<sup>rd</sup> CESH Congress in Lausanne. We are particularly grateful to Prof. Patrick Clastres, Manager of the congress, Quentin Tonnerre, Secretary General, and all the members of the Organising Committee.

### **The CESH Directing Council**

Mike Huggins (President), Alejandro de la Viuda-Serrano (General Secretary),  
Denis Jallat (Treasurer), Daphné Bolz (President-elect)

# INSTITUTE OF SPORT SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF LAUSANNE



UNIL | Université de Lausanne

## Institut des sciences du sport de l'UNIL (ISSUL)

The Institute of Sport Sciences of the University of Lausanne (ISSUL) is attached to the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (SSP). It has become a centre of excellence in both training and research.

The ISSUL is an interfaculty institute, supported by both the faculties of SSP and Biology and Medicine. It offers bachelor's and master's degrees, and 5 master orientations (teaching, adapted physical activity and health, social sciences, training and performance, sport and leisure management) and a doctorate. The exceptional environment for sports practice, with quality facilities in halls and on sports fields, the proximity of Lake Geneva and the Alps, combined with the best experts in each sport, make it possible to offer excellent practical training.

The quality of teaching is also ensured by the dynamism of the ISSUL scholars' research. They produce numerous works in the fields of sociology, psychology, sport management, recreation and territory management and sport history, as well as physiology, sports medicine, biomechanics of physical exercise and motor control. ISSUL scholars have published their research in journals and with reference publishers. They also carry out mandates on behalf of national and international organizations. Lausanne is also characterised by a unique institutional environment in the world with the IOC, the Olympic Museum and the presence of many international federations.

The missions of the ISSUL are:

- federating and boosting activities in the field of sports sciences and forging links with various external partners (International Olympic Committee (IOC), sports federations, foundations, institutions, etc.);
- develop fundamental and applied research in sport sciences, create and/or participate in competence networks;
- provide services, expertise and mandates to public and private partners;
- ensure the coherence of the study plans proposed by the teaching commission;
- develop continuing education in the field of sport sciences, in coordination with the International Academy of Sports Sciences and Technologies (AISTS).

Interdisciplinary Centre for Sports Research ([www.unil.ch/centre-sport](http://www.unil.ch/centre-sport))

The research centre was officially launched at the beginning of 2016 initially under the name "sports platform". This centre aims to bring together researchers from the seven faculties of Unil working or interested in the theme of sport (in a broad sense of the term: performance sport - health sport - leisure sport...).

ISSUL is a member of HEPA Europe, a European network of experts in physical activity and health, which works closely with the European section of the World Health Organization (WHO).

**Bengt Kayser**  
Director of ISSUL

## ORGANISING COMMITTEE



**CLASTRES Patrick**  
Associate Professor

CESH 2019 Manager  
[Personal page](#)



**TONNERRE Quentin**  
Teaching Assistant / Phd student

CESH 2019 Secretary General  
[Personal page](#)

**BANCEL Nicolas**, full professor: [personal page](#)

**CALA Sébastien**, teaching assistant / Phd student: [personal page](#)

**CARPENTIER Florence**, senior lecturer: [personal page](#)

**CHASLES Romain**, teaching assistant / Phd student: [personal page](#)

**KLIMA Helena**, Phd student: [personal page](#)

**LESNYKH Lidia**, Phd student: [personal page](#)

**MAYENCOURT Gil**, Phd student: [personal page](#)

**MUTTER Olivier**, project manager: [personal page](#)

**NICOLAS Claire**, teaching assistant / Phd student: [personal page](#)

**OHL Fabien**, full professor: [personal page](#)

**QUIN Grégory**, senior lecturer: [personal page](#)

**RODRIGUEZ Mari Carmen**, Phd student: [personal page](#)

**VONNARD Philippe**, senior lecturer: [personal page](#)

## SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

### Lausanne and other Swiss universities members

Pr Nicolas Bancel (CH, University of Lausanne)  
 Pr David Bouvier (CH, University of Lausanne)  
 Thomas Busset (CH, University of Neuchâtel)  
 Dr Florence Carpentier (CH, University of Lausanne)  
 Pr Patrick Clastres (CH, University of Lausanne)  
 Dr Karine Crousaz (CH, University of Lausanne)  
 Pr Thomas David (CH, University of Lausanne)  
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 Pr Christian Koller (CH, University of Zurich)  
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 Pr François Vallotton (CH, University of Lausanne)  
 Pr Nelly Valsangiacomo (CH, University of Lausanne)  
 Dr Philippe Vonnard (CH, University of Lausanne)

### European and international members

Dr Daphné Bolz (France, University of Rouen)  
 Dr Gherardo Bonini (Italy, Historical Archives of EU)  
 Pr John McClelland (Canada, University of Toronto)  
 Pr Dave Day (GB, Manchester Metropolitan University)  
 Pr Christiane Eisenberg (Germany, Humboldt University)  
 Pr Matti Eric Goksøyr (Norway, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences)  
 Pr Mike Huggins (GB, University of Cumbria), CESH President  
 Pr Jürgen Mittag (Germany, German Sport University)  
 Pr Martin Polley (GB, De Montfort University)  
 Dr Xavier Pujadas (Spain, University Ramon Llull)  
 Dr Kenth Sjöblom (Finland, National Archives of Finland)  
 Pr Panos Valavanis (Greece, University of Athens)  
 Pr Christian Vivier (France, Besançon University)  
 Pr Ying Wushanley (USA, Millersville University)

## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



### **FISCHER-TINÉ Harald**

Full Professor for the History of the Modern World  
ETH Zurich (Switzerland)

[Personal page](#)

Keynote title:

**The Place of Youth, Youngsters and Sport in  
Formal and Informal Imperialisms (c. 1850-1950)**

*Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2 pm, Building Synathlon,  
Room 1216*



### **BANTIGNY Ludivine**

Lecturer in Contemporary History  
University of Rouen (France)

[Personal page](#)

Keynote title:

**Youth, Power and Authority**

*Friday 13<sup>th</sup> September, 11.15 am, Building Synathlon,  
Room 1216*



### **CHRISTESEN Paul**

Professor of Ancient Greek History  
Dartmouth College (USA)

[Personal page](#)

Keynote title:

**Body Over Mind: Sport as Education in Ancient  
Greece**

*Friday 13<sup>th</sup> September, 7 pm, Olympic Museum, Main  
auditorium*

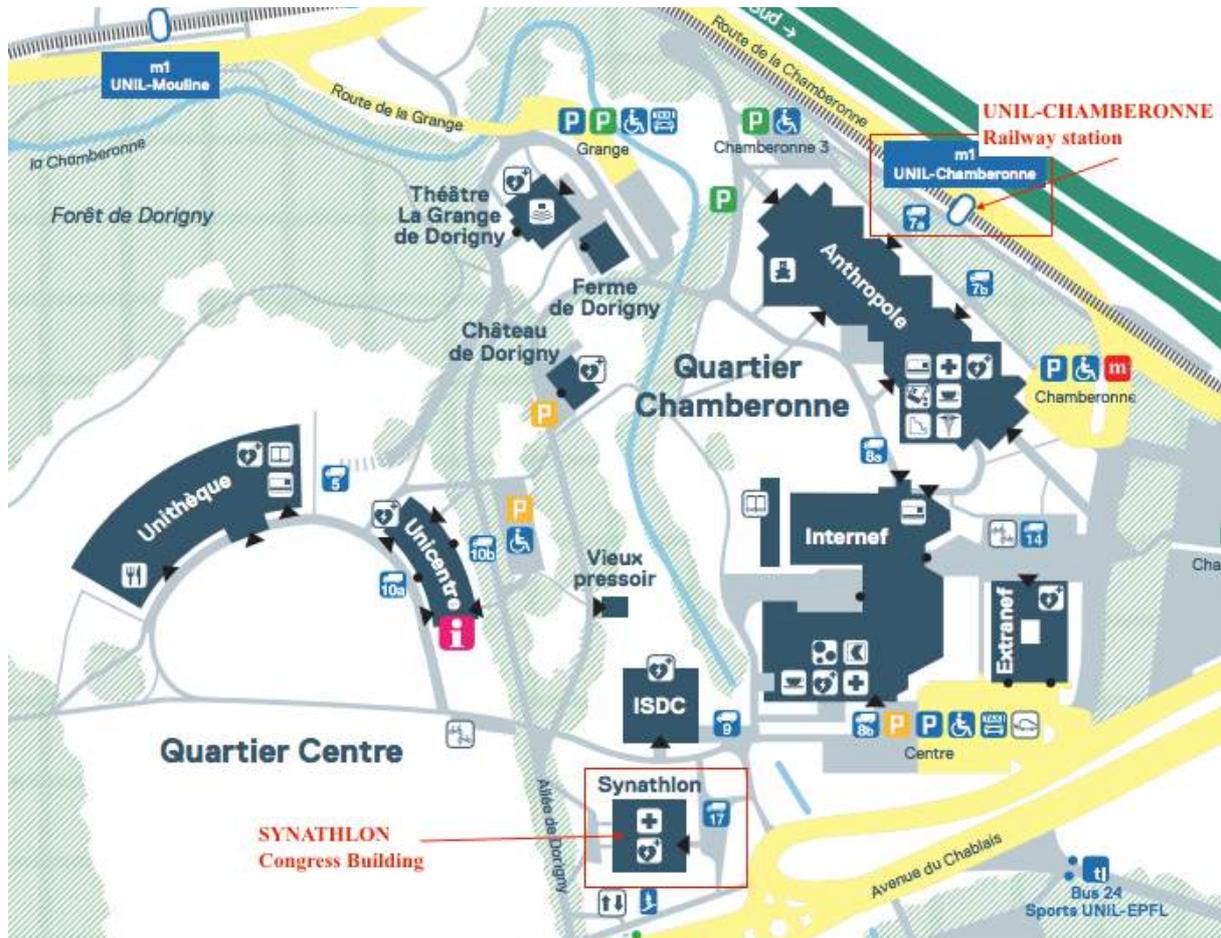
## WIFI

**Wifi: guest-unil**

**Password: cesh2019**



## HOW TO GET HERE

**From Lausanne railway station**

M2 subway towards “Croisettes”, change at the station “Lausanne-Flon”  
 Then take the subway M1 going to “Renens CFF”  
 Get off at “UNIL-Chamberonne”

**From Renens railway station**

Subway M1 towards “Lausanne Flon”  
 Get off at “UNIL-Chamberonne”

**Interactive map of the campus :**

<http://planete.unil.ch/plan>

**Disabled access :**

<http://www.unil.ch/acces/en/home/menuguid/acces-mobilite-reduite.html>



Synathlon Building

## EMERGENCIES

### **Administrative emergency**

During the conference, organizational emergencies may be addressed to [cesh@unil.ch](mailto:cesh@unil.ch) or Quentin Tonnerre (CESH2019 Secretary General) can be contacted at all times on his Swiss number (+41 79 454 85 74). **Please only call outside of conference hours in an emergency.**

### **Watch and action unit against violence and discrimination**

Claire Nicolas or Helena Klima can be contacted at all times on the following Swiss number (+41 79 936 57 97). These calls and messages are confidential. You may share your experience or get help for a specific situation.

### **Swiss Emergency Numbers**

- General Emergency: 112
- Swiss Police: 117  
Lausanne Police Station: Rue St Martin 33, 1005 Lausanne, (near the Riponne place)
- Medical Emergencies: 144
- Lausanne hospital (CHUV): Rue du Bugnon 46, 1005 Lausanne (metro station CHUV).
- Firefighters:112

## URGENCES

### **Urgence administratives**

Pendant la conférence, les questions organisationnelles peuvent être adressées à [cesh@unil.ch](mailto:cesh@unil.ch) ou en appelant Quentin Tonnerre, secrétaire général du CESH 2019 au +41 79 454 85 74 (**n'appellez en dehors des heures de la conférence qu'en cas d'urgence**).

### **Cellule de veille et d'action contre les violences et les discriminations**

Vous pouvez joindre Claire Nicolas ou Helena Klima au +41 79 936 57 97. Ces appels ou messages seront confidentiels. Vous pourrez partager votre expérience ou obtenir de l'aide pour une situation précise.

### **Numéros d'urgence suisses**

- Urgences: 112
- Police suisse : 117  
Hôtel de police de Lausanne : Rue St Martin 33 1005 Lausanne (au-dessus de la place de la Riponne).
- Urgence médicale : 144  
Urgences du centre hospitalier universitaire vaudois (CHUV) : Rue du Bugnon 46, 1005 Lausanne (arrêt de métro CHUV).
- Pompiers : 118

## PREVENTIVE ACTION AGAINST INEQUALITIES



As part of the [Swiss Feminist Year](#), the CESH 2019 Organising Committee, sustains the fight against inequalities and discriminations based on gender, sexual orientation, ethno-racial or religious affiliation, handicap or class.

We remind the total ban of sexist, racist, classist, ableist, transphobic, and homophobic comments and content, either during official presentations, scientific discussions and moments of informal exchanges.

Besides, we formed a watch and action unit against violence and discrimination. Any concerned person or witness is invited to reach us and share any case of sexual or psychological harassment.

Claire Nicolas or Helena Klima can be contacted at all times on the following Swiss number (+41 79 936 57 97). These calls and messages are confidential. You may share your experience or get help for a specific situation.

## PRÉVENTION ET LUTTE CONTRE LES INÉGALITÉS



Dans le cadre de [l'année féministe suisse](#), le comité d'organisation du CESH 2019 soutient la lutte contre les inégalités et les discriminations fondées sur le genre, l'orientation sexuelle, l'appartenance ethnoraciale ou religieuse, le handicap ou la classe.

Nous rappelons que nous ne tolérerons aucune remarque ni contenu à caractère sexiste, raciste, classiste, validiste, transphobe et homophobe, que ce soit dans le cadre des présentations officielles, des discussions scientifiques ou des moments de partage.

De plus, nous avons créé une cellule de veille et d'action contre les violences et les discriminations. Toute personne concernée ou témoin est invitée à nous faire part de tout cas de harcèlement sexuel ou psychologique.

Vous pouvez joindre Claire Nicolas ou Helena Klima au +41 79 936 57 97. Ces appels ou messages seront confidentiels. Vous pourrez partager votre expérience ou obtenir de l'aide pour une situation précise.

## PARTNERS / SPONSORS

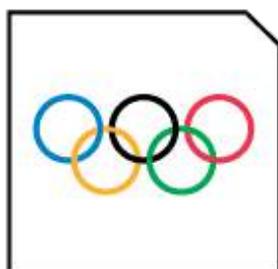
**F** FONDATION  
POUR L'UNIVERSITÉ  
DE LAUSANNE

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UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Institut des sciences du sport  
de l'UNIL (ISSUL)

**LAUSANNE**  
**2020**



YOUTH  
OLYMPIC  
GAMES

CESH



# LAUSANNE

## CAPITALE OLYMPIQUE

Schweizerische Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften  
Académie suisse des sciences humaines et sociales  
Accademia svizzera di scienze umane e sociali  
Academia svizra da ciencias humanas e socialas  
Swiss Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences



*Unil*

UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Institut d'études politiques,  
historiques et internationales  
(IEPHI)

*Unil*

UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Plateforme en études genre

# **PROGRAMME**

	THURSDAY 12 <sup>th</sup> September	FRIDAY 13 <sup>th</sup> September	SATURDAY 14 <sup>th</sup> September	
8.00		Coffee, 8.00-8.45 Main Hall, Ground Floor	Coffee, 8.00-9.00 Main Hall, Ground Floor	8.00
15				15
30				30
45				45
9.00		<b>Parallel Session 3</b> 8.45-10.15  Rooms SYN 2212, 2218, 2420	<b>Parallel Session 6</b> 9.00-10.30  Rooms SYN 2212, 2218, 2420	9.00
15				15
30	Welcome Coffee 9.30-10.30 Main Hall, Ground Floor			30
45				45
10.00				10.00
15				15
30	<b>Parallel Session 1</b> 10.30-12.00  Rooms SYN 2212, 2218, 2420			30
45				45
11.00			<b>Parallel Session 7</b> 10.45-12.15  Rooms SYN 2212, 2218, 2420	11.00
15		15		
30		30		
45		45		
12.00		Buffet, 12.00-13.15 Main Hall, Ground Floor		12.00
15				15
30		Meeting of Fellows, 12.45-13.15	<b>Closing Ceremony and Buffet</b> from 12.30  Main Hall, Ground Floor	30
45				45
13.00				13.00
15		<b>CESH General Assembly</b> 13.15-14.30  SYN 1216		15
30	<b>Opening Ceremony,</b> 13.30-14.00 SYN 1216			30
45				45
14.00				14.00
15	<b>Keynote 1:</b> Harald Fischer-Tiné <i>The Place of Youth, Youngsters and Sport in Formal and Informal Imperialisms (c. 1850-1950)</i> 14.00-15.00, Building Synathlon, Room 1216			15
30				30
45				45
15.00			<b>Parallel Session 4</b> 14.30-16.00  Rooms SYN 2212, 2218, 2420	
15				15
30	<b>Parallel Session 2</b> 15.15-17.15  Rooms SYN 2212, 2218, 2420			30
45			45	
16.00			<b>Parallel Session 5</b> 16.15-17.45  Rooms SYN 2212, 2218, 2420	16.00
15		15		
30		30		
45			45	
17.00				17.00
15	Coffee Break, 17.15-18.00 Main Hall, Ground Floor			15
30				30
45				45
18.00		Transportation to the Olympic Museum		18.00
15	<b>Olympic Studies Centre and Museum Presentation</b> SYN 1216, 18.00-19.00			15
30				30
45				45
19.00			<b>Keynote 3:</b> Paul Christesen <i>Body Over Mind: Sport as Education in Ancient Greece</i> 19.00-20.00, Olympic Museum, Main Auditorium	19.00
15		15		
30		30		
45		45		
20.00		<b>Gala Dinner</b>  TOM Café, Olympic Museum		20.00
15				15
30				30
45				45
21.00				21.00

## PARALLEL SESSION 1, THURSDAY 10H30-12H

### ROOM 2212

#### ***From childhood to exercise and sport***

Chair: Danièle Tosato-Rigo

HUBER, Vitus

*“Why Children Delight So Much in Running, Jumping, Climbing”. The Role of Exercise in Early Modern Health Guides*

HADJERAS, Stéphane

*Georges Carpentier, une destinée singulière : portrait d'un adolescent/boxeur professionnel à la Belle Époque*

TALLEC MARSTON, Kevin

*Pueritia ludens – what can the history of childhood learn from a history of age in youth sport?*

### ROOM 2218

#### ***Youth, sport and the making of the citizen***

Chair: Keith Rathbone

BALSLEV, Sivan

*Sport and physical education in Reza Shah's Iran: shaping future citizens, de-politicizing current youths*

HÉMEURY, Lucie

*L'Union des Étudiants du Secondaire (UES) en Argentine : la fabrique d'une jeunesse sportive et péroniste (1952-1955)*

MUELLNER, Rudolf

*The Austro-American Sports Physician Hans Kraus and the Establishment of the American President's Council on Youth Fitness in 1956*

### ROOM 2420

#### ***Physical education, teachers and pupils (I)***

Chair: Karl Reber

ELIA, Domenico Francesco Antonio

*The relationships between teachers and students in the reports of Italian gymnastic teachers (1884-1893)*

PIERCEY, Nick

*The birth of sporting space in the Netherlands around 1900: From the 'order of the pupil' to the order of the teacher*

AUGER, Fabrice

*Former des instructeurs physiques à la Faculté de Médecine de Toulouse entre 1930 et 1945*

## PARALLEL SESSION 2, THURSDAY 15H15-17H15

### ROOM 2212

#### Olympic history

Chair: Mike Huggins

ANGELIDOU, Eleni

*The literature representations of Spyros Louis after his winning at Olympic Games of 1896*

HAWKINS, Michael

*Philippine Moros and the "Savage Olympics" of 1904*

KLIMA, Helena

*The Issue of International Olympic Committee Members' Age during the Avery Brundage Presidency (1952-1972)*

FRENKIEL, Stanislas

*Les sélectionnés olympiques aux pieds noirs, de jeunes rapatriés dans la Guerre d'Algérie*

### ROOM 2218

#### Sport institutions and young people

Chair: Jürgen Mittag

QUIN, Grégory / MAYENCOURT, Gil

*From Gymnastics to the Political Field. Preliminary Thoughts on the Profile of some Gymnastics Pioneers (1850-1914)*

JALLAT, Denis

*En voile aussi, il faut bien que jeunesse se passe*

CALA, Sébastien

*Ski, an alpine sport leaded by a young Swiss (1930-1968)*

GROENEN, Haimo

*Les politiques menées par la Fédération française de judo envers les jeunes entre les années 1960 et 1970 : développement, diversification des pratiques et enjeux sportifs*

### ROOM 2420

#### Youth and sport in Eastern Europe

Chair: Florence Carpentier

WAIC, Marek / PAVLU, Dagmar

*Games and sport of Czech youth at school and outside of school*

TALAGA, Maciej / JANUS, Krzysztof /

WRZALIK, Jakub / MARKOWSKI, Krzysztof  
*Biady or Forgotten Polish Folk Wrestling. Preliminary Results of Ethnographic and Auto-Ethnographic Research*

DENNIS, Mike

*Abuse of Minors in East German High-Performance Sport*

BURNAR, Vasile-Teodor

*The new "youth fountain" of Romania: how tennis overtook gymnastics as the premier juvenile sport of the country*

## PARALLEL SESSION 3, FRIDAY 8H45-10H45

### ROOM 2212

#### ***Youth and sport in colonial and post-colonial Africa***

Chair: Nicolas Bancel

KRAIS, Jakob

*Athletic Ambiguities: Youth and Sports in Colonial Algeria (1920s-1950s)*

MECHTA, Abdelatif / DAOUDI, Abd Errezak / FERGUEN, Abdelkrim

*The reality of football in Algeria during the colonial period (1938-1945)*

NICOLAS, Claire

*From pirogues to kayaks? Reinventing "modern sports" in Ivory Coast (1964-1972)*

CLAVERIE, Eric

*Les dispositions en faveur de la jeunesse de la Rencontre Nationale Sportive malgache : enjeux diasporiques*

### ROOM 2218

#### ***Readings, young people and sport***

Chair: François Vallotton

PROFILLET, Lucas / LAFFAGE-COSNIER

Sébastien / VIVIER, Christian

*X comme... Boxe : le corps « combattant » dans les manuels d'apprentissage de la lecture du français destinés à la jeunesse, des lois Ferry aux années 1960.*

MONTEREMAL, Gilles

*Un quotidien sportif français prescripteur de la jeunesse : L'Equipe (1946-1968)*

CRAIS, Alexa

*The image of football in french picture books (since 1945)*

DESCAMPS, Yann

*Boys Will Be Boys, Girls Will Be Girls? The Representation of Youth and Athletic Masculinity and Femininity in Japanese Comic Books and Animated Series*

### ROOM 2420

#### ***A look to recent publications in transnational and international sport history***

Chair: Patrick Clastres

DUFRAISSE, Sylvain

*Sport Heroes: a History of Soviet champions (1934-1980)*

GONÇALVES, Stéphanie

*Dancing in the Cold War, 1945-1968*

SBETTI, Nicola

*A road to redemption. Italy in the international sport arena (1943-1953)*

VONNARD, Philippe

*L'Europe dans le monde du football. Genèse et formation de l'UEFA (1930-1960)*

ROOM 2212

***Sport, honours  
and amateurism***

Chair: Dave Day

KOURIL, Jiri

*Honorary Sports Titles in Graeco-Roman  
Antiquity*

PORTER, Dilwyn

*The Reverend K.R.G. Hunt (1884-1949):  
Muscular Christian, International  
Footballer, Author, Teacher and Coach*

SKJELDAL, Gudmund

*Lost or won in translation? Amateur  
conceptions in the Norwegian sports public  
sphere: 1881-1924*

ROOM 2218

***Youth sport organisations***

Chair : Christian Vivier

DELSAHUT, Fabrice

*L'assimilation sportive des jeunes  
amérindiens au début du XXe siècle aux  
Etats-Unis. L'exemple de l'Indian Training  
school à Carlisle*

MERTZ, Gunnar

*The Alpine Club's Youth Groups and  
National Socialist Mountaineering  
Education in Germany and Austria*

MITTAG, Juergen

*A matter of Europeanisation? German  
Sports Youth Organisations and their  
Interactions in Europe*

ROOM 2420

***The medical making of  
young bodies***

Chair: Grégory Quin

SCHARENBERG, Swantje

*Pestalozzi & Froebel - early concepts of  
health enhancing physical activity*

VAUCELLE, Serge

*Contrôler l'effort physique de la jeunesse  
au cœur des années 1930 : entraînement  
sportif et surveillance médicale à l'IREP de  
Toulouse*

BELTRAMO, Noémie / JELEN, Nathalie

*Se soustraire à l'obligation scolaire de  
l'enseignement d'éducation physique et  
sportive : le cas des dispenses des  
collégiens et lycéens depuis 1988*

## PARALLEL SESSION 5, FRIDAY 16H15-17H45

### ROOM 2212

#### **Moulding the body**

Chair: Karine Crousaz

FANIOPOULOS, Christodoulos

*The human body description and the role of gymnasts through the works of the holy Grigorios of Nyssa (335-395) b.c.*

MCCLELLAND, John

*Youth and Sport in Europe 1150-1650: France, Britain, Italy*

ALBANIDIS, Evangelos

*Military training in Greek education during the 19th century: New approaches*

### ROOM 2218

#### **Body control and sport inclusion**

Chair: Dagmar Pavlů

WEIR, Tom

*The difficult birth of Special Olympics Great Britain (1977-82)*

BARTON, Susan

*Sport and Internment in Switzerland, 1916-1919*

RATHBONE, Keith

*Disabled and Maladaptive Sports in Interwar France: Celebration or Rehabilitation*

### ROOM 2420

#### **Children, holidays and sport**

Chair: Christophe Jaccoud

FUCHS, Julien

*« Rassurez-vous, il ne s'agit pas de championnat... ». Quel sport pour quel enfant au sein des colonies de vacances en France entre 1945 et 1958 ?*

CAMUS, Malo

*Les classes de mer en Bretagne, première forme de nautisme scolaire en France*

HUGEDET, Willy / LAFFAGE-COSNIER Sébastien / VIVIER, Christian

*La jeunesse vanvéenne dans l'œil de Pierre Parlebas : analyse sémio-historique de photographies prises en colonies de vacances (1951-1980)*

## PARALLEL SESSION 6, SATURDAY 9H-10H30

### ROOM 2212

#### ***Sport and international relations***

Chair: John McClelland

BONINI, Gherardo

*Not only football : Austria and the other Mitropa Cups*

VIUDA-SERRANO, Alejandro

*Fascist and antifascist sportspeople of the world in Spain. Irish volunteers during the Spanish Civil War*

VOJACEK, Tomas / SVEPEŠOVA, Alena

*A loud protest of a lost generation that has not been heard? The tragic story of the World Ice Hockey Champions and the Czechoslovakian Boycott of the World Championship in ice-hockey in London (1950)*

### ROOM 2218

#### ***Physical education, teachers and pupils (II)***

Chair: Denis Jallat

CONSTANTIN, Pompiliu-Nicolae / STANESCU, Monica

*The need to educate young professionals. The creation of the first university of physical education in Romania*

MÉRY, Stéphane

*Excellence sportive et scolarité au primaire. Les jeunes et leur famille face à une difficile conciliation*

PHILIPPE, Marion

*De la Résistance intérieure à l'école de voile des Glénans : l'influence de l'action d'Hélène et Philippe Viannay en faveur de l'éducation des jeunes (1947-1982)*

### ROOM 2420

#### ***The State, the Church and youth sport***

Chair: Daphné Bolz

POTRZUSKI, Kamil

*Polish YMCA and its Investment Activity in Interwar Period*

SERAPIGLIA, Daniele

*Muscular Catholicism between Italy and Portugal in the European context (1922-1958)*

SIMON, Juan Antonio

*Young patriots: the explorers of Spain and the Spanish boy-scouts during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera*

ROOM 2212

**Youth, sport and friendship**

Chair: Philippe Vonnard

BOURMAUD, François

*Du côté de chez Swann : jeunesse, amitié et transferts culturels franco-britanniques dans le domaine sportif au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

LESNYKH, Lidia

*International University Sports during the Interwar: from Amateurism to External Propaganda*

DESCHAMPS, Yannick

*The Sports Relationship between French and the Soviet Youth as a Part of Creating Sister Cities: A Bilateral Sports Diplomacy at the Local Level*

ROOM 2218

**Youth, education and sport**

Chair: Alejandro Viuda-Serrano

CHASLES, Romain

*Éduquer Kermit Roosevelt par la chasse sportive et le former au gouvernement en mission. Le cas de la mission scientifique des Roosevelt en Afrique équatoriale anglaise de 1909*

LEBOSSÉ, Clémence / ERARD, Carine

*Mécanismes de pouvoir et pratiques physiques des jeunes scolarisés en France dans les années 1960-1970*

FERNANDEZ-TRUAN, Juan Carlos

*Youth Camps of the Spanish Youth Organization (O.J.E.)*

ROOM 2420

**Body, gender and feminity**

Chair: Gherardo Bonini

DAY, Dave

*Overcoming Adversity: Violet Cambridge and the Women's Amateur Athletics Association in Inter-War Britain*

GONZALEZ-DEL-CASTILLO, Javier

*History and controversy of intersex athletes*

LY, Shia Manh

*Entraîner et prendre soin, autour du « maternalisme sportif » : enquête ethnographique au sein de clubs de twirling bâton*

**BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**  
**and**  
**BIOGRAPHIES**  
**(alphabetical order)**

## Military training in Greek education during the 19th century: New approaches

Albanidis E.

The purpose of this study was to examine the evolution of military training in Greek education during the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the original legislation of that period (laws, decrees, circulars). In particular, we attempted to answer the following questions:

1. Which were the political, ideological and social conditions that influenced the introduction of military training.
2. Which were the goals and the content of that training.

With the political situation in Greece, just after their struggle for independence from Ottomans (1821-1828), closely linked to the ideological construction of the “Great Idea”, (a nationalistic ideal which promoted the expansion of the borders of Greece to include territories with a predominantly Greek population under foreign domination), authorities were responsible for political and educational issues and believed that military structures and models would provide the answer. Leaders in the military, the government and the palace held the view that military training should begin at school and school should be the nursery for the good future soldier. At the time, the basic values that were thought to be proper for a good soldier-patriot were discipline, collective spirit, patriotism and masculinity; as a result, the purpose of education was the discipline and obedience of pupils, their integration in uniform, the strengthening of their body and the reinforcement of their patriotic feelings.

Military training was formally introduced in Greek education in 1862. The provisional government under Dimitrios G. Voulgaris issued a resolution on the “Introduction of gymnastics in secondary education institutions” on 8.12.1862, which, among others, provided for the introduction of weapons training (*oplaskia*) in higher education.

According to the Royal Decree of 1871 the military training of pupils in secondary schools, was carried out by appointed military officer-trainers; its aim was to offer the necessary education and physical well-being to young people, so that they would be capable of serving their country. Military exercises were to be conducted by warrant officers, while school administrators or members of the teaching personnel would supervise the exercises. The military training of pupils included the infantry exercises practiced at the time, (with adaptations regarding the use and loading of guns), theoretical and practical instruction of firing, as well as practical infantry training in campaign mode. Students were obliged to wear uniforms throughout their apprenticeship and to obey rules of strict discipline as regards their behavior inside and outside school.

In 1877 the Kanaris government temporarily suspended military exercises, conducted in the context of gymnastics class in schools of all levels, since it was not possible for the army to detach officers and non-commissioned officers in order to serve as gymnastics teachers due to the so-called “eastern crisis” of 1875-78 and to warfare held in Epirus and Thessaly.

In 1883 Minister K. Lomvardos, issued Law 139/31-3-1883 bringing back, after a six-year pause, military exercises in secondary education again. Their teaching and supervision were assigned to infantry warrant officers. Uniform-wearing was compulsory, but only during exercise.

Military exercises were abolished in 1893 by Minister of Education A. Eftaxias. Public opinion, which was by then shifting toward gymnastics, contributed to their abolition. Military training was replaced by pedagogical physical education and games. However, target shooting, as well as military exercises, continued to be considered as equivalent to physical exercise for boys, despite the fact that the gradual introduction of the Swedish gymnastics system from 1902 to 1909, put an obstacle to the development of military training practices in gymnastics.

In general, perceiving education as a waiting-room for the army and the shaping of disciplined citizens was a normal response in a period characterized by military conflicts, social upheaval and the promotion of the “Great Idea”.

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Teaching Sports History, Sociology of Sports, Philosophy and Ethics in Sports as well as Olympic Education and History of Modern Olympic Games in the Department of Physical Education and Sport Science of Democritus University of Thrace. He is the past president of the *European Committee of Sports History*, from 2013 to 2017 and president of the Greek Scientific Association: *Hellenic Academy of Physical Education*. His main focus of research is the athletics in Greek antiquity, the history of modern Greek Physical Education as well as the political and cultural dimension of modern sports and Olympic Games.

**Publications**

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Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2212: **Moulding the body**

## The literature representations of Spyros Louis after his winning at Olympic Games of 1896

Angelidou E.

Spyros Louis was the winner of the marathon race during the first Olympic Games in 1896. He came from a small municipality and used to be a water carrier as well as a farmer. His success was not only athletic but also social and national, according to Greek belief. He was identified with the ancient messenger who collapsed and died after running for about 40 kilometers with the news of the Greek victory at the Battle of Marathon.

The contemporary runner is promoted by the Press of the time as well as literature, mainly poetry that is flourishing, as literary texts tend to be initially published in the newspapers.

Louis becomes the appropriate symbol, the hero who expresses national desire and connects the past with the present, in an attempt to boost national morale and the need to be recognized among European countries. This coincides with a period of highly liberating nature for Greece, following a painful economic crisis (humiliating bankruptcy of 1893). After his success, Louis is constantly photographed wearing the national traditional costume (“foustanela”) in order to promote his Greek descent and boost national confidence. Poetry follows suit by distinguishing this popular hero through praising odes.

Right after Louis’s success in the marathon race, although Greek poet G. Souris satirizes the frenzy among the people of Athens over the Olympic Games, he distinguishes Louis of all Greek athletes, showing his respect and honoring him. The frenzy following the Olympic Games seems to have lasted for long, according to the chronicle by Greek writer I. Kondylakis (aka. Aktimon).

Greek poets Pallis and Eftaliotis devote odes to Louis while comparing him to ancient athletes, thus reinforcing the concept of national continuation, unity and coherence. Louis is known for his moral traits and, according to odes, he is thought to be superior compared to his foreign fellow athletes; in this way, national pride is enhanced.

The texts were studied mainly regarding stylistic devices and content, rather than literary genre. There can be detected several ideological components which expressed the support of the intellectual elite for a national uplift through creating an undivided national identity, which would mainly assume elements of the glorious ancient Greek past. Thus, contemporary Greek people carried on an ancient heritage in addition to understanding the core values and principles of European Renaissance and the Enlightenment, which had largely been based on classical antiquity.

Research questions:

How were the first Olympic Games, especially Spyros Louis, dealt with by the Greek intellectual elite?

How does Literature connect the past and the present?

In what way is literature involved in the attempt to formulate national identity?

Key words: Olympic Games 1896, literature, identity

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**ANGELIDOU Eleni**  
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She was born and raised in Komotini- Greece.

She studied in the School of Philosophy – Aristotle University of Thessaloniki – Faculty of Greek Literature, in the domain of Modern Greek Literature.

She has been a secondary education teacher since 2000.

She attended a postgraduate programme in the Department of Physical Education and Sport Science at Democritus University of Thrace (2017-2109) and completed her thesis on: “The Olympic Games and their literary employment in the frame of cultivating national identity during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century”.

With regard to her professional activity, she attends educative seminars which particularly focus on modern history and literature.

She is a fluent speaker of English (B2 CEFR Level).

Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2212: **Olympic history**

## Former des instructeurs physiques à la Faculté de Médecine de Toulouse entre 1930 et 1945

Auger F.

### French

Le 28 avril 1929, Gaston Doumergue signe le décret qui engage les professeurs de la Faculté de Médecine de Toulouse à former des moniteurs de « *gymnastique* » aux divers degrés du système éducatif. Mais pas seulement. Ils devront examiner les procédés de culture physique dispensés dans les associations et les gymnases municipaux à un moment où les jeunes ouvriers, les jeunes femmes, les étudiants aussi, se tournent vers les sports.

Mais les orientations ministérielles attribuent une mission inédite à la Faculté de Médecine dans le but de dynamiser une réflexion scientifique sur les exercices physiques et inciter les professeurs à innover pédagogiquement, sous la houlette des données récentes de la physiologie et de l'hygiène. Il s'agit là d'une innovation.

En premier lieu, la Faculté de Médecine doit ériger un Centre de recherche visant à expérimenter et à expliquer les mutations de l'organisme au cours de l'exercice physique, et devenir ainsi un vrai Centre d'études appliquées. Deux catégories de jeunes instructeurs potentiels sont plus particulièrement touchées par le projet, les étudiants de la faculté de médecine et les élèves - instituteurs des Ecoles Normales.

European Gymnastics, military sports and physical education are tested by young people, at the beginning of physiology. Indeed, British sports spread over South West since the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, where Rugby, track and field, mountain sports were born, can't escape from scientific approach of Toulouse Universities.

Les gymnastiques européennes, les exercices militaires et l'éducation physique seront testés par les jeunes, à l'aune des progrès de la physiologie. Bien sûr, la vague des sports anglo-saxons qui se diffusent dans le Sud-ouest depuis la fin du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, terre d'élection du rugby et de l'athlétisme, des sports de montagne aussi, ne peuvent échapper à la démarche scientifique de la Faculté toulousaine.

Dans un deuxième temps, nos universitaires doivent mettre sur pied des formations qui s'adressent aux futurs médecins. Il s'agit d'un point novateur dans la mesure où les sports permettront « *d'exercer une influence sur la culture médicale et la Recherche* ». De nouvelles thèses traitent du « *travail musculaire* », de la dépense énergétique, de l'acidité sanguine au cours de l'exercice, etc., conformément aux directives ministérielles. A l'arrivée, Camille Soula, le Directeur de l'Institut – l'homme fort du laboratoire toulousain, l'une des figures dominantes de la physiologie française et l'un des futurs fondateurs du *CNRS* en 1945, met en place un projet ambitieux à l'Institut d'éducation physique de Toulouse.

En fin de compte, et c'est l'objet de notre démonstration, la Faculté de médecine de Toulouse adopte une conduite qui participe à la disqualification d'une démarche empirique de la physiologie pour adopter une conduite expérimentale et scientifique ; mais pour autant, en dépit des progrès réalisés, elle n'acquiert pas la légitimité tant attendue par la classe politique, moins encore dans le domaine des applications. Quels exercices physiques faut-il pratiquer ? Scientifiquement, la question demeure, en dépit de l'attrance vers le phénomène sportif. En revanche, la manière dont les toulousains abordent « *la vie de relation* » ou « *la motricité volontaire* », démontre qu'on se situe aux prémices d'une épistémologie des exercices physiques, au sens où nous l'entendons aujourd'hui. L'étude du comportement humain nécessite désormais une démarche scientifique, accompagnée des approches psychologiques dont il faut rappeler qu'elles sont mises en scène par les Facultés de médecine...

### English

#### **Training gym instructors at the university of medicine in Toulouse between 1930 and 1945**

On april 28, 1929, Gaston Doumergue signed a decree which involved professors of the Toulouse Medical School in the training of gym instructors for various academic levels in the French education system. But that was not all. They were also to examine the coaching methods used in local clubs and gymnasiums at a time when young workers, young women and students took to sports.

But the ministry assigned a new mission to the university of medicine with the purpose of encouraging a scientific study of physical exercise and inciting sports instructors to find new teaching methods which could take into account the new discoveries in the fields of physiology and hygiene. It was something entirely new at the time.

In the first place, the university of medicine was to create a research center which aimed at experimenting and explaining the physiological changes caused by physical exercise. The purpose was to become a real center of applied sciences. Two categories of young potential instructors were particularly affected by the project: medical students and those who studied in the French « *écoles normales* » to become teachers in primary schools.

European gymnastics, military exercises and physical education were to be taken up by young people in a period of great progress in the field of physiology. Of course Anglo-Saxon sports, which had spread in the South - West since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, along with winter sports could not be left out in the scientific study conducted by professors at the Toulouse Medical School.

In the second place, our staff at the university was to create training sessions for students in medicine. It was a real change inasmuch as sports were supposed to influence « medical culture and research ». New theses dealt with muscular work, energy consumption, blood acidity caused by physical exercise... , in accordance with ministerial instructions. Finally, Camille Soula set up an ambitious project at the Institute of Physical Education in Toulouse. Camille Soula was the director of the Institute, the leading figure in the laboratory in Toulouse and one of the leading figures in French physiology. He was also one of the founders of the CNRS in 1945.

Eventually, and this is the point of our demonstration, the Toulouse Medical School adopted a strategy which consisted in avoiding an empirical approach to favour an experimental and scientific approach. Nevertheless, despite the progress achieved, it didn't acquire the official recognition which the political world expected, let alone in the field of applications. What physical exercises should you do? Scientifically, it was still a dilemma, in spite of a preference for competitive sport. On the other hand, the way researchers in Toulouse dealt with motor function and activity showed that it was the beginning of an epistemology of physical exercise, as we understand it today. From then on the study of human behaviour has required a scientific approach, along with psychological studies which were initiated by medical schools.



**AUGER Fabrice**  
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### **Publications**

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Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2420: **Physical education, teachers and pupils (I)**

## Sport and physical education in Reza Shah's Iran: shaping future citizens, de-politicizing current youths

Balslev S.

Sport became part of the Iranian modern school curriculum after the First World War and became compulsory under the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi (1925-1941). Sport in Iranian modern schools, which still catered mostly to sons of elite families, was perceived as preparing students for their future roles as soldier-citizens (or, in the case of girls, mothers) of the newly imagined modern and westernized Iran. This approach to children as future citizens was quite different from the approach taken by Iranian reformers of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, writing on the importance of education. During this period, education was conceived of as necessary for the building of a functioning parliamentary system, where literate and patriotic citizens will participate in the democratic process via elections. Under Reza Shah the parliament (*majles*) was neutralized, and a good citizen was constructed as an obedient citizen –not an active and politically minded citizen.

Sport and physical education were studied by historians of Reza Shah's period such as Cyrus Schayegh, Houchang Chehabi and Mikiya Koyagi as part of his nation building process, as well as an important aspect of modern middle class lifestyle. I myself wrote about the topic as part of the project of constructing a new hegemonic masculinity in the country. However, approaching this theme from the perspective of childhood studies can offer new insights, especially regarding children's place in Reza Shah's new Iran. The field of childhood studies in Middle Eastern history in general, and in Iranian history in particular, is relatively understudied, with only one monograph written in Persian by Zahra Hatemi dedicated to this topic so far. Hatemi's book does not examine physical education at length, though. When examining the discussions on the importance of sport (and scouting) for youth in the Iranian press of the interwar period, my main source, a strong emphasis on sport as building the character traits of loyalty and obedience emerge.

Both before Reza Shah's reign and during the first years following the coup d'etat that brought him to power, many children and youths have participated in mass political events such as demonstrations, strikes, and sit ins. During these decades, modern education was almost non-existent and religious education in the *maktab* usually ended at a very early age. Children were an imminent part of the workforce, as well as among the *Tollab* - the students and followers of Shiite clergy. Thus, as evident from contemporary photographs, when the Bazaar or *Madraseh* were mobilized in political action (such as during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11), children took an active part in this mobilization.

I claim that in the case of early Pahlavi Iran, physical education for youth was meant both to create a future loyal citizen as well as to reshape young elite people as an apolitical group. By using sport in order to instill children with loyalty to the regime, and simultaneously making children's leisure time supervised by a sports instructor in a state sanctioned activity, the state could hope to remove educated youth from politically dangerous pursuits. Whereas in other countries youth movements and sport clubs were sometimes vehicles for mobilizing youth politically, in the increasingly autocratic Iran of Reza Shah, no political clubs or movements were allowed.

The fact that youths were seen as "citizens in the making" was actually separating them from full citizenship. This, in a way, was actually very similar to the earlier discourse, calling for the education of youths (and non-elite adults) in order to make them worthy of political participation in some undefined future.

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Dr. Balslev is an assistant professor of Modern Iranian History at the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Her main fields of interest are cultural and social history of Iran during the late 19<sup>th</sup> – mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, mostly history of gender, childhood, sexuality, and material culture. In addition to her research activity, Dr. Balslev has also translated to Hebrew two of Iranian poet's Forough Farrokhzad's books.

**Publications**

Books

*Iranian Masculinities: Gender and Sexuality in Late Qajar and Early Pahlavi Iran*, Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals

"Population Crisis, Marriage Reform and the Regulation of Male Sexuality in Interwar Iran", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, August 2016

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Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2218: **Youth, sport and the making of the citizen**

## Sport and Internment in Switzerland, 1916-1919

Barton S.

Between May 1916 and August 1919 some 66,000 sick and wounded prisoners of war from Belgium, France, Germany, Britain and their colonies were interned in Switzerland. Most of them stayed in hotels paid for by their national governments but many officers preferred to rent an apartment or chalet where they could live with their families. Internees were overwhelmingly young men, some still in their teens, for whom sport and physical activity had been a major part of their pre-war lives.

Sport played an important role in the life of the interned soldiers and fulfilled several functions, such as amusement, rehabilitation of the wounded and disabled, exercise and recovery of strength and agility, developing organisational skills, bonding and also discipline as it could be withdrawn by officers or Swiss military supervisors. It offered some continuity with pre-war activities and interests and helped introduce normality into internment life. Sport could also provide opportunities to travel within Switzerland to compete with other internee and Swiss teams. Sports also provided opportunities to develop and demonstrate literary skills by producing reports for internees' magazines, numeracy skills through league tables and collecting and looking after funds. Sport allowed officers and men to connect and build cohesion within the internment communities. Wives, daughters and even some mothers, who came out to Switzerland to visit, were able to join in some sports, such as tennis, hiking, tobogganing and skiing. For those who were too badly injured or unwell, sport provided entertainment and amusement for spectators. In winter sports, British internees were the first to try out the graded tests of the Ski Club GB under the instruction of Arnold Lunn, who was employed as organiser in Mürren. At the end of 1918, the Belgian, British and French internees were repatriated home but the Germans remained in Switzerland until almost the Autumn of 1919. For them sport offered a distraction as they wondered anxiously about when they might be allowed to leave.

Using primary sources from Swiss archives in Chateau d'Oex, Fribourg, Davos, Neuchatel, Montreux and Engelberg, the British National Archives, the Ski Club GB archive, internees' magazines in French, English and German and personal memorabilia and papers, this paper will examine the role of sport in the lives of wounded military prisoners interned in Switzerland during World War One.

Among the research questions this paper attempts to answer are:

What role did sport play in the rehabilitation of wounded soldiers during the War? How did sport assist with cultural transfer and exchange between interned French, Belgian, British and German prisoners and the Swiss?

Did sport assist in the restoration of self-esteem and masculine identity among young men who had been imprisoned, disfigured, traumatised and maimed during the war?

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**BARTON Susan**

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Susan Barton is an honorary visiting research fellow in the International Centre for Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University in Leicester where she studied for her PhD in the 1990s. Her main research interests are: winter sports; tourism, particularly in Switzerland, Spain and Britain; sport and learning disability; history of leisure; social and industrial history, mainly from the mid 18th to late 20th centuries.

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Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2218: **Body control and sport inclusio**

## Se soustraire à l'obligation scolaire de l'enseignement d'éducation physique et sportive : le cas des dispenses des collégiens et lycéens depuis 1988

Beltramo N., Jelen N.

**French :** En France, tous les élèves ont pour obligation scolaire d'assister au cours d'éducation physique et sportive (EPS). Néanmoins, si dans la majorité des disciplines scolaires l'absence de l'élève est l'unique manière de manquer un enseignement, la « dispense » en EPS offre la possibilité à celui qui l'obtient de se soustraire à l'obligation de présence ou de participation en invoquant une incapacité réelle ou simulée (Bergamaschi, 2014). L'objectif de cette communication, issue d'un tout jeune projet de recherche alliant histoire et sociologie, sera alors de déterminer les facteurs favorisant ce phénomène depuis le décret du 11 octobre 1988 relatif au contrôle médical des inaptitudes à la pratique de l'EPS dans les établissements d'enseignement. L'étude d'articles issus de revues professionnelles ainsi que des rapports des commissions académiques d'harmonisation et de proposition de notes et de la commission nationale concernant l'évaluation aux baccalauréats, aux CAP et aux BEP de l'enseignement général, technologique et professionnel en EPS, tend à montrer que l'invocation d'inaptitudes afin d'obtenir une dispense (procédure administrative) est un outil mobilisé par les jeunes pour se soustraire à cette obligation scolaire. Ce mécanisme est d'autant plus marqué chez les filles, dans les filières d'enseignement professionnel, à certains moments de l'année scolaire et dans certaines activités physiques, sportives et artistiques. Au niveau national, lors du baccalauréat professionnel de la session 2018, 8,67 % de filles et 3,08 % de garçons étaient par exemple déclarés inaptes totaux, contre respectivement 4,57 % et 2,02 % pour les baccalauréats général et technologique. L'on pourrait penser que cela relève uniquement des caractéristiques sociales individuelles des élèves. Or, c'est également le reflet de stratégies relatives au métier d'élève. Ces conduites constituent la résultante d'un processus long possible par un fonctionnement institutionnel qui peut favoriser ce type de pratiques. En effet, une marge de liberté est laissée et offre la possibilité aux jeunes d'agir. Elle se situe à plusieurs échelles. Au niveau national, elle se retrouve dans les espaces de liberté laissés par les textes officiels concernant les examens et les programmes d'EPS. Au sein de ceux-ci, sont définis les finalités et objectifs de cette discipline, accordant une importance croissante aux élèves inaptes, mais les moyens pour y parvenir ne sont pas détaillés. Un flou sémantique autour de ce statut est en outre présent et se retrouve dans le logiciel de traitement des notes EPSNET. Au regard des chiffres, les pratiques des enseignants d'EPS ne semblent alors pas suivre l'évolution des textes officiels, inscrits dans un système éducatif et une société où est valorisée la performance, visible également à travers le corps. Au niveau académique, cette liberté est perceptible dans les dispositifs spécifiques instaurés pour gérer et limiter les cas de « dispenses ». Des recommandations et des outils peuvent ainsi être mis à la disposition des enseignants, tels des certificats médicaux types et des propositions de séances adaptées, parfois conçues avec le réseau associatif du sport adapté. Au niveau local, les prises en charge préconisées pour les élèves inaptes figurant dans le règlement intérieur varient d'un établissement à l'autre : absence autorisée ou non, présence en permanence durant les cours d'EPS, etc. De même, les règlements internes relatifs aux « dispenses » des équipes pédagogiques EPS et la mise en place de règles partagées voire tacites entre les enseignants dans le comportement à adopter face aux demandes de « dispenses » diffèrent entre les établissements (Méard, 2016). Enfin, cette marge de manœuvre apparaît au niveau des adaptations didactiques et pédagogiques proposées par les enseignants et orientées par le degré de précision des informations présentes dans les certificats médicaux délivrés par les médecins. Ces adaptations dépendent également des formalités administratives concernant la réalisation d'un contrôle ou d'une prise en charge adaptés. Cela repose par ailleurs sur la sensibilité des enseignants, en (grande) partie adeptes du modèle sportif compétitif depuis les années soixante, et des ressources dont ils disposent au regard de leur formation initiale voire continue.

**English:** In France, all students are required to attend Physical Education (PE). Nevertheless, if in the majority of school subjects absence of the student is the only way to miss an education, the "exemption" in PE offers the possibility to the one who obtains it to evade the obligation of presence or participation by invoking a real or simulated disability (Bergamaschi, 2014). The objective of this paper, resulting from a very young research project combining history and sociology, will be to determine the factors favoring this phenomenon since the decree of 11 October 1988 related to medical control of PE exemptions in educational institutions. Study of professional journals papers as well as reports from the Academic Harmonization and Proposal Committees and the National Commission about evaluation of bachelor's degrees, CAP and BEP in general, technological and vocational education in PE, tends to show that invocation of inabilities in order to obtain exemption (administrative procedure) is a tool mobilized by young people to avoid this school obligation. This mechanism is even more pronounced for girls, in vocational education, at specific times of the school year and in specific physical and sports activities. It is allowed based on official texts regarding exams and PE programs, interpretations made by principals and teachers, practices of these actors, as well as those of the PE regional pedagogical inspectorates and the medical profession. Margin of freedom left to students is thus on several scales (national, academic and local).

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**BELTRAMO Noémie**

Université d'Artois - Faculté des sports et de l'éducation physique

Maître de conférences en STAPS, j'ai soutenu une thèse en 2017 portant sur l'évolution de la polonité, c'est-à-dire l'attachement des migrants polonais et de leurs descendants à la Pologne et sa culture, au sein de deux territoires miniers depuis 1945. Menant une conversion thématique depuis ma nomination en 2018, mes recherches actuelles portent sur la prise en compte des élèves vulnérables en EPS. L'inaptitude, conduisant aux dispenses et par là même au décrochage scolaire, constitue un axe privilégié de recherche.

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**JELEN Nathalie**

Université d'Artois - Faculté des sports et de l'éducation physique

Maître de conférences de sociologie, j'ai soutenu une thèse (sous la direction de Messieurs DEMAZIERE et NUYTENS) interrogeant les modes de socialisation professionnelle des enseignants d'Éducation Physique et Sportive en début de carrière. Dans la continuité de l'étude des socialisations professionnelles et des modes de régulation des enseignants, mes travaux actuels portent à la fois sur les décrocheurs en EPS : le cas des dispenses et de l'absentéisme et sur les gestes professionnels des normaliens dans des espaces d'éducation prioritaire.

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## Not only football: Austria and the other Mitropa Cups

Bonini G.

In late 1920s, Mitropa Cup revolutionized football, On the initiative of the famous Austrian coach, referee and publicist Hugo Meisl, the nations that found their roots in the waning Austro-Hungarian Empire found an agreement to challenge the rest of European football, proposing an organizational, participatory and competitive model that finally launched the professional football of central Europe. Beside former Austro-Hungarian competitors, namely Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, additional countries like Italy and Switzerland, and Yugoslavia for a while, took part to the game. The formula that opening to two, three and seldom four clubs for each country –that depending from the results of past edition - revealed successful.

In the parallel way, the triangle composed by Vienna, Prague and Budapest launched in the same year of first Cup for clubs, i.e. 1927, a tournament for national teams, a round robin with home/away matches long a variable while, three or even five years. Among the proposals for first World Cup, the Middle European block launched the possibility to consider as qualification round just an edition of this International Cup.

Austria took very often the initiative because it found its space of influence and negotiated this scheme with the same countries also in other sports, like amateur boxing, lawn tennis –it was scheduled also women tournament -, table tennis. Consequently, related national-team tournaments took place. Rumors and proposals regarded also other sports that revealing sign of a precise definition for political and sporting action. We have to remind that many obstacles emerged in the European sport for creating Continental championships in sports, as for instance in athletics where England was reluctant to lose the privileged role of its championships, “de facto” European (and more) championships. Above all Austria, but in part Czechoslovakia, targeted the objective to offer an international scenario to its athletes in sports where its standard appeared relatively poor just like amateur cycling, athletics - in this case, a club competition that ancestor of modern European Cup for athletic clubs - water polo. The organizational platform for ice hockey –a club competition - gained the adhesion also of France and rapidly the project enlarged towards a prototype of Europe Cup.

This Mitropa scheme became preferred geopolitical international domain for Austria, by one side transformed revival of Imperial circulation and sport confrontations, by other side an arena for cultivating suitable ambitions. As very well depicted in the Marschik and Sottopietria studies, Hungarians and Czechs were "mortal enemies and deadly lovers" and their stiff duels represented a recognizable cultural micro-Continent before broader European continent. In this micro-Continent, Czechoslovakia played too an active role.

In this frame, Germany was apparently excluded. Austria was part of German nation, but in sport its patent inferiority regarding Germany –considering overall the sporting disciplines –led the little country to a different definition - but largely inspired by the past and a known/experimented tradition –of its identity. After 1933, the advent of Austro-Fascism enhanced this sport and cultural way. Austro-Fascist Austria self-styled as enemy of Nazi Germany and its sporting authorities intensified the negotiations for “Mitropisation” of the Austrian “extra moenia” sport. Germany still organized German Combat Sports that a quadrennial Olympics for German nation and normally remained unproblematically aloof.

However, just with advent of Nazism, Germany tried to interfere. Under this aspect, the tournament for amateur boxing represented the most important and significant of Mitropa tournaments. It started in 1932, aligning Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bavaria and Poland. Nazi Germany overcame Bavarian representation, enrolling itself in the second tournament. Germany proposed adoption of Aryan paragraph. Czechoslovakia that had many Jewish representatives, left the crew justifying its retirement for apparent economic reasons. Austria did not match Germany because a boycott. The tournament collapsed definitely.

Under organizational and participatory aspects, the tournaments duplicated the same atmosphere of main football competition with polemics, controversies, and disqualifications. However, they enjoyed a very flexible steering committee meeting regularly in occasion of the matches. This was a relevant aspect in comparison of international federations, which met yearly with difficulties. By the way, the press played a good and fundamental role in feeding interest for the matches.

For Austria, the Mitropa matches were like a prolongation of national matches, just like composing a natural ordinary programme. Czechoslovakia was a new state created by post-war Peace Treaties and Hungary lost definitely the ombleical cord with Austria, however recreated the same familiar arena that frequented in the Imperial era. On the other hand, Austria was open to the partnership with other countries apparently willing to compose a common new tradition. The political subjugation of Austria to Italy led fundamentally to the involvement of Fascist Italy in the clubs and team football tournaments. Italy took part also to the lawn tennis tournament and launched an unsuccessful project opening to national-teams confrontation for weightlifting. Mussolini in 1936 abandoned Austria to the Hitler's

will. Fading the crucial –until then, it was unique friend among super-powers - with Italy, Austria dedicated attention to another partner Poland and in a reduced scale to Turkey. Just like Austria, Poland was a catholic and authoritarian country and cultivated the same ambitions of Austria.

In the era of bigger confrontations between the sporting super-powers and the run for medals in the Olympics, Austria and the little states of Central Europe tried to construct a space for relative glory and gratification. In doing so, Austria tried to avoid the risk to become ancillary to Germany.

This work is based up to now upon Austrian and Hungarian secondary sources, but the project aims to enlarge the analysis to a fruitful exploration of archival sources and definitely to show in scientific way how this kind of competitions nurtured the nostalgia of Austrian sport circles for past Imperial network, but on same time represented a space of manoeuvre for searching positive relationships in escaping the fatal convergence with Germany.



### **BONINI Gherardo**

Historical archives of EU

Italian citizen, born in Verona in 1959 and resident in Florence. Graduated in Philosophy, from 1989 he has been working by Historical Archives of the European Union, becoming in 2013 its deputy director. Since 1993, he has been studying sport history, in particular weightlifting, swimming and Austrian sport history. He has published numerous international contributions in Encyclopedias, specialized journals, multi-handed books and congress proceedings. Co-founding member (2004) of Italian society of sport historians (SISS), member of CESH and ISHPES.

### **Publications**

From 2000 to 2016 several articles regarding lifters and athletic movements for US *MILO*. *The Journal of Serious Strength Athletes*

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Parallel session 6, Saturday 9h-10h30, Room 2212: **Sport and international relations**

## Du côté de chez Swann : jeunesse, amitié et transferts culturels franco-britanniques dans le domaine sportif au XIXe siècle

Bourmaud F.

Le présent projet de communication souhaite mettre en évidence le critère de l'âge associé à la notion d'amitié comme éléments incontournables de compréhension des transferts culturels en matière sportive. Doctorant en histoire, nous travaillons en effet sur le rôle joué par les Britanniques dans l'introduction en France des sports au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Parmi les passeurs ayant permis aux *athletics* d'outre-Manche de s'acclimater dans l'Hexagone figure Alfred Swann, né à Paris en 1863, fils d'un pharmacien britannique installé dans la capitale depuis 1850, et accessoirement familier de Marcel Proust dont il a probablement inspiré le titre de l'un de ses romans. L'amitié qu'il noue avec ses camarades lycéens de Condorcet l'amène à jouer un rôle de passeur culturel auprès de ces derniers au cours des années 1879-1882. Réunis dans le bois de Boulogne à la fin des années 1870 et au début des années 1880 ces jeunes gens constituent la Société sans Nom, la Société des Courses du bois de Boulogne, ou encore le Racing Club et s'adonnent aux sports athlétiques notamment sous la conduite d'Alfred Swann qui se pose en initiateur.

Après avoir présenté ce groupe de lycéens, nous souhaitons insister sur trois raisons qui permettent d'expliquer ce transfert culturel en matière sportive. En premier lieu, la présence d'un « jeune homme double » pour reprendre l'expression de Christophe Charle : Alfred Swann a le profil parfait de l'Anglo-parisien capable de jouer un rôle de médiateur culturel. Nous avons pu rassembler un ensemble de sources et archives intéressantes à son sujet. Ces passeurs culturels (ou brokers) sont en effet un rouage essentiel et ont fait l'objet de travaux importants d'histoire culturelle. Nous évoquerons en second lieu la présence autour de Swann de jeunes lycéens tous liés par une amitié certaine née sur les bancs de Condorcet. En mobilisant des travaux historiques relatifs aux adolescents, croisés avec des études sociologiques portant sur la socialisation et les sociabilités masculines, nous étudierons ce groupe de jeunes hommes issus des élites parisiennes dont l'âge, le genre et les origines sociales permettent d'éclairer leur acculturation aux sports. Enfin, nous reviendrons sur le produit culturel auquel ils s'ouvrent, à savoir les sports athlétiques. Ces derniers leur proposent en effet une pratique ludique et physique permettant notamment de satisfaire leurs rivalités juvéniles à une époque où la question du surmenage scolaire est de plus en plus débattue. Ils leurs offrent en outre un moyen d'affirmer une culture propre et originale, sans toutefois déroger aux principes fondamentaux de l'entre-soi et de la distinction sociale des élites parisiennes. Cette dernière se fonde ici sur une anglomanie dont ils ne font que perpétuer la tradition désormais séculaire en France, et qui donne à leurs ébats un brevet de bon ton.

Cette transmission sportive entre jeunes camarades parisiens serait ensuite comparée à deux autres cas. Tout d'abord celui du Havre sur lequel nous avons effectué une série de recherches partir de sources et archives issues des deux côtés de la Manche. Il apparaît que le Havre Athletic Club, société sportive exclusivement britannique à ses débuts (1872), s'ouvre progressivement aux jeunes Français notamment par le biais de relations amicales entre les fils des fondateurs et leurs camarades havrais. A contrario, l'étude du journal personnel de Cosme de Satgé (1840-1897), un Français marié à une Britannique et ayant vécu à Dinan au sein de la colonie anglaise entre 1873 et 1897, témoigne des difficultés d'acculturation aux sports que peut rencontrer un adulte. Malgré la découverte du tennis et du cricket auprès des résidents britanniques à 30 et 39 ans, ainsi que la possibilité de pratiquer ces activités au sein de clubs auxquels il appartient, Cosme de Satgé ne devient jamais un sportif assidu. En effet, s'il se montre curieux et intéressé par ces loisirs, il ne parvient pas à les embrasser avec autant d'entrain que la chasse et le patinage sur glace (skating) qu'il pratique depuis sa jeunesse et pour lesquels il est accompagné de véritables amis.

Jeunesse et amitié semblent ainsi constituer deux critères à prendre en compte au moment d'étudier les transferts culturels en matière sportive.

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**Publications**

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Parallel session 7, Saturday 10h45-12h15, Room 2212: **Youth, sport and friendship**

## The new “youth fountain” of Romania: how tennis overtook gymnastics as the premier juvenile sport of the country

Burnar V.-T.

Starting with the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games, which saw then 14-year-old Nadia Comăneeci book her place in the history of sport with the first perfect 10 ever recorded, gymnastics became a national craze in Romania, where thousands of young girls, as little as 3, would flock the Deva training complex in Transylvania, steered by their parents, in a bid to become “the new Nadia”, Romania’s next *wunderkind*. Following the Romanian Revolution in 1989, gymnastics remained at the fore of sport in a society marred by corruption and poverty, acting as a unique springboard to stardom for disadvantaged youth from all over the country, second only to football prestige-wise. However, after peaking at the Sydney Olympics in 2000, the interest for gymnastics in Romania eventually dwindled, marking a sharp decline in the fortunes of a once unassailable discipline.

We argue that this reverse in the history of the sport in Romania and its sharp drop in youth appeal come down not only to falling standards or the steady “bankruptcy” of the Communist-inherited sports system, but also to the surge of a new wave of Romanian tennis players in the past two decades. Interest in the sport is today at an all-time high thanks to the exploits of Simona Halep in particular, making tennis the new “youth fountain” of Romania.

“I think Halep’s success in tennis is going to give a huge boost to sports in general,” Nadia Comăneeci told the New York Times in 2018. “You will see a lot of little ones with rackets.”

While research on the topic at hand exists either individually - when covering the sports of interest to us (gymnastics in Communism, Wood 2010; tennis and the *HalepMania* phenomenon, Dumitriu 2018) or collectively - dealing with sporting traditions in Romania in the last century (Popa 2013), a paper historically intertwining gymnastics and tennis and explaining the “changing of the guard” in Romanian sports (football notwithstanding), with an emphasis on youth’s sporting affiliation in the post-Communist era, is sorely needed. That makes our research relevant and novel and addresses a want which arose recently in the sports history field in Romania and other countries previously behind the Iron Curtain.

The main focus of our study is to shed light on the mechanisms which made young people embrace a sport to the detriment of another, and the social, cultural and economic backdrop against which such mobility occurred. To this end, we ask if this phenomenon of juvenile migration from gymnastics to tennis, witnessed in the past two decades in Romania, can be put down to a) Communist legacy in gymnastics, a propaganda tool for Romania pre-1989, which meant inherited training methods and draconian rules governing this sport gradually became anachronistic and / or b) to the rise of the *upper middle class* in Romania, which concurred with the rise of tennis players such as Simona Halep, Horia Tecău et al., sparking an unprecedented media frenzy through their success, which translated to tennis becoming *posh* and culturally and financially desirable for young people and their parents alike?

Source-wise, in addition to previously described bibliography, we try to strike a balance between employing a survey to examine sports preference amongst young tennis players and their parents; employing athletes’ autobiographies; a chronicle of the travails of a young tennis player and her father-cum-journalist-cum-manager (Irina and Adrian Fetecău); a 2016 press report on the state of Romanian junior tennis by tennis media outlet *Treizecizezero.ro*; and various press interviews with both tennis and gymnastics coaches from the 2000s.

Obviously, no findings are definitive, yet insights gathered up to this point highlight the importance of parental influence and cultural background in the decision-making process regarding sports preference. Decisively, increased mediatization of tennis on the back of successes in both women’s and men’s game means more and more young Romanians pick up a racket or are led to a tennis court, fulfilling Nadia Comăneeci’s prophecy.

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Vasile-Teodor Burnar is a Romanian journalist and historian (alma mater: University of Bucharest). He started working in the media in 2006, as a sports journalist, then moving on to various editor-in-chief positions. He has a B.A. and an M.A. in Ancient History, and is now a PhD candidate in Cultural Studies, uniting his love of sport with his interest in anthropology and media studies. His thesis deals with the impact of tennis player Simona Halep in Romanian collective consciousness.

### **Publications**

The political annexation of Simona Halep (2019, submitted to Arhivele Olteniei magazine)

Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2420: **Youth and sport in Eastern Europe**

## Ski, an alpine sport led by a young Swiss (1930-1968)

Cala S.

Au lendemain de la Première Guerre mondiale, le ski international n'est pas encore structuré. Il n'existe en effet aucun organe international référent, même si des réunions entre représentants d'associations nationales ont déjà eu lieu sous l'impulsion des pays scandinaves. Il faut attendre le premier grand événement international à Chamonix, en 1924, avec la Semaine internationale des sports d'hiver (Arnaud, 1991), pour que le monde du ski s'institutionnalise sous la forme d'une fédération internationale. Dans un premier temps, ce sont les Scandinaves qui occupent les postes clefs et ont une grande influence au sein de la *Fédération Internationale de Ski* (FIS). Ainsi, le premier Président est suédois, Ivar Homquist, et son successeur, de 1934 à 1951, est le norvégien Nikolai Ramm Østgaard. Cette prédominance des pays du Nord de l'Europe s'explique en grande partie par l'avancée technique des skieurs scandinaves sur leurs homologues européens ou nord-américains. Cette quasi hégémonie n'est plus d'actualité au sortir de la Seconde Guerre mondiale avec l'élection du suisse Marc Hodler à la Présidence de la FIS en 1951. Le ski suisse prend alors une place de plus en plus importante sur la scène internationale.

La trajectoire de Marc Hodler semble incarner à elle toute seule, l'histoire du ski au 20<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Après un mandat de 47 ans à la tête de la FIS, entre 1951 et 1998, le bernois est incontestablement le dirigeant sportif resté le plus longtemps dans une position majeure au sein du sport international. Loin d'être un cas isolé cette trajectoire incarne un « imaginaire » du ski suisse, rassemblant des images d'un tourisme sportif, de figures de championnes et de champions, des organisations de compétitions et surtout l'engagement de dirigeants jusqu'au plus haut niveau de l'administration de la discipline. De fait, Marc Hodler n'est pas une figure isolée, il représente une « tête de réseaux » que nous allons précisément chercher à décrire pour les décennies s'écoulant entre les années 1920 et la fin des années 1960.

Pour comprendre les dynamiques du ski international à cette période, il est tout d'abord important de s'intéresser à l'évolution du ski en Suisse durant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres et particulièrement à la formation de réseaux d'acteurs issus notamment des milieux touristiques. Dès lors, notre analyse sera découpée en trois phases. Premièrement, nous analyserons la structuration des réseaux suisses du ski dans les années 1930 et 1940 jusqu'à l'élection de Marc Hodler à la présidence de la FIS. Cette période est marquée par une institutionnalisation du ski helvétique. Ensuite, nous nous intéresseront à l'évolution des réseaux suisses du ski jusqu'aux Jeux Olympiques d'Innsbruck en 1964, moment clé dans l'histoire du sport helvétique (Quin, 2018). Enfin nous terminerons par la période menant à la création de la Coupe du monde de ski en 1968. A travers cette période, nous reviendrons sur les innovations du ski international, sous l'égide du jeune Président Hodler.

Pour produire ces analyses, nous nous appuyerons sur les archives institutionnelles de la FIS, de l'*Interassociation Suisse pour le Ski* (IASS), de l'*Association des Ecoles de Ski Suisses* (AESS), mais aussi sur des documents consultés auprès de la *Fédération Suisse de Ski* (anciennement nommée *Association Suisse des Clubs de Ski* (ASCS)), du *Musée du sport suisse*, du *Comité International Olympique* (CIO) et de la *Kur –und Verkehrsverein de St-Moritz*.



### **CALA Sébastien**

Université de Lausanne

Ancien sportif de haut niveau et aujourd'hui en charge de diverses responsabilités dans le monde du ski, Député au Grand Conseil vaudois, Sébastien Cala est engagé en tant qu'assistant-diplômé à l'Université de Lausanne où il a débuté en 2018 une thèse sur l'histoire du ski et du tourisme dans les stations suisses.

Il réalise ses recherches sous la direction du Dr. Grégory Quin, Maître d'enseignement et de recherche à l'Université de Lausanne et du Professeur Claude Hauser, de l'Université de Fribourg.

### **Publications**

Cala Sébastien & Quin Grégory, « Le ski... un sport " alpin " et dirigé par des Suisses ? », *STAPS*, 2019, sous-presse.

Cala Sébastien, « Ski et tourisme dans la Vallée de Joux, à la croisée des intérêts sportifs et touristiques (1899-1939) », *Entreprises et histoire*, 2018/4, n°93, pp. 62-74.

Quin Grégory & Cala Sébastien, « Est-ce l'engagement des dirigeants ou les pentes des massifs qui expliquent l'essor du ski alpin en Suisse ? Structuration et promotion du ski des années 1920 aux années 1960. », in Quin Grégory, Vonnard Philippe & Jaccoud Christophe (dir.), *Des réseaux et des hommes. Le rôle de la Suisse dans l'internationalisation du sport*, Alphil, Neuchâtel, 2019, pp. 99-133.

Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2218: **Sport institutions and young people**

## Les classes de mer en Bretagne, première forme de nautisme scolaire en France

Camus M.

Les classes de mer, forme particulière de classe de découverte où la salle de classe prend place sur le littoral, naissent en 1964 sous l'impulsion d'un pédagogue déterminé, Jacques Kerhoas. Leur apparition représente une innovation dans le paysage éducatif de l'époque et participera à l'évolution de la représentation de la mer dans la société, notamment bretonne, en démocratisant l'accès au littoral à un public plus jeune et populaire et, surtout, dans une perspective plus ludique et moins productive (Bernard, 2006 ; Evrard, 2014).

Initiées près de quinze ans après la première classe de neige, dont le modèle évoluera en fonction des époques et des acteurs (Laffage-Cosnier & Vivier, 2015), les classes de mer sont à placer dans un contexte historique particulier : celui de l'Education nouvelle, enclenché dès le début du XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, prônant l'apprentissage par l'action et de l'éducation populaire où l'accès à l'activité physique et à la culture, ici maritime, sont fondamentaux. De plus, comme le notent Christian Pociello et Daniel Denis (2000), la société est alors marquée par un « esprit d'aventure » et le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle représente un tournant significatif où l'aventure n'est plus conçue comme un mythe ou un thème littéraire mais comme une mise en actes et un véritable projet éducatif. Sous l'impulsion de ces dynamiques, la pédagogie de l'Education Nationale va connaître de profonds changements, notamment avec l'apparition du tiers-temps pédagogique – officiellement instauré en 1969 – qui permet de découper la journée scolaire en trois grands temps entre les apprentissages fondamentaux, les activités d'éveil et l'éducation physique (Giolitto, 1970 ; Kahn, 2008).

Dans ce contexte en évolution, les classes de mer vont se développer très rapidement : d'une classe de 24 enfants en 1964, ils seront plus de 1000 à venir sur les côtes bretonnes en 1968 puis près de 7500 au début des années 1970 et plus de 20 000 aujourd'hui. Surtout, ces enfants ne proviennent pas uniquement de Bretagne ou de régions littorales mais de toute la France, ce qui sous-tend l'idée d'une acculturation démocratisée à la mer, rejoignant la maxime du fondateur Jacques Kerhoas : « Que la mer soit ou non son destin, l'enfant ne peut ignorer ce qui compose l'essentiel de sa planète ». Dès lors, en éduquant au littoral des milliers d'enfants et en leur permettant de pratiquer des sports nautiques, une question apparaît : les classes de mer, structures socio-éducatives, vont-elles participer à démocratiser le nautisme sur le territoire breton ? Et, si oui, comment ?

Pour répondre à cela, la question de la structuration de ces classes, des soutiens, des acteurs, des institutions et des enjeux participant à leur développement est sous-tendue. En m'appuyant sur des archives, provenant des fonds de l'Education Nationale mais aussi de structures nautiques ou de particuliers, et en me focalisant sur la première grande période historique, allant de la première classe de mer en 1964 à l'institutionnalisation par l'Education Nationale en 1971, je souhaite proposer des éléments de réponse sur le lien entre l'apparition des classes de mer et l'évolution des usages du littoral en Bretagne. En effet, peut-être faut-il le rappeler, avant 1960 la région est d'abord rurale, le nautisme scolaire inexistant et le nautisme en tant qu'activité de loisirs réservé à un public privilégié. D'abord expérimentales, « en raison de leur caractère particulier » (lettre du Ministère de l'Education nationale en 1967), les classes de mer vont être officiellement reprises par le Ministère de l'Education nationale par une circulaire en mai 1971 pour « éviter un développement anarchique » et « fixer, de manière souple, les modalités de leur organisation et de leur fonctionnement ».

En effet, face au développement exponentiel des classes, l'un des risques principaux pour le Ministère aurait été de perdre le contrôle de l'organisation d'un mouvement parti d'une initiative locale. De plus, cette reconnaissance formelle de l'institution permet un socle organisationnel solide aux pionniers arrivés à un stade critique du développement et confrontés à des problématiques autant logistiques que techniques ou financières.

Ainsi, l'institutionnalisation provoque quelques évolutions - création de centres permanents de classes de mer, tentative d'uniformisation du modèle à l'échelle nationale, définition des enjeux pédagogiques notamment – qui mettent en relation des acteurs provenant d'horizons variés avec, souvent, des objectifs différents. Ainsi, les enjeux deviennent donc à la fois éducatifs, sociaux, touristiques, nautiques et, forcément, économiques pour ces classes qui contribuent au développement territorial et à la promotion d'une image de marque maritime pour le département du Finistère qui tente alors de mettre en place « une action éducative globale en milieu marin dans le département du Finistère » en initiant la formation d'éducateurs en milieu marin, poste spécifiquement créé pour les besoins des classes de mer.

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Malo CAMUS est étudiant en deuxième année de doctorat au sein de la Faculté des Sciences du Sport et de l'Éducation de Brest. Membre du Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, il réalise un travail de thèse sur les classes de mer en Bretagne, notamment sur l'histoire de ces structures socio-éducatives pour comprendre le rôle des différents acteurs et la structuration du territoire breton autour des pratiques nautiques sous l'impulsion des classes de mer.

**Publications**

"Délocalisation et relocalisation d'une activité sportive "traditionnelle" : altération ou renforcement identitaire ? Le cas du Va'a, la pirogue polynésienne, en Bretagne", Mémoire M1 STAPS, Université de Bretagne Occidentale. Disponible sur la base DUMAS.

"Football identitaire et supportérisme ultra en Corse : Une spécificité régionale à l'œuvre?", Mémoire M2 STAPS, UBO-UMR LISA (Université de Corse). Disponible sur la base DUMAS.

Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2420: **Children, holidays and sport**

## Éduquer Kermit Roosevelt par la chasse sportive et le former au gouvernement en mission. Le cas de la mission scientifique des Roosevelt en Afrique équatoriale anglaise de 1909

Chasles R.

### French

La chasse et le politique entretiennent des relations intimes. La pratique cynégétique est encadrée, légiférée et contrôlée par le politique. Dans le même temps, elle est aussi une activité prisée par les élites sociopolitiques lorsqu'il s'agit, plus particulièrement, de la chasse dans les lointains ailleurs. En autorisant l'importation de trophées africains aux États-Unis, le 8 mars 2018, Donald J. Trump a non seulement répondu à l'interdiction prononcée en 2014 par son prédécesseur Barack Obama, il a aussi réaffirmé le poids du politique sur cette pratique (1). La verticalité du pouvoir sur la chasse est un fil conducteur temporel parce qu'elle touche d'abord à un privilège de domination territoriale permise par la cynégétique et à l'exercice d'une pratique sociale mondaine différenciatrice (MICHAUD, 2010). Plus encore, son exercice permet l'acquisition de pratiques ludo-motrices dont ces couches socio-politiques se saisissent et sont les seules à entendre. Pour la période contemporaine, l'ouverture européenne à la conquête et à la colonisation des espaces africain et asiatique amène au déplacement de pratiques culturelles dans ces espaces. La pratique de la chasse sportive dans les espaces colonisés présente donc un ensemble de savoirs, de techniques essentielles à la maîtrise de soi et à la domination des territoires de l'ailleurs par les empires coloniaux, par leurs gouvernants et, plus généralement, par les élites politiques des États des Nord (2). La pratique de la chasse sportive rassemble des catégories d'âge éparpillées bien que son gouvernement soit le plus souvent confié à des personnalités centrales, reconnues et d'âge mur (3). L'historiographie a longtemps traité par l'établissement de monographies de la vie et de l'œuvre de Theodore Roosevelt Jr (MORRIS, 2010, 2002 ; PRINGLE, 2003). Il apparaît aussi comme un stratège politique, un environnementaliste avant-gardiste et un explorateur averti tout en étant un sportif récurrent et insatiable (ZACHARY, 2010 ; MARQUIS, 2014). Sa relation avec son fils Kermit Roosevelt, lors de la mission de 1909, y est toutefois négligée bien qu'elle révèle d'une formation à la chasse sportive, aux affres des missions et à une transmission familiale de savoirs et de techniques de gouvernement d'un père à son fils.

Au cours de sa mission scientifique en Afrique équatoriale anglaise, en 1909, Theodore Roosevelt Jr répond à une double commande du *Smithsonian Institute* et de l'*American Museum* de Washington et entraîne son fils cadet Kermit, âgé de 20 ans, dans cette mission africaine (4). Le choix de ce fils n'est pas explicité par l'ancien Président des États-Unis. Theodore Roosevelt et Kermit Roosevelt partagent néanmoins un plaisir commun pour les pratiques physiques et sportives de pleine nature et pour les explorations (ENDERS, 1998) (5). Alors qu'il s'apprête à entrer à Harvard, Kermit suit donc les pérégrinations de son père lors de son « tour » des gouvernements européens et de sa mission africaine (6). Toutefois, que révèle ce rite de passage dans la formation et l'éducation du jeune Kermit par son patriarche quinquagénaire Theodore Roosevelt Jr ? La pratique de la chasse sportive dans l'espace colonial anglais est un révélateur des hiérarchies socio-raciales à l'œuvre dans les territoires dominés par l'empire anglais. Comment se situe le jeune Kermit Roosevelt dans ce processus de gouvernement de mission et de pratique de chasse ? La chasse sportive donne aussi à voir d'un rapport à l'âge différent d'autres pratiques physiques et sportives – ce rapport à la jeunesse est appuyé par l'expérience et l'âge du responsable de mission – en cela qu'elle impose une initiation au jeune pratiquant face aux risques liés à la pratique. Elle ne peut aussi se dérouler sans une figure tutélaire et une organisation complète – proche d'une troupe militaire – pour guider le jeune chasseur sportif dans l'apprentissage des techniques cynégétiques et du gouvernement de l'organisation missionnaire. La proximité de Kermit avec son père l'engage-t-il dans un rôle de second de mission, et ce malgré son jeune âge et la présence d'autres sportifs chevronnés ? L'honneur et l'expérience encadrant la cynégétique, la pratique sportive d'un jeune chasseur, dans une mission scientifique centrale pour les États-Unis, est-elle orientée vers une quête moins intensive et moins dangereuse que celle de son père ? En d'autres termes, le jeune âge de Kermit engendre-t-il une inflexion moins sportive de sa pratique cynégétique ? Ce processus est-il stable durant la mission ?

Cette communication se propose donc d'étudier le récit de voyage et les collections de Theodore Roosevelt et de Kermit Roosevelt au *Smithsonian Institute* et à l'*American Museum* de Washington pour explorer ces questions.

(1) GARRIC A., « Les États-Unis autorisent de nouveau l'importation de trophées de chasse à l'éléphant et au lion », *Le Monde*, 8 mars 2018, consulté le 8 mars 2018 : [http://www.lemonde.fr/planete/article/2018/03/08/l-administration-trump-autorise-de-nouveau-l-importation-de-trophees-d-elephants-et-delions\\_5267933\\_3244.html#zBZwiwxVB7tbKYOd.99](http://www.lemonde.fr/planete/article/2018/03/08/l-administration-trump-autorise-de-nouveau-l-importation-de-trophees-d-elephants-et-delions_5267933_3244.html#zBZwiwxVB7tbKYOd.99)

(2) Voir par exemple l'œuvre fondamentale de John Mackenzie à ce sujet dont l'ouvrage : MACKENZIE J., *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, (1988), 1997, 340 p.

(3) Voir les âges de Roosevelt Jr, de Savorgnan de Brazza ou de Bruneau de Laborie lors de leurs missions gouvernementales.

(4) Theodore Roosevelt le dénomme comme « son collaborateur dans cette "Grande aventure" » à qui il dédicace son ouvrage : ROOSEVELT T., *African Game Trails*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1910, p. I.

(5) Theodore Roosevelt dans sa mission de 1913 au Brésil part également avec Kermit : ROOSEVELT T., *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1914, 383 p.

(6) Voir pour le « tour » européen : « M. Roosevelt va parcourir l'Afrique et l'Europe », *Le Petit Parisien*, n° 11.798., 16 février 1909, p. 1 et « Le président Roosevelt en Italie », *Le Temps*, n° 17451, 7 avril 1909, p.2.

### English

#### **Kermit Roosevelt's Political Education through Sport Hunting -The case of scientific mission of the Roosevelts in English Equatorial Africa in 1909?**

Hunting and politics have significant relationships. Hunting practice is framed, legislated and controlled by politics. At the same time, it is also an activity practiced by social and political elites when it comes, in particular, to hunting in distant territories. The practice of sport hunting in colonized spaces presents a set of essential knowledge and techniques to increase self-control and to dominate distant territories by the colonial empires, by their governors and, more generally, by the political elites of Northern States. The practice of sport hunting brings together scattered age categories, although its government is most often entrusted to central, recognized and mature personalities.

During his scientific mission to English Equatorial Africa in 1909, Theodore Roosevelt Jr responded to a double order from the Smithsonian Institute and the American Museum in Washington and trained his youngest son Kermit, aged of 20, in this African mission. The choice of this son –among three –is not explained by the former President of the United States. Theodore Roosevelt and Kermit Roosevelt, however, share a common pleasure for outdoor physical, sports practices and explorations. Which place endorses the young Kermit in the government of the mission? What techniques and knowledge is Kermit Roosevelt trained in? What hunts a young athlete on a mission to Africa in the light of the prowess of his elders? This paper will explore the travel stories and collections of Theodore Roosevelt and Kermit Roosevelt at the Smithsonian Institute and the American Museum in Washington to analyze these issues.



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Diplômé de Sciences Po et de la Faculté d'histoire de Grenoble, je poursuis une carrière de jeune chercheur à la jonction des disciplines politiste et historique à l'Université de Lausanne. Je m'intéresse aux relations entre politique et culture avec un intérêt plus particulier pour les questions de violence et notamment des Nord sur les Suds, de relation anthropologique à l'environnement et de configuration socio-humaine dans les pratiques de nature en Afrique coloniale.

#### **Publications**

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JULIAND J-P., BANCEL N., CHASLES R. (Dir.), *Ils ne savaient pas que c'était une guerre !*, Lyon, Chronique sociale, 2017, 191p.

## Les dispositions en faveur de la jeunesse de la Rencontre Nationale Sportive malgache : enjeux diasporiques

Claverie E.

### French

La communication porte un regard sur les dispositions prises depuis une dizaine d'année par les organisateurs du mouvement sportif malgache en France en direction de sa jeunesse. Prolongeant une première phase d'étude menée au début des années 2010, elle est issue d'entretiens menés auprès de ses dirigeants ainsi que de l'exploitation de la revue *Trait d'Union*, organe numérique de ce mouvement.

La fédération dite *Comité Exécutif National* perpétue en effet la tradition d'une rencontre sportive et culturelle vieille de plus de 40 ans, organisée en France et ouverte aux originaires et sympathisants de l'île de l'océan indien. Le succès de celle-ci ne se dément pas. Elle accueille aujourd'hui plusieurs milliers de participants en provenance d'une dizaine de pays.

Simple rassemblement communautaire d'individus déracinés hier, la manifestation se prévaut aujourd'hui de fonctions plus importantes et révèle des enjeux nouveaux. Elle est un pivot, le relais d'une communauté en exil, capable de développer des innovations, mais aussi de montrer une exemplarité dans l'exercice démocratique et dans la transparence de gestion.

En cela, elle se trouve convoitée, y compris par les plus hautes instances de l'état malgache. Elle rencontre aussi parfois des difficultés à développer son dispositif trop rapidement qualifié de communautaire, difficultés palliées par un grand professionnalisme dans les contacts pris avec les collectivités d'accueil.

Or le dispositif sportivo-culturel révèle aussi d'autres ambitions : celle de sauvegarder, diffuser voire enrichir une culture malgache menacée d'oubli en raison de la situation d'expatriation. Dans ce registre, la cible principale de l'entreprise est désormais la jeunesse issue de la diaspora, à laquelle les organisateurs réservent des actions particulières. L'ouverture aux postes de direction aux jeunes, l'introduction d'activités attractives pour ce public, l'organisation d'une journée des enfants s'articulent ainsi à des sensibilisations prioritairement linguistiques, mais aussi plus largement culturelles et mémorielles espérant l'adhésion de ce public.

Ce projet sportif original, stable, pérenne et sans cesse réorienté est donc porteur d'enjeux dépassant la simple pratique corporelle, même si celle-ci en reste l'attracteur principal. Il est étroitement lié à la problématique de la réinvention d'une forme de citoyenneté transnationale en contexte postcolonial.

### English

#### **Measures in favour of the young people from the Madagascar National Sport Meeting: the diaspora issues**

The media has focused for about ten years on the measures taken by the organisers of the Madagascar sport movement in France towards its young people. Following a first study led in the beginning of the 2010s, it comes from interviews led among its leaders along with the exploitation of the periodical review *Trait d'Union (Hyphen)* which is the digital organ of this movement.

The federation called *National Executive Committee* perpetuates the tradition of a more than 40-year-old sport and cultural meeting, organized in France and open to the natives and sympathizers of the Indian Ocean island. Its success never got challenged. Today it welcomes some thousands of participants from about ten countries.

The event, which used to be a mere community meeting, has today got more important functions and reveals new issues. It is a pivotal point, the baton of an exiled community able to develop innovations but also to show exemplariness in the democratic exercise and in the management transparency.

In that matter, it is being coveted including by the highest institutions of the Madagascar state. It also sometimes encounters difficulties in developing its measures which are too quickly considered as communitarian, but these difficulties are overcome by a high professionalism in the contacts made with the host authorities.

Besides, the sport-culture measures also reveal other ambitions: to protect, spread or even enrich the Madagascar culture which is in danger of oblivion because of the expatriation situation. Likewise, the main target of the enterprise is now the young people from the diaspora to whom the organisers reserve special actions. The opening of management positions to the young people, the introduction of activities attractive to these people, the organization of a children's day thus hinge on awareness actions which mainly concern language, but also culture and memory, hoping these people's support.

This sport project, which is original, stable durable and continuously re-oriented, thus bears issues beyond the simple physical exercise, even though this is still the main appeal. It is closely related to the problematic of the reinvention of a form of transnational citizenship in a postcolonial context.

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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2212: **Youth and sport in colonial and post-colonial Africa**

## The need to educate young professionals. The creation of the first university of physical education in Romania

Constantin P.-N., Stanescu M.

The passion for sport in Romania has grown starting with the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The physical activities have evolved from *loisir* to an organized activity, which has led to the set up of new clubs and sport associations. The pioneers of these entities were educated outside the country and among them was Virgil Badulescu (1882-1944), „the father” of the first university of physical education and sport in Romania. Being a member of the Romanian Army, Virgil Badulescu studied physical education in Sweden (at the Royal Central Institute of Gymnastics from Stockholm) and was inspired to found a similar institution to educate young specialists in sport (Dungaciu, 2002).

After World War I, it was obvious that the Romanian soldiers and the citizens of the country were in poor physical condition (Popa, 2013). Outside this, clubs and federations needed specialists capable to improve the physical culture in Romania. In this context, National Institute of Physical Education was founded under the guidance of Virgil Badulescu and with the support of the Romanian Royal family. In fact, Princess Ileana herself will be a student of the institution. It was the fifth university of its kind in Europe.

This paper intends to detail the factors that determined the creation of the Institute, how it was perceived by the press or by important figures in the country and how the first educational curriculum of the institution looked. An important focus will be on the profiles of the Institute professors, but also on the first generations of students.

The following paper is based on a qualitative research. Documentary sources are analyzed, including archival material, publications of the institute, memoirs, speeches of officials and press articles. The purpose is to fill the gaps regarding this subject, to better understand the meanings of sport in the interwar period and to observe how the authorities encouraged youth engagement in sport.

It is important to observe the perception about the creation of this institution and the steps that precedes the foundation of the university. In 1921, the Cultural House of the People was created by Prince Carol, and this institution will develop the physical education with the help of the National Office for Physical Education, one of its divisions. A sum of laws published during those years favors the establishment of the university and a rigorous analysis of these legal decisions offers us details about the aims of the political class besides this subject.

Despite the fact that we are confronted with a well-documented period, they are still debates around the date of foundation, 1922 or 1923. The courses started in 1922, but the institution receives juridical identity one year later (Cristescu, 2018: 26-27). The enthusiasm of the university’s founders, their commitment to create an institution to educate young professionals and a first generation dedicated to their passion were faster than the bureaucracy of the Romanian authorities. It gives an idea of the efforts it took to create an institution around some enthusiastic people, including here the students. This paper follows the origins and the early years of the university in the context of the social change in the Romanian society. In the same time, the foundation of this institution will be placed in context with the educational policy of the Romanian state and the need to modernize copying the German and Swedish model. At this aspect will contribute foreign experts, who will teach from the beginning at the university.

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## The image of football in french picture books

Craïs A.

### French

Notre communication vise à présenter l'image du football telle qu'elle est diffusée dans les albums de jeunesse parus en France entre 1945 à nos jours. Nous nous sommes concentrée sur une centaine de titres conservés dans la Bibliothèque du patrimoine de la municipalité de Toulouse qui possède un fonds jeunesse, collection spécifique du patrimoine toulousain provenant de la présence dans les années 1940 d'une Bibliothèque de l'Heure Joyeuse fondée par Suzanne Dobelmann.

La littérature de jeunesse est un genre littéraire étudié dès le début du XXème siècle en France notamment par le grand écrivain Paul Hazard qui a posé les fondements de cette recherche en France. Présente partout, c'est un genre littéraire populaire qui reste néanmoins difficile à définir. De nos jours, de grands spécialistes, telle la Française, Isabelle Nières-Chevrel ou l'Allemand Hans-Heino Ewers s'efforcent d'en tracer les limites et les visées sans cesse remises en question par des auteur.e.s réduisant sans cesse la frontière entre littérature pour adultes et littérature pour/de la jeunesse. En effet, il ne s'agit plus seulement d'éduquer et de distraire les enfants comme cela avait été conçu depuis la Renaissance jusqu'au XIXème siècle. Cette littérature reste certes une ressource inépuisable pour transcrire les émotions et participer au développement moral de l'enfant. Toutefois, la lecture de littérature de jeunesse participe également à la construction de soi. Cette lecture permet de découvrir d'autres vies, d'autres espaces, de reconnaître des similitudes et des différences. Elle force à remettre en question ses propres pensées et ce faisant à se construire une personnalité. Elle permet de partager des valeurs universelles comme la solidarité, l'engagement et l'acceptation de l'altérité. Autant de termes que l'on retrouve dans les documents officiels de la FIFA.

Saisir les enjeux sociologiques, politiques, économiques de la production d'une littérature de jeunesse a été examiné notamment sur des thématiques telles que la mémoire, la perception du temps et de la vision de certaines catégories. L'étude du rapport complexe entre le texte et l'image a été à l'origine de multiples recherches. En revanche, l'étude d'albums de jeunesse à l'aune de sa relation avec le football n'a pas été faite à notre connaissance. Il s'agit alors pour nous d'examiner l'art et la manière dont ce sport a été présenté, utilisé, exploité à des fins qui ne sont peut-être pas uniquement commerciales. Nous avons pu mettre en avant des continuités et des ruptures. Nous avons alors remis en question le lieu commun entre football et patriotisme. Par ailleurs il nous semble que cette étude diachronique et synchronique pourrait être le début d'une recherche plus vaste au niveau européen.

### English

Our communication would expose an approach to present the image of football in French children's book between 1945 and nowadays. Children's literature, youth literature, books for children is a difficult genre in the literature. It's hard to be characterised. Since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, searchers such as the French pioneer Paul Hazard or nowadays Isabelle Nières-Chevrel in France or Hans-Heino Ewers in Germany endeavour to expose and explain the aims of this kind of literature. It's not about any more just to educate and entertain children. Children's literature is indeed a rich resource to focus on emotional and moral development. But the reading of children's book increases also self-reported empathy. It expands our knowledge of others' lives, helping us recognize our similarity to them. It forces us to engage in mind reading and character construction, thus engendering empathy towards those characters. These is also what football aims. We would therefore examine if there is a continuity or ruptures in the way football has been represented in this particular literacy. For this presentation, we have consulted about 100 books around football in the large collection from the "Bibliothèque du patrimoine jeunesse" in Toulouse. This presentation will underline in a first part some remarkable periods, which are linked to political, sociological or sport areas (wars, worldcups, building of the European Union for instance) and then how these are reflected in books, that just children used to read. Then, it will point some (mis)use of football in a patriotic way. It will also change a cliché that French people have always loved football. This diachronic and synchronic first approach could open a larger research in Europe in order to have a better look of this particular children literature.

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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2218: **Readings, young people and sport**

## Overcoming Adversity: Violet Cambridge and the Women's Amateur Athletics Association in Inter-War Britain

Day D.

The 1920s witnessed the emergence of track and field athletics as an acceptable sporting activity for young women, culminating in the sport being included at the 1928 Olympics,<sup>1</sup> although British women boycotted the event because they were restricted to five events. While female participants invariably adopted the amateur codes of their male counterparts, there were always tensions between these women athletes and the artificial gender boundaries that had constrained female participation, leading to friction and confrontation. Several strong female advocates negotiated these tensions, notably Frenchwoman Alice Milliat,<sup>2</sup> many of whom were active within their own national boundaries and most of whom have been overlooked in the historiography. In England, Sophie Elliott-Lynn, holder of the world record for the high jump, was instrumental in forming a national Women's Amateur Athletic Association (WAAA) in 1922<sup>3</sup> and by 1930 the association had 150 affiliated clubs,<sup>4</sup> which embraced all classes, from university clubs to factory clubs.<sup>5</sup>

In October 1923, the WAAA hon. Secretary, John Thomson met with an accident and Violet Cambridge, then a member of the Executive Committee, was appointed in his place.<sup>6</sup> Violet was prominent in the development of the WAAA in the 1920s and this paper adopts a biographical approach to illustrate the attitudes she adopted and understand the difficulties she faced. Using a range of archival sources, including criminal records and divorce papers,<sup>7</sup> Violet's life course is situated within the social mores of the period and demonstrates how she overcame the adversities of her early life to achieve a degree of social mobility that was, at least partially, facilitated by her involvement as a sports administrator. Violet was born in 1892 to an unmarried mother and she had an unsettled childhood with her mother's partner being accused of adultery and cruelty by his legal wife<sup>8</sup> and being taken to court for embezzlement.<sup>9</sup> Violet married Daniel Cambridge in 1913 and, after her daughter died in 1916 she was convicted of infanticide, although she was not considered 'responsible',<sup>10</sup> puerperal insanity being recognised as a condition that could turn mothers into dangerous women.<sup>11</sup> In 1928, she divorced Daniel and she married Leslie Wall in 1929.

Despite these social setbacks, Violet established herself as an influential public figure and sporting administrator. A keen sportswoman, Violet enjoyed skiing and canoeing, as well as athletics, and she wrote many articles on alpine sports. Violet mixed socially with all the leading officials from the British Olympic Association (BOA), the Amateur Athletic Association, and other National Governing Bodies. In 1926, she was the editor of the *British Olympic Journal*, she designed the female uniform for 1928 Olympic Games, and by 1929, she was a member of the BOA Council and of the National Playing Field Association. During the 1930s, her influence spread beyond sport through her interest in health and beauty, at a time when models of exercise that encouraged the development of healthy, graceful and beautiful bodies were popular.<sup>12</sup> She was also involved in efforts to increase the opportunities for women's employment as managers in business and industry.

The presentation also explores the activities of Middlesex Ladies Athletic Club (MLAC), to demonstrate the way in which youthful members of women's athletics clubs replicated in many respects the amateur attitudes of the middle-class initiators of men's athletics. As president of the MLAC, Violet regularly attended club events such as the cross country runs and dances as well as presiding over the annual dinner. In 1927 she opened a new club headquarters and mention was made of the 'splendid' way Violet had assisted the club on numerous occasions, the club being 'fortunate in having such a hard-working president'.<sup>13</sup> By the time of Violet's death in London as a result of a flying during the Second World War, women had claimed a niche position in British athletics, one that they never subsequently relinquished, even though male administrators continued to find ways of marginalizing and controlling female participation after 1945.

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<sup>7</sup> Crim 1\_161\_4 Court Proceedings; J 77\_2381 Divorce Court National Archives, Kew.

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<sup>9</sup> *Bucks Herald*, 13 October 1906, 6; 10 November 1906, 6; *South Bucks Standard*, 7 December 1906, 3; *The Times*, 23 March 1900, 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, Thursday 6 July 1916, 3.

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## L'assimilation sportive des jeunes amérindiens au début du XXe siècle aux États-Unis. L'exemple de l'Indian Training school à Carlisle

Delsahut F.

Après la conquête du territoire américain et la mise sous tutelle des Amérindiens dans des réserves, leur acculturation doit s'accomplir par l'évangélisation et l'éducation au sein de pensionnats. Les politiques fédérales du début du siècle sont conçues pour dissoudre le cadre tribal et assimiler les Indiens dans la société américaine. La chance de convertir les adultes aux valeurs américaines demeurant mince, les réformateurs placent tous leurs espoirs dans les jeunes via leur incorporation dans des pensionnats. Ces institutions incluent dans leur cursus les pratiques physiques et plus particulièrement le sport, devenu partie intégrante de la culture nationale. Le sport fédéral qui commence à envahir toutes les couches de la société, incarne les valeurs d'un système qui encourage l'esprit de compétition, l'individualisme, le succès. Le sport scolaire, pensé comme un facteur d'assimilation, devient un substitut aux pratiques ludosportives ancestrales.

Contre toute attente, l'*Indian Training school* à Carlisle, en Pennsylvanie, devient, grâce au sport, une institution éminente dans le réseau des grandes universités américaines. Aux premiers âges du football américain et des équipes d'athlétisme, les jeunes athlètes indiens de Carlisle deviennent une puissance sportive nationale. Sous l'ère du coach Glenn S. « Pop » Warner, l'équipe des « Indiens de Carlisle » remporte de nombreuses victoires de 1899 à 1912. En 1911, elle gagne onze des douze rencontres avec un terrain entièrement construit et aménagé par les joueurs.

Ces programmes s'adressent initialement aux garçons mais les filles sont progressivement amenées à pratiquer des exercices gymniques puis sportifs adéquats. On peut ainsi lire en 1898 que « Les garçons bénéficient de l'exercice quotidien de gymnastique dans le nouveau gymnase. Les filles en ont encore plus besoin que les garçons. » Josephine Langley, une Piegan de la réserve des Blackfeet, qui a appris à jouer au basket-ball à Carlisle, deviendra d'ailleurs l'entraîneuse de la célèbre équipe de basket ball de la *Fort Shaw Indian Boarding School* dans le Montana. Les « Fort Shaw « blues » seront championnes du Montana et championnes de la 1904 World's Fair à Saint-Louis, Missouri. Elles vont, à l'instar de la célèbre équipe de football de Carlisle, révolutionner la pratique de leur sport.

L'émergence de sportifs de haut niveau d'origine indienne comme Lewis Tewanima, James Francis Thorpe, Charles A. « chief » Bender, John Lévi ou Gustavius A. « Gus » Welch n'a pas été anticipée par les pouvoirs politiques. Les lois favorables à l'acculturation des indiens n'ont pas pour vocation de mettre ces « Indiens américanisés » au sommet de la représentativité sportive, internationale de surcroît. Les Indiens doivent théoriquement disparaître dans le moule de l'homo-americanus sans rivaliser avec lui dans ces nouvelles pratiques sportives. En effet, comment accepter plus longtemps que des équipes de football comme Harvard ou Yale se fassent accrocher ou battre, voire ridiculiser par Carlisle et son fameux « coup de la balle cachée » ? Ce succès non anticipé donne une visibilité nouvelle à une minorité marginalisée. Le gouvernement décide alors de fermer l'école en 1918.

Cette intervention propose d'analyser le rôle joué par les pensionnats dans l'appropriation par les jeunes amérindiens de pratiques sportives modernes, contribuant à redéfinir les contours des identités sociales et politiques des Indiens dans l'Amérique de la première partie du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

A partir de plusieurs corpus d'archives (périodiques, publications éditées par Carlisle (*Red man, Indian Helper*), et les *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*) et d'une bibliographie largement anglophone faisant référence aux questions liées à l'éducation, il s'agit de montrer que les jeunes indiens ont reconverti dans les activités sportives modernes, des dispositions acquises dans leur communauté dans lesquelles les activités physiques tenaient une grande place. De même, les politiques sportives des pensionnats à défaut d'assimiler la jeunesse amérindienne dans la société américaine, ont contribué à faire émerger un pan-indianisme sportif qui annonce le pan-indianisme politique émergeant après la Seconde Guerre mondiale.



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Delsahut F., *Les jeux des Indiens d'Amérique du Nord. Etude ethno-historique*. Paris, L'harmattan. Collection Espaces et Temps du sport. 2018.

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Parallel session 4, Friday 15h-16h30, Room 2218: **Youth sport organisations**

## Abuse of Minors in East German High-Performance Sport

Dennis M.

Drawing on archival sources, court records, commissions of enquiry reports, memoirs and secondary texts, this paper draws and expands on current knowledge of various forms of abuse inflicted on young East German elite athletes from the early 1970s to the collapse of Communist rule in 1989. It is also intended as a contribution to the belated but growing evidence of an array of abuses of minors in sport worldwide and to the framing of policies for the safeguarding of what is a highly vulnerable population (Mountjoy *et al* 2016). The main types of non-accidental violence are psychological abuse, physical abuse and forced physical exertion, sexual harassment and abuse, and neglect. All were found in the German Democratic Republic and will be investigated with regard to age, gender and type of sport, with the 25 Children's and Youth Sports Schools (KJS) and the top Sports Clubs as the main sites of exploitation. Central to this paper is the illicit administration of performance-enhancing substances, often far in excess of officially prescribed norms, as part of the state's clandestine and Stasi-monitored doping programme launched in the mid-1970s in which youngsters were doped with amphetamines, anabolic-androgenic steroids like Oral-Turinabol and illegal experimental steroid substances such as mestanolone (STS 646). Although some children in the high-profile Central Children's and Youth Spartakiads and the Training Centres were doped - a few as young as 8 or 9 -, those at highest risk were predominantly girls in top-level sport in the 12 to 16 age bracket, above all in early-age sports such as gymnastics and swimming where methods were often brutal. Another high-risk group comprised both males and females in their late teens in track and field disciplines, for example, the sprints and the throwing events. Rene Weise, utilising the files of the Ministry of State Security, concludes that the majority of doped young athletes in the generously-funded upper tier of elite sport had been KJS pupils during the 1970s and 1980s as part of a concerted effort to intensify the exploitation of the country's relatively small demographic pool.

Doping, usually without the full knowledge and agreement of minors, 'embodies' the main forms of abuse and illustrates how the individual was pressured by ambitious coaches, sports physicians and administrators in a society in which sport was ruthlessly instrumentalised for the state's goals of international recognition and domestic legitimacy. The side effects of doping, the impact of abusive training schedules and other harms to the health of athletes were well known to coaches, sports physicians and researchers and, for the most part, wilfully ignored by the Czar of GDR sport, Manfred Ewald, and by other top officials addicted to performance maximisation. The trials of such perpetrators, as in Berlin between 1998 and 2000, uncovered their role in the abuse of their victims, both minors and seniors. Among the main harms, some irreversible and long term, were virilisation symptoms, liver damage, heart muscle disease, gynaecological disturbances and cancer. In some cases, damage to the health of children has been linked to the doping of mothers.

While it is indisputable that an elaborate system was established by the state and subsequently closely monitored by the Stasi to keep athletes of all ages ignorant of key aspects of the doping process, the level of awareness by athletes and their parents remains unclear and in need of further research as are the highly contentious issues of sexual abuse by trainers, posttraumatic stress disorders, and the uniqueness of the GDR top-performance sports system. In conclusion, the paper critiques the systematic and lamentable failure by national and international political and sports authorities, whether through collusion, ignorance or fear of reputational damage, to tackle child abuse and it indicates, cautiously, how the doping experience in an authoritarian polity might inform the design and implementation of appropriate frameworks by the IOC, WADA and the Council of Europe for the safeguarding of children in sport.

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Emeritus Professor of Modern German History at the University of Wolverhampton and have published several books and articles on the German Democratic Republic, notably on sport, the economy, the Stasi and Vietnamese contract workers.

### **Publications**

Sport under Communism. Behind the East German ‘Miracle, with Jonathan Grix (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

The Stasi: Myth and Reality (Harlow and London: Pearson/Longman, 2003)

‘Securing the Sports ‘Miracle’: The Stasi and East German Elite Sport’, The International Journal of the History of Sport, vol. 29, no. 18, 2012, pp. 2251-2574

‘The East German Doping Programme’, in Verner Møller, Ivan Waddington and John M. Hoberman (eds.), Routledge Handbook of Drugs and Sport (London and New York, Routledge, 2015), pp. 170-80

Sports, Politics, and “Wild Doping” in the East German Sporting “Miracle”, in Robert Edelman and Christopher Young (eds.), The Whole World Was Watching. Sport in the Cold War (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, forthcoming 2020)

Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2420: **Youth and sport in Eastern Europe**

## **Boys Will Be Boys, Girls Will Be Girls? The Representation of Youth and Athletic Masculinity and Femininity in Japanese Comic Books and Animated Series**

Descamps Y.

Calling on various disciplines, from cultural history to media studies, including semiology, this research explores heroes, heroines and storylines from Japanese comic books and animated series, focusing on sports stories, in order to study the representation of youth and athletic masculinity and femininity. Based on the analysis of the incipit of various titles, the presentation broaches three main subjects. First, it highlights the heroic dimension of young aspiring athletes in Japanese comic books and animated series, trying to identify the particularities of heroism in Japan, as well as the use of young heroes to reach out to young readers. Then, through the comparisons of books and series dedicated to the same sports but staging heroes and heroines (*Captain Tsubasa*, *L'École des Champions*, *Angel Voice* and *Sayonara Football and Mai Ball* about soccer, *You!*, *Beach Stars* and *Haikyu!* about volleyball), the research underlines the gendered representation of young athletes, and how these cultural productions give birth to gendered ideals, setting the stage for gendered sports practices among the youth. Last, the study of mangas dedicated to American sports (*Eyeshield 21* about football, *Slam Dunk*, *The Basketball Which Kuroko Plays* and *Real* about basketball and *Ace of Diamond* about baseball) allows to compare ideals of masculinity in American sports and Japanese culture, with their heroes embodying the rise of the Japanese model in the face of American (sport) imperialism. In a nutshell, this presentation tackles Japanese comic books and animated series as edutainment and cultural tools for identifying ideals the Japanese culture sets for itself and its youth, as well as an opportunity to explore the cultural differences between the Japanese and American cultures. It opens up on the potential impact of these productions on the French youth, and the way they construct their own masculinity and femininity in relation to sports while being exposed to these signifying global cultural artefacts.

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Yann Descamps has a PhD in American studies from the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3. His dissertation deals with the representation of African-American basketball players in the American media and popular culture. He is currently working on the representation of sports, race and gender in popular culture, from videogames to comic books and standup comedy.

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Descamps, Yann. « Steel Framed? Steel and the Representation of the Modern Black Superhero from Comics to Film. » In *Pop Culture Matters*, edited by Marty Noden and Robert E. Weir. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.

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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2218: **Readings, young people and sport**

## The Sports Relationship between French and the Soviet Youth as a Part of Creating Sister Cities: A Bilateral Sports Diplomacy at the Local Level

Deschamps Y.

During the Soviet period, France and the USSR progressively became privileged sports partners, making their sports relationship a real tool of their bilateral diplomatic strategies. The two governments created a “Franco-Soviet sports diplomacy” by establishing multiple sports agreements from the late 1950s, and regularly renewed or even deepened such agreements until the dying days of the Soviet Union. At the same time, French and Soviet municipalities had developed agreements of sister cities, expressing their interest in bilateral relations at the level of local authorities, notably in the sports field. Indeed, the sister cities strengthened their relationships by sending young sportsmen and sportswomen in exchange programs, thus becoming real actors of sports diplomacy.

The French and Soviet governments quickly realized the role of the sister cities in the development of their bilateral sports relations; and they affirmed their intention to encourage it further in the early 1970s, leading up to the signing of an agreement on sports exchanges. The main aims of sports diplomacy were both to build friendly relationships for the long term and to learn from each other and to extend cooperation between the two countries in a popular and very visible field. But the exchange of the young sportsmen and sportswomen from French or Soviet cities should not simply be seen as a form of applying foreign affair policies by local authorities. Contacts between young athletes from sister cities allowed both French and Soviet municipalities to be involved in the strategies of international relations and to promote their respective local policies for the youth and the sport. Thus, sister cities are an interesting key reading of the issues of sports diplomacy between France and the USSR at different scales. How were the issues of bilateral sports diplomacy articulated between these different scales? How did sister cities establish a particular form of sports diplomacy? Through what means did the youth become a real tool of Franco-Soviet sports diplomacy? In order to study the integration of the sporting youth into Franco-Soviet diplomacy, I have decided to analyze two cases of sister cities that particularly highlighted bilateral sports exchanges: Dijon and Volgograd, and Poitiers and Yaroslavl. In 1959, while General de Gaulle claimed the importance to develop France’s relationship with the USSR, Canon Kir took the initiative to establish sister city agreements between Dijon and Stalingrad, which became Volgograd two years later. The relationship between the two sister cities was quite fragile and complicated in the first decade, but it was progressively reinforced from the late 1960s just after the visit of General de Gaulle in the Soviet Union, notably in Volgograd. Until 1991, Dijon and Volgograd developed their international influence and contributed to the building of the Franco-Soviet relations by organizing football and gymnastic friendly events. Poitiers and Yaroslavl became sister cities in 1970. While Poitiers had already established sports exchanges with the Soviet Union at the turn of the 1960s and the 1970s, especially in fencing, the relationship between the sports youth of the sister cities became more regular and wider in the 1980s on the initiative of Michel Amand, who was closed to the Communist Party and deputy mayor in charge of sports in Poitiers. The two cities had developed some kinds of sports cooperation and collaboration, for example in volleyball and swimming, which allowed to consolidate their local sports policy. The sports contacts between all of these twin towns could essentially be studied by examining the Municipal Archives of Dijon and Poitiers, which keep many correspondences and descriptions of sports trips, and the State Archives of the Russian Federation, which allow to understand the bilateral framework of Franco-Soviet sports exchanges.

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Yannick Deschamps is a PhD candidate in contemporary history at the University of Strasbourg, within the laboratory ARCHE-EA 3400. His thesis is devoted to the study of the sport diplomacy gradually established between France and the USSR, from the 1920s to 1991. Through his research, he is interested in characteristics and forms of the sport diplomacy that were being built in the framework of this bilateral study, by addressing both the variety of actors that animate this, and by questioning the various issues – political, economic and cultural – which cover it.

### Publications

« *Unsung Women Federal Leaders within the Labour Sport Federation in France, from its Establishment to the Second Post-War Period* », dans Georgia Cervin et Claire Nicolas (dir.), *Histories of Women's Work in Global Sport: A Man's World?*, Basingstoke (Royaume-Uni) : Palgrave Macmillan, col. Palgrave Studies in Sport and Politics, (à paraître en décembre 2019).

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Parallel session 7, Saturday 10h45-12h15, Room 2212: **Youth, sport and friendship**

## Sport Heroes: a History of Soviet champions (1934–1980)

Dufraisse S.

This communication aims at presenting a book that has been published in March 2019: *Les Héros du sport: une Histoire des champions soviétiques*, Champ Vallon editions.

In the mid-1930s, the way sports performance was perceived changed in the Soviet Union. Since 1934, in the European context of the increasing role of sports to promote the prestige of the nation, records and victories became government goals and Party actions. Consequently, these political bodies implemented measures to organize and coordinate the physical preparation of sportsmen. This research aimed to reveal the making of the Soviet sportsmen elite. First, this dissertation analyzes norms that built up the heroic image of sportsmen based on the study of artistic material, media images and internal sanctions of sports administration. It observes their gradual assimilation by athletes but also how the same athletes accommodated, adopted or used these norms. Secondly, this work examines the role of the transnational in the making of the Soviet sportsmen elite. It shows that the contacts with other athletes from abroad were decisive in making sportsmen adopt a sports ethos, in helping them progress but also in setting up an image of the Soviet man and woman. Finally, it moves to analyze the way in which sports performance became part of physical culture politics and how the sports administration centralized it to create a sports regime, involving gratification, control, and a carefully planned schedule.

This book illustrates how Soviet sport and sports elites were shaped by contacts, relations and processes of cooperation with other countries, not only from the socialist bloc. Using the example of sport, it permits to investigate the tension between the political and social Marxist-Leninist project, the convergence of national systems and the adaptation to international rules.

In this presentation, we will focus on three examples that point out how transnational influences transformed the Soviet way of producing and controlling the elite of sportsmen and sportswomen and how they may lead to new interpretations of Cold war sports:

—First, we will present Nina Ponomareva's scandal. As she visited London with a delegation to take part in a competition, she was arrested and accused of stealing hats. This minor event had consequences on the way Soviet sportsmen were perceived abroad and the way they were trained.

—Then, we will analyze/describe/demonstrate how Soviet political and sports authorities transformed the ideological preparation to protect their sportsmen from new problems they could be confronted to during competitions abroad.

—Finally, we will develop the example of some Soviet sportsmen's defections to show how these happened, who were the sportsmen involved in and how Soviet authorities tried to avoid them.

Primary documents for this paper are drawn from federal archives in Moscow, Russia, including: the Soviet Committee of Sport and Physical Culture's archives, Sovnarkom's archives, the Council of Ministers' archives, conserved in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii, GARF) and papers from RGASPI (Russian State Archive of Social-Political History, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii). In order to point out these topics in a transnational approach, we have also used documents from the correspondence between the IOC leaders and the Soviet IOC members, found in the IOC archives in Lausanne, as well as documents from the Avery Brundage archives at the University of Illinois.



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Sylvain Dufraisse is assistant professor at Nantes université. His work deals with the history of leisure, sports and popular culture in the Soviet Union and in Russia and with the transnational history of Soviet sports. His first book examines the making of sports heroes in the Soviet Union between the 1930s to the 1980s. His actual work interrogates the ties between Soviet sports institutions and international sports organizations.

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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2420: **A look to recent publications in transnational and international sport history**

## The relationships between teachers and students in the reports of Italian gymnastic teachers (1884-1893)

Elia D. F. A.

The interactions between students and teachers in Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century and the complaints voiced by the latter about managing their classes will be the subject of this proposal, based on the recent studies of Ferrari (2016). The reports can provide interesting data on the relationship between teachers and students. For example, the teachers complained about how the students in Convitti showed stronger discipline and commitment during the execution of the exercises in comparison to external students. This is a significant difference, if one takes into account that teachers took better care of the students in Convitti and that the latter did gymnastics separately from their peers, as required by the 8th article of Regulations 23rd October 1884. The same conclusion can be drawn from the recourse to doctors employed at the Military Health Service, demanded by teachers and headmasters in order to avoid the worrying scarcity of students during gymnastics hours. Indeed, abetting family doctors granted dispensations and exemptions from compulsory class attendance too easily. However, the implementation of this norm was often disregarded, also because of the costs it imposed on non-governative schools. Other common elements found in the reports concern the teaching method, characterized by the influence of Obermann's "educational gymnastics" and the will of the teaching staff to appear as influential figures in the eyes of the students. New perspectives on the link between teachers and students thus emerge from unpublished archival sources concerning the degree of student involvement in gymnastic lessons.

The current paper focuses on the development of the gymnastics teacher's identity in Mediterranean countries. Tomlinson and Young found evidence of a common pattern in the rise of sports in Portugal, Spain, France and Italy because of «the politicization of sports due to the interference of political parties and the Catholic Church; the importance of cycling culture; and the proximity of Fascist, pro-Franco, Vichy and pro-Salazar sport policies» (Tomlinson&Young 2011). However, these common features dated back to the 20th century and refer only to one of the components of physical activity, i.e. sport. Thus, there is a lack of research focusing on how gymnastics teachers were trained in the 19th century when gymnastics was introduced in European schools.

Some authors have contributed to the investigation of teachers training in the 19th century in France (Lê-Germain 1992; Leziart 1993) and Spain (Lopez Fernandez 2009; Flix-Torreadella 2017) and have pointed out some issues with regards to didactics. In Italy Alfieri, Bonetta and Elia have provided evidence of teachers' poor economic conditions and the cultural and professional deficiencies recognized especially in teachers coming from the armed forces. Moreover, Italian historians have analyzed the debasement gymnastics as a school subject and the lack of interest towards it showed by students (Alfieri 2017; Bonetta, 1990; Elia, 2013). Nevertheless, in Italy, further research is needed to provide a better understanding of teachers' training and to compare it to the model of Latin gymnastics existing in other Mediterranean countries according to Tomlinson and Young (2011).

The paper investigates this topic based on sources of the Italian Central State Archive, such as the series "Ginnastica, tiro a segno, nuoto, palestre, scherma, 1861-1894" and that "Ufficio del Personale (1860-1880)". The series "Ginnastica, tiro a segno, nuoto, palestre, scherma, 1861-1894" includes records about gymnastics in Italy throughout the 19th century and the series "Ufficio del Personale (1860-1880)" includes records about teachers' careers. The historical sources analyzed in this contribution will consist of the reports submitted by gymnastics teachers at the end of each school year were already required by the "Regulations, programs and instructions for primary, secondary, normal, male and female schools of the Kingdom" approved on 16th December 1878. Priors studies about the relationships between teachers and students published by the author in «History of Education & Children's Literature» (Elia 2014) showed that despite regional and local differences Italian teachers tended to promote gymnastics as a military-oriented school subject.

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Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2420: **Physical education, teachers and pupils (I)**

## **The human body description and the role of gymnasts through the works of the holy Grigorios of Nyssa (335-395) b.c.**

Faniopoulos C.

Grigorios of Nyssa was born around 335. He was a brother of the Great Basil and friend of Gregory the Theologian. His father was originally from Pontus and his mother was from Cappadocia. Grigorios, though he was an ordained reader, was not thinking of becoming a priest or a theologian. After his education in the Neo-Caesarea he studied in Caesarea with the aim of becoming an advocate and teacher of rhetoric, such as his father and his ancestors. His brother Basilios, whom he regarded as his spiritual father and teacher, attracted him to priesthood. At the age of 40, in 371 AD 372, he was asked by his brother, Archbishop of Caesarea, to accept the bishopric of Nyssa. Nyssa (now Nemsehir) was a small town in Cappadocia, on the road leading from Caesarea to Ankara. Gregory accepted because he respected his brother. He is honored as a saint from the Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church, Lutheranism and the Anglican Church. He is one of the great Fathers of the Church. He was actively involved in theological and political issues. He participated in the ecumenical meetings of Antioch and Constantinople. He left a rich writing work, including speeches with explanatory and dogmatic content, as well as grave words with literary claims. St. Gregory of Nyssa is considered more philosophical than a theologian, as he manages to illustrate philosophically many theological concepts. It has been said that "it was better for all to transplant into the Christian world the spiritual heritage of ancient Greece". With this in mind and knowing that Gregory of Nyssa was deeply acquainted with the ancient Greek and Christian corpus, we decided to study his works in order to discover his views on movement and physical exercises. Through our research we came to choose two of his works. So in this paper we will be concerned with these works: "On the construction of man" and "About the birth of man". In his first work, Grigorios of Nyssa finds the opportunity to express his personal anthropological views, in which he blends theology, philosophy, physiology and medicine into a wonderful, impressive and dynamic synthesis. Within these anthropological contexts, Grigorios rejects the theory of pre-existence of the soul, which has its roots in Plato and Origen. The 30th and final chapter of his treatise includes a detailed description of the organs of the human body of a medical and physiological nature. Many treatises have been written about the construction of man, such as: the physiology of doctors, the gymnasts' comments on analogy or about the symmetry of body parts to each other or about the volume of obesity. All of which are part of the human nature. In his second work he argues that human life is a stadium, where evil, like a wicked wrestler, uses many fraudulent ways to defeat man. The athlete, when he learns athletic bravery satisfactorily from his gymnast, courageously believes in his victory. The Holy Grigorios of Nyssa was thoroughly concerned with the human body, because of his knowledge about man's physiology and anatomy, gained from ancient Greek sources as well as from the existing knowledge of the 4th century BC. This was done to support the totality of soul and body in the teaching of the church and to make it a school with self-sufficiency.

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- Grigorios Nyssis, De creatione hominis sermo primus. Speech II. What the Bible says, "To make man in our own image and likewise." (PG 44, pp. 277 - 297)



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Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2212: **Moulding the body**

## Youth Camps of the Spanish Youth Organization (O.J.E.)

Fernández Truan J. C.

As a form of political indoctrination of Spanish youth after the Civil War, the Franco regime was creating different entities, which always within the General Secretariat of the Movement, the upper political body, will control the formation of youth, within the principles of the regime and the moral standards of the Catholic Church. All these organizations, like Franco's Guard, later the Front of Youths and finally the Spanish Youth Organization, they were organized under a paramilitary structure which marked the Francoist thought.

We cannot forget, that even the teaching of the physical training of the school children, in the educational centre, it was not taught by professors of the Ministry of Education. But it was reserved the Dictatorship to be able to indoctrinate the youth in the Francoist ideals, being taught by professionals from the political centers created for that purpose, such as the José Antonio Academy of Commandos for boys and the Julio Ruiz de Alda Specialty School of the Feminine Section for girls.

In both school, Instructional masters were taught, to teach in the subjects of Gymnastics and Training of the National Spirit in men and Gymnastics and Home in women. With this motive was created, by the Law of July 18, 1960, the Spanish Youth Organization (Organización Juvenil Española O.J.E.). It was a Francoist political movement of volunteers, which grouped almost all young Spaniards who wanted to practice sports or organize environmental activities in the sixties of the twentieth century. It depended on the National Delegation of the Youth Front and this in turn of the General Secretariat of the Movement, the single party of Francoism.

In 1960, Jesús López Cancio was named National Delegate of the Youth Front (1960- 1963). He changed the Spanish youth structure, integrating into this new organization the old and compulsory Front of Youth and Franco's Youth Falanges volunteer, which did not have its own legal personality and was part of the General Secretariat of the Movement and dedicated only to the summer camps and the promotion of sports.

Its function, according to its own statutes, was: "For the Brotherhood and training of young people who wish to make their lives a permanent act of service to justice and to the Fatherland, within the Christian spirit of our elders".

Youth Front was a voluntary entity, that experienced a rapid evolution in its beginnings, reaching more than two million members in 1977 when it was dissolved.

After the death of Franco in 1975, Spanish Youth Organization (Organización Juvenil Española - O.J.E.) was dissolved in 1977 by the president of the Government Adolfo Suárez when the General Secretariat of the Movement disappeared. However, in 1978 it abandoned his political ideology and was formally registered as an independent youth association with some 75,000 members. It was characterized by a non-formal educational system for children and adolescents, being a founding member of the Council of Youth of Spain and achieving in 1981 to be declared a Public Utility Entity, with the fiscal benefits that it accompanies. Currently it belongs to the European Scout movement as a member of the European Scouting Confederation (Confederación Europea de Escultismo CES). The present study tries to analyze the background and the evolution of the Summer Camps of this youth organization.

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Parallel session 7, Saturday 10h45-12h15, Room 2218: **Youth, education and sport**

## **Les sélectionnés olympiques aux pieds noirs, de jeunes rapatriés dans la Guerre d'Algérie**

Frenkiel S.

Qui se souvient du cycliste français Paul Masson, triple médaillé d'or aux Jeux d'Athènes en 1896, né 22 ans plus tôt à Mostaganem en Algérie ? Il inaugure les premiers succès olympiques des européens d'Algérie qui appartiennent comme d'autres héros méconnus ou oubliés au patrimoine du sport français. Mais aussi à l'histoire de France, passionnante, tragique et moins avouable, faite d'immigration, de colonisation et de discriminations.

Dès 1830, avec la prise d'Alger, la France s'empare violemment de l'Algérie. Elle est décrétée partie intégrante de la République « une et indivisible » en 1848 et assimilée ensuite comme trois départements, Alger, Oran et Constantine, relevant de la responsabilité du Ministère de l'Intérieur (Dine et Rey, 2012). En 1954, elle est une province française composée de ces trois départements auxquels s'ajoutent les Territoires du Sud. Se côtoient neuf millions de musulmans majoritairement pauvres et désignés comme « indigènes » et un million d'européens. Juifs et issus de l'immigration alsacienne, espagnole, italienne et maltaise, ils deviennent Français par le décret d'Adolphe Crémieux de 1870 et la loi sur la nationalité de 1889.

Pendant les « évènements », les affrontements communautaires et la folie sanguinaire submergent l'Algérie. Voie privilégiée de survie identitaire, d'auto-persuasion existentielle et de renforcement de la fraternité sportive avec la métropole, les équipes européennes gagnent tous les titres dans le football comme les autres sports (Archambault, 2004). La situation s'aggrave durant la dernière année de la guerre. Bien avant les enlèvements et les massacres de plusieurs centaines d'européens à Oran au lendemain de l'indépendance, les stades servent de nouveau d'antichambre de la mort, comme le 5 juillet 1962, où de nombreux européens sont emmenés au stade municipal d'Oran et assassinés pour la plupart. Quand ils quitteront le joyau de l'empire, les européens auront largement contribué au développement du football local. Dans leur paradis perdu, ils laisseront des infrastructures uniques en Afrique comme le CREPS flambant neuf de Ben Aknoun, des milliers de joueurs formés par leurs soins et des vedettes du ballon rond de toutes religions.

S'appuyant principalement sur des entretiens « récits de vie », cette contribution tentera d'analyser la transformation des carrières sportives, trajectoires sociales et reconversions professionnelles de dix sélectionnés aux Jeux d'été ayant connu l'humiliation et le défi existentiel de l'exode de 1962. Des entretiens exclusifs menés en 2019 seront ainsi exploités avec des champions des Jeux de Londres en 1948 comme ceux des Jeux de Los Angeles en 1984. Les itinéraires empruntés par le boxeur Jean-Paul Anton, le footballeur William Ayache, les nageurs Joseph Bernardo, Françoise Borie, Hédia Frost et Marc Kamoun, le gymnaste Henry Boerio et les pentathlètes Alain Cortès, Jean-Pierre Giudicelli et Lucien Guiguet seront riches d'enseignements. Loin d'une approche hagiographique, cette communication proposera de combler les lacunes de la littérature en reconstruisant la biographie collective de ces sportifs en situation de vulnérabilité. Il apportera des enseignements nouveaux sur l'histoire sociale et institutionnelle du mouvement olympique ainsi que sur son élite sportive en France (Fleuriel et Schotté, 2011).



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Stanislas Frenkiel est Maître de Conférences à l'UFR STAPS de l'Université d'Artois et membre de l'Atelier SHERPAS (EA 7369). Après une Thèse portant sur les footballeurs professionnels algériens en France des années 1950 aux années 2000 et plusieurs expériences postdoctorales en France et à l'étranger, il mène de nouvelles recherches socio-historiques. Boursier de l'UEFA, de la FIFA et de l'ANOF, il publie deux ouvrages : *Une histoire des agents sportifs en France, les imprésarios du football (1979-2014)* (Editions du CIES, 2014), travail primé par l'UCPF en 2015, puis en codirection *Sports in postcolonial worlds* (Routledge, 2016).

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Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2212: **Olympic history**

## « Rassurez-vous, il ne s'agit pas de championnat... ». Quel sport pour quel enfant au sein des colonies de vacances en France entre 1945 et 1958 ?

Fuchs J.

### French

Les colonies de vacances sont des organisations socio-éducatives originales en Europe. Depuis la fin du XIXe siècle, elles accueillent hors du temps scolaire des enfants et adolescents âgés de 4 à 18 ans, pour des séjours allant de deux semaines à un mois. Elles sont souvent perçues comme de séduisants lieux de socialisation, dans la mesure où les enfants y découvrent la vie de groupe, expérimentent des activités inhabituelles, en même temps qu'ils apprennent des règles et se familiarisent à une certaine culture de l'altérité et de la tolérance. En France, ces colonies de vacances connaissent après 1945 une trajectoire singulière. Soutenues financièrement par l'Etat, qui les considère comme des instances sociales et d'éducation majeures, elles se développent de manière exponentielle en se structurant autour de grandes fédérations. Elles concernent, au milieu des années 1950, près d'1,5 million d'enfants.

Le projet éducatif des colonies, dans cette période, s'affine. Initialement axé sur une finalité hygiénique, il s'oriente vers les questions de l'ouverture culturelle, de la découverte de l'environnement ou encore des loisirs. Dans ce cadre, la pratique sportive se diffuse, les activités sportives collectives ou de plein air notamment devenant des outils pédagogiques importants pour les éducateurs. Mais ceux-ci déclinent alors ces pratiques davantage du fait des valeurs collectives, psychiques et motrices qu'elles sont susceptibles de véhiculer, que de leur dimension technique ou compétitive. Si ce projet semble, dans une certaine mesure, cohérent avec la finalité socio-éducative des colonies, il paraît aussi de plus en plus décalé avec les attentes des jeunes qui partent en colonie. Comment le sport se décline-t-il alors dans les colonies de vacances ? Quelle place y occupe-t-il ? Comment les moniteurs et directeurs y sont-ils formés ? Et quelles fonctions éducatives lui sont alors assignées ?

Un travail sur les archives de la Direction Générale de la Jeunesse et des Sports (bureau des colonies de vacances ; Archives nationales françaises), mais aussi, de manière plus originale, sur des sources audiovisuelles (films de colonies des années 1940-1950), permet de comprendre que le sport, s'il est une évidence (dans toutes les colonies, les enfants pratiquent des activités sportives), demeure pour autant un impensé. La dimension sportive des colonies ne fait par exemple l'objet d'aucune réflexion de la part de l'Etat ou des fédérations, de même qu'elle n'est pas l'objet d'inflexions spécifiques au sein de la formation des cadres de colonies. En d'autres termes, alors que la société de l'après-1945 est celle d'un « sport-roi » qui s'impose au creux des mentalités juvéniles comme un phénomène culturel majeur, les colonies s'arcbutent sur une perception « traditionnelle » du sport, moralisée et contrôlée : celle que les hiérarchies confessionnelles leur avaient imposée dans les années de l'entre-deux-guerres. Elles sont en cela ambivalentes, puisqu'elles sont à la fois des lieux de diffusion de la culture sportive en même temps qu'elles paraissent relativement peu en prise avec les enjeux éducatifs liés à son ancrage dans les pratiques des enfants des colonies. Cette situation est aussi le signe qu'elles peinent à associer les enfants et les adolescents à l'élaboration des activités faites en colonies. En ce sens, cette communication interroge les conceptions quelque peu figées de l'activité sportive comme celles de l'éducation de la jeunesse au sein des colonies de vacances, structures qui se situent pourtant au cœur du courant de « l'Éducation nouvelle » dont la marque est celle de l'innovation pédagogique et de la prise en compte de l'enfant.

### English

Summer camps ("colonies de vacances" in French) are original socio-educational organizations in Europe. Since the end of the 19th century, they have welcomed children aged between 4 and 18 years old, for two weeks to one month stays. They are perceived as attractive places of socialization, as children discover group life, experiment with unusual activities, learn rules and become familiar with a culture of otherness. In France, these holiday camps follow a singular trajectory after 1945. Supported financially by the French State, which considers them as major social and educational institutions, they develop exponentially by structuring themselves around major federations. In the mid-1950s, they concerned nearly 1.5 million children.

The educational project of the "colonies", in this period, is refined (Houssaye, 1989). Initially focused on a hygienic purpose, it focuses on issues of cultural openness, discovery of the environment or leisure. In this context, the sporting practice spreads, the collective sports activities or outdoor activities becoming important educational tools for the educators. But these then decline these practices more because of the collective, psychic and motor values that they convey, than their technical or competitive dimension. If this project seems consistent with the socio-educational purpose of the "colonies", it also seems more and more out of step with the expectations of the young people who go to the colony. How is sport thought in summer camps? What is its place? Are instructors and directors trained? And what educational functions are then assigned to him?

A work on the archives of the General Directorate of Youth and Sports (summer camps office) and on audiovisual archives (films of the “colonies” from the years 1940-1950) makes it possible to understand that sport, if it is obvious in the colonies (in all the colonies, children practice sports activities), remains like unthought. The sports dimension of the “colonies” is not, for example, the subject of any reflection by the French State or the federations, nor is it the subject of specific changes in the training of directors and educators of colonies. In other words, while the post-1945 society is that of a "sport-king" which imposes itself in the hollow of the youthful mentalities like a major cultural phenomenon, the “colonies” are fixed on a "traditional" perception of sport, i.e. moralised and controlled - the one that confessional hierarchies had imposed to them in the years between 1918 and 1939. They are ambivalent, since they are both places of dissemination of sports culture, at the same time that they seem relatively little concerned by the educational stakes related to its importance in the practices of children of the colonies. This situation is also a sign that they are struggling to associate children and adolescents with the development of settlement activities. In this sense, this paper questions the “fixed” conceptions of sports activity such as those of youth education in summer camps, structures which are nevertheless at the heart of the current of "New Education" of which the brand is that of educational innovation and taking into account the child.



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STUMPP Sébastien, JALLAT Denis, FUCHS Julien (2018), « “Playing with the Border:” Alsatian Sports Societies and Alsace’s Problematic Return to France after the First World War », *Journal of Borderlands Studies*.

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Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2420: **Children, holidays and sport**

## Dancing in the Cold War, 1945-1968

Gonçalves S.

The panel “A look to recent publications in transnational and international sport history” would be the occasion to do a reflection on the actual historiography of sport during the Cold war, a topic that gathers the four books. The panel will be composed by Sylvain Dufraisse, Stéphanie Gonçalves, Nicolas Sbetti and Philippe Vonnard.

My book, *Danser pendant la guerre froide 1945-1968*, explores cultural relations through ballet tours in the Cold War after WWII. My PhD showed that the Iron Curtain was not impermeable but «semi-permeable [1]» and permitted numerous exchanges and cultural transferts through East and West. Thanks to cultural diplomacy, the «six Bigs [2]» ballet companies in the world danced internationally and particularly on the cultural battlefield of Europe. Tours of Opéra de Paris, Royal Ballet of Covent Garden, Bolshoi and Kirov, New York City Ballet and American Ballet were explored.

Beyond a romantic image of dancers in tutu, the ballet is an essential showcase and a key instrument of cultural diplomacy, which brings the development of a « dancing diplomacy » during the Cold War: ballet is a powerful non-verbal language. The research therefore considered ballet as a tool for transnational cultural diplomacy, with a particular focus on actors, whether institutional, artistic or commercial. In addition to a quantitative aspect that led us to map the tours, it is a story embodied by women and men, the dancers whose job is to dance on international stages, supervised by administrators and governments, who do not have the same priorities and agendas. The research highlighted the tensions, difficulties and dynamics between the different actors. The thesis is being built around tours that are representative of the tenuous link between dance and politics, episodes that highlight the hot spots of the Cold War, starting from or of arrival in London and Paris.

Dancers are then not considered as political marionettes: ballet tours are the results of tough negotiations between three actors: political actors such as Ministries of Foreign Affairs, economic actors such as impresarios and cultural ones as operas and ballet companies. Dancers are thus seen as cultural *passeurs*, pursuing the long tradition of ballet as a transnational art since the XV<sup>th</sup> century, exchanging tips in the intimacy of dance studios and backstage, both in the West and in the East. The tour is a *momentum* for diplomatic and artistic dimensions, in particular, the tension between modernity and tradition in ballet.

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- [1] Michaël David-Fox, «The Iron curtain as semipermeable membrane, Origins and Demise of the Stalinist Superiority complex », in Patrick Babiracki, Kenyon Zimmer (dir.), *Cold War Crossings, International Travel and Exchanges across the Soviet Bloc, 1940s-1960s*, Arlington, University of Texas, 2014.
- [2] « The Big Six », see Jeffrey Escoffier, «Review de Helena Wulff, *Ballet across Borders: Careers and Culture in the World of Dancers* », *Review Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 29, n°5, Septembre 2000, p. 728.
- [3] Victoria Phillips Geduld, «Dancing Diplomacy: Martha Graham and the strange commodity of Cold-War cultural exchange in Asia, 1955 and 1974», *Dance Chronicle*, vol. 33, n° 1, 2010, pp. 44-81.



**GONCALVES Stéphanie**  
Université libre de Bruxelles

Stéphanie Gonçalves is an historian, postdoctoral researcher at the National Fund for Scientific Research in the Université libre de Bruxelles. In 2015, she defended a PhD on the cultural diplomacy of ballet during the Cold War (*Danser pendant la guerre froide, 1945-1968*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2018). She is a specialist of the link between dance and politics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and is particularly interested in the transnational circulations of dancers, especially Soviet dancers. Her current research project is on Maurice Béjart.

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Stéphanie Gonçalves, *Danser pendant la guerre froide 1945-1968*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2018 (préface de Pascal Ory).

Stéphanie Gonçalves, « Dien Bien Phu, Soviet Ballet and the Cold War: The First Paris Tour, May 1954 », *Dance Chronicle*, vol. 42, n°1, 2019, pp. 53-77.

Stéphanie Gonçalves, « Ballet, propaganda, and politics in the Cold War: the Bolshoi Ballet in London and the Sadler's Wells Ballet in Moscow, October–November 1956 », *Cold War History*, 2018, DOI: [10.1080/14682745.2018.1468436](https://doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2018.1468436)

Stéphanie Gonçalves, « Ballet, politique et diplomatie culturelle : l'Opéra de Paris aux Etats-Unis en 1948 », *Relations Internationales*, 2017/2, n°170, pp. 35-46, p. 35-46. DOI : 10.3917/ri.170.0035. URL : <https://www-cairn-info.ezproxy.ulb.ac.be/revue-relations-internationales-2017-2-page-35.htm>

Stéphanie Gonçalves, « Voir danser des Soviétiques en France : la réception du Bolchoï et du Kirov à Paris dans les long sixties », dans Isabelle Launay, Sylviane Pagès, Mélanie Papin et Guillaume Sintès (dir.), *Danser en Mai 68*, éditions Deuxième Epoque, 2018, pp. 266-284.

Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2420: **A look to recent publications in transnational and international sport history**

## History and controversy of intersex athletes

González-del-Castillo J.

Sports, and track and field in particular, have a long history with intersex women. There are some differences of sexual development (DSD) with a significant impact on women's sports. The most important for sports performance are: androgen insensitivity syndrome (AIS), five alpha reductase deficiency (5-ARD) and ovotesticular disorder of sex development (O-DSD). In each case, babies are born with the Y chromosome:

- AIS people have a mutation which prevents testosterone from being absorbed by the body. Since there is no testosterone uptake in the body, any athletic advantage they might have over other women is very small.
- Those born with 5-ARD have a mutation which prevents the creation of dihydrotestosterone in the body, a powerful androgen which triggers the formation of male genitalia.
- In O-DSD, a single organism is composed of cells with distinct genotypes, a mixture of XX and XY cells.

Much has been said Stella Walsh and Dora Ratjen, but it will try to demonstrate that in fact they were the cases of Mary Edith Louise Weston and Zdena Koubková. The main promoter of the need a change in regulation in order to avoid the pitfalls and that caused the first controls of femininity in 1946 was Avery Brundage, then president of the USOC (1928-1953) and future president of the IOC (1952- 1972).

In view of the cases, by his presence in competitions with low density worldwide and his "unfeminine" aspect, in 1966 the IAAF went further and instituted its first "scientific" examination of sex verification, known as the "Barr body exam" that would be implemented in the 1968 Olympic Games. It was widely proclaimed as the solution to gender misinterpretation in sport.

The formation of Barr's corpuscle is due to the fact that the cell needs to compensate the genetic imbalance, since the females have two X chromosomes and the males are XY. The second X chromosome of the females must be deactivated to avoid overexpression of the genes it contains. This test is not entirely accurate because different karyotypes such as XO, XXY, mosaic or XY women (with the syndromes described above) do not present this corpuscle, so they would not pass said test. At least eight women did not pass Barr's body test before 1972. The most popular case was María José Martínez Patiño, a Spanish athlete with androgen insensitivity syndrome, but the presence of XY chromosome in her cells did not give her any benefit in the competition over other women.

Due to these problems in terms of gender verification after the introduction of DNA extraction techniques at the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1992, a renowned Spanish geneticist refused to help in the process. Despite this situation, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) persisted in gender verification at the 1992 Winter Olympics in Albertville. Finally, the decision to abandon compulsory gender verification in the Olympic competition was taken in 1999 after many years of debate. Although initially taken as a temporary measure, this policy continues today. The IOC has the authority to request a gender verification in individual cases if there is suspicion of masking. Now, not by gender, not by sex, but by testosterone saith the IAAF...

Taking into account the genetic disorders, was Heinrich (Dora) Ratjen a cheater as the historiography points out, or a victim of his time?

Why Stella Walsh and Dora Ratjen were not the ones who motivated the femininity controls?

Is it possible to do a genetic map of intersex athletes throughout history?

In addition to the challenges of detecting illicit use of exogenous testosterone, IAAF has struggled to define the role of endogenous testosterone in women's athletics. Why?

Why is the IAAF regulating and the IOC "does not"?

Why is Semenya in the spotlight, if not the only intersexual athlete?

Can the Swiss justice stop and cancel the IAAF regulations?

This research is approached from five different perspectives: genetic, history, sport, law and bioethics.

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He studied biology. Also is a graduate in History and has a master's degree in Contemporary History with a mention in International Relations. In 2016 he won the prestigious "José María Jover" International Relations Research Prize.

He currently has the largest predoctoral fellowship granted by the Government of Spain for the realization of his thesis on international diplomacy around the 1980 Olympic Games. This scholarship grants him the status of Postgraduate Teaching Assistant at the University Autónoma de Madrid.

### Publications

*Geoestrategia, diplomacia y boicot: los Juegos Olímpicos en el sistema internacional (1948-1980)*. Valencia: Reproexpress, 2018. ISBN: 978-84-948350-4-9

"Entre Cartas Anuas y documentos oficiales. Un estudio de caso: La llegada de los jesuitas al Perú y la aceptación de doctrinas". *Historia y Patrimonio Cultural*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2018. ISBN 978-84-9012-913-5. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14201/OAQ0251>

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"Deporte y diplomacia en la República Islámica de Irán: origen, evolución y uso en las relaciones con Latinoamérica". *Una vieja amistad. Cuatrocientos años de relaciones históricas y culturales entre Irán y el Mundo Hispánico*. Madrid: Sílex, 2019.

## **Les politiques menées par la Fédération française de judo envers les jeunes entre les années 1960 et 1970 : développement, diversification des pratiques et enjeux sportifs**

Groenen H.

À partir des années 1960, les stratégies de développement menées par la Fédération française de judo et disciplines associées (FFJDA) et les pratiques proposées aux différents pratiquants réservent aux jeunes une place croissante et bientôt centrale. Très minoritaires lors de l'implantation du judo dans les années 1930, les adolescents puis les enfants deviennent à partir des années 1960 largement majoritaires dans les licenciés de la Fédération. Les pratiquantes y restent néanmoins durablement sous-représentées. Cette communication interroge dès lors le développement du judo chez les jeunes entre les années 1960 et 1970 sous l'angle des politiques menées par la Fédération en direction de ces populations, des représentations de celles-ci, de la nature et de la gestion de leurs pratiques, et de leurs aspirations. En prenant appui sur des archives institutionnelles (comptes rendus des assemblées générales et procès verbaux des comités directeurs de la FFJDA), bulletin de liaison avec les clubs (*Judo contact*), revues spécialisées (*Judo, Education physique et sport*) et manuels (méthodes d'enseignements fédérales publiées entre 1967 et 1977), nous souhaitons montrer que la FFJDA mène depuis les années 1960 diverses stratégies de développement en direction de jeunes, d'âge et de sexe différents, en faisant de ces publics des cibles prioritaires. Pourtant, la Commission des jeunes n'est créée qu'en 1978, et ils restent sous la tutelle d'adultes, majoritairement des hommes. La Fédération reprend les catégories d'âge régissant traditionnellement les compétitions sportives, tout au moins pour les garçons. Tout en s'inscrivant dans des processus politiques et socioculturels plus larges, l'essor du judo chez les jeunes recherché par la Fédération constitue surtout pour elle un moyen au service de ses ambitions sportives internationales, et des enjeux financiers et de prestige qui l'animent. Les jeunes assurent en effet l'essor régulier des licenciés (et des revenus financiers associés), alimentent la base de la pyramide coubertinienne à partir de laquelle la Fédération souhaite dégager une élite sportive, et participent aux résultats du haut niveau. Cette politique suscite un soutien moral et financier constant de la part des autorités gouvernementales qui voient dans le judo un moyen de participer à la grandeur sportive de la France dans le contexte de la guerre froide, mais aussi un levier d'éducation et de moralisation – donc de contrôle – des jeunes, dans un contexte où celles-ci constituent un enjeu politique fort. Cette politique fédérale s'adresse initialement essentiellement aux garçons du fait des priorités sportives de la FFJDA et de l'instauration tardive de compétitions féminines. Une prise en compte des aspirations évolutives et plurielles des jeunes (filles et garçons) elles-mêmes liées à des changements socioculturels s'observe parallèlement à partir des années 1970, à travers une offre qui s'adapte à de nouvelles demandes. Une diversification des pratiques survient alors pour divers pratiquants autour d'orientations non exclusives (sport éducatif, sport loisir, sport compétitif, sport de haut niveau), tandis que les sources témoignent d'une évolution des représentations des enfants, adolescents et jeunes filles. Si l'objectif de développement quantitatif de la FFJDA est atteint, sa stratégie en direction des scolaires n'aboutit pas. L'étude confirme ainsi que les jeunes doivent être appréhendés dans leur pluralité et selon des dynamiques potentiellement spécifiques. Elle montre aussi les influences réciproques qui s'exercent entre politiques sportives fédérales et les jeunes.

L'interprétation historique articule facteurs internes et externes. Les premiers concernent notamment le virage sportif pris par la FFJDA, les conceptions traditionnelles de la femme qui dominent chez les dirigeants fédéraux, l'influence de médecins et les précautions qui en découlent, les influences étrangères favorisant la sportivisation du judo féminin. Les seconds renvoient en particulier aux évolutions démographiques et socioculturelles touchant les jeunes, les transformations relatives au genre, les politiques gouvernementales dédiées aux jeunes et le rôle conféré au sport en leur sein. Quelques repères relatifs à d'autres pays européens (Belgique, Angleterre) esquisseront des perspectives comparatives.

Mots clés : jeunes, judo, politique fédérale, France

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**GROENEN Haimo**

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Maître de conférence à Université de Lille au sein de l'URePSSS (EA 7369), mes travaux portent essentiellement sur l'histoire culturelle et comparée du judo, en France, voire d'autres pays européens, et dans une moindre mesure sur l'EPS. Mes travaux m'ont conduit à étudier les processus d'enseignement, d'entraînement, de diffusion et d'acculturation, les politiques fédérales, le genre, et plus récemment les risques et la gestion de la sécurité en lien avec les responsabilités et stratégies des acteurs.

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Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2218: **Sport institutions and young people**

## **Georges Carpentier, une destinée singulière : portrait d'un adolescent/boxeur professionnel à Belle Époque**

Hadjeras S.

### French

A la veille de la Grande Guerre, âgé alors de 20 ans, le pugiliste français Georges Carpentier, a déjà livré plus de 77 combats. Boxant en professionnel depuis 1908, il est parvenu, au grand dam des Britanniques, à conquérir quatre titres de champion d'Europe dans des catégories de poids différents. Au début de l'année 1914, il apparaît comme un sérieux rival du champion du monde des lourds, l'Américain Jack Johnson.

Si la plupart des lauréats de ce sport entre en carrière à l'âge adulte, les « exploits » du jeune Tricolore apparaissent d'autant plus surprenants que ce dernier choisit le rude métier de boxeur, à 13 ans, au sortir de l'enfance. Aussi, lorsque le 12 janvier 1912, il fête ses 18 ans, il possède déjà à son actif plus de 50 combats ! A titre de comparaison, l'Anglais « Bombardier » Wells, à qui il ravit le 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1913 le prestigieux sceptre européen des lourds, n'intègre le circuit professionnel qu'à l'âge de 20 ans. Au moment où ils s'affrontent, le Britannique est alors âgé de 28 ans et comptabilise « seulement » 21 combats. Deux décennies plus tard, quand le 22 juillet 1934, Marcel Cerdan, un autre boxeur français de renommée célèbre ses 18 ans, il n'a pas encore livré un seul match chez les rémunérés. Dans une période plus proche de la nôtre, en 1960, lorsque Cassius Clay se produit pour la première fois sur un ring en tant que professionnel, il a tout juste 18 ans. Ces multiples exemples nous conduisent à la même conclusion : si à l'évidence certains pugilistes ont également débuté leur carrière à l'adolescence, à notre connaissance, hormis Georges Carpentier, aucun champion n'a accumulé autant de combats durant son jeune âge. Cela étant, le caractère singulier voire énigmatique de ce parcours pose au moins deux questions. La première concerne le domaine sportif : comment un adolescent, physiquement inachevé et qu'on oppose le plus souvent à des adultes déterminés et athlétiques, est-il parvenu à s'imposer dans une pratique de combat aussi brutale et exigeante que la boxe anglaise ? La seconde est de nature éthique : comment expliquer que la société adulte (famille, journalistes, spectateurs, instances fédérales, organisateurs, entraîneurs etc.) a laissé faire voire contribué à la promotion d'une telle violence ?

Dans le but de répondre à ces interrogations, cette communication s'articulera autour de trois axes. Pour commencer, à travers l'étude de « la société enfantine » dans laquelle évolue cet athlète, une première partie s'attachera à mieux cerner les motifs de l'engagement du jeune adolescent dans le difficile métier de boxeur professionnel. Ensuite, autour d'une réflexion sur l'excellence pugilistique à la Belle Époque, une deuxième partie tentera de mesurer les conséquences athlétiques d'un parcours débuté non seulement précocement mais aussi de manière intense et brutale. Pour finir, afin d'analyser le regard posé par la société adulte sur ce parcours atypique, une dernière partie interrogera les corrélations entre l'ambivalence d'une Belle Époque partagée entre « modernité triomphante et « barbarie de la splendeur » et un sport considéré, tantôt comme un art noble, tantôt comme une résurgence primitive.

Outre divers travaux d'historiens sur la société française d'avant-guerre, cette recherche s'est principalement appuyée sur l'analyse de sources imprimées, composées essentiellement des autobiographies de Georges Carpentier et de la presse d'époque, généraliste et sportive, à savoir : *Le Figaro*, *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, *L'Auto*, *La Boxe et Les Boxeurs*, *Ring*, *Les Sports et La Vie au grand air*.

### English

On the eve of the Great War, at the age of 20, the French pugilist Georges Carpentier, had an eloquent record of 77 fights. While he has been boxing as a professional since 1908, he has managed, to the great displeasure of the British, to win four European championship titles in different weight categories. While most of the winners of this sport enter their careers as adults, the "exploits" of the young Tricolor appear all the more surprising as he chooses the tough job of boxer, at 13 years old, at the end of his childhood. So, when he turned 18 on January 12, 1912, he already had more than 50 fights to his credit! By way of comparison, the Englishman "Bombardier" Wells, to whom he took the prestigious European sceptre of heavy vehicles on June 1, 1913, joined the professional circuit at the age of 20. At the time of the clash, the Britishman was 28 years old and had "only" 21 fights. If it is obvious that some pugilists also started their careers in adolescence, to our knowledge, apart from Georges Carpentier, no champion has ever done such a pugilistic race during his young age. However, the singularity and even enigmatism of this journey raises at least two questions. The first concerns the field of sport: how did a physically unfinished teenager, most often opposed to determined and athletic adults, succeed in imposing himself in a fighting practice as sincere and violent as English boxing? The second is of an ethical nature: how can we explain that adult society (family, journalists, spectators, federal authorities, organizers, coaches, etc.) has allowed or even contributed to the promotion of such violence?

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Stéphane Hadjeras est professeur d'histoire et de littérature au lycée Jules Haag de Besançon (France). Il termine une thèse de doctorat en histoire contemporaine au Centre Lucien Febvre de l'Université de Franche-Comté sur Georges Carpentier et la Belle Époque de la boxe anglaise en France. Il est également Président du Ring Athlétique de Besançon et entraîneur certifié par la Fédération Française de Boxe.  
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## Publications

« Les hommes des lettres, spectateurs et acteurs de la boxe à la Belle Époque », *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, n°2, avril juin 2018.

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Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2212: **From childhood to exercise and sport**

## Philippine Moros and the "Savage Olympics" of 1904

Hawkins M.

In 1904 the United States government brought 88 Philippine Moros (Muslims) to St. Louis, Missouri as anthropological exhibits for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The Exposition was held concomitantly with the 1904 Olympic Games, also in St. Louis. The proximity of the two events sparked intense debates on the nature of human evolution, athletic performance, and the virtues of scientific athletic training in the metropole versus primal, environmentally-induced athletic ability among the "savages." These debates played out over the summer of 1904 in two organized athletic events known as "Anthropology Days" or the "Savage Olympics." These games ultimately revealed deep fissures in imperial discourses of race, evolution, culture, and environment. The Moros were particularly important in these debates, as they occupied a distinct and unsettling liminal space with their official designation as "semi-civilized." Through their outstanding athletic performances and participation in the exhibit, the Moros overtly challenged the various binaries upon which Louisiana Purchase Exposition was predicated, displaying a tremendous amount of agency and control over the production of colonial knowledge.

This project is part of a forthcoming book entitled, *Semi-Civilized: The Moro Village at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*. Its research was taken largely from governmental documents, news reports, and promotional items from the Fair. While the Philippine Exhibit at the St. Louis World's Fair has received increasing attention in recent years, the literature is conspicuously devoid of Moro contributions to the display. Though the Moro Village caused quite a sensation in local and national media outlets at the time of the Exposition, it has since faded from scholarly and popular historical consciousness. This project seeks to revive and contextualize Moro participation in the Exposition, and more specifically the 1904 Olympics, not as a historical footnote to more apparent manifestations of empire, but as a critical window into the nuanced and surprisingly textured nature of American imperial discourse.

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Michael Hawkins is an associate professor in Asian History at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska. His research interests revolve around Islam, empire, and historical time in Southeast Asia. He is the author of numerous articles and books including *Making Moros: Imperial Historicism and American Military Rule in the Philippines' Muslim South* (2013) and the forthcoming *Semi-Civilized: The Moro Village at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (April 2020).

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Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2212: **Olympic history**

## L'Union des Étudiants du Secondaire (UES) en Argentine : la fabrique d'une jeunesse sportive et péroniste (1952-1955)

Hémeury L.

Entre 1946 et 1955, le gouvernement dirigé par le général Juan Perón mène une politique sportive volontariste et de grande ampleur, qui vise à promouvoir et diffuser la pratique des activités physiques auprès de la population et à intensifier la présence d'athlètes argentins dans les compétitions internationales. Les jeunes, enfants et adolescents, constituent l'une des cibles privilégiées de cet ensemble de mesures. Le sport est perçu comme l'une des activités favorisant non seulement le bon développement physique des plus jeunes mais aussi leur formation morale, éducative et civique. C'est pourquoi les responsables péronistes estiment que l'encadrement des activités physiques et sportives ne peut plus être laissé aux seuls soins des fédérations et des associations sportives. Défini comme un domaine « d'intérêt public et national », le sport doit désormais relever du ressort de l'État. Le gouvernement s'efforce de mettre sur pied des organismes spécifiquement chargés de superviser les activités des clubs, de définir les priorités et les objectifs du sport national et de fixer une réglementation générale pour l'ensemble de ce secteur.

Dans ce contexte, le régime crée des compétitions et des structures institutionnelles réservées aux enfants (entre 7 et 13 ans) et aux adolescents (plus de 13 ans). L'Union des Étudiants du Secondaire (*Unión de Estudiantes Secundarios* ou UES) est l'un des exemples les plus emblématiques de ses nouvelles organisations fondées à l'initiative du gouvernement péroniste et destinées à encourager et encadrer la pratique sportive des jeunes. Présentée comme une institution instaurée « par et pour les étudiants », l'UES a, en réalité, été conçue et mise en place par le ministre de l'Éducation, Armando Méndez San Martín, au début du second mandat présidentiel de Perón. Doté d'une section masculine et d'une section féminine, cet organisme suscite, dès ses origines, de vives réactions au sein de l'opposition qui y voit une entreprise d'embrigadement idéologique et de perversion de la jeunesse argentine. L'UES est en effet plus qu'une simple association sportive : elle propose à ses adhérents, issus des lycées et des établissements d'enseignement du secondaire, une large gamme d'activités culturelles et est étroitement associée aux événements officiels et aux manifestations organisées par le régime. Pensée comme un espace de sociabilité juvénile, l'UES est aussi fortement liée à la figure du président Perón, qui fréquente régulièrement les installations, assiste aux rencontres sportives et accueille au sein de la résidence présidentielle la section féminine.

Cette communication se propose, à partir des revues éditées par l'UES, des procès-verbaux d'interrogatoire d'anciens adhérents et des rapports d'enquête produits par les membres de la Révolution dite « Libératrice » qui renverse le régime péroniste en 1955, d'analyser le fonctionnement et les buts de cet organisme. La création de l'UES, au-delà de l'aura scandaleuse qui l'entoure, est révélatrice des transformations des représentations de la jeunesse et de son rôle social et politique. À partir des années 1952-1953, le gouvernement péroniste cherche à s'assurer de la pérennité de son projet politique en s'appuyant sur les jeunes, ces citoyens en devenir, qu'il convient de former et de préparer à poursuivre l'œuvre du général Perón. L'UES doit apparaître comme une institution modèle, symbole de la modernité et du dynamisme de la « *Nueva Argentina* ». L'exemple de l'UES montre comment le sport est perçu comme un moyen privilégié pour toucher les adolescents et forger une jeunesse « idéale », saine de corps et d'esprit, heureuse et vertueuse, et, en principe, autonome et émancipée.

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Titulaire d'un doctorat en histoire, Lucie Hêmeury a consacré ses recherches aux rapports entre sport et politique en Argentine pendant la période péroniste (1946-1955). Elle est actuellement chercheuse associée au Centre de Recherche et de Documentation des Amériques, au sein de l'Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique latine à l'université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3.

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**Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2218: Youth, sport and the making of the citizen**

## “Why Children Delight So Much in Running, Jumping, Climbing”. The Role of Exercise in Early Modern Health Guides

Huber V.

With the invention of the printing press texts of natural philosophy and medical practices increasingly spread around Europe. While new concepts emerged through empirical or philosophical experiments, the ancient understandings of the human body by Hippocrates and Galen often still played an important role.

The ancient idea of the six non-naturals that influenced a person's health included the balance of physical activity and rest (*motus et quies*) as well as air (*aer*). In the myriad of dietetic texts that offer guidance to a healthy life and prevention from illness, like the popular genre of *regimen sanitatis* or medical treatises, some sort of physical exercise is promoted.

The famous Scottish physician George Cheyne (1672–1743) drew such a connection between air and exercise too, especially for children. This paper will scrutinize Cheyne's *Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724) amongst other health guides in regard to the role of young people and their maintenance of a healthy body.

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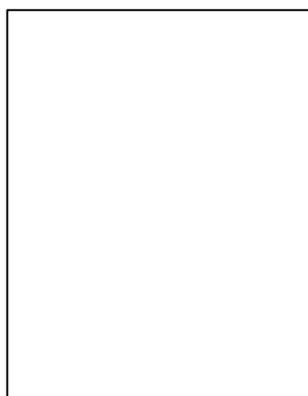
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Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2212: **From childhood to exercise and sport**

## La jeunesse vanvéenne dans l'œil de Pierre Parlebas : analyse sémio-historique de photographies prises en colonies de vacances (1951-1980)

Hugedet W., Laffage-Cosnier S., Vivier C.

L'éducation physique de la jeunesse s'inscrit au cœur de l'œuvre de Pierre Parlebas (1934-). Connu pour ses nombreuses productions universitaires et son engagement dans la constitution d'une science de l'action motrice (Collinet, 2000 ; During, 1981), son investissement en faveur de l'éducation populaire reste moins documenté. Pourtant entre 1951 et 1980, ce militant des Centres d'entraînement aux méthodes d'éducation active (CEMÉA) passe plus de 1400 journées en compagnie de la jeunesse vanvéenne, en bord de mer ou à la montagne. Créées par la Caisse des écoles de Vanves dans un but d'hygiène préventive (Lee Downs, 2009 : 15), les colonies fonctionnent durant les vacances d'été à Croix-de-Vie en Vendée (1946-1983), et durant les vacances de Noël et de Pâques à La Féclaz en Savoie (1968-1985). Élève normalien puis élève-professeur d'éducation physique, Pierre Parlebas y commence comme simple moniteur (1951-1955), et endosse ensuite des fonctions de directeur adjoint (1956-1968) puis de directeur (1969-1980) en même temps qu'il devient attaché de recherches au sein du laboratoire de l'ENSEP jeunes filles (1965-1973) puis de l'INSEP (1973-1987). Pendant vingt-neuf ans, il vit au rythme d'une alternance entre des temps de travail en établissement supérieur d'éducation physique et des temps de vacances en compagnie des jeunes vanvéens. Les colonies font l'objet de nombreuses photographies de la part du chercheur, qui servent à la fois à renseigner les parents des colons sur les activités dispensées et à illustrer ses productions scientifiques. Quelles activités sont alors rendues visibles par un professeur d'éducation physique qui deviendra progressivement directeur de nombreux séjours de l'œuvre municipale ? De quelles représentations de la jeunesse témoigne l'œil de Pierre Parlebas ?

Basée sur un corpus de 180 photographies issues des archives personnelles de Pierre Parlebas, cette étude iconographique vise à écrire une page oubliée ou « trop souvent laissée en creux » de l'histoire des colonies de vacances, tout en la croisant avec un itinéraire de vie. Si les historiens prêtent attention au corps en vacances (Granger, 2003) ou dans les mouvements de jeunesse (Fuchs, 2004 ; Palluau, 2013), les travaux qui concernent les pratiques corporelles en colonies de vacances demeurent en effet lacunaires (Chovaux, 2004). Les archives municipales de Vanves, des entretiens menés avec la figure biographée et d'anciens moniteurs viennent compléter les sources mobilisées pour questionner la mise en image de l'œuvre municipale et notamment de l'éducation corporelle proposée aux colons. La méthode employée s'appuie sur des outils d'analyse de type sémio-historique (Joly, 2009 ; Gervereau, 1994) et associe un traitement quantitatif (dénomination verbale, regroupement thématique) et qualitatif des données. Véritables temps d'éducation collective et laïque où les jeunes peuvent s'épanouir en dehors du contexte familial et durant des séjours prolongés, les colonies de vacances constituent *a priori* des espaces en marge de l'institution scolaire (Houssaye, 2008). Replacées dans le contexte des centres de vacances régulièrement organisés par la Mairie de Vanves, et dans celui d'une mutation de l'éducation physique au sein du système éducatif, nous montrerons comment les images produites par Pierre Parlebas témoignent de sa volonté de transformer les colonies en un véritable laboratoire pédagogique. Effectivement, les séjours prolongés seraient un moyen d'éprouver les méthodes d'Éducation nouvelle pour lesquelles il milite ardemment à l'école publique. à travers rencontres avec la nature et activités ludiques, le corpus retranscrit finalement une vision militante de la jeunesse, insistant sur des pratiques corporelles qui faciliteraient l'autonomie et l'initiative, la mixité, la découverte ou encore l'esprit d'équipe.

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Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2420: **Children, holidays and sport**

## En voile aussi, il faut bien que jeunesse se passe

Jallat D.

Si la pratique du yachting, notamment en régate, s'affiche depuis le milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle comme une activités sportives sérieuse, réservée à quelques vieux messieurs très argentés, celle de la petite plaisance (sur dériveur, pratiquée le plus souvent en rivière) a longtemps été utilisée comme un moyen d'éducation de la jeunesse appartenant aux milieux de la grande bourgeoisie. Les bateaux jouets offerts aux enfants des bonnes familles pour les étrennes remplissaient, eux aussi, cette fonction. Ainsi, le nautisme a généré un ensemble d'activités servant à acculturer les jeunes générations des classes aisées. Elles se familiarisent avec les valeurs de leur classe sociale d'appartenance se confrontant notamment à l'esprit d'entreprise, au commandement, mais aussi à la vie rude et simple que le milieu marin impose à l'image de l'éducation développée en Angleterre ou à l'École des Roches, à partir de 1899. Elles découvrent et vivent des formes d'entre-soi, y compris dans une version élargie en rencontrant les fils de bonnes familles d'autres pays.

Pour lutter contre ces formes de reproduction et de repli social, P. Grousset, écrivain, homme d'idées, investi dans le développement de l'éducation physique, imagine, vers 1890, de démocratiser la pratique de la voile. Ses propositions d'ouverture des activités nautiques au plus grand nombre s'appuient, elles aussi, sur des finalités éducatives. Selon lui, naviguer « [...] fait des corps robustes et des caractères bien trempés »<sup>1</sup> si utiles à la Nation française. Dès lors, il convient de la diffuser le plus largement possible. Il préconise que les jeunes puissent « [...] partir à l'aventure pour se former sur le tas »<sup>2</sup> et que des expériences nautiques même modestes<sup>3</sup> soient proposées pour la formation des plus jeunes. Grousset préconise la construction de petites embarcations, moins chères, mais surtout utilisables par des adolescents à qui il enjoint de vivre des aventures nautiques en toute autonomie.

Cependant cette volonté de faire pratiquer de la voile aux plus jeunes n'est pas sans conséquence. En 1854, M. Goupil, un jeune homme âgé d'une vingtaine d'années, rapporte d'un de ses voyages à New-York, un petit bateau sans lest, très plat et bas sur l'eau. L'engin bat tous les autres voiliers qui naviguent à cette époque sur la Seine. La domination de l'embarcation déclenche alors les polémiques les plus vives qui vont perdurer tout au long du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les « modernistes » souhaitent renouveler les codes de la plaisance et les règles de construction en s'inspirant du voilier vainqueur. Les « traditionalistes » luttent pour conserver des formes et des manières de naviguer hérités de la grande plaisance et, partant, pour interdire les voiliers trop excentriques. La fougue des jeunes, leur désir de nouveauté s'opposent à la raison et à la modération des plus âgés. Ce type de querelle fait rage dans les colonnes des revues spécialisées. Lucien Môme, l'un des plus illustres théoriciens de la voile à cette époque et partisan des voiliers nouveaux, n'hésite pas à préciser qu'ils « nécessitent une application plus attentive, plus soutenue et par conséquent plus profitable »<sup>4</sup>. Ainsi, il argumente sa position en mobilisant la question d'apprentissage et notamment celui des plus jeunes.

A travers l'analyse des archives de clubs parisiens (ceux de Meulan, Chatou, Argenteuil), mais aussi la lecture de la presse spécialisée (la revue *Le Yacht*), cette communication abordera ce double rapport d'une activité à sa jeunesse : moyen d'apprentissage et de mise en conformité des plus jeunes à une identité et à une culture de classe, d'une part et outil de transformation ou de modernisation d'une pratique, d'autre part.

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- 2Ibid., chp XX.
- 3Aventures nautiques ; paru dans *Le petit français illustré* à partir du 28/03/1891.
- 4L. Môme, *Le Yacht*, janvier 1898.



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Denis Jallat est membre du laboratoire Sport et sciences sociales de Strasbourg. Il s'intéresse aux identités culturelles des élites françaises (XIXe-XXe siècles). Il montre comment des activités "neutres", comme les pratiques sportives, sont utilisées pour poursuivre des enjeux sociaux ou idéologiques. Il s'est, alors, interrogé sur les processus d'acculturation de la jeunesse ; la littérature, les loisirs constituant, selon lui, des outils intéressants pour inculquer des valeurs. Constatant que les Etats-Unis *Vs* le Royaume-Uni offraient des modèles souvent mobilisés par les élites, il étudie les processus de transfert culturel.

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STUMPP, S., JALLAT, D. (dir.). (2013). *Identités sportives et revendications régionales (XIXe-XXe siècles)*. Grenoble : PUG.

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Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2218: **Sport institutions and young people**

## The Issue of International Olympic Committee Members' Age during the Avery Brundage Presidency (1952-1972)

Klima H.

My doctoral thesis joins a research project led by Professor Patrick Clastres dealing with the 300 members which led the International Olympic Committee (IOC) from 1894 to 1972. As part of this project the ambition of my research is found in the prosopography of the 74 members co-opted within the IOC during the presidency of the American Avery Brundage who leads this international sports organization from 1952 until 1972. The prosopographical project will also help to question the decision processes of the IOC in order to understand how a non-governmental international organization takes up position vis-à-vis the nations.

During Brundage's presidency, the IOC was faced to a delicate context of international relations which arose from cleaving events like the Cold War conflicts or the southern countries' protests. Nevertheless, the institution ensured that, from the outside, its position statements still appeared neutral and apolitical. Despite their different social, national and political features, the members of the IOC achieved to adopt common and seemingly neutral positions. Largely neglected and very few studied from a different point of view than their involvement in the institution, the reconstitution of the IOC members' life courses would provide not only the opportunity to figure out their common denominator(s) but also to understand the institutional operation of the IOC.

So far, if they are all identified, the members of the IOC had only the right to very formal biographical notes which are not only far from historical investigation's principles but also go hardly beyond the members path as sport leader. The three volumes of the official history entitled *The International Olympic Committee one hundred years: The Idea, the presidents, the achievements* and also the *Historical Dictionary of the Olympic Movement* (2011) nearly overlook the IOC members' family backgrounds, their education, their professional career or their political commitment. Even if the hundreds of biographical notes published in the *International Society of Olympic Historians* (ISOH) journal since 2009 establish a first anchor for our prosopographical project, they remain significantly incomplete.

As research material, the record holdings at the archives of the IOC are absolutely inescapable: besides the minutes of the annual IOC meetings, the meetings of the executive committee or the specialized commissions, you can find the official bulletins but more importantly is the correspondence between the members and the committee. Even if these thousands of letters represent the research's core, it will be only by crossing the Olympic sources with the international and national press, with the private papers of the most important members (diaries, memories or personal correspondences) and with diplomatic sources that our research will be able to provide the keys for grasping the institutional functioning of the IOC.

As part of this presentation, I would like to focus on one particular feature of the 139 members which were affiliated to the IOC during the Brundage era – their age. Generally speaking, these members were old men whose average age even climbed from 59 to 62 between the moment of Brundage's arrival on the presidency and his resignation in 1972. More specifically, my presentation will query different pattern of the age of IOC members. What does it mean to be a young IOC member? Is it possible to identify different generations? How many members witnessed the First or Second World War, and what could this experience imply in accordance with the institutional organizations and the decision making? I will examine the sports that the IOC members practiced in their youth and question the gap with the most popular types of sport during their affiliation to the IOC. More broadly, what kind of young people have they been? Furthermore, my presentation will also deal with the co-opting age of the members under the Brundage presidency and query if it is possible to observe different pattern of co-opting age according to the IOC members nationality, their social class or their sporting culture. A first concrete outcome of this research, is the fact that the only six members which were co-opted under the age of 30 were all nobles.

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Helena Klima is a second year PhD student within the Sport Science Institute at the University of Lausanne. Her doctoral thesis joins the Swiss National Science Foundation research project 'The members of the International Olympic Committee from 1894 to 1972. Prosopography of a transnational elite' led by Professor Patrick Clastres. Her main research interest resides in a prosopography of the seventy-four members co-opted within the IOC under the presidency of Avery Brundage (1952-1972) in order to figure out their common denominator(s).

Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2212: **Olympic history**

## Honorary Sports Titles in Graeco-Roman Antiquity

Kouril J.

This paper deals with sports titles of ancient Greece and Rome, that were granted to the best *athletai* in *gymnikos agon*, the best Roman gladiators and *agitatores*. The ancient *athletai* with special titles were mostly the greatest "sportsmen" and many of them were also excellent soldiers. The paper focuses on the warriors with the *aristeion* to whom their *aristeia* was awarded, because this title became a precursor for sports titles. *Aristeia* was a Greek term for unusual valiant behaviour in the battle, heroism, valor, and a rare proof of courage. And the term *aristeion* meant heroism and also honour, reward, and a victorious prize for the biggest valour in the battle. Many great Greeks gained that (Spartans like Dieneces, Amomfaretos, Cleonymus, Archidamus, Anticrates or e.g. Sophanes of Athens). The Greek warriors who received the *aristeion* were the best men and this special reward and title had very similar inner and outer marks as sports titles. For this reason it is possible to compare and distinguish the importance of warlike and sports titles because these meant that warriors/*athletai* entered the higher level of society. They were the best role models with great cultural power. With the *aristeion* or victory at Olympia (mainly when they gained a sports title), ancient warriors and *athletai* entered to the significance level (similar as the stratum of the gods and demigods) and gained fame in ancient Greece, nothing was as highly valued as the fame there.

A description of athletic titles such as *triastes*, *paradoxonikes*, *aristos Hellenon* and *periodonikes* follows. Only the best runners gained the title *triastes* (victory in three running competitions during one Games); the best of them and the best runner in ancient and modern Olympics (regarding to the number of Olympics victories) was Leonidas of Rhodes, who gained the *triastes* title four times. The best combative *athletai* received the title *paradoxonikes* or *paradoxos* (unexpected or unbelievable winner, who achieved the victory in *pankration* and *pale/wrestling* or *pankration* and *pygme/boxing* in one day during one Olympics –the paradigm for this was Heracles and his famous twofold victory); officially only seven *athletai* received this title. The fastest runner in the race of soldiers (*hoplitodromos*) was called the "best of the Greeks" (*aristos Hellenon* or with the regard to Achilleus *aristos Achaion*). And only the best *athletai* could gain the title *periodonikes* (repetitious winner –the title awarded to the one who won in all Panhellenic Games during a certain period at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmus and Nemea). The best of *athletai* with this title was Milo of Croton, who gained the title *periodonikes* 6 times in *pale*. In the subsequent development of the title *periodonikes* there arose the title *periodonikes teleios*, a complete or successful winner –the undefeated athlete who won everything; the first such winner was Titus Aelius Aurelius Maron of Seleucia in Cilicia (in *pale* and *pankration*). Later, the title *periodonikes pantonikes* appears as the title for the absolute winner of the whole circuit; *periodonikes pantonikes* was called only Nero, the emperor, after his journey along Greece and his participation in the Great Panhellenic and local games and his "victories" there.

The next part of the paper focuses on the best gladiators and *agitatores* and the titles given to them. Regarding to Roman gladiators these titles were mainly *primus palus*, *summa rudis* and *rudarius*; the gladiators titles were also only for the best of them. The best *agitatores* could be *miliarii* –the charioteers, who gained 1 000 victories. The titles for the Greek *athletai* and Romans will be compared with regard to their significance and outcomes.

The data for the paper were gained mainly from primary sources and relevant professional literature. The methods used were a comparative method, biography method, progressive method, direct and indirect methods. As a way of processing data, results from primary and professional literature, as well as criticism of the sources, interpretation and synthesis were compared. The research questions: What were the ancient warlike and sports titles?, What was the view of sports titles in ancient Greece?, What was the view of sports titles in ancient Rome?, and What was a comparison of the Greek and Roman titles?

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He is a Ph.D. student at the Faculty of Arts (Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic) in the field of Ancient history and a chairman of Ancient Society. He reached another Ph.D. at the Faculty of Sport Studies at the same university in the field of Kinanthropology. Except bachelors and masters studies in the Czech Republic he graduated at Olympia (Greece) in the Master degree programme. His fields of research are ancient sport and ideals, Greek and Macedonian warfare, ancient medicine, Kuratorium for youth education in Bohemia and Moravia.

### Publications

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Parallel session 4, Friday 15h-16h30, Room 2212: **Sport, honours and amateurism**

## Athletic Ambiguities: Youth and Sports in Colonial Algeria (1920s-1950s)

Krais J.

Modern sports were part of the French “civilizing mission” in colonial Algeria. First introduced by state schools, missionaries, and settlers as a presumably nonpolitical activity, various athletic disciplines were soon adopted by indigenous Algerians as well. “Muslim” sports clubs emerged all over the country, starting from the 1910s, and, by the 1930s and 40s, nationalist parties and Islamic reform movements all had their own sports associations which were supposed to channel the energies of the youth towards a higher goal and which propagated a regeneration of Muslim society through physical culture. At the same time, some Muslim Algerians had become major stars in French professional sports, which, in turn, made them symbols of anticolonialism as the most prominent examples of successful and achieving subjects from among the colonized population. In a colonial situation where there were no contemporary martial hero figures available and where traditional authorities associated with scholarship had acquired a rather negative image of bookish traditionalism and passivity, youthfulness and athleticism became major ideals. Professional sportsmen like cyclist Ahmed Kebaïli, boxer Chérif Hamia or other stars from various disciplines (e.g. soccer, track and field, swimming) provided the most important role models. Sports, therefore, are a prime example of what Bhabha called “colonial ambivalence.” On the other hand, anticolonial educators, mainly from the private Arabic school system that was run by the Islamic reformist movement, saw sports for youngsters above all as a tool for character formation. Stressing the moral and educational values of athletic exercise, they firmly opposed professionalism and reconnected rather with an aristocratic-cum-imperialist perspective going back to Pierre de Coubertin’s Olympic ideals and the British games ethic.

So far, sports in colonial Algeria have, together with scouting, usually been studied in the context of associational life linked to the development of the nationalist movement. The important connection of sports clubs to the Islamic reformist movement of Abdelhamid Ben Badis that propagated a sort of “muscular Islam” has not received much treatment until now. Although the colonial ambivalence has been remarked upon - e.g., by Daniel Denis who called sports and scouting “ruses of History” (ruses de l’Histoire) -, the ambiguous usages of sports (colonial vs. nationalist, professional vs. educational) have not been studied in depth. I propose to study them over the period from the 1920s until the 1950s, when the war of independence started, on different levels: not only the organization of the youth in associations and its political significance, but also the contents of sports, be it the professional athlete as a new role model for the young, the implications for gender relations that came with female sports practice, or the ethical values physical exercise was supposed to transmit for a “reinvigorated” religion.

The paper will provide an overview over my ongoing research. Major sources are reports (including imagery) on sports events and on the activities of athletic clubs in the general press as well as in papers published by different associations (both connected to the French settler population and to the indigenous Muslim inhabitants, in French as well as in Arabic). Apart from that, autobiographical accounts, produced by Algerian intellectuals, politicians, and activists from the colonial period until today, have proven useful, especially with regard to the experiences of young people who practiced sports in these associations, but also as far as the perception of sports “heroes” is concerned.

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### **Publications**

“Girl Guides, Athletes, and Educators: Women and the National Body in Late Colonial Algeria.”  
*Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 15, no. 2 (2019): 199-215.

“Mastering the Wheel of Chance: Motor Racing in French Algeria and Italian Libya.”  
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“The Sportive Origin of Revolution: Youth Movements and Generational Conflicts in Late Colonial Algeria.”  
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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2212: **Youth and sport in colonial and post-colonial Africa**

## Mécanismes de pouvoir et pratiques physiques des jeunes scolarisés en France dans les années 1960-1970

Lebossé C., Erard C.

L'éducation physique et le sport apparaissent comme des lieux d'observation privilégiés de la société au sein de laquelle l'individu, et plus particulièrement l'enfant, intériorise un ensemble de normes et de valeurs. En ce sens, l'avènement des sciences humaines et du discours psychologique au tournant des années 1950 (Vigarello, 2001) invitent à penser le corps comme un phénomène qu'il faut étudier, mesurer, guider mais aussi parfois contraindre tant par des modes de contrôles directs que par des régulations issues d'un registre plus suggestif pour inciter les jeunes à agir dans un sens prescrit. Cette étude s'intéresse aux modes de gouvernement et de régulation des jeunes scolarisés en France dans les années 1960 et 1970 dont les pratiques physiques et sportives sont administrées au début de la V<sup>e</sup> République par un Haut-Commissariat à la Jeunesse et aux Sports.

Cependant, les libertés toujours plus grandes offertes à la jeunesse d'être et d'agir dans le cadre des pratiques sportives scolaires méritent d'être interrogées au regard d'une problématique plus large qui s'intéresse aux questions de pouvoir et à l'émergence d'une nouvelle gouvernementalité (Brown, 2018; Dardot & Laval, 2009; Foucault, 2004). La régulation des pratiques physiques dans le cadre scolaire de la « catégorie « jeunesse », érigée en entité sans égards pour son hétérogénéité » (Bantigny, 2008, p. 1) dépasse le seul pouvoir de l'adulte puisque les enseignants d'EPS et les inspecteurs de la Jeunesse et des Sports semblent eux-mêmes régis selon des principes et des mécanismes de pouvoir similaires. Elle pointe ainsi l'intérêt biopolitique à développer la capacité des individus à s'auto-gouverner et à s'adapter (Stiegler, 2019), à l'aune de « l'horizon des stratégies néolibérales de promotion de la « liberté de choisir » (Dardot & Laval, 2009, p. 300).

C'est pourquoi nous proposons de relever les traces de ce nouvel art de gouverner. Le Haut-commissariat (évoluant vers le statut de Secrétariat d'Etat puis de Ministère), considéré comme « précurseur de la déconcentration » (Gaborit, 1992, p. 57), semble à ce titre annonciateur d'une « nouvelle forme de gestion publique basée entre autres sur une culture du résultat » (Chappoz & Pupion, 2012, p. 1) à l'image d'une logique gestionnaire qui semble se disséminer jusque dans les pratiques physiques de la jeunesse française au cours années 1960 et 1970.

Ainsi, pour étudier la mise en œuvre de cette politique du corps à des fins de régulation de la jeunesse et en déceler les mécanismes de pouvoir, cette analyse s'appuie sur un recueil de sources orales confronté à des sources écrites de nature différente. Des entretiens avec deux inspecteurs et une inspectrice de la Jeunesse et des Sports en fonction à cette époque ont été réalisés permettant d'allier la méthode micro-historique à l'étude d'une microphysique du pouvoir (Coq, 2011). Des versements du Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports aux archives nationales ont particulièrement retenu notre attention : AN19770228, AN19770257, 19780403, 19780587, 19790597, 19860412, 19860449. Nous avons analysé également des rapports d'inspection recueillis sur différents sites d'archives (archives nationales : AN19780590 ; archives du rectorat de Créteil et du rectorat d'Orléans : dossiers de carrière d'enseignants ; archives d'autres rectorats sur le territoire français : dossiers de carrière d'inspecteurs et d'inspectrices). Enfin, nous avons procédé à l'étude de textes officiels régissant l'éducation physique ainsi que les articles de la revue *Éducation physique et sport* sur la période 1958 –1980.

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Clémence Lebossé est professeure agrégée d'éducation physique et sportive (EPS) et enseigne à UFR STAPS de l'université d'Orléans-Tours (France). Doctorante en histoire contemporaine et membre du laboratoire POLEN (Pouvoir Lettres et Normes, EA 4710), ses recherches portent sur l'analyse des configurations du pouvoir dans le domaine de l'éducation, de la jeunesse, du sport et de l'EPS dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle.

Clémence Lebossé holds an *Agrégation* in physical education (PE) and teaches in the Department of Sports Science at the University of Orléans-Tours (France). She holds a doctorate in contemporary history and is a member of the POLEN (Power Letters and Norms, EA 4710) research center. Her research focuses on the study of power configurations in the field of education, youth, sport and physical education in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Publications

Lebossé Clémence et Carine Énard. « Quand une femme conquiert la citadelle masculine de l'inspection. Cas de Lilyane Forestier (1964-1991) / A woman's conquest of the male bastion of inspection : The cas of Lilyane Forestier (1964-1991) ». *STAPS* 38 n°1, n° 123 (2019) : 51-65.

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### Publications

Lebossé Clémence et Carine Énard. « Quand une femme conquiert la citadelle masculine de l'inspection. Cas de Lilyane Forestier (1964-1991) / A woman's conquest of the male bastion of inspection : The cas of Lilyane Forestier (1964-1991) ». *STAPS* 38 n°1, n° 123 (2019) : 51-65.

Erard Carine et Szerdahelyi Loïc, « Sportives de haut niveau, mais à quel prix ? Le cas des enseignantes d'éducation physique et sportive en France, de 1940 à 1970 », *Social History*, 52, 105 (2019).

## International University Sports during the Interwar Period: French Influence from Amateurism to External Propaganda

Lesnykh L.

The international student sports movement originated in France in 1919. The founder, chemical engineer Jean Petitjean, was inspired by Coubertin's Olympic ideal to promote pacifism, mutual comprehension, and fair play through sporting encounters. The first World University Games (WUG) were organized in Paris in 1923 and aimed to exemplify true amateurism, where enjoyment mattered more than results. Besides, it was necessary to affirm solidarity between students who were distinguished from the other youth on the basis of their enrolment in university. Student sports may therefore be compared to other alternative sports movements that appeared in the 1920s, more precisely, to those of women and workers. Differently from the Olympics, the WUG were not organized by an independent sports federation. Rather, they represented one of the most important activities of the international student body called Confédération internationale des étudiants (CIE). This student "League of Nations" was originally dominated by France, which reinforced French influence in university sports during the interbellum.

Up to the present, scholars have paid only modest attention to student sports. Besides commemorative literature, the most important basic bibliographical references have been focused on French (Arnaud, 1991; Attali, Saint-Martin, 2013) and Italian (Impiglia, 1997; Russi, 2009) national perspectives, with or without a link to international relations. Another original input has been proposed by Harold Oelrich (2013), who questioned the place of university sports in German-Italian sports cooperation during the interwar period. On the other hand, physical education, sports systems and heroization of the athletes in fascist Italy, without making any distinction between student and the other athletes, were highlighted by a few authors (Gori, 1999; Ponzio, 2009). The series of the International Journal of the History of Sport (IJHS) in 1999 were devoted to the creation of supermen by the totalitarian countries. More recently, the theme of "intellectuals and warriors" was analyzed from the Spanish point of view (Mirabet, Pujadas, 2019). The authors reflected on the ideological essence of university sports politics in Francoist Spain. However, although many researchers have studied totalitarian regimes, too little work has been done on the promotion of the values of French university sports abroad.

This study aims to highlight the double rhetoric of student sports at both a national and an international level. First, the unique character of student sports incorporates a marriage of sports values of both Olympism and university internationalism and pacifism. Second, from the middle of the twenties, in totalitarian countries (particularly in Italy), students became ambassadors of the regime, by reinforcing external propaganda. In 1937, France tried to give a democratic response to this tendency, by organising the 7<sup>th</sup> World University Games to showcase its own model of the "new man" (Benoussan, Dietschy, 2016). The French "intellectual athlete" represented a counter-model to the fascist or Nazi athlete. In fact, according to Petitjean, playing sports "could exceptionally be introduced in order to defend national and university prestige and glory"[1]. His student athletes were also supposed to represent "irreproachable moral qualities and leadership", which were considered essential in governing their countries in the future "independently of the political regime". Altogether, peace, mutual understanding, friendship, fair play, and knightly combat became traditional behavior patterns, adding value in the education process of future leaders.

The study is mainly based on archival materials collected in the national archives of France and Italy and at the International University Sports Federation (FISU). One part of this documentation comes from the CIE, the other from the local organizing committees of the WUG. We also studied different writings of Jean Petitjean and then analyzed press in French and Italian. We paid particular attention to the discourse used in brochures of the WUG organizing committees, manuscripts, correspondence between sports leaders and state actors.

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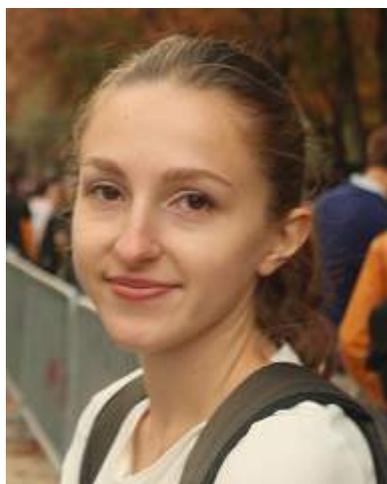
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Lidia Lesnykh earned her "Specialist" degree in Sports and Tourism in Moscow in 2012 and a humanities diploma at French University College in Moscow in 2014. After moving to Paris with a scholarship, she defended a Master's thesis on the history of globalisation (2015) and another Master's thesis on social sciences applied to sports (2016). In September 2017, Lesnykh received the Swiss Government Excellence Scholarship. Her Ph.D. thesis is devoted to the international university sports movement from 1937 to 1973.

Parallel session 7, Saturday 10h45-12h15, Room 2212: **Youth, sport and friendship**

## Entraîner et prendre soin, autour du « maternalisme sportif » : enquête ethnographique au sein de clubs de twirling bâton

Ly S.

Ce propos s'ancre dans un travail ethnographique de trois ans dans le cadre d'une thèse[1]. Dans ce travail, à l'aide d'entretiens collectifs et individuels, d'observations et d'analyses documentaires, l'objectif est de comprendre l'expérience politique que peuvent rencontrer des enfants au sein d'associations non politiques (Smith, 1992). Les terrains choisis sont trois clubs de twirling bâton en Suisse. Proche de la gymnastique et du patinage artistique, le twirling bâton, sport dit « féminin », se différencie des majorettes, par son esprit sportif et de compétition. Il fait partie de Swiss Olympic et est reconnu par Jeunesse et Sport, dans la discipline gymnastique et danse. La fédération suisse de twirling bâton FSTB compte environ 300 athlètes répartis dans 12 clubs, elle fait donc partie des « petites » fédérations (Lamprecht, Bürgi, Gebert & Stamm, 2017). Les clubs sont eux aussi « petits » par leur taille (une vingtaine de membres par club) et par la faible légitimité sociale et sportive que rencontre l'activité, populaires, composés pour l'essentiel de filles âgées de 5 à 20 ans. L'encadrement qui y prévaut est bénévole, à noter que la Suisse connaît une tradition importante en matière de bénévolat au sein d'associations sportives, composé de *proches* : membres de la famille, amis ou voisins et pour la majorité d'entre elles, des femmes. Il s'agit donc d'un milieu d'interconnaissance forte où les gestes de familiarité sont la règle (embrassades, confidences, etc.) et où peuvent émerger des tensions liées à divers conflits interpersonnels (jalousie, médisances, etc.), faits renforcés par les liens de proximité et le nombre restreint de membres.

Nécessitant une exposition publique des participantes et l'aspiration compétitive à une présentation de soi qui sollicite des stéréotypes féminins désuets (justes-au-corps de couleur rose décorés de paillettes, chorégraphies parfois sexualisées, etc.), le twirling bâton donne à voir des sociabilités et des socialités tramées par des rapports de sexe et d'âge : au sein des clubs, transmission de savoir et soin des enfants se conjuguent dans les pratiques des femmes. Issus des données empiriques, pour exemples, les monitrices vont chercher les filles lorsqu'elles se rendent à l'extérieur sans manteau pendant la saison froide, les prennent à part lorsqu'elles fondent en larmes sans raison apparente, leur fournissent un remède lorsqu'elles ne se sentent pas « en forme », les portent (pour les plus jeunes d'entre elles) pour se déplacer.

Ces relations, qui vont au-delà d'une transmission des savoirs verticale, convoquent par conséquent les approches du care (Molinier, 2013 ; Tronto, 2009), pratiques matérielles et affectives dénigrées constituées par l'accompagnement, l'entretien, la bienveillance, etc. Reposant donc sur une socialité faite d'amour et de familiarité, elles semblent de bon rapport pour identifier alors les contours d'un *maternalisme sportif* qui, outre qu'il guide l'action des monitrices, rend valable un tel engagement en même temps qu'il confère une légitimité à une pratique sportive faiblement considérée.

Quelle est la signification de ces relations basées sur le soin apporté par des femmes du point de vue de la socialité et par rapport à l'institution sportive ? De quelle manière les valeurs de proximité et d'épaulement sont-elles défendues voire revendiquées ? Comment s'illustrent-elles dans la vie ordinaire des clubs ? Ou encore comment se conjuguent statuts de mères qui veillent sur des enfants et statuts de monitrices qui entraînent de jeunes sportives ? Telles sont quelques questions qui seront abordées dans cette communication, pour saisir comment se construit un « maternalisme sportif » et comment ce dernier dirige et maintient un sport fragile (rendre la pratique « agréable » dans un milieu « chaleureux »), dont l'horizon de légitimation réside dans une sportivisation menaçante pour les équilibres aujourd'hui repérables.

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[1] Issue d'une recherche de la Division 1 du Fonds national suisse FNS, ma thèse a également été financée dans le cadre de ce projet. Elle bénéficie aujourd'hui du soutien financier de la Haute École spécialisée de Suisse occidentale HES-SO par la bourse de relèvement du domaine Travail social.

MILLER David, *The Official History of the Olympic Games and the IOC: Athens to London 1894-2012*, Edingburgh: Mainstream, 2012.



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Après avoir obtenu un bachelor en travail social et un master en anthropologie médicale et de la santé, je suis doctorante-boursière en fin de thèse à la Haute école de travail social et de la santé à Lausanne (EESP) ainsi qu'à l'université de Neuchâtel. Mes travaux portent sur les cultures populaires ainsi que l'expérience politique des enfants en milieu associatif.

### **Publications**

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Parallel session 7, Saturday 10h45-12h15, Room 2420: **Body, gender and femininity**

## Youth and Sport in Europe 1150-1650: France, Britain, Italy

McClelland J.

There is a long tradition of analyzing the human lifespan into seven distinct, consecutive periods, each of them, in turn, consisting of seven years (or multiples of seven years). The ancient Greeks were the first to enunciate the concept, but in the modern world the most famous exposition of the theme is found in the Shakespearean satirical monologue, “All the World’s a Stage” (*As you like it*, 2.7). Human (i.e., male) life is divided into seven, non-age-specific consecutive—but not immediately contiguous—stages that are defined by activities and physical conditions (infant, schoolboy, lover, soldier, judge, retiree, senile moribund old man). The different roles one plays in life are thus not a function of our autonomous choices, but are imposed on us variously by our physical state, or by the expectations of others, or by our own *amour propre*. The surprising thing, from the point of view of both this paper and this conference is that, despite the importance of sport to the *persona* of the Renaissance gentleman (Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*; Elyot, *The Booke Named the Governour*), Shakespeare makes no mention of a stage of life defined by, or appropriate for, athletic pursuits. But then neither did the Greeks. The short explanation for this omission is that in 4<sup>th</sup>-century B.C.E. Athens and in 16<sup>th</sup>-century C.E. Italy and England sport could not be imagined as a principal autotelic activity for the class of people to whom Plato and Aristotle spoke or that Shakespeare envisaged in the monologue, i.e., the upper levels of the bourgeoisie and the gentry. The long explanation is somewhat more complicated and will form the subject of this paper.

The practice of sport was always conceived as having a purpose. Renaissance schoolboys and students played sports as recreation but also because pedagogues believed that exercise and sport produced desirable psychological and hygienic effects. Beginning in the Middle Ages the soldier practiced physical training and competitive sports as a way of acquiring the strength and weapon-handling skills needed for battles and tournaments. And throughout the whole period the performance of sport was a way for the lover to demonstrate his virility to desirable females.

Doctors prescribed fourteen as the age for beginning physical exercise, but isolated texts reveal that boys might be required to participate in sports activities at a much earlier age. Future gymnasts would begin training at 6 or 7, future knights around age 8. Entering school at age 10 or 11, boys became quickly involved in the often unorganized and violent games that schools tolerated or encouraged for the reasons noted above. In their mid to late teens boys began their military career where, as officers, they would ride and fence; or went on to university where they played a variety of ball games and field sports. At the same time, various sports-related guilds created youth sections that functioned much as do today hockey’s junior leagues, baseball’s minor leagues, and—in the U.S.—university basketball and football leagues: training ground for future top-level participation.

This paper will explore the ways in which pre-pubertal and teen-aged boys living in the early modern period became implicated in sports simultaneously with their other activities; how the sports practiced changed as the boys grew older; and at what ages (and why) the practice of sport became age-inappropriate.

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John McClelland is Professor Emeritus of French Literature and the History of Sport at the University of Toronto and has been an Honorary International Fellow of CESH since 1996. He is the author/co-editor of three books and many articles/book chapters on early modern sport; and in addition has written extensively on French literature in the Renaissance and on the relation of music to poetry.

### Publications

(with Arnd Krüger) *Die Anfänge des modernen Sports in der Renaissance* (London, 1984);  
*Body and Mind: Sport in Europe from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance* (London and New York, 2007);

(with Brian Merrilees) *Sport and Culture in Early Modern Europe/Le sport dans la civilisation de l'Europe pré-moderne* (Toronto, 2009);

"Sport and Scientific Thinking in the Sixteenth Century: Ruling Out Playfulness," in *Ludica, annali di storia e civiltà del gioco*, 19-20 (2016), 132-45;

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Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2212: **Moulding the body**

## The reality of football in Algeria during the period (1938-1945)

Mechta A., Daoudi A., Ferguen A.

### English

This article explains the football placed during the period (1938-1945), which passed on because of the different stages, including forming football clubs only or mixed with Europeans (Hubert, 1995, p110). Muslim clubs suffered from many strain by the French authorities, which sometimes prevented some competitions (Alfred, 1992, p 44).

This has complicated the situation by creating conflicts between clubs and associations and authorities (Cantier, 2002, p72), and therefore may use the historical method researchers after studying and analyzing the collected data and information come to answer questions about the study.

The most important results was that football in Algeria during the period (1938-1945) was characterized by diversity, for recreation and competition, so she aimed to publicize the case of Algerian libertarian outside this shows the cultural diversity, mostly on the area and the Algerian community, as it has been practiced by all Algerian society according to their respective abilities and his environment, but the competitive nature was limited to some teams just, knowing that the French culture impacted positively on practice and contributed to its development and prosperity spread.

Keywords: football, Algerian society, Sports Club, period (1938-1945)

### French

Cet article se focalise sur la place du football durant la période entre 1938-1945. Cette période a connu différentes étapes de formation des clubs où certains joueurs musulmans jouaient dans la même équipe avec les européens (Hubert, 1995, p110). Par contre les clubs musulmans étaient confrontés aux problèmes émanant des autorités françaises en les empêchant de participer à certaines compétitions (Alfred, 1992, p 44). Cette situation a généré bien évidemment des conflits entre les autorités coloniales et les associations sportives (Cantier, 2002, p72).

En abordant le côté positif du sujet par une approche historique, l'analyse des données collectées nous livre des résultats concluants quant aux étapes qu'a connu l'Algérie dans le domaine du sport et en particulier le football. La période entre 1938-1945, le football était caractérisé par une diversité de pratique soit comme sport de loisir récréatif ou de compétitions.

Cette forme de pratique visait donc à faire connaître le libertarien algérien expliquant par ailleurs une diversité culturelle sportive au sein de la communauté Algérienne telle qu'elle a été pratiquée dans son propre environnement physique et culturel.

Par conséquent ; nous dirons que la contribution de la culture française avait impact positif en structurant un football plus développé et attrayant par son cachet compétitif.

Mots-clés: football, société algérienne, clubs de sport, période (1938-1945)

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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2212: **Youth and sport in colonial and post-colonial Africa**

## The Alpine Club's Youth Groups and National Socialist Mountaineering Education in Germany and Austria

Mertz G.

The German Alpine Club (Deutscher Alpenverein, DAV) is the successor of the German and Austrian Alpine Club (Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein, DuOEAV) and today's world largest mountaineering association. It was founded 1862 in Vienna and 1873 incorporated with its German counterpart founded in Munich. Already in the early years the Alpine Club was in its self-perception more than only a mountaineering organization. Besides promoting and encouraging mountaineering and scientific research in the alps it had an ideological mission. It was one of the first mass organizations in Austria and Germany to exclude Jews from membership. The political notion of its activities was a fertile soil for the rise to power of National Socialism. In 1979 Alfred M. Müller suggested an "ideological symbiosis of alpinism and National Socialism". He was the first scholar who critically dealt with the racist ideologies of the Alpine Clubs in Germany and Austria in the first half of the 20th century and addressed the involvement of the Alpine Clubs in the Nazi regime. The German Alpine Club refused to publish Müller's dissertation back then. In the last years further research with growing output on literature has been done on the political history of organized mountaineering in the German speaking areas of Central Europe. Rainer Amstädter's highly influential book of 1996 with its controversial assumption of a racial continuity („völkische Kontinuität“) up to the present age, can be seen as a start impulse for the research field. It encouraged the Alpine Clubs to come to terms with their past. Furthermore the Alpine Clubs of Austria, Germany and South Tyrol opened up their archives and published a collection of profound studies in 2011 as a result of this process.

This study focuses on the youth work of the Alpine Clubs in Germany and Austria which began with the methodical establishment of youth groups soon after World War I in 1919. It is based on public administration and police documents, court files, internal and public papers of the Alpine Club and it uses historical methods and discourse analysis. The study shows how nationalist and anti-Semitic ideology was carried to the youth through mountaineering activities and shows how the Alpine Clubs Youth Groups incorporated into National Socialist institutions. With the consolidation of the Nazi regime in 1936, the Alpine Club Youth was integrated into Hitler Youth (Hitler Jugend) in Germany. In Austria on the other hand, the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) was forbidden since 1933 because of its terror activities. Nevertheless the Nazi party continued agitation illegally and infiltrated legal organizations. The study will show evidence for the Alpine Clubs Youth Groups involvement as major camouflage organizations for the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Mädel). After the annexation of Austria in 1938, the Club remained the only mountaineering organization in Nazi Germany and raised some of the offspring for the German army and SS (Schutzstaffel der NSDAP). In a first step, the paper analyzes the cooperation of the Alpine Clubs Youth with these German military and other state institutions like „Kraft durch Freude“. In a second step, the analysis of Hitler Youth pre-military training courses in the mountains will scrutinize the organizational structure of National Socialist mountaineering education. It examines teaching of mountaineering technique, ideologized educational topics like geology, cartography and meteorology and shows as well the practical obstacles of this education in a wartime environment. After the End of World War II, the Alpine Club was forbidden as a part of the NSDAP and faced political and legal struggles for its reestablishment. It was rebuilt as separate organizations in Germany and Austria. The study suggests that after World War II the anti-Semitic and National Socialist notion continued in some parts of the Clubs who had hard times in coming to terms with their past.

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Parallel session 4, Friday 15h-16h30, Room 2218: **Youth sport organisations**

## Excellence sportive et scolarité au primaire. Les jeunes et leur famille face à une difficile conciliation

Méry S.

Depuis trois décennies apparaissent des champions sportifs à peine sortis de l'adolescence. Pour préserver une hégémonie sportive portée au rang de priorité nationale, les fédérations françaises détectent et entraînent de plus en plus tôt. Or, à l'école primaire, aucun aménagement horaire n'est possible pour atténuer la charge de travail. Les familles cherchent à concilier une pratique sportive intensive avec les normes éducatives. Nous sommes devant un paradoxe : celui de s'entraîner tous les jours et d'un autre côté respecter les droits de l'enfant en poursuivant une scolarité efficace. Les enjeux politiques que représentent le sport, le respect des rythmes physiologiques et l'importance de la réussite scolaire obligent à modifier l'organisation familiale.

Est-il donc possible de concilier la précocité d'une pratique sportive intensive avec l'école ?

Et alors, comment se synchronisent les temps familiaux autour de l'enfant ? Quelles sont les stratégies qu'emploient les familles pour inscrire encore leur petit homme dans le cadre temporel de l'enfance ?

Pour répondre à ces questions, nous choisissons les sept sports suivants : football, tennis, handball, gymnastique, natation, volley et squash. Nous interrogeons des cadres sportifs et de l'éducation nationale afin de connaître les conditions d'entraînements et leur avis sur les aménagements horaires au primaire. Enfin nous contactons les familles pour obtenir sur un an la planification des journées autour de l'enfant.

Nos résultats montrent des familles très impliquées et une organisation autour de l'enfant réglée souvent par la mère au quart d'heure près. C'est en gymnastique pour les filles et au tennis, davantage pour les garçons, que dans certains cas les enfants de 8 ans s'entraînent deux fois par jour et plus de dix heures par semaine. Ceci est croissant avec l'âge. En 2010, environ 70 gymnastes et une dizaine de tennismen étaient en horaires aménagés et seuls dix joueurs profitaient d'un enseignement à distance. Dans les autres sports étudiés ces pratiques n'interviennent que vers 14 ans. Pour conclure nous montrons que la réussite scolaire et sportive oblige à rompre avec le concept ancestral de l'école républicaine. Dans un avenir proche, les horaires aménagés seront officialisés dans des écoles primaires proches de centres sportifs. L'école devra s'ouvrir davantage à l'associatif. Les après-midi seront en partie réservés à la pratique d'une activité sportive ou culturelle en synergie avec l'éducation du matin. Les journées seront moins chargées sur une semaine de cinq jours, avec des vacances mieux réparties. Cette perspective est possible à la condition d'une conciliation entre l'école primaire et le monde sportif.

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#### **UN FILET ET DES SPORTS**

Approches sociologique, historique, prospective, comportementaliste

Badminton - Paume - Tennis - Tennis de table - Volley

Stéphane Méry

Logiques sociales

**HISTOIRE SOCIOLOGIE SPORT**

ISBN : 978-2-296-04632-0 • janvier 2008 • 432 pages

#### **EXCELLENCE SPORTIVE ET SCOLARITÉ**

De nouveaux enjeux pour l'école primaire

Stéphane Méry

Logiques sociales

**EDUCATION SOCIOLOGIE SPORT**

ISBN : 978-2-296-56841-9 • mars 2012 • 288 pages

Parallel session 6, Saturday 9h-10h30, Room 2218: **Physical education, teachers and pupils (II)**

## A matter of Europeanisation? German Sports Youth Organisations and their Interactions in Europe

Mittag J.

The motto was “BeUnited”. As part of the “Ruhr Games”, Sportjugend NRW invited around 600 participants aged between 14 and 21 to an intercultural exchange at the Sportpark Duisburg in June 2019. The guests from a total of 17 nations – from Spain to Romania – did not just practice sports together, but they also experienced similarities and differences between various cultures.

This most recent example highlights the impact of sport for intercultural exchange and learning. But how did the emergence of such community-building events and structures come about? Who are the promoters? And what achievements and limitations are linked with these activities?

In the German sport system, the regional sport organisations (Landessportbünde) play a key role as umbrella organisations for sport clubs and associations oriented towards the common good at regional level. The formation of youth committees was already decided in the founding phase of the 1940s. The establishment of so-called youth wardens was accompanied by processes of institutionalisation which in the long term led to an autonomous youth organisation in sport.

As a consequence of the German Youth Welfare Act in 1968, the principle of the “independence of sports youth” was first officially taken into account in a new statute on youth sports. Up to this day, it is a condition for the sports youth to be able to receive funds for free youth welfare and grants them co-determination in the administration and budget management vis-à-vis the LSB NRW.

The proposed contribution initially highlights the origins and activities of German youth sports organisations at regional level. The paper thus devotes special attention to a topic that has so far received little attention by academics: Neither regional sport nor youth sport policy have been subjected to a closer analysis so far. Against this backdrop, the question is to be asked about programmatic goals and guiding principles, about sport-related activities and about the autonomy that organised sports youth have achieved.

Building on this cornerstone, special attention will be paid to the interaction processes with other sports youth organisations in the national and especially in the European and international area. Last but not least, special attention is paid to international youth encounters such as the one mentioned at the beginning. The Sportjugend NRW organised its first Olympic camp for the 1960 Summer Olympics in Rome.

This approach is linked to the question what contribution youth sport in general and its organisations in particular make to the development of a transnational European society. The forms of partnership between sports organisations, the countries or regions involved, the types of sport involved, the duration of the partnership, the degree of intensity, but also the end or failure of partnerships in the youth sports sector will be examined more closely.

The field of sports-related youth exchange has so far largely remained unresolved. Even handbooks on youth sports (Green/Smith 2017) do not devote specific attention to youth sports encounters. Accordingly, to a certain extent, this study will be based on sources available at German Sport University Cologne and the Landesarchiv NRW, but also on materials published by the Landessportbund NRW (Hauk 1990; 1992). Additional literature and information on specific transnational forms of cooperation will, however, be collected specifically for this contribution. In addition to the recourse to ego-documents, eye-witness discussions are also planned.

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Parallel session 4, Friday 15h-16h30, Room 2218: **Youth sport organisations**

## Un quotidien sportif français prescripteur de la jeunesse : L'Equipe (1946-1968)

Montéréal G.

Les périodiques publiés pendant l'Occupation allemande en France sont interdits par l'ordonnance du 30 septembre 1944. Parmi ceux-ci se trouvent *L'Auto*, quotidien sportif créé le 16 octobre 1900. La pénurie de papier retarde la parution de nouvelles feuilles et sélectionne les priorités. Le sport, considéré comme mineur, n'obtient ce précieux matériau qu'en 1946. Trois concurrents émergent : *Sports*, financé par le Parti communiste, le 23 février, *Elans* et *L'Equipe*, le 28 février. Les difficultés économiques de la population (rationnement...) limitent le potentiel de lecteurs. Le 18 juin 1946, *Elans* fusionne avec *L'Equipe*, pourtant conçu et dirigé par d'anciens propriétaires de *L'Auto*. S'ouvre une féroce concurrence, conclue par la défaite de *Sports* le 25 mars 1947.

Les professions de foi de chacun exposent leurs choix éditoriaux. *L'Equipe* valorise le sport-spectacle professionnalisé (boxe, cyclisme, football) tandis que son adversaire, sans le négliger, défend davantage le sport amateur et les sportifs (« les 800 000 pratiquants peu fortunés »). Ce clivage s'accroît à propos de la jeunesse, présentée comme « une génération vaillante (...) dans l'amour de la patrie » et « l'esprit de sacrifice » (« *L'Equipe* ») réitérant les principes d'obéissance de la France de Vichy et de la culture chrétienne. Son concurrent envisage le sport selon les principes coubertiniens de régénérescence nationale pour « viriliser » une jeunesse mue par « l'amour du sport et (...) le culte de la liberté », fondement d'un sport émancipateur et hygiéniste (Gilles Montéréal, 2014). Même si la majorité est fixée à 21 ans jusqu'en 1974, nous concentrerons notre étude sur les catégories d'âges scolaires et non universitaires, des minimes aux juniors. Dans une démarche paternaliste, le quotidien sportif affine ses valeurs, motivées par une imposition des normes sociales aux jeunes dans le respect de la hiérarchie (capitaine, arbitre, dirigeants) et des adversaires. Prescripteur convaincu, il soutient le modèle anglais d'éducation, si cher à Jacques Goddet, co-fondateur de *L'Equipe*, car il place le sport parmi les priorités. Ce qui le pousse à ferrailer contre les institutions françaises, coupables de trop négliger cette pratique indispensable pour la bonne santé des jeunes. Le journal apprécie donc toutes les tentatives d'intégration du sport à l'école, de l'expérience de Vanves (Sébastien Laffage-Cosnier, 2015) à l'instauration d'un mi-temps pédagogique (Michaël Attali, Jean Saint-Martin, 2007).

*L'Equipe* s'implique dans le sport de masse chez les jeunes en lançant des épreuves et en distinguant les lauréats par des médailles. Les meilleurs compétiteurs intègrent l'élite de leurs disciplines et bénéficient d'articles individualisés qui louent ou s'inquiètent de leur précocité, sujet à des débats récurrents.

Les jeunes sont également perçus comme des lecteurs et des clients potentiels. L'investissement dans les organisations est une démarche marketing propice à faire connaître la marque auprès de toutes les générations. La direction pousse cette logique jusqu'à créer un hebdomadaire *L'Equipe juniors* en 1951. Cependant, malgré des efforts de présentation, cette initiative ne dure pas une année : le public ciblé est déjà lecteur du journal des adultes et la tentative échoue à trouver un autre lectorat. Une nouvelle stratégie étoffe une rubrique dans *L'Equipe*, intitulée « Sport scolaire » puis, à partir de 1956, plusieurs colonnes sont dévolues aux jeunes, ce qui lui permet, en juillet 1957, de s'autoproclamer « quotidien de la jeunesse et de la vie ».

Reste à savoir si les bouleversements de la jeunesse dans les années 1960, tant pour son évolution physique que pour ses aspirations profondes (Anne-Marie Sohn, 2012) trouvent écho dans le quotidien sportif. L'intégration du vocabulaire (yéyé, « blousons noirs »...) est indéniable mais cette population n'est-elle pas observée avec crainte face à des violences surmédiatisées. Dans une perspective moralisatrice, le sport ne serait-il pas le remède à ces déviances ?

Pour y répondre, nous nous appuyerons sur un large corpus, puisé dans la collection de *L'Equipe*, et enrichi par plus de cinquante entretiens avec des anciens dirigeants et journalistes, dans le cadre d'un doctorat en Histoire contemporaine.



**MONTÉRÉMAL Gilles**  
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Agrégé et doctorant en histoire contemporaine à l'université de Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, j'ai enseigné en histoire du sport en STAPS à Grenoble et à Chambéry, et en Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication à Lyon. Mes recherches portent sur le traitement du sport dans les médias (représentations, stéréotypes genrés...), sur les entreprises de presse – *L'Equipe* en particulier pour ma thèse (finances, idéologie, stratégies) - et sur les médiateurs.

### Publications

« Le quotidien *Sports* (1946-1948) : une antithèse de *L'Equipe* ? », in ATTALI Michaël et COMBEAU-MARI Evelyne (dir.), *Le Sport dans les Presses sportives communistes*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, janvier 2014.

« *L'Equipe* entre mythe et réalité (1944-1948) » [1<sup>er</sup> prix Pierre Arnaud du meilleur article de doctorant en 2008] in ATTALI, Michaël (dir.), *Sports et médias, 19<sup>ème</sup>-21<sup>ème</sup> siècles*, Paris, A. Colin, 2010. « De l'espace sportif au journal : les choix iconographiques de *L'Equipe* », in CLASTRES, Patrick, et DIETSCHY, Paul (dir.), *Images de sport. De l'archive à l'histoire*, Paris, Nouveau Monde éditions, 2010.

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« *L'Equipe* : médiateur et producteur de spectacle sportif, 1946-1967 », in *Temps des Médias*, n°9, hiver 2007/2008.

Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2218: **Readings, young people and sport**

## The Austro-American Sports Physician Hans Kraus and the Establishment of the American President's Council on Youth Fitness in 1956

Müllner R.

This study is a part of a larger project which examines the origins of what I call improvement or enhancement cultures in and with the help of sports after 1945. In the center of that broader research stands the aim to deeper understand the establishment of modern and postmodern fitness discourses, practices and cultures. European fitness initiatives of the 1970s were very much influenced by US-American models which were established around 15 years earlier. One of the key figures in the implementation of fitness initiatives with broad impact was the Austrian physician and rock climber Hans Kraus. Hans Kraus was born in Trieste in 1905 and obtained a doctorate in medicine from the University of Vienna in 1929. Subsequently he trained as an orthopedic surgeon at the Vienna General Hospital. After the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany in 1938, he flew to the United States and worked at the prestigious Columbia Presbyterian Hospital (now the New York Presbyterian Hospital).

His field of research was the performance and fitness of the American youth. At the beginning of the 1950s, Kraus noted enormous deficits compared to the European youth. This attracted much public attention and led to significant public health interventions such as the founding of the "President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports" in the year 1956. This council should encourage the American youth to engage in physical activity. In addition, Kraus gained great prominence as a doctor of John F. Kennedy. On the occasion of his death in 1996, the New York Times described him as the "originator of sports medicine in U.S.". His name, life story and work are largely unknown in Austrian sports science. This paper has two goals: First, there is an excerpt of the migrant biography of Hans Kraus based on the work of Susan Schwartz (2005). Second, approaches for the classification of the scientific work of Kraus in the cultural history of fitness and (self-) optimization will be presented. The theoretical background to this is Foucault's concept of biopolitics. The knowledge gained by physicians such as Kraus is interpreted as knowledge of power, which has a disciplining and regulating effect on the body and the population.

Some of the leading questions are:

What do we know about the biography of Hans Kraus? About his descent, his education, flight and exile, the importance of sports in his life and scientific work?

What kind of knowledge did he bring from Austria to the USA?

What role did he play in the initiation of the modern American fitness movement?

What consequences had the US-fitness movement for the establishment of further similar initiatives?

Can Hans Kraus be considered as „originator of sports medicine“ in USA?

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Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2218: **Youth, sport and the making of the citizen**

## **From pirogues to kayaks? Reinventing “modern sports” in Ivory Coast (1964-1972)**

Nicolas C.

In 1966, the Ivoirian Minister of Sports, Kouadio M’Bahia Blé, pressed the main political leaders of his country to support his new project: transforming pirogue from “traditional jousting into a modern sporting formula”.[1] This very year, quite exceptional pirogue races were to be organized, on the Atlantic seashore of Côte d’Ivoire, with pomp and circumstances. They served as the kayak qualifying series for the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games.

This paper argues that the story of “kayakization” of pirogue races on the Ivorian Atlantic seashore is that of “extraversion” (Bayart, 2006) on one hand and nationalist discourses over “modernization” on the other hand.

In order to unfold the history of Ivoirian kayak, this paper is based on multisited (Zimmerman, 2013) and mixed data. Archives were collected at the International Olympic Committee (Lausanne, Switzerland), at the French National Archives (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France) and at the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Côte d’Ivoire (Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire). Moreover, in order to explore the public discourses surrounding pirogue races / kayak, I consulted the Ivoirian national newspaper (*Fraternité-Matin*) at Nanterre University archives (Nanterre, France). Finally, I interviewed a dozen retired athletes, trainers and civil servants, in Côte d’Ivoire between 2016-2017.

These sources allow us to understand the role played by France within the implementation of kayak. Indeed, alongside the Minister’s initiative, the Minister requested the help of French experts, as part of the framing of sport development by “French cooperation”. The former colonizer was indeed both a model and provider of experts for the young country (Bamba, 2016) after independence.

Beyond this “cooperation” model, the process of kayakization leads us to interrogate discourses over “modernity” during the late 1960s and the early 1970s.

The participation in a minor discipline of international sports (far from the flare of African male football (Alegi, 2010)) was to be the loci of an intense face-off between various ideas of what being “modern” means (Cooper, 2005), when it came to sporting practice in Western Africa. When lining up for the 1968 then 1972 Olympic games, the young fishermen selected during the traditional jousting would face young Ivoirian civil servants who graduated in France. How did both parties question the legitimacy of sporting equipment, training practices and social behaviors in a discussion framed by developmentalist and nationalist ideologies?

Finally, this research question, framed by fieldwork, archives and African historiography, calls for larger epistemological enquiries, led by the transdisciplinary nature of this research. Sport history was framed from the 1970s by the idea of “modernization”, interrogating the nature of “modern” sports (Guttman, 1978; Booth, 2005). How do we reach out to challenging recent works, notably issued by Historians of Africa (such as Bamba and Cooper), to shift away from the modernization paradigm?

### Sources:

- Archives from the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Côte d’Ivoire (Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire);
- Archives from the Ivoirian Olympic Committee from the International Olympic Committee Archives (Lausanne, Switzerland);
- Archive from the French National Archives (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France)
- *Fraternité-Matin*
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- Interviews: a dozen of retired athletes, trainers and civil servants, in Côte d’Ivoire between 2016-2017.

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[1] Letter from M'Bahia Blé to the President of the Republic, February 14, 1966. Ministry of Youth and Sports of Côte d'Ivoire Archives.



**NICOLAS Claire**  
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Claire Nicolas finit une thèse de doctorat en cotutelle entre l'université de Lausanne et Science Po Paris. Elle travaille sur l'histoire du sport au Ghana et en Côte d'Ivoire : elle étudie notamment la transformation d'une pratique élitaire coloniale en un loisir de masse et la place des sports dans la fabrique des rapports sociaux de « sexe » et de « race ». Pour ses nouveaux projets, elle s'intéresse à la mobilité des sportifs ouest-africains dans le monde pendant la Guerre froide.

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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2212: **Youth and sport in colonial and post-colonial Africa**

## De la Résistance intérieure à l'école de voile des Glénans : l'influence de l'action d'Hélène et Philippe Viannay en faveur de l'éducation des jeunes (1947-1982)

Philippe M.

Hélène et Philippe Viannay sont deux résistants français (Viannay, 1988). Nés en 1917, ils sont jeunes au début de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. Issus de milieux sociaux différents, ils se rencontrent durant la guerre autour des actes de résistance qu'ils effectuent dans les sous-sols de l'université française de La Sorbonne (Feletin, 2004). En 1945, Philippe Viannay fait découvrir à sa femme les joies de la navigation lorsque, dans le Golfe de Gascogne, les époux découvrent pour la première fois l'archipel des Glénans (Centre nautique des Glénans, 1978). Face à la beauté des paysages rencontrés, ils décident de partager cela avec leurs camarades de la "génération de la résistance" (Wieviorka, 1989) et fondent, en 1947, une association du nom du Centre de Formation International pour les Jeunes. Cette association a pour but de permettre à la jeunesse européenne de se découvrir et de développer une amitié grâce à des moyens sportifs et culturels autour de la mer. L'association est alors organisée à leur image : autour des valeurs de la résistance. Très vite, dès 1950, une école de voile est créée et affiliée à ce club : le Centre Nautique des Glénans. L'association grandit et se développe rapidement notamment grâce aux divers contacts des Viannay. La voile, qui n'était au début qu'un moyen pour les jeunes de quitter le continent pour les îles, devient rapidement la marque de fabrique des Glénans et son activité principale. Cette jeunesse, de plus en plus nombreuse, donne de plus en plus d'importance à son temps de loisir et y accorde de plus en plus de moyens (Sirinelli, 2003). Les Glénans évoluent alors en même temps que la jeunesse tout en gardant ses principes premiers qui constituent leur identité. Reconnus par les spécialistes de la voile comme ceux qui ont œuvré pour la démocratisation de la voile, les Glénans travaillent pour enseigner aux jeunes qui fréquentent ses stages des valeurs diverses tout en pratiquant la voile. Au titre de ses actes de résistance mais aussi de son travail avec les Glénans, Philippe Viannay est souvent appelé comme expert par les instances gouvernementales spécialisées dans les questions de jeunesse, de sport et d'environnement. Hélène Viannay, toujours un peu en retrait par rapport à son mari, est déléguée générale des Glénans de 1954 à 1979. En 1982, Philippe Viannay quitte les Glénans et décèdera quelques années plus tard. Hélène Viannay gardera, jusqu'à sa mort en 2006, un regard sur les Glénans et son fonctionnement pour qu'elle ne dérive pas des principes qui sont ceux de sa création.

Dans le cadre de cette communication, il s'agira de s'intéresser à la façon dont les époux Viannay ont façonné à leur image une école de la vie pour les jeunes autour des valeurs de la résistance, de la découverte de la mer et la pratique de la voile. Pour mener à bien cette réflexion, nous étudierons les archives des Glénans pour nous intéresser à son développement, ses valeurs et ses principes tout en gardant un œil sur l'action même de ses créateurs. Nous intéresserons aussi aux archives du ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports autour du Haut-Comité à la Jeunesse et aux Sports mais aussi sur le Conservatoire du littoral et les archives du Fond Philippe et Hélène Viannay.



**PHILIPPE Marion**

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Je suis doctorante en STAPS à l'Université de Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée. Je mène une thèse en histoire, sous la direction de Pierre-Olaf Schut, sur la coopération du mouvement associatif et des pouvoirs publics autour du développement du tourisme sportif populaire pour les jeunes depuis 1944. Je m'intéresse à plusieurs associations proposant des séjours sportifs de plein-air dont l'Union des Centres de Plein-Air, le Club Alpin Français et les Glénans.

### Publications

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Schut, P.-O., & Philippe, M. (à paraître en 2020). Usages des bases de plein air et de loisirs : le partage entre les résidents et les touristes. *Téoros*.

## The birth of sporting space in the Netherlands around 1900: From the 'order of the pupil' to the order of the teacher

Piercey N.

While academic research, particularly that of Eichberg, Vertinsky and Bale, has addressed the importance of the spatial and the corporeal in the history of movement cultures, this has, seemingly, not provided an impetus for researchers of *fin-de-siècle* Dutch cultural history. To work towards addressing this gap, this paper will combine theoretical approaches to space, power and the body with Dutch-focused historical research, outlining the importance of sporting spaces to a new cultural formation around 1900. I will provide some tentative answers to the central question of how changes in sporting space represented a new form of movement culture in the Netherlands and the new social meaning it constructed.

Stokvis has stated that the emergence of sporting culture in the Netherlands, in the late nineteenth century, can be categorised as belonging to the 'order of the pupil' as opposed to the order of the teacher; a cultural space where a new youthful activity emerged. This space was in opposition to the strictures of educational formalities, adults and control. This paper will explore the role of spaces in Dutch sport and suggest that while such youth impulses were important initially, the development of formal sporting space quickly subsumed such freedom within a realm of control, order and discipline, as part of the emergence of a new culture.

The emergence of sport was part of the wider development of movement cultures around 1900, which was linked to changing everyday practices in the Netherlands and influences from a host of different locations and times. While sport can be categorised as a youthful enterprise, organised and enjoyed by the young, it soon became a central part of a new culture intrinsically linked to constructing new bodies receptive to, and reproduced by, two new technologies acting on and within them; those of discipline and biopower. Space was fundamental to these technological impulses and the change in spaces of movement cultures from waters, fields and streets, to stadia, arenas and courses marked the emergence of a new culture of control, consumerism and consumption. It also marked the triumph of the order of the teacher over that of the pupil. The new sporting space brought together concepts of order, discipline, health and entertainment and became a space to create a new ideal body –the sporting body. In a culture permeated by concepts of observation, measurement and consumption, the sporting space became at once a hospital, cinema, park, school and church and the sporting body was constructed to understand their discourses and plurality of activities; sport was no longer only a youthful activity but part of a complex cultural discourse reinforcing distinctly adult configurations of power. The paper will outline how spatial changes reproduced new disciplinary and biopolitical impulses and the order of the teacher.

Using theoretical influences from Foucault, Soja, Van der Woud, Bale and Eichberg, this paper will outline how, in the move from retrofitted spaces in parks and rivers to purpose-built urban environments, the new sporting spaces of the Netherlands were an intrinsic part of a new culture around 1900. This cultural change is part of what Van der Woud has called a 'cultural revolution' in which a 'New Man' was constructed. As Dutch sporting polemicist Muller Massis said in 1896, '[t]he end of the nineteenth century belongs to sport'; the new century would see its powers expand across the spaces and the bodies of young and old like never before.

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Nick is a Post-Doctoral Research Associate at Manchester Metropolitan. Nick serves on the Executive Board for the Association of Low Countries Studies and is a Trustee of the British Society of Sports History. He gained his PhD from UCL in Dutch Cultural History and his first monograph *Four Histories about Early Dutch Football, 1910-1920: Constructing Discourses* is available in Open Access from UCL Press. His research interests include historiography, cultural history and investigations into the role of spaces and places in modern culture.

## Publications

### Book

PIERCEY, N., *Four Histories about early Dutch football, 1910-1920: Constructing Discourses* (London: UCL Press, 2016)

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### Articles

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PIERCEY, N., AND PORTER, D., 'Transnational connectivity, cultural interaction and selective adaptation: English Corinthians and amateur football in the Netherlands, c.1906-39', *Sport in History*, (Online April 2017, Print May 2017)

PIERCEY, N., 'Football Grounds, Memory and Cultural History in Amsterdam and Rotterdam from 1910 to 1920: The Football Stadium and Ground as a Historical Resource', in Herzog, M.,(Ed.), *Memorialkultur im Fußballsport: Medien, Rituale und Praktiken des Erinnerns, Gedenkens und Vergessens.*, Irseer Dialoge. Kultur und Wissenschaft Interdisziplinär, Band 17, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013) pp. 287-309.

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Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2420: **Physical education, teachers and pupils (I)**

## The Reverend K.R.G. Hunt (1884-1949): Muscular Christian, International Footballer, Author, Teacher and Coach

Porter D.

The Reverend Kenneth (K.R.G. Hunt) embodied what many Victorians referred to as 'Muscular Christianity'. He was a celebrated English footballer in the early years of the 20th century, playing at the highest level for Oxford University, the Corinthians, Wolverhampton Wanderers and England. But Hunt was also an ordained Anglican priest who spent his entire working life at Highgate School, London, where he taught 'games' and coached boys' football from 1909 until his retirement in 1945. He also wrote extensively in magazines aimed at schoolboy readers, such as the 'Boys Own Paper' and authored popular books advising boys on how to play the game, notably 'Football: How to Succeed' (1932); he also advised the English Football Association when it began to produce coaching films for young players in the 1930s.

This paper will draw on Hunt's publications and on evidence from Highgate School's archives, including testimony of boys he taught and coached, to assess his influence on young footballers and on the development of the game more generally. For Hunt, football had a serious moral purpose: it encouraged boys and young men to engage in healthy physical activity and taught them to behave well. A close reading of his career as a teacher, a coach and a writer also indicates that Hunt was driven by the idea that teaching middle-class boys, like those at Highgate School, to excel at football ('the People's Game') would help to ameliorate the class conflict prevalent in Britain during the interwar period.



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Dilwyn Porter is Emeritus Professor of Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University, Leicester and also Visiting Professor in Modern History at Newman University, Birmingham. He is also a Fellow of the British Society of Sports History. Now retired from full-time teaching, he writes mainly about amateurism, football at 'grass roots' level, and about sport and national identity. He has recently been invited by Routledge to co-edit its projected 'Soccer Histories' series of monographs.

### Publications

'Researching the history of grassroots football in England' *Moving the Social*, 61, (2019), 12-32

'Opportunistic, parasitic, strategic, symbiotic: Entrepreneurship and the business of sport', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 35, 7-8, (2019), 641-58

*English Gentlemen and World Soccer: Amateurism, Corinthians and the Global Game* (Routledge, London, 2018), with Chris Bolsmann

'Sport and national identity' in Robert Edelman and Wayne Wilson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Sports History*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2017), 477-89

Transnational connectivity, cultural interaction and selective adaptation: English Corinthians and amateur football in the Netherlands, c. 1906-39', in *Sport in History*, 37, 2, (2017), 124-145, with Nicholas Piercey

## Polish YMCA and its Investment Activity in Interwar Period

Potrzuski K.

The Anglo –Saxon idea of muscular Christianity and the history of Young Men's Christian Association was already a topic of significant research (Putney 2003). However, some aspects of the history of regional YMCA's, especially in Eastern Europe, require further studies. The aim of this article is to stress the investment activity of Polish YMCA in the interwar period in relation to the its general organisation success in Poland between 1919 –1939.

YMCA did not appear on Polish soil until 1919. The organisation was primarily responsible for providing humanitarian aid to the victims of the Great War, as well as supporting civilians during the Polish-Bolshevik war. In 1921, recognizing that her task was accomplished, the American YMCA left Poland. In its place in 1923, the Polish YMCA [Związek Młodzieży Chrześcijańskiej "Polska YMCA"] was created. It clearly distanced itself from World or European Alliance of YMCA's due to difficult relations with Catholic Church (Zebrowski (1991, 96 –110).

Polish YMCA developed mainly in country's key urban centers: Warsaw, Cracow, Lodz and Gdynia. Developing comprehensive educational, sporting and entertainment programme, organisation succeeded in bringing together thousands of young boys. The impact of YMCA on the development of physical culture among Polish children was researched by Kalamacka (2001). According to the existing comparative studies, Polish YMCA was more attractive to the youngsters than YMCA in neighbouring Czechoslovakia even despite number of similarities in their activity (Tlusty, 2017). One of the reasons for such a success was the construction of three representational buildings. Educational and sporting activities of Lodz (Jaroszewski, Luczak 2014) and Gdynia (Kardas 2010) divisions were examined. However, the investment initiatives of Polish YMCA and their impact on its success weren't the topic of significant studies yet.

The interwar files of Polish YMCA's Central Office have not survived. The documentation of some local divisions – like the Warsaw one –has also been almost completely destroyed or dispersed. Nevertheless, number of documentary sources on the organization's investment activities in Cracow, Gdynia, and especially Lodz, can be found in the municipal archives. These materials are crucial to reconstruct the process of establishing YMCA's representational buildings. Press and memoirs were used as the auxiliary sources to this topic.

The first Polish YMCA's representational facility was opened in 1926 in Cracow. The Warsaw's building was opened in 1932 and the Lodz facility was completed in 1937. They were constructed by organisation's own funds, financial help from the World YMCA Alliance, budget subsidies and donations of private benefactors. All of them were multifunctional facilities with living rooms, classrooms, restaurants, indoor swimming pool, gyms and team games pitches. YMCA's buildings raised the quality of the city's sports infrastructure and immediately stand among the most modern sports spaces in the cities, sometimes serving as the only place that enabled swimming, volleyball and basketball training in the winter. YMCA buildings were used to conduct classes for children as well as practice and events of competitive sport.

An important part of the investment activity of the Polish YMCA was the creation of permanent equipment of summer camps for male children and youths. Before 1939, Polish YMCA erected 3 permanent camps –the "Beskid", launched in 1925, the "Pilica" that developed in 1932 and the "Wiezyca" established in 1937. Camps included wooden huts for boys, auxiliary facilities such as clinic, chapel or canteen, pitches, swimming pools and watersport marinas. Its programme included lectures, wandering, handworks, sport and leisure activities. Camps were considered as attractive way of spending holidays for the youngsters, although they were relatively expensive.

The Second Polish Republic was a country that was relatively modestly equipped with sporting infrastructure. Polish YMCA's unique role in creation of some innovative devices of high quality (e.g. indoor swimming pools) as well as introduction of comprehensive, diverse sports and educational program for youngsters realised in those facilities. It should be emphasized that for this reason YMCA played a special role in interwar Poland.

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## POTRZUSKI Kamil

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Kamil Potrzuski was born in 1987 in Warsaw. He received his Ph. D at the University of Warsaw, Faculty of History in 2018 – dissertation title "Sporting infrastructure in interwar Warsaw in compare to other large cities of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic of Poland" (in Polish). Currently he works as an assistant in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Arts, Józef Piłsudski University of Physical Education in Warsaw.

### Publications

Kamil Potrzuski (2018), *Infrastruktura sportowa dużych miast II Rzeczypospolitej - zarys analizy porównawczej* [Sporting facilities in the 2nd Republic of Poland largest urban areas - a comparative analysis **in**: *Z najnowszych dziejów kultury fizycznej i turystyki w Polsce i w Europie (w okresie XIX-XX wieku)* [Contributions to the modern history of Polish and European sport and tourism – XIX th and XXth century], eds. Eligiusz Małolepszy, Jerzy Kosiewicz, Natalia Organista, Częstochowa, Wydawnictwo

Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego im. Jana Długosza, p. 41-60, online:

<http://dlibra.bg.ajd.czesz.pl:8080/dlibra/publication/5522?tab=1>, DOI: [10.16926/zndkftpe2018.03](https://doi.org/10.16926/zndkftpe2018.03)

Kamil Potrzuski (2016), *Ewolucja architektury stadionu. Analiza problemu na przykładzie reprezentacyjnych stadionów Warszawy* [The evolution of a stadium's architecture. An analysis based on representational Warsaw stadiums], **in**: *Modern futbol a świat kibiców. Interdyscyplinarne studia nad kulturą futbolu* [Modern football and the spectators world. Interdisciplinary research on a football's culture], ed. Andrzej Ostrowski, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej, p. 268-285.

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Kamil Potrzuski, (2015), *Zagospodarowanie turystyczne Warszawy u schyłku okresu międzywojennego* [Tourism management of Warsaw in the late thirties of XX century] **in**: *Sport i turystyka w zwierciadle wartości społecznych* [Social values of sport and tourism], eds. Maria Zowisło, Jerzy Kosiewicz, Kraków, AWF, p. 298-316.

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Parallel session 6, Saturday 9h-10h30, Room 2420: **The State, the Church and youth sport**

## X comme... Boxe : le corps « combattant » dans les manuels d'apprentissage de la lecture du français destinés à la jeunesse, des lois Ferry aux années 1960

Profillet L., Laffage-Cosnier S., Vivier C.

### French

Pour nombre d'adultes, la rencontre fortuite avec la « méthode de lecture » de leur enfance convoque inmanquablement quantité de souvenirs. Ces manuels scolaires, à la faveur desquels ils ont appris à lire dans leur jeunesse, suscitent une forme de nostalgie. Ces ouvrages visent un public particulier : celui des jeunes élèves qui s'exercent aux rudiments de la lecture. Or, l'entrée dans le monde de l'écrit ne se dispense pas de l'image. En effet, préludes à la lecture courante, ces publications associent fréquemment lettres, sonorités et mots à des illustrations (Chartier, 2015). Cette composition présente des régularités, et certaines thématiques traversent le temps. Parmi les redondances, la lettre X est communément associée au mot « boxe ». Le corpus de la présente étude, composé de plusieurs dizaines de manuels français d'initiation à la lecture, s'étend de 1880 à l'aube des années 1960. A partir de cette catégorie de sources, prolifique mais longtemps méprisée (Choppin, 1992), un travail de recensement systématique des ouvrages et de l'iconographie a été conduit, notamment à partir des collections de la *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, de la *Bibliothèque Diderot* de Lyon et du *Musée national de l'Éducation* de Rouen.

A partir de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les manuels d'apprentissage de la lecture deviennent les supports privilégiés d'une production iconographique variée (Renonciat, 2009). La représentation du corps telle qu'elle est proposée dans les illustrations, éminemment sociale (Detrez, 2002), se révèle être un remarquable indicateur pour étudier les symboles et les valeurs présentés au regard des élèves. Le corps du sportif, notamment du boxeur, devient un formidable révélateur d'imaginaires collectifs. L'histoire de la boxe (Loudcher, 2000), notamment scolaire (Groenen et Ottogalli-Mazzacavallo, 2012), sa dimension sociale (Ville, 2016), symbolique (Rauch, 1993) ont déjà fait l'objet de nombreux travaux. Mais si les imaginaires véhiculés par ce sport ont été questionnés d'un point de vue socio-ethnographique (Wacquant, 2000), à travers l'art et la littérature (Besse, 1998 ; Charreton, 2000), le cinéma (Da Silva, 2007 ; Durant, 2004), les représentations picturales (Vivier, Loudcher, 2007) et la bande dessinée (Porret, 2016), aucune étude historique ne s'intéresse particulièrement aux illustrations des manuels. Pourtant, l'étonnante place qui y est accordée questionne les conditions de légitimation d'une telle pratique dans un ouvrage scolaire. La figuration des coups, des chocs ou, au contraire, de leur esquive, la morphologie des personnages, leurs équipements, la temporalité de l'action, etc., sont autant d'indicateurs qui permettent de redéfinir les seuils et les conditions d'acceptabilité de la violence physique dans les images présentées à l'enfance, dans un cadre éducatif.

Dès lors, l'analyse iconographique offre l'opportunité d'appréhender un corps sportif socialement marqué, dans des livrets pédagogiques imaginés pour la jeunesse. Cette représentation de la boxe permet à un univers enfantin idéalisé de côtoyer un corps combattant. Plus encore, elle permet de questionner les liens entre les imaginaires sociaux qui accompagnent l'univers de la boxe et la symbolique de la lettre X. Ainsi associés, lettre et illustration pugilistique renvoient certes, dès le plus jeune âge, au registre du débordement et du « hors norme », incarnant la violence, l'extrême ou encore l'interdit. Mais l'étude diachronique montre que ces corps engagés dans des actions violentes sont particulièrement codifiés. En effet, la boxe ne se confond pas avec la rixe. Si cette forme de combat est, elle aussi, figurée, elle ne présente pas les mêmes canons stylistiques. Par conséquent, la standardisation des illustrations du « noble art » offrirait un cadre normé et civilisé, dans lequel la représentation des corps évolue dans le temps mais avec une relative inertie.

Mots-clés : Boxe, image, manuels scolaires, corps, lecture

### English

#### ***X for ... Boxing : The body in the French Primers (textbooks) from the Ferry laws to the 1960s***

For many adults, the fortuitous encounter with « primer » (textbook) of their childhood inevitably evokes many memories. These schoolbooks, which taught them to read in their youth, evoke a form of nostalgia.

The corpus, composed of several dozen French reading initiation textbooks, extends from 1880 to the dawn of the 1960s. It is aimed at a specific public : young students who are learning the basics of reading. This entry into the world of writing does not do without the image. Indeed, as preludes to First Reader Book, these publications frequently combine letters, sounds and words to illustrations (Chartier, 2015). This composition presents regularities because some themes cross time. Among these redundancies, the letter *x* is usually associated with pugilistic practice. However, since the end of the 19th century, textbooks have become the main medium for a varied iconographic production (Renonciat, 2009). The representation of the body as proposed in the illustrations, eminently social (Detrez, 2002), is a remarkable indicator for studying the symbols and values presented to the students. The sportsman's body, especially the boxer's, becomes a formidable revealer of collective imaginations. But the surprising importance given to this activity questions the conditions for legitimizing such a practice in a school book.

Consequently, iconographic analysis offers the opportunity to understand a socially marked sporting body, in educational booklets created for youth. This representation of boxing allows an idealized childlike universe to rub shoulders with a fighting body. But the diachronic study shows that these bodies engaged in violent actions are particularly codified. Thus, the standardization of noble art illustrations would provide a standardized framework, in which the representation of bodies evolves over time but with relative inertia.

Keywords : Boxing, image, textbooks, body, reading

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### PROFILLET Lucas

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Lucas Profillet est Professeur des écoles et Doctorant contractuel à l'Université de Franche-Comté. Membre du Laboratoire C3S « Culture, Sport, Santé, Société », ses recherches portent sur l'histoire de l'éducation en France, et notamment sur la représentation du corps à l'école à travers les manuels scolaires et l'iconographie des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles. Il collabore au programme de recherche *PIFERAI* qui se propose de remettre en lumière l'importance de la série *Pif le chien* parue dans *L'Humanité* et *Vaillant*.

### Publications

Profillet Lucas, Laffage-Cosnier Sébastien, Vivier Christian, « Le "corps républicain" et ses représentations dans les manuels scolaires de Paul Bert à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle », *French Cultural Studies*, 30(3), 2019, pp.179-195.

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Sébastien Laffage-Cosnier est Maître de conférences à l'Université de Franche-Comté. Il est membre du Laboratoire C3S « Culture, Sport, Santé, Société ». Ses recherches portent sur les l'histoire des innovations scolaires, l'histoire de l'éducation physique et du sport, et, enfin, sur les représentations visuelles des pratiques corporelles au cours des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles.

### Publications

Laffage-Cosnier Sébastien, Vivier Christian, Thiébaud Michel, « Les Jeux olympiques célébrés par *Bibi Fricotin*, *Les Pieds Nickelés*, *Astérix* et *Les Schtroumpfs* », *European Studies in Sports History*, 7, 2014, pp.197-221.

Laffage-Cosnier Sébastien, Vivier Christian, Renaud Jean-Nicolas, « Art as a source for sport historical research: the case of French historiography », *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 35(17-18), 2018, pp.1777-1793.

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### **VIVIER Christian**

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Christian Vivier est Professeur des Universités à l'Université de Franche-Comté. Il est membre du Laboratoire C3S « Culture, Sport, Santé, Société ». Il mène des travaux sémio-historiques des représentations artistiques du mouvement corporel des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles pour en dévoiler le sens intime et profond, individuel et collectif, social et culturel.

### **Publications**

Vivier Christian, Renaud Jean-Nicolas, Guillain Jean-Yves, « Il était une fois les activités physiques de *Martine* – De la transmission des habitudes corporelles bourgeoises dans un conte illustré (1954-2004) », *Histoire Sociale / Social History*, XLV(89), 2012, pp.155-185.

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Laffage-Cosnier Sébastien, Vivier Christian (dir.), « Sports and Graphic Narratives in Europe », *European Studies in Sports History*, 11, à paraître en 2019.

Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2218: **Readings, young people and sport**

## From Gymnastics to the Political Field. Preliminary Thoughts on the Profile of some Gymnastics Pioneers (1850-1914)

Quin G., Mayencourt G.

In Switzerland, the historiography of gymnastics is relatively poor, particularly around the social or political aspects of the first pioneers' commitment around the institutionalization of the discipline. In fact, we still know very little about the motivations of these pioneers and their socio-economic backgrounds, which all were involved in the creation of the first local societies, the first federal competitions and the first national institutions (Burgener, 1952; Bussard, 2007). Thus, except for some very few outstanding figures (such as Per Henrik Clias, Adolf Spiess or maybe Johannes Niggeler) who have already been the subject of occasional research, we still know almost nothing about those young (and older) individuals who have worked to set up the first structures of the gymnastics movement in Switzerland since the 19th century.

Based on preliminary empirical research developed within the SNF-project entitled "La Fabrique des sports nationaux", this contribution aims to engage an analysis of the profile of the individuals involved in the development of Swiss gymnastics since the middle of the 19th century up-to the First World War, at a time when Switzerland was undergoing a huge national building process (Humair, 2009) and also having in mind the epistemological frame proposed by Jacques Defrance in his classical book *L'Excellence corporelle* (1987). In particular, we aim to offer some preliminary thoughts around some "typical trajectories" during the second half of the 19th century, an approach that will then make possible to start comparisons between gymnastics and other sports, and more generally with other forms of associationism, so important in the last decades of the 19th century (Berthoud, Quin, Vonnard, 2016).

Our contribution is based on documents collected from the archives of the *Société Fédérale de Gymnastique*, the *Commission Fédérale de Gymnastique* and the *Société Suisse des Maîtres de Gymnastique*. Those documents are mainly institutional (such as protocols, annual reports, official bulletins, commemorative books), but also some more personal documents for several pioneers like Niggeler. This documentation was enriched with information collected from the archives of various cantonal associations (in particular Vaud and Berne), as well as through the collection of biographical information (in official bulletins, specialized newspapers and more generalist newspapers).

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**QUIN Grégory**  
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Grégory Quin holds a PhD in Sport Science (University of Lausanne, Switzerland) and Pedagogy (University Paris Descartes, France). He is a senior lecturer at the University of Lausanne, where he tries to promote sport history, through courses, research and some public projects. He currently works on a national project about several Swiss national sports (« La fabrique des sports nationaux (1860-1930) »), trying to develop a prosopography of the Swiss sports leaders at that specific period. He has recently edited several books and special issue, especially *Des réseaux et des hommes* (Alphil, 2019) about the involvement of Swiss sports leaders in the international sport history during the twentieth century.

### Publications

Vonnard P., Quin G., 2019. Promouvoir et jouer au football pendant la guerre : la Fédération internationale de football association, les forces de l'Axe et la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. *Hispania Nova : Primera Revista de Historia Contemporánea on-line en castellano*, 17 pp. 306-340.

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Quin G., Vonnard P., Jaccoud C., *Des réseaux et des hommes. Participation et contribution de la Suisse à l'internationalisation du sport (1912-1972)*. Alphil.

Quin G., Bohuon A., 2018. 1968, le sport fait sa révolution à Mexico. *Glyphe*.



**MAYENCOURT Gil**  
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I started my doctorate last April as part of the SNF project "La Fabrique des sports nationaux en Suisse (1860-1930)" led by Grégory Quin (MER at the University of Lausanne). I will work more particularly on the contribution of gymnastics and cycling to Swiss national construction during the second half of the 19th century.

Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2218: **Sport institutions and young people**

## Disabled and Maladaptive Sports in Interwar France: Celebration or Rehabilitation

Rathbone K.

Over the past decade, following the growing influence of the Paralympic Games, scholars have become increasingly interested in the role disability sports plays in the broader international athletic movement. For most sportsmen and women, the Paralympics showcases the athletic capabilities of people with disabilities while simultaneously promotes disability rights. At the same time, as Danielle Peers argues, the historiography of disabled sports has concentrated on “celebratory accounts of the Paralympics,” and emphasized the humanitarian and sporting organizations that help athletes, to the detriment of agentic histories of people with disabilities.

Of course, as Peers’ and many others work suggests, the historiography of disability sports is hard to disentangle from the broader history of disability. The first international competitions involving athletes with disabilities occurred after the First World War. Paris hosted the first iteration of the International Silent Games in 1924. These games emerged following the First World War during which six million Europeans emerged from the war’s violence with a permanent disability.

However, while studies of these competitions have celebrated the organization of disabled games and the achievement of deaf athletes, much of interwar disabled sports reified rather than challenged ableist narratives of athletic achievement. The organizers of disabled sports in interwar France meant to rehabilitate people with disabilities rather than include them. Following the War, most European medical professionals developed medical models of disability, which privileged able bodies and the historical records they produced honor the interventions made by administrators and doctors rather than athletes.

In the earliest decade of the international athletic movement, athletes with disabilities were mostly without voices even though the existence of the International Silent Games showed the desire of people with disabilities to compete. The little that we know has to be gleaned by reading against the grain of the archives. The persistence of certain ableist tropes of athleticism, including rehabilitationist discourses, even today illustrates their resilience.

In my paper, I will investigate the French genesis of disabled sports. Most of my work will look at the French state’s early efforts to promote the physical rehabilitation of young men and women through physical activity. In the 1920s and 30s, the state collaborated with social organizations, including the federations to offer athletic training for First World War veterans with war injuries. The Popular Front expanded these initial efforts to encompass young men deemed physically underdeveloped. Finally, during the Vichy period, the government further expanded their notion of physical disability to include a wide range of maladapted youth that they called maladapted. In studying the origins of the sports for people with disabilities in the interwar period, my work will illustrate the wide range of rehabilitative athletic activities developed in order to better understand the biopolitical beginnings of disabled sports in France and to illustrate the ways in which prominent medical models of disability shaped later discourses about disabled sports.

At the same time, I will also endeavour to read against the archive to show the agency of athletes with disabilities before the beginning of the Paralympics. The widespread participation of people with disabilities in athletic competitions challenge ableist assumptions about the value and values of disabled athletes and more work must be done to recover the histories of these sportsmen and women.

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Elizabeth Apelmo, *Sport in the Female Disabled Body*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Ian Brittain, *The Paralympic Games Explained*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

*Paralympics and Disability Sport*. Edited by Brett Smith. New York: Routledge, 2013.

*The Paralympic Games: Empowerment or Sideshow*. Edited by Keith Gilbert and Otto Schantz. (Aachen, Germany: Meyer and Meyer Verlag, 2008.



**RATHBONE Keith**  
Northwestern University

Keith Rathbone (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 2015) researches twentieth century French social and cultural history. His manuscript, entitled *A Nation in Play: Physical Culture, the State, and Society during France's Dark Years, 1932-1948*, examines physical education and sports in order to better understand civic life under the dual authoritarian systems of the German Occupation and the Vichy Regime. In investigating physical culture, he addresses historiographic issues such as the continuity between the Third Republic and the Vichy Regime, the gendered ideology of Vichy sports programs, and the development of collaboration and resistance.

### Publications

““Save the long skirt”: Women, Sports, and Fashion in Third Republic and Vichy France” (*The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2019) <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2019.1650027>

“Athletes for France or Athletes for the Church: Conflict between Sports Officials and Catholic Sportsmen during the Vichy Regime (1940-1944)” (*French History*, 2019)

“Regards croisés entre médecine et sports” in Anaïs Bohuon and Grégory Quin eds., *Les Liaisons dangereuses de la médecine et du sport* (Paris: Glyphe, 2015): 177-194.

“Dressing the Colonial Body: The Senegalese Rifleman in Uniform and the Changing Discourse of the French Colonial Mission” in D. Soyini Madison and Karen Tranberg Hansen, *African Dress: Fashion, Agency, Performance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013): 111-123.

Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2218: **Body control and sport inclusion**

## A road to redemption. Italy in the international sport arena (1943-1953)

Sbetti N.

In the context of the panel "A look to recent publication in transnational sport history", that will be chaired by Patrick Clastres, the aim of this presentation is to illustrate the work behind the book "Giochi diplomatici. Sport e politica estera nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra (1943-1953)", Treviso, Fondazione Benetton studi e ricerche, 2019. The main focus of the book is to highlight the relation between sport and the foreign politics in Italy during the first decade after the fall of Mussolini as the head of state of the Reign. The book also investigate the political difficulties of the Italian sport institutions and athletes in restarting the international activity, and the differences applications of this "sport's quarantine" that in any case was shorter and softer compare to the one experienced by Germany and Japan. However, rather to propose a traditional book presentation, the aim is to focus especially on the role of athletes as transnational actors (with the examples of Consolini, Bartali, Coppi and the Tourin football team) and the relations among sport official (in particular the case of Alberto Bonacossa).



**SBETTI Nicola**  
University of Bologna

PhD, Adjunct professor in Sport history and Physical education (University of Bologna, Italy). His works focuses on the political history of sport in Italy and on the links between sport and international relations.

### Publications

R. Brizzi, N. Sbetti, *Storia della Coppa del mondo di calcio (1930-2018). Politica, sport, globalizzazione*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 2018, pp. 261.

N. Sbetti, *Giochi di Potere. Olimpiadi e politica da Atene a Londra 1896-2012*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 2012, pp. 287.

P. Vonnard, N. Sbetti, G. Quin, (eds.) *Beyond Boycotts. Sport during Cold War Europe*, Oldenburg, De Gruyter, 2017. pp. 237, pp. 237.

Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2420: **A look to recent publications in transnational and international sport history**

## Pestalozzi & Froebel - early concepts of health enhancing physical activity

Scharenberg S.

The invention of childhood is a phenomenon started at the end of the 18th century. Pestalozzi, a Swiss pedagogue, and Fröbel, the German creator of the kindergarten and scholar of Pestalozzi, both regarded young children as a crucial group for educational means. (Recently, even Heckman, the nobel price winner of economics, stresses this group of young people as the best regarding the return of invest in matters of education.) There are a lot of ideas concerning elementary education and health enhancing physical activity in the work of Pestalozzi. His *Elementargymnastik* (1807) (basic body movements) had a great influence on the development of physical activity in Spain and France as well as in Scandinavia, where Pehr Henrik Ling nearly copied his work word by word. Froebel focused on children's play to sneak their way into life. You can even find quotes on force in Froebel's work, when he associated running-games with developmen of force and developing the body as such, walking-games should help to improve everyday's movement of children and their posture, especially the feet have to be trained in his opinion (Fröbel, see Hoffmann 1944, p. 87). While Pestalozzi could be seen as a forerunner of elementary education, Fröbel wanted to observe children at play, without interference by nursery school teachers.

This paper will discuss, whether the concepts of Pestalozzi and Fröbel are relevant to the current situation or only hard to understand historical sources. The Swiss-German approach reflects a certain period of time and a special target group that has been neglected before.

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**SCHARENBERG Swantje**  
Karlsruhe Institute of Technology



Swantje Scharenberg, professor of sport-science, in charge of the Research Centre for Physical Education and Sports of Children and Adolescents (FoSS) at Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT), Germany. Areas of research: High-level sports of children and adolescents in past and present – concepts and realisations; history of artistic (apparatus) gymnastics; history of student's sports, of sports-heroes, of sports-media; movement, sports and space.; also gym-books for kids, a lot of articles for teachers and coaches in apparatus gymnastics. Main motivation: telling stories.

### Publications

The latest CESH-, the latest ISHPES and the latest dvs-publication are still “in print”, so here are five other publications of mine in the field of sports history.

Scharenberg, S. (2018). Braucht Bewegung Raum? Soziale Interaktionsfelder der Sportentwicklung. In TECHNOSEUM (Hrsg.) (2018). Katalog zur Großen Sonderausstellung 2018 Baden-Württemberg: Fertig? Los! Die Geschichte von Sport und Technik. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, S. 68-79.

Scharenberg, S. (2017). Pädagogische Spurensuche in der (Turn-) Geschichte. In Becker, C.; Wedemeyer-Kolwe-B.; Wolters, A. (Hg.). Geschichte des Turnens in Norddeutschland. Berlin: LIT Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, S. 203-213.

Scharenberg, S. (2016). Uneven Bars Revolution – A Question of National Tradition and Motor Learning. In T. Heinen, et. al. (Hrsg.) Gymnastics Performance and Motor Learning: Principles and Applications. NOVA Science Publishers, New York, p. 185-195

Scharenberg, S., Möser, K., Nippert, K., (2016). The lost war and its consequences for higher education students. The International Journal of the History of Sport. Special Issue: (ISHPES) Coming from the past, working in the present, looking to the future: aims, topics and results of sport history. Guest Editor: Annette R. Hofmann. Volume 33, No 14 (August 2016), 1626-1639.

Scharenberg, S. (2015). Macht eine Gemeindereform aus zweien eins? – Sport in Bad Schönborn. In E. Hübner, K. Reinhardt (Hrsg.) Sport - Geschichte - Pädagogik: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Michael Krüger. Hildesheim: Arete, 245-257.

Parallel session 4, Friday 15h-16h30, Room 2420: **The medical making of young bodies**

## **Muscular Catholicism between Italy and Portugal in the European context (1922-1958)**

Serapiglia D.

In 1955, the Spanish film *Miracle of Marcelino* was presented at the Cannes Film Festival. The film, which celebrated the cult of death from a Catholic perspective, told the story of an orphan living in a convent. Here, he came into contact with Christ, who would soon call him to himself. Shot in 1954, a year after the Concordat between Franco's Spain and the Vatican, the movie depicted Spanish national Catholicism (Botti 1992) and the role of the Church in the education of the young citizens, illustrating the importance of parish recreation centres in Catholic society. This film was shown throughout Catholic countries such as Portugal, Spain and Italy and promoted with a strong publicity campaign which included, among other things, a series of sticker albums printed in various languages. *Miracle of Marcelino* was a part of the cultural diplomacy of Francoist Spain, which became an ally of Christian Democrat Italy at the end of 1948.

During the Cold War, cultural policy aimed to create an anti-communist youth population that supported pro-Catholic governments. As for the Vatican of Pius XII, it was not very important if governments were dictatorial, as in the Spanish and Portuguese cases, or whether they were democratic as in Italy. What was important was that they had close ties with the Church and educated youth according to its principles. It appeared that the Vatican aimed to be a link between nations, where each nation could have its own political regime but with rules conforming to the principles of the Church. In practice, this was the same principle as that set out in 1885 in the encyclical *Immortale Dei* by Leone XIII. According to this, what was important was not the model of regime that governed a State, but that the regime respected the prerogatives and rules of the Church. Cinema and sports were seen as being capable of playing a role in achieving such an aim and became functional to the creation of new European Catholic citizens.

This paper, then, is about how sport caught the attention of the Catholic Church, because of its popularity among the male population of Europe. The latter became a pillar of a renewed idea of Muscular Catholicism, which had originated in the late nineteenth century. Here, the Church progressively saw a means through which to proselytize young people. Portugal was not immune from this experience, where the Church tried to use sport to strengthen its own imagined community (Anderson 1983) in an anti-communist perspective. This was an imagined community that the Church hoped would involve the whole continent starting from Italy, where the "Catholic sport" was trying to take the place of the "fascist" sport. In fact, it was in this period that the Church overcame its distrust of sport, making it one of the symbols of its "banal internationalism", and one of the means by which Pius XII tried to make the idea of a totalitarian Church, as suggested by Pius XI, a reality.


**SERAPIGLIA Daniele**

IHC-Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Daniele Serapiglia is a postdoctoral researcher in História Contemporânea of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. After graduating in Humanities with a specialisation in Modern History, in 2009 he obtained his PhD in European History, with the Universidade de Coimbra, at the Department of History Culture and Civilisation of the University of Bologna. He has attended international conferences as a speaker in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Belgium, England and France. He is member of the Scientific Committee of *European Studies in Sport History* (ESSH). He was visiting scholar at the Universidad Europea de Madrid and at the De Montfort University, Leicester. Between January and May 2019, he was visiting fellow at the Remarque Institute of New York University.

**Publications**
Books (author)

(Forthcoming) D. Serapiglia, J. A. Simón, *Football and Fascism in the Iberian Peninsula, 1926-1975*, Peter Lang, Oxford 2020.

D. Serapiglia, *Uno sport per tutti. Storia sociale della pallavolo italiana (1918-1990)*, Clueb, Bologna 2018. ISBN: 978-88-491-5564-8

Books (editor):

D. 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

Articles

D. Serapiglia, *Fé e Futebol. Muscular Catholicism between Italy and Portugal (1922-1958)*, «Lusutopie», 18 (2019), ISSN 1257-0273

D. Serapiglia, *Sia lodato il Grande Torino. La tragedia di Superga e la costruzione della comunità immaginata cattolica*, «Im@go. A Journal of the Social Imaginary», 11 (2018), pp. 44-61. ISSN 2281-

Parallel session 6, Saturday 9h-10h30, Room 2420: **The State, the Church and youth sport**

## Young patriots: the explorers of Spain and the Spanish boy-scouts during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera

Simón J. A.

This research analyzes the importance of the youth organization of the Explorers of Spain (*Exploradores de España*) during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-30). Previously created with the approval of the monarch Alfonso XIII in 1912 and closely related to the British Boy Scout movement, they will be recognized by the Royal Order of February 1914 as the Association of Explorers of Spain. The objective of this association was the control and education of young people, focusing on principles and values such as patriotism, service to the country and respect for the Head of State, contributing at the same time to the improvement of the 'race' through an education of its members based on the usual practice of physical activities in contact with nature and with a clear paramilitary tone (Gonzalez Calleja, Souto Kustrín, 2007).

The aim is to study the conditions that favored this process, the evolution of this youth organization, its relations with political organizations and institutions and its influence in other young women's organizations such as the "Legionarias de la Salud". At the methodological level, an exhaustive documentary review of the hemerographic sources has been carried out to subsequently proceed with a qualitative analysis. At the same time, the main primary bibliographic sources related to the movement of the Explorers of Spain during the first third of the 20th century have also been used in this research.



**SIMÓN Juan Antonio**  
Universidad Europea

Juan Antonio Simón has a PhD in Humanities. He is currently Head of Department of Sport Science and reader in Sport History at the Universidad Europea of Madrid. His research has focused on the social history of sport in Spain and Europe, the links between football and international relations and the history of mega sports events like the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games. He is the Director of the Olympic Studies Centre at the Universidad Europea of Madrid (CEO-UEM).

### Publications

Simón, J. A. "Playing with Our Friends and Making Money: Real Madrid FC's Economic Model and the Impact of International Friendly Matches, 1955–1963", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 34, n. 7-8, 2017, pp. 517-534.

Simón, J. A. *España-82: La historia de nuestro Mundial*. Madrid: T&B Editores, 2012.

Simón, J. A. *Construyendo una pasión el fútbol en España 1900-1936*. Logroño: Unir, 2015.

Simón, J. A. "De la furia espagnole au tikitaka. Football et constructions identitaires en Espagne (1920-2015)", in Fabien Archambault, Stéphane Beaud and William Gasparini (eds.), *Le football des nations: Des terrains de jeu aux communautés imaginées*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016.

Simón, J. A. "Athletes of Diplomacy: Francoism, Sport and the Cold War during the 1960s", in Philippe Vonnard, Nicola Sbeti, and Grégory Quin (eds.), *Beyond Boycotts: Sport during the Cold War in Europe*, De Gruyter 2017, pp. 55–68.

Parallel session 6, Saturday 9h-10h30, Room 2420: **The State, the Church and youth sport**

## Lost or won in translation? Amateur conceptions in the Norwegian sports public sphere: 1881-1924

Skjeldal G.

This paper focuses on amateur conceptions in the Norwegian sports public sphere. My hypothesis is that influencers, editors and writers, embedded in traditions that one could call Norwegian, shaped amateur conceptions in their own ways. Only partially, the amateur ideology was an import from Great Britain. And then something was lost in the translation of a British concept, but also something was won. Hence, my research questions are: How was the idea of the amateur received and shaped in the Norwegian sports public sphere? Were there any other cultural roots than the British –Norwegian, Nordic, continental –of the concept itself? Was the ideology of the sports amateur, in one way or another, transformed between 1881-1924? As this is a work in progress, I do not answer these questions fully in this abstract.

In established research of the history of sports the amateur concept is identified mainly with the amateur rules, that were introduced in Great Britain in the late 19th century, and then exerted definition power internationally through the establishment and the development of the IOC (1894-) (Lewellyn & Gleaves, 2016; Olstad, 1987). The key element was, at least from 1890 on, prohibiting economic advantage from sports. In my work, I call this a narrow concept of the amateur (Wikberg, 2005, p. 37; Halladay, 1987, p. 48).

Inspired by the British historian Richard Holt I also search for ethical and aesthetical dimensions, as well as organizational aspects, of the amateur ideology, defining it as a broader amateur-concept. (Holt, 1989, p. 98-117). Some first results of my research: A skier should demonstrate daringness, quick thinking, and endurance. To attain these virtues, he would have to skip the traditional long pole used in ski slopes in Christiania in the 1860-ies. A speed skater should prepare seriously before competitions, but not facilitate gambling and corruption in them. The skater Axel Paulsen was celebrated in the Norwegian press as both a national hero, and a true amateur, after winning the first international speed skating race in Christiania in 1885, but he was only a few years later condemned as a greedy sport “vulture” by the leading sports magazine, as he was accused of fixing a speed skating-contest with a Swedish competitor. (Norsk idrætsblad, 1884, nr. 2; 1885, nr. 5; 1888, nr. 12).

Both the narrow and the broader concept was put into reality, and then developed, in the Norwegian sports public sphere. The sports public sphere finds its typical expressions in main sports publications such as sporting magazines, journals and daily newspapers, but also the public competitions and the spectators surrounding and judging them, could be attributed to and interpreted as central elements of this sphere. Discussions, and a rational development of sports through these exchanges of arguments, was a main objective of the sporting magazines. In stressing this point, my concept of the sports public sphere is in no small debt to the concept of the *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit* which the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas coined back in 1962. His theory of communicative reasoning as a precondition of true democracy has met with severe criticism in later years, but the concept is still useful for identifying and interpreting relevant written sources in the context of sports (Habermas, 1971; Mouffe 2010).

This paper is built upon primary sources, of which the journal *Norsk idrætsblad* (transl. “The Norwegian sports magazine”, published between 1881-1923) and the daily newspaper *Morgenbladet* are the most important, and secondary sources, where Richard Holts work *Sport and The British. A Modern History* (1989) and Finn Olstads research (1987) on the organizing of sports in Norway from 1861 until 1939 play a significant role.

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**SKJELDAL Gudmund**

Norwegian School of Sport Sciences

Gudmund Skjeldal (b. 1970) from Norway, is a PH.D. at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NSSS). He was a professional athlete in the early 1990-ies, and graduated in 2001 from the University of Oslo with a Master's degree (cand.philol) in intellectual history. Skjeldal has published ten books in all, from the more personal reflections of professional sports, and essays on climate change, to the more academic works of a biography (2012) and a newspaper's history in 2017.

**Publications**

Den siste langrennaren. Ei historie om Kristen Skjeldal og snø (2005)

Fallande snø. Den norske klimautfordringa (2008)

Diktaren I bombeflyet. Ein biografi om Nordahl Grieg (2012)

Wimbledon. Der graset er grønast (2017)

Vestover. 150 år med Bergens Tidende (2017)

Parallel session 4, Friday 15h-16h30, Room 2212: **Sport, honours and amateurism**

## Biady or Forgotten Polish Folk Wrestling. Preliminary Results of Ethnographic and Auto-Ethnographic Research

Talaga M., Janus K., Wrzalik J., Markowski K.

Various forms of group-based pastimes and sports played an important role in the life of Polish rural communities until urbanisation largely decomposed their social fabric in the second half of the 20th century (Lipoński 1996), similarly to some other Soviet-bloc countries (Petrov 2014). Games and leisure time activities were popular during celebrations or festivities, as well as filled the time otherwise relatively idle by necessity, for instance during winter months or between sowing in spring and the first harvest in summer (Nawrot-Borowska 2011). They also helped with particularly boring tasks performed collectively, such as chopping cabbage for sauerkraut, by providing much needed entertainment. On top of that, they served a variety of purposes related to gender roles and male-female interactions, for example by creating a platform for courting (Migdał & Piotrowska-Wojaczyk 2015).

One of such activities which has so far received next to no treatment in the academic literature is *biady*, folk wrestling reportedly practiced by older boys and unmarried men (jointly called *kawalerowie* in Polish) throughout the north-eastern regions of today's Poland. Nowadays entirely obsolete, this tradition was still practiced in the 1960s and the last witnesses of it can yet be found and interviewed. So far, *biady* has not been included in Polish scholarly literature, but the term appears in newspapers, literary works, and dictionaries, where it is always connected to wrestling—either literally or metaphorically. Therefore, the original contribution of this paper will be to introduce the topic into academic circulation. The ethnographic data presented herein come from two interviews with a living witness of this tradition and a former *biady* practitioner, Mr Waclaw Niziński, as well as from a review of the related written sources—mainly the oldest Polish ethnographical periodicals.

Moreover, *biady* bears striking resemblance to its historical counter-parts known, for instance, from medieval rural calendars, where wrestling was commonly depicted among other peasant activities. This calls for a question whether it is indicative of historical continuity or rather convergence based on some universals in human embodiment.

The proposed paper is going to present preliminary results of an *embodied research* (Spatz 2015) project on *biady*. Besides interviewing a living witness and reviewing the pertinent literature, the study involved reconstructing the wrestling moves. The latter part was based on the methodological frameworks proposed by B. Spatz (2015) and by B. Walczak (2011). It consisted of a circular procedure (feedback loop) combining the source (living witness in this case) with practical experimentation conducted by the researchers. Such an approach proved necessary, since the living witness lacks any sort of technolact or formalised conceptual framework which would facilitate, or even enable, transmission of the somatic knowledge related to the *biady* wrestling tradition. In essence, the adopted procedure reversed the process of reconstruction. We did not begin with collecting as much technical data as possible and then move to rendering them into motions. Instead, our first step was to create very rough kinaesthetic models of the wrestling moves used in *biady* based on our imagination and the scarce information we were provided by our witness. Next, we presented these models to him, i.e. we wrestled in front of Mr Niziński. This prompted him to correct us and facilitated sharing his practical somatic knowledge despite him not having any task-specific linguistic and conceptual resources. This initiated a performance-correction cycle which has been up to date continued during two meetings with Mr Niziński, with further encounters planned in the future.

While the project is still ongoing, the preliminary results will serve as a basis for discussing the methodology and commenting on some of the advantages and pitfalls of such *embodied research* based on performance. Particular attention will be paid to its potential for preserving or perhaps even reconstructing embodied cultural heritage.

### Bibliography

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**TALAGA Maciej**  
University of Warsaw

Maciej Talaga received his MA in archaeology in 2012 and joined the 'Nature-Culture' PhD programme at the University of Warsaw in 2018. For the last decade his research interests have revolved around pre-modern European martial traditions, with particular focus on late-medieval Central Europe and the so-called 'German school of fighting' (*Kunst des Fechtens*). Having initially approached the topic from purely archaeological perspective, he gradually adopted a performative approach combining text- and artefact-based studies with practical experimentation.

### Publications

Talaga, M. (2019). Fight books as sources of practical knowledge on historical fencing. English translation of a scholarly paper in Polish,

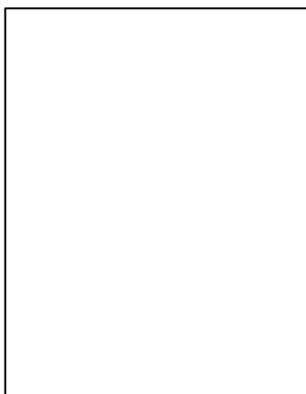
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329403502> **TRAKTATY SZERMIERCZE JAKO ZRODLO WIEDZY PRAKTYCZNEJ O DAWNYM FECHTUNKU** (accessed 15 Aug 2019).

Talaga, M., Talaga, S. (2018), 'Do you even Zornhaw? A set-theoretic Approach to HEMA reconstruction'. *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 6(1), 151–181.

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**JANUS Krzysztof, WRZALIK Jakub and MARKOWSKI Krzysztof**  
Association for Renaissance Martial Arts Poland

Parallel session 2, Thursday 15h15-17h15, Room 2420: **Youth and sport in Eastern Europe**

## Pueritia ludens – what can the history of childhood in the 20th century learn from a history of age categories in youth football in France 1919-2000?

Tallec Marston K.

Since the work of Philippe Ariès, the history of youth and childhood has mushroomed, particularly in the last twenty years, but with little focus on sport. If Howard Chudacoff's 2007 history of play in America outlined a number of relevant themes (commercialization and the influence of modern psychology in parenting) in a *longue durée* approach, he rarely addressed youth sport.[1] Paula Fass' 2013 edited collection on the history of childhood since Antiquity is an anthology but with only cursory mention.[2] Didier Lett *et al.*'s extensive commentary surveys the evolution of the field and vast spectrum of research questions on the history of youth, accompanied by a fifteen-page bibliography of recent historiography with only one article related to sport.[3] Despite rising interest in mainstream history, sport-focused historiography has been silent on the young.[4] As has happened in other areas of the study of sport, other disciplines have been swifter in embracing the neglected topic, in this case youth, as an object of research. While helpful in outlining concepts and themes, Ken Green and Andy Smith's mammoth collection does not include a single historical chapter, perhaps unsurprising with not a single historian among the seventy-eight authors.[5] 'Youth is just a word' as once said Bourdieu and the literature has framed a number of questions for historians to consider in the study of youth. It is still as a universal human phenomenon even if not only a simple biological phase and one that can be contextually specific. Age and demography are essential pillars to understanding the place of youth (as shown by Maurice Crubellier) as are commercialization, standardization and globalization along with education and protection.

This paper focuses on French youth football in the twentieth century and seeks to outline several core paradigms for the study of youth and, as a result, contribute to the wider understanding of the history of childhood. The three research questions here seek to understand where the dividing line between youth and adult was drawn, and if it was drawn, how this was done. Firstly, at what age could a child participate as an officially registered player, and, concretely, was this a permeable line or one that changed over the twentieth century? Secondly, what role did demographic changes play in the development of youth football? Finally, has sport contributed to a harmonization of the childhood experience across national borders, one that historians have often argued is a recent Western European privilege? In sum, this research aims to explore if and how the view of age in football changed over the twentieth century resulting in contemporary football's strict categorization of age?

The research relies on documents from the French Football Federation (the weekly *Football Association* newsletter, the yearly *Annuaire* and official regulations) digital archival material from a host of amateur French football clubs, as well as contemporary press. Some initial conclusions suggest the notion, role and significance of 'age' evolved significantly between the French federation's founding in 1919 and the end of the twentieth century. The bureaucratization of youth football has been at the core of the creation of more and more clearly defined categories based on increasingly younger age groups especially in the post-war era. This paper will advance that since the key decade of the 1970s when the demographic revolution pushed youth into the majority of registered footballers, the twentieth century has witnessed a shift in the paradigm of 'age'.

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### TALLEC MARSTON Kevin

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Kevin is a Research Fellow at CIES and also Visiting Researcher and Lecturer at the International Centre for Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University, Leicester where he completed his PhD in History. His work has focused on the history of youth football, the question of age, childhood, training and education in sport, and the biography of sporting administrators. He has also worked on themes such as governance, memory, legacy, fraternity, diffusion and transnationalism.

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With Mike Cronin, 'The Origins of foot-ball in America: Foundation myths, memorialization and rethinking the Oneida Football club' in Kioussis, G., Bolsmann, C., *Mapping U.S. Soccerescapes, 1863–1913: Immigrants, Industries, and Individuals* (forthcoming 2019 Nashville: University of Tennessee Press).

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'Rethinking 'ethnic' soccer: the National Junior Challenge Cup and the transformation of American soccer's identity (1935–1976)', *Soccer and Society*, 18:2-3, pp. 330-47.

'Sincere Camaraderie': Professionalization, Politics and the Pursuit of the European Idea at the International Youth Tournament, 1948–57', in Vonnard, P., Quin, G., Bancel, N. *Building Europe with the Ball Turning Points in the Europeanization of Football, 1905–1995*, (Oxford: Peter Lang), pp. 137-61.

Parallel session 1, Thursday 10h30-12h, Room 2212: **From childhood to exercise and sport**

## Contrôler l'effort physique de la jeunesse au cœur des années 1930 : entraînement sportif et surveillance médicale à l'IREP de Toulouse

Vaucelle S.

### French

C'est au cœur des années 1930 que la « nécessité de la surveillance médicale de l'entraînement » (Dr ARLAUD, 1923, ii, 37) commence à s'exprimer auprès des formateurs de l'Institut d'éducation physique de la Faculté de médecine de Toulouse. Une vigilance particulière s'applique sur la jeune population des étudiants en médecine et des futurs professeurs d'éducation physique venus des Écoles normales d'instituteurs. « Circulation sanguine, respiration et essoufflement, digestion, nutrition, sécrétions, thermogénèse et système nerveux » sont régulièrement auscultés dans le but de percevoir les effets de l'entraînement sur la santé et la condition physique d'une jeunesse qui découvre le sport sous la houlette de la Faculté de médecine.

Au-delà des enseignements scientifiques, en prolongement des cours de méthodologie appliquée aux exercices physiques, les médecins-formateurs de l'Institut mènent des expérimentations pour mettre en évidence les capacités d'adaptation des jeunes étudiants face aux différents efforts (marche, course, gymnastique suédoise, ascension d'escalier, travail avec charge...). L'ambition est de progressivement contrôler les différents critères liés à l'effort physique. En particulier, l'emploi d'un appareillage portatif récent (« le sphygmographe oscillométrique » mis au point par le Pr Victor PACHON à Bordeaux en 1909) ouvre la voie d'une conception inédite de l'exploration fonctionnelle cardio-vasculaire qui se propose d'investir les pratiques sportives (bicyclette, excursions pyrénéennes sur plusieurs jours...). Au sein du laboratoire de l'Institut, des thèses de médecine sont soutenues, qui participent à l'émergence des nouveaux champs de la physiologie cardiaque et de l'analyse du travail musculaire.

La présente étude s'attachera à analyser la démarche expérimentale que propose l'École toulousaine dirigée par le Pr Camille SOULA, qui tente d'appréhender l'ensemble des paramètres de la fatigue physique en observant les résultats produits par les étudiants sportifs de l'institution, et propose finalement de porter un nouveau regard sur l'éducation physique et l'entraînement sportif de la jeunesse.

Mots clés : Entraînement, effort, expérimentation, faculté de médecine, Toulouse

### English

#### **Controlling the physical effort of youth in the heart of the 1930s: sports training and medical supervision at Toulouse University - France**

It was in the mid-1930s that the "need for medical supervision of training" (Dr ARLAUD, 1923, ii, 37) began to be expressed to the professors of the Physical Education Institute at the Toulouse Faculty of Medicine. Particular vigilance applies to the young population of medical students and future physical education teachers from the french *Ecoles Normales*. "Blood circulation, breathing and shortness of breath, digestion, nutrition, secretions, thermogenesis and the nervous system" are regularly studied in order to perceive the effects of training on the health and physical condition of a young person who discovers sport under the guidance of the Faculty of Medicine.

In addition to scientific teaching, as an extension of the methodology courses applied to physical exercises, the Institute's professors are conducting experiments to highlight the ability of young students to adapt to different efforts (walking, running, calisthenics, stair climbing, working with loads, etc.). The ambition is to gradually control the different criteria related to physical effort. In particular, the use of a recent portable equipment ("the oscillometric sphygmograph" developed by Professor Victor PACHON at Bordeaux University in 1909) opens the way to a new conception of functional cardiovascular exploration which aims to invest sports practices (bicycle, hiking, Pyrenean excursions over several days...). Within the Institute's laboratory, medical doctorates are being defended, which are contributing to the emergence of new fields of cardiac physiology and muscle work analysis.

This study will analyse the experimental approach proposed by the Toulouse School headed by Professor Camille SOULA – a famous french physiologist and director of the PE Institute - which attempts to understand all the parameters of physical fatigue by observing the results produced by the institution's sports students, and finally proposes to take a new look at physical education and sports training for young people.

Keywords: Training, effort, experimentation, Faculty of Medicine, Toulouse



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Docteur en histoire, Serge VAUCELLE enseigne à la Faculté des Sciences du Sport de l'Université de Toulouse 3 (CRESCO, EA 7419). Il travaille sur l'histoire du système éducatif et de la santé, et porte un intérêt particulier à la médecine des sports et l'entraînement sportif au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

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Parallel session 4, Friday 15h-16h30, Room 2420: **The medical making of young bodies**

## Fascist and antifascist sportspeople of the world in Spain. Irish volunteers during the Spanish Civil War

Viuda-Serrano A., Ibarro-Merino I.

The Spanish Civil War (SCW, 1936-1939) is one of the most deeply analysed conflicts of the history. It has been studied from many different historical, political, social and economical perspectives. It has also been researched in some way its links with sports. Some authors have studied bonds between Communism and the Spanish sport (Gounot, 2005; Pujadas & Santacana, 1990) or have paid attention to the Fascist and Nazi influences on Spanish Sport (Viuda-Serrano & González Aja, 2012). SCW has also been researched as a battleground for the international struggle between the two most relevant political models of that time, Communism and Fascism. But historians need to conduct thorough research on their relations with sport. In 1936 both models converged on the European stage represented by the People's Olympiad (Barcelona) and the Olympic Games (Berlin). A major exponent of this significant international element of the SCW, widely acknowledged prelude to the WWII, was the direct involvement of thousands of foreign men and women from all over the world on both sides of the armed conflict. Between 35.000 and 50.000 young foreign combatants, depending on the sources, from 53 different countries, mostly antifascists and Communists, were part of the International Brigades who fought in defence of the Spanish Republic and against international Fascism from 1936 to 1938. Some of them were indeed in Barcelona during the outbreak of the conflict (18 July) to attend or participate in the People's Olympiad (beginning on 19 July). On the other side, around 200.000 soldiers came to Spain to fight for Franco, most of them Roman Catholics and anti-Communists. Over 70.000 to 100.000 Moroccan soldiers (former Spanish colony), 70.000 to 100.000 Italians, 20.000 to 30.000 Germans and 7.000 to 10.000 Portuguese fighters (the 3 main fascist-style European regimes of that time). Also some more 1.000 to 2.000 volunteers from other countries (Britain, Ireland, France, Russia or Romania).

This communication will consider the Irish case and its relation to sport, being of the few countries to send unofficially volunteers to both sides of the conflict. Some 100-250 Irish Communists fought for the Republic organised around the "Connolly Column". Irish republican well-known leaders like Peadar O'Donnell or Frank Ryan organised this group. Between 700 and 800 Catholic volunteers fought for Franco. Eoin O'Duffy, leader of Fine Gael party and supporter of Fascism, organised the "Irish Brigade". Quite a few of these volunteers had strong ties to sport. O'Duffy was President of the Irish Amateur Handball Association, the National Athletic and Cycling Association and the Irish Olympic Council. O'Donnell came to Spain to attend the failed Barcelona People's Olympiad, with other Irish leftist volunteers like Bill Scott. There were even Irish Olympians: Rev. Robert Martin Hilliard participated in boxing (Paris 1924) and was killed in the Jarama battle in 1937.

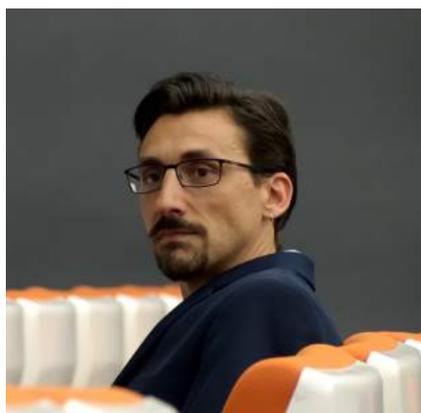
Some questions to answer include, but are not limited to, who were the Irish sportspeople involved in the SCW; were they on both sides; can we find ideologically special cases; did they do specific activities during the war; did they organise sports; what was the relevance of the Barcelona People's Olympiad; can we find some links with previous Workers' Olympiads.

Archival sources, Media coverage (including British and Spanish press) and international research literature will be analysed, specially from the arrival of the volunteers on both sides by the autumn of 1936 until their withdrawal in the last months of 1938, but also during the 1930s. Main work will be done at the Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica (Salamanca), General Archive of the SCW (Salamanca) and National Spanish Library Archive (Madrid). Moreover, some other archival sources will be used: Ireland and SCW Project (Ireland), International Brigade Memorial Trust (UK), Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives (USA), Canadian Cultural History Repository about the SCW (Canada) and Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales (Spain). We will try to provide a comprehensive overview on the development of one of the most relevant episodes of contemporary history and the lives of foreign people fighting in Spain.

Keywords: Fascism, Antifascism, Communism, Sport, People's Olympiad, Spanish Civil War, International Brigades, Irish volunteers

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**VIUDA-SERRANO Alejandro**  
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Alejandro Viuda-Serrano is General Secretary of CESH since 2017 and former Treasurer since 2010. Lecturer at Universidad de Alcalá in Madrid (Spain), he holds a PhD in Sport Sciences, History and Press by Universidad Politécnica de Madrid and specialized in contemporary history. His research focuses on politics and sport in XXth century Spain, specially during the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship.

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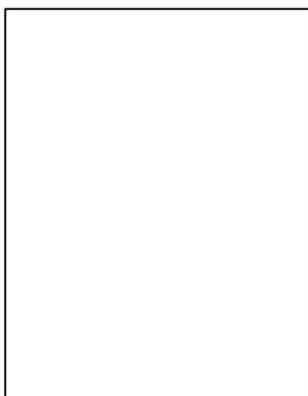
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Parallel session 6, Saturday 9h-10h30, Room 2212: **Sport and international relations**

## **A loud protest of a lost generation that has not been heard? The tragic story of the World Ice Hockey Champions and the Czechoslovakian Boycott of the World Championship in ice-hockey in London (1950)**

Vojacek T., Svepesova A.

The period of 1945–1948 in Czechoslovakia could be conceptualized as the battle between democracy and totalitarianism. The Stalinist command model of socialism was imposed on the Czechoslovak society after 1948. The new regime was trying to stabilize the situation by using political repression and removing ‘politically’ unreliable workers from the state and public administration sphere, the army and also from the sports movement. The so-called "*Victorious February*" –which designated the communist takeover in February 1948 –brought a transition for post-war ice hockey to a unified physical education system controlled by the Communist Party. The Czechoslovak National ice hockey team won the gold medal in the Ice Hockey World Championship in Stockholm (1949).

The team formed by young players was ready to fight for medals in the upcoming championship in London (1950). Shortly before their departure for the United Kingdom, their participation was prohibited on the basis of a political decision, because some athletes from Czechoslovakia emigrated during years 1948 to 1950 and the Czechoslovak government feared that could emigrate part of the national ice hockey team in the upcoming championship in London. However, the official justification was that Great Britain didn't issue visas to Czechoslovak journalists. A large part of the national ice hockey team was detained in the U Herlíků restaurant, because they were drunk and loudly protested because of decision of the state officials. Some were called by the state security in the following days. A few months later a large number of Czechoslovak champions were arrested by the Czechoslovak police, among which a majority were accomplishing their compulsory military service. Even though the most of the Czechoslovakian players were 20-25 years old, we could consider them young. None of them had ever had a real occupation, they were seen as young amateur sportsmen in the eyes of State authorities.

The first part of the research deals with the open revolt of these young Hockey players against the state authorities in the restaurant of ‘U Herlíků’ just after their prohibited participation in the London World Championship in Ice Hockey in 1950. According to the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and the police, their protest was qualified as “antisocialist behavior”, and was the reason why most of the players were sentenced in a trial in the first half of September 1950. The second part of the study is based on an analysis of how the issue was represented in the British press. The study includes an analysis of the British press because the Czech historians have paid attention just to the story of the players. Everyone consider it as an important part of our national-regional history, but a global context is missing. Idea of our work is to contribute to the research field by expanding the story from a different perspective. How the boycott was understood on the other side of the Iron Curtain? That is puzzle, which is missing in our historiography and we would like to use this opportunity and put it all together. The conclusion summarizes what impact the loud protest of the Czechoslovak ice hockey players had on their personal lives and ice hockey careers.

Current status: We wanted to provide a new insights and conclusions with a thorough collation of archival sources (From The Security Services Archive: Informer Files Group - Minutes written by informants from travels abroad with Czechoslovak national ice hockey team, Investigation Directorate of the StB (State Security) –Investigation Files that includes witness interrogations, etc. From The Office of the President of the Czech Republic: Requests for presidential pardon and other smaller collections from various archives in the Czech Republic.), secondary sources, historical press and the testimony of witnesses. The research in The Security Services Archive, where are administered the archival collections created by the activities of the security services, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the organization of the National Front operating in these units, is completed and the analysis of the British press is in progress. One of the authors is just finishing research in London and Edinburgh. The paper will be submitted by the mid-August.

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### **VOJACEK Tomas**

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In his research, he pays attention mainly to the ice-hockey in the Cold war era. He published several articles devoted to history of the Olympic movement, ice-hockey and tennis. He collaborates on projects with the Czech Olympic Studies Centre in Prague. In April 2015 and August 2019 he spent a month long research stay in the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne.

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### **ŠVEPEŠOVÁ Alena**

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Alena Švepešová lives in České Budějovice, Czech Republic. She is currently studying doctoral studies at the Institute of Economic and Social History at Charles University in Prague and at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport at Charles University in Prague. Her topics of doctoral studies cover Czechoslovak sporting emigration and ice hockey in Czechoslovakia between years 1972 – 1998.

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## L'Europe dans le monde du football. Genèse et formation de l'UEFA (1930-1960)

Vonnard P.

It is not exaggerated to say that the integration of European football has met with more success and with less scepticism than the parallel process on the economic and political field. Today, while UEFA boasts 55 'national' member associations, the European Union includes 28 member states so far, with one major member on the leave... How does one explain the paradox of the influence and geographical territory of European football being so much more extensive than that of the European Union? This book analyses the conundrum by studying the role of UEFA, the institutional key player, which has been constantly working to develop football exchanges at the European level since its inception. Surprisingly, the early years of UEFA's activities have hardly been the object of proper academic research.

This research responds to the lack of historical studies of the beginnings of UEFA. On the one hand, it considers UEFA's establishment, hypothesizing that the necessity of a new organization must have been linked to the ongoing decentralization experienced by FIFA, the world governing body of football, since the 1930s, in which South American football administrators played a decisive role. On the other hand, it examines how administrators created an association that transcended the barriers supposed to be enforced by the Cold War. It focuses on the development of a network of administrators within FIFA who promoted football outside the constraints of international politics. Their plan of work was later adapted by UEFA's leaders, with the aim of guaranteeing its autonomy at the international stage.

The study pursues three main lines of inquiry. The first focuses on the role of football organisations, first FIFA and then UEFA, in the creation of international football. Indeed, these organisations - which themselves operate in a changing football context - allow an increase in the number of football matches on a European geographical scale, in particular through the establishment of supranational competitions. The main question we would like to raise concerns the role that FIFA and then UEFA play in boosting European football exchanges.

The second axis questions the relationship between football leaders (mainly the ruling elite of FIFA, then UEFA) and politics. In other words, it is about exploring the ability of leaders to propose exchanges contrasting with the international political context and, more generally, to grant themselves autonomy, albeit relative, on the international scene. The main question can be summed up as follows: *how do the leaders of FIFA and UEFA manage to achieve relative autonomy on the international scene?*

The third axis of this research consists in questioning both the reasons for UEFA's formation in the second half of the 1950s and the organisational structure. Here, we think of the development of the European organisation in global terms, i.e. taking into account non-European actors. The question we are asking here is: *how do we explain the establishment of UEFA in the mid-1950s?*

Archival material drawn mainly from the UEFA and FIFA Documentation Centres. Other relevant archives explored include those of the German, English, Belgian, French and Swiss football federations. Additionally, the study uses reports from a number of leading newspapers of the era, namely, *L'Equipe*, *France football*, *La Semaine sportive*, *Le Sport Suisse* and benefits from four long interviews with football personalities from the 1950s.

Keywords : History, Europe, organization, football

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**VONNARD Philippe**  
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Philippe Vonnard is SNSF Senior research fellow (on the project “La fabrique des sports nationaux”) at the University of Lausanne. He is specialized in the history of the internationalization and has published several articles on this topic. He has coordinated *Beyond Boycotts. Sport during the Cold War in Europe* (De Gruyter, 2017) and have written *L’Europe dans le monde du football* (Peter Lang, 2018). He is member of RERIS ([www.reris.net](http://www.reris.net)).

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Parallel session 3, Friday 8h45-10h45, Room 2420: **A look to recent publications in transnational and international sport history**

## Games and sport of Czech youth at school and outside of school

Waic M., Pavlu D.

The Austro-Hungarian compromise from 1867 made Czech lands, i.e. Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, part of the so-called “Cislethania”. The same legal norms, including those concerning education, applied in both Czech and Austrian lands. On 14 May 1869, an Imperial Law on National Schools was issued which introduced 8-year compulsory school attendance and divided national schools into Volksschule (first 4 years of attendance) and Stadtschule (second 4 years of attendance). The law also banned corporal punishment and introduced 2 hours of physical education per week. However, the students exercised in completely unsatisfactory conditions, in the courtyards and corridors of schools, which had no gyms or playgrounds. A special physical education uniform was yet to be discovered and the limit of the number of students in the class was raised by 1883 amendment from 80 to 100.

In the years 1875-1877, the first physical education curriculum was introduced in the Czech lands. Children in schools in the Czech lands began to exercise according to the system created by Adolf Spiess. Adolf Spiess (1810 –1858) worked in the German countries and Switzerland and based his system on Jahn’s turner gymnastics, adopting Jahn’s apparatus, floor and group exercises for the needs of school physical education. However, according to Spiess, due to the number of pupils and unsuitable conditions for physical activity in schools, the exercise did not contribute much to pupils’ physical development.

In 1882, Gustav von Gossler, the German Minister for Mental Education and Health Affairs, issued a regulation on games (Spielerlass). According to this, the apparatus and floor exercises of the pupils were to be supplemented with games, swimming, outdoor trips and skating in winter. Furthermore, playgrounds and gyms were to be built at schools. In 1890, the Austrian Minister of Cult and Education, Paul Gautsch von Frankenthurn, in the manner of his German counterpart, issued a similar decree, which he also called Spielerlass –“to promote youth physical education in public schools.” Austrian Spielerlass also encouraged school teachers to negotiate lower admission to skating rinks and swimming pools and schools to set up a playground for games. Jiří Guth-Jarkovský, one of the founding members of the International Olympic Committee, was at the time a teacher at grammar school in Klatovy (a town in West Bohemia). He commented on the introduction of this the decree as follows: *“a momentous decree of Minister Gautsch on physical education was published. It seemed to open windows that had been boarded up so far, letting fresh air and a little free movement into schools. There was horror among the professors, and the old ones wrung their hands. Where will this lead! After all, it is up to the student to learn and only to learn, not to row, fence, play!”*

In Bohemia, one of the greatest promoters of school games was the land school inspector Josef Klenka, who founded the Association for the Cultivation of Czech Youth Games in 1892. Its goal was to enable school children to pursue games after school by “setting up training grounds, organizing games, trips and youth festivals, and providing tools and aids for the games”. Josef Klenka stated that *“these games are one of the best means of education and can be largely performed as a competition of two teams, which increases its value even more.”*

The most popular games were:

- Games with a small ball and a bat: Barborcky, Zastávky, Pasák (games similar to baseball), Cricket, Lawn Tennis, Zaháněná (a two-team game using a small tennis ball)
- Games with a large ball: Tag the ball (and its variations), Handball, older version of Volleyball, Football

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Born in 1956.

After his graduation from the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University in 1984 he completed his postgraduate studies at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of Charles University in 1990.

From 1990 until now, he has been a Lecturer at this faculty. Lectures: History of Sport and Political Science. Since 2001, he has been the Head of Department of Kinanthropology and Humanities. In 2008, he was appointed professor for Sport Humanistics.

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**PAVLŮ Dagmar**

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Assoc. Prof. Pavlů's primary interests are in the physiotherapy and clinical kinesiology. Dr. Dagmar Pavlů is a Associate Professor at Charles University, Faculty of Physical Education and Sport (UK FTVS) and is a guarantor of study programmes in physiotherapy at the faculty. Dr. Pavlů was a president of the professional organisation - Physiotherapists of the Czech Republic (till 2014) and between 2004 – 2008 she was a vice chairman of ER WCPT (European Region of World Confederation for Physical Therapy). She is a Member of Executive Board of Association of Rehabilitation and Physical Medicine in the Czech Republic. Assoc. Prof. Pavlů is the author of two monographs and more than 150 special articles in journals. She is the head of one part of

the Progres research project at UK FTVS. Her current research interests include analysis of the effect of physiotherapeutical methods.

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## The difficult birth of Special Olympics Great Britain (1977-82)

Weir T.

Special Olympics UK, which formed officially in 1978 having received the blessing of Eunice Kennedy-Shriver, can trace its existence to a very specific moment in time a year earlier. Chris Maloney noticed the enthusiastic cheering of Paul, who had Down Syndrome, at poolside during a swimming lesson and determined to teach him. This origin has been well documented, but less well known is the difficulties encountered in the first few years. It was regarded with resistance and suspicion by other British disability and sporting organisations. Such were the passions of the debate around Special Olympics it nearly resulted in a brawl between a member of the House of Lords and the Vice-President of the Sports Council, fortunately mediated by an actor most famous for comically dropping his trousers. This paper draws on previously unexplored archives, letters, and interviews conducted with a number of key individuals, including Maloney. These form a key part of my wider thesis research into the history of learning disability sport in Britain between 1960-2012. In order to fully contextualise the position and role of Special Olympics GB the presentation will highlight what other provision existed for people with ‘mental handicap’ in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s. This ranged from Sport in Asylums, Mencap Gateway clubs, Adult Training Centres through to the ‘Mini-Olympics.’ It will also discuss the reluctance of the British Sports Association for the Disabled (BSAD,) then led by Sir Ludwig Guttmann, to support initiatives for people with learning disability. Ultimately Special Olympics GB succeeded, when hundreds of athletes competed at the first British games in Knowsley (Liverpool) in 1982, crowning what had been an immensely hard fought success. That it happened owed to a mixture of motivated individuals, crucial high level government support, and the hundreds of local volunteers that rallied to support clubs and games organised around the country. Through this paper, their story is finally brought to light.



**WEIR Tom**  
De Montfort University

I am now into my third year of my PhD, based at De Montfort University in the UK. My PhD research focuses on uncovering a neglected history, that of the history of sport for people with learning disability in Britain since 1960. This primarily uses an oral history approach, interviewing organisers and athletes involved with groups such as Special Olympics and INAS.

Parallel session 5, Friday 16h45-18h15, Room 2218: **Body control and sport inclusion**