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and exercise science aspects of
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Stephan Wassong is Full Professor at the German Sport University Cologne (GSU) where he is Head of the Institute of Sport History and Director of its Olympic Studies Centre (OSC) since 2009. At the GSU he has been VicePresident of the Senate since 2019. From 2006 till 2009 he was Associate Professor at Liverpool Hope University, GB. He is the Director of the international study programme Master of Arts in Olympic Studies and since 2015, a member of the International Olympic Committee's Olympic Education Commission. Since 2018 he has been President of the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee which is an IOC recognized organization. He is a founding member of the Scientific Committee of the International Olympic Academy (IOA). Professor Wassong is widely published on the national and international level. His fields of research include, amongst others, the history of the modern Olympic Movement, Olympic Education, the Olympic anti-doping fight, foundation and development of the IOC's Athletes Commission, sport for all in the Olympic Movement, and socio-cultural aspects of sport and physical education in the USA. Recently he has published the *Pierre de Coubertin Reference Document* in collaboration with the Olympic Studies Centre of the IOC and the French Pierre de Coubertin Committee. Professor Wassong has been appointed Adjunct Professor in the School of Health Sciences at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, and Visiting Professor in the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. Since 2012 he has been invited as a lecturer at the International Olympic Academy regularly. In 2023 was awarded the Vikelas Award of the International Society of Olympic Historians for his research on the Olympic Movement.

Preface

Paris 2024, Bridging Past and Future in Olympic Endeavour

2024 will be the year of the Olympic and Paralympic Games in Paris, 100 years after the last Olympic Games in France. This world event will be the occasion to come back to the country of Pierre de Coubertin, renovator and founder of the modern Olympic Games.

In the preparations of Paris 2024, the organizing committee aims to offer these Games to all French people and to the World. This holistic approach can be seen as a development of the humanistic endeavour of Olympism for all. To achieve this endeavour, specific programs and actions are needed. Some of these actions will be analysed in this issue of the Journal:

- improving health through sport (for example the program “30 minutes of sport everyday” from the French Ministry of Sports, Olympic and Paralympic Games),
- Olympic education (with annual Olympic and Paralympic events and academies...)

This issue of *Diagoras*, International Academic Journal on Olympic Studies, also combines historical and management studies (in Europe, Asia, or Latin America) with the original works of scholars from around the World. Perspectives that are retrospective and prospective in design will be presented highlighting the diversity of Olympic Studies, the rhetoric of Coubertin, and also targeting the development of esports in the Olympic world.

The editorial team of *Diagoras* is grateful to the people involved in this new issue, from guest reviewers to the scientific committee, editorial team, and the different authors.

Prof. Arnaud Richard
Prof. Ian Culpan
Prof. Emilio Fernández Peña
Prof. Stephan Wassong

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Coubertinian Rhetoric: the Olympic Manifesto, a text with a modern edge

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Abstract

Our article focuses on the work of Pierre de Coubertin, and in particular the Olympic Manifesto of 1892, with the aim of identifying and analyzing rhetorical strategies at the service of the Olympic ideal. We show how, thematically, the Baron's texts are highly topical: humanist vision of sport, balance of body and mind, taste for effort, excellence...

Style serves the purpose. The terms are exact, the discourse clear. All these elements guarantee the credibility of the program. Baron de Coubertin uses images and comparisons to illustrate his point forcefully. He also uses analogies, to better represent what he's describing.

Thematically, Coubertin contrasts physical activity, which keeps bodies virile and muscular, with the softening to which passivity and idleness lead.

The Baron's contrast between intellectual training and physical education is also evident. Coubertin would refine this contrast by emphasizing the role of sport in shaping men's minds and character. It's a question of complementarity between body and mind, not dichotomy. In this connection, the Baron develops the concept of "eurythmie", which in his writings takes on a very special meaning, that of a balance between two extremes.

Keywords

The Olympic Manifesto, Olympic ideal, Ethos, Olympic Movement, Coubertin, Rhetorical strategies

Introduction

Our article focuses on the work of Pierre de Coubertin, and in particular the Olympic Manifesto of 1892¹, with the aim of identifying and analyzing rhetorical strategies at the service of the Olympic ideal. We show how, thematically, the Baron's texts are highly topical: humanist vision of sport, balance of body and mind, taste for effort, excellence...

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Our article first looks at the generic name "Olympic Manifesto", then analyzes the structuring of the discourse into five parts and the stylistic effects created.

1. The generic name: "Olympic Manifesto"

The Baron's first official speech on the renewal of the Games was delivered on November 25, 1892, in an academic context, during a Congress at the old Sorbonne. Today, this speech is known as "The Olympic Manifesto". It is interesting to note that the

¹ The complete Manifesto is available on the IOC bookshop website; it is the 1994 edition: <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-57527> Coubertin, P. (1994). *Le Manifeste olympique*

Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé definition of "Manifesto" refers to a written declaration, not an oral speech.

A. - A written, public and solemn declaration in which a man, a government or a political party sets out a decision, a position or a program. Synonym. address, proclamation, profession of faith.

•In particular. A written, public and solemn declaration transmitted through diplomatic channels from one state to another`` (Sand.-Béa Pol. 1976). Doesn't Turkey, i.e. Russia, agree with England, as in its manifesto, it reproaches the Pasha for having refused the English Aden and Suez? (Michelet, Journal, 1839, p. 304).

- By analogy. Written statement in which an artist or group of artists expounds an artistic conception or program.

The solemn, programmatic character of this declaration is emphasized in the definition. However, at the time of its enunciation, the Baron's speech did not have this aspect, nor did it have the hoped-for impact. Patrick Clastres (2002, p. 336) points out that "his speech, which was too offbeat, did not win the support of the USFSA's leaders"²; "In the manner of a modern-day sports geopolitician, Pierre de Coubertin relates the foreign policies of states to national body cultures, and then he sets out his project - preposterous for the audience - of re-establishing the Olympic Games".

Indeed, the baron confides in his book *Une campagne de vingt-et-un ans* that the

² USFSA : Union des Sociétés Françaises des Sports Athlétiques

audience remains circumspect, suspicious or incredulous, even mocking. This book is invaluable because the baron explains the conditions under which he defended the renewal of the Olympic Games.

1.1. Links between the manifesto and the book 'A twenty-one-year campaign'

This work represents a highly illuminating intertext, insofar as it summarizes the Baron's approach and the reflections that led him to re-establish the Games and reform the French education system. In it, the Baron explains the background to the events, and confides his feelings. Of course, this is a deliberate attempt to dramatize the events, which the reader is not fooled by, but the most significant thing is to observe the vocabulary used and the way he addresses the reader, through the summaries of the situations he encounters and the speeches he makes.

In the preface, Pierre de Coubertin summons his long-standing adversaries and opponents to justify his work, and emphasizes, as a witness and a protagonist, his moral obligation to re-establish the truth. He provokes his adversaries by thanking them for helping him to write this book, which is ultimately of great benefit to him, since through its writing, he is able to measure the progress he has made and the successes he has achieved.

From the outset, the Baron contrasts his adversaries (« violentes attaques », « hostilité inattendue »*)³ with his beloved collaborators, to whom he pays tribute. The vocabulary associated with his collaborators is highly

laudatory, referring to their dedication, energy and perseverance at his side.

The way in which the book is written, which is very detailed, is rooted in the Baron's duty to set the record straight. He explains to the reader that it is because of the virulence of his adversaries and their lies and slander, that he is led to specify all the contextual elements of the events, their chronology, the actors present, etc., even if it means making the work heavier (for which he apologizes as an oratorical precaution). He freely places the blame on his opponents, who have repeatedly sought to sabotage his "Rénovation des Jeux"* project (an accusation of intent). That is why he owes the public the truth, and does so in a book that recounts the obstacles encountered, the tough negotiations that took place, and the arguments deployed on both sides. The Baron is entitled to do so, insofar as he is recognized as the Renovator of the Games (*argument from authority*).

« Je n'avais point l'intention d'écrire ce livre — à peine d'en résumer le contenu en quelques articles. Peut-être devrais-je le dédier à ceux dont les violentes attaques m'ont amené à l'écrire. Je leur dois plaisir et profit. Grâce à leur hostilité inattendue, j'ai pu revivre les différentes phases d'une longue entreprise qui a heureusement abouti. Mais on m'excusera sans doute de vouloir évoquer, plutôt que ce service involontaire rendu par des adversaires passionnés, le dévouement, l'énergie et la persévérance de tant de collaborateurs auxquels je tiens à envoyer, dès la première page, un souvenir reconnaissant. Je dois encore ajouter un mot : la genèse de ce volume, telle que je viens de la rappeler, explique sa documentation très détaillée.

3 In this article, we retain Pierre de Coubertin's original text in French, as French is an Olympic language and to avoid any translation errors. Items in French are followed by a *

Force m'a été, du moment qu'il y avait à rétablir la vérité travestie ou méconnue, de rappeler, en les appuyant de dates et de citations, bien des faits que j'eusse autrement négligés. Si certains chapitres s'en trouvent un peu trop allongés, ce n'est pas à l'auteur d'en porter la responsabilité. »

L.11) *Une Campagne de vingt-et-un ans* (1887-1908). Paris, Librairie de l'Education physique, 1909 (220 pages) Préface*

Let's not forget that Pierre de Coubertin is also a historian and a writer, with a flair for details and precision, and a knack for making his narrative breathtaking. He displays his zeal and strength of conviction in the negotiations he conducts and the speeches he delivers. He builds a reliable and competent *ethos*⁴, capable of fighting battles to the end of his convictions.

1.2. A protected manuscript and a mysterious name

This stance, reinforced over the years and after Coubertin's death, undoubtedly influenced the choice of the title "Manifesto" for his speech of November 25, 1892. This name gave it a political dimension, that of a public manifesto.

What's more, the speech now has a sacred quality, a vestige of Coubertinian thought. The original manuscript was donated to the

⁴ Let's remember that the discursive ethos described by Aristotle corresponds to the speaker's "oratorical mores", i.e. the image he gives of himself through his speech, by the very way he carries out his oratorical activity. The pre-discursive ethos, on the other hand, refers to the speaker's reputation, past actions and "real morals"; it thus precedes the speaker's oratory activity, and is not constructed by it.

IOC in 2020⁵. Since then, the IOC Museum has housed the precious manuscript. Its preservation in the Olympic Museum is the result of a donation by Alisher Usmanov, which is highlighted on the IOC website. A facsimile of the manuscript is available from the Olympic World Library⁶.

It should be noted that a crossed-out passage was reproduced in the transcribed version of 1994⁷. The passage in question corresponds to part V of the Baron's speech; there are two versions, the first crossed out, the other retained. In the typescript, the editors chose both to transcribe Part V as unfinished and not retained, and Part V as retained.

Thank you to the Comité Français Pierre de Coubertin for allowing us to take an interest in the publication "Restoring the Olympic Games. Founding speech" published in November 2020 by the International Olympic Committee. The title of this founding speech, in Coubertin's own handwriting, is: « Conférence faite à la Sorbonne au Jubilé de l'U.S.F.S.A. Nov. 1892 ».

The Baron writes on old membership forms for the "Congrès pour la Propagation des exercices physiques dans l'éducation"*⁸, held in 1889. In this way, he used scrap paper, as it were, without finalizing his text. We should not forget that, at the time, he was unaware of the patrimonial dimension his writings would

⁵ <https://fr.euronews.com/2020/02/10/le-cio-recoit-l-original-du-manifeste-olympique-de-1892-redige-par-pierre-de-coubertin>

⁶ <https://olympics.com/cio/news/le-texte-fondateur-redige-par-pierre-de-coubertin-trouve-sa-place-aumusee-olympique-de-lausanne#:~:text=Le%20donateur%20est%20Alisher%20Usmanov,le%20baron%20Pierre%20de%20Coubertin>

⁷ <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-57527>

take on.

It is interesting to note that the front of one of the membership forms contains handwritten notes by the Baron, which have not been transcribed or analyzed by the editors. These notes, taken vertically, are not strictly speaking included in the speech; we can assume that they are ideas or ideas that Pierre de Coubertin jotted down there, but there is no way of knowing for sure.

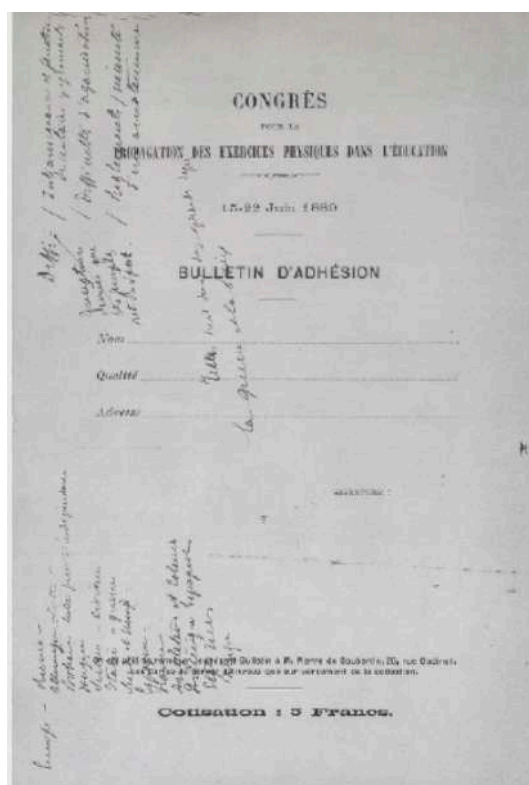


Figure 1. Last page of facsimile with notes taken

Only the following indication from the publishers of the 1994 facsimile is given:

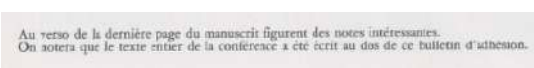


Figure 2: Editors' notes

The 2006 edition by François d'Amat, published by Faire de lance, also includes the

reproduced manuscript. Zoomed-in shots of the inscriptions reveal a list of countries, including : «Allemagne, Bohème lutte pour l'indépendance ; Hongrie ; Italie = guerre ; Espagne ; France ; Angleterre et Colonies ; Amérique espagnole ; Etats-Unis ; Belgique»*. On the right, there are a number of elements: « Diffé – Conceptions que les peuples ont du sport » ; « Intransigence et formation de certains * » ; « Difficultés d'organisation » ; « Réglements / nécessité d'un amateurisme »*.

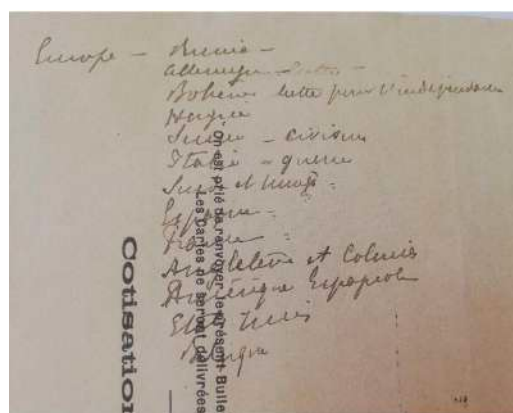


Figure 3. Photo of left side

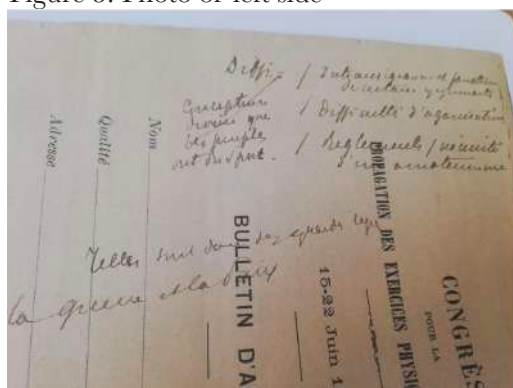


Figure 4. Photo of the right-hand section

Note that in the 2006 edition, these elements are on the verso of the first page of the speech, and not on the verso of the last page, as indicated for the facsimile published on the IOC website and dated 1994. For the latest IOC edition, dated 2020⁸, these elements appear on the verso of the first page of the speech.

8 <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-471847>

1.3. "Renouveau", "renaissance", "rénovation", "rétablissement"* ...

Pierre de Coubertin's lecture, given in the amphitheatre of the former Sorbonne, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the "Union des Sociétés Françaises des Sports Athlétiques"* (USFSA), had as its subject « renaissance physique ». This is what the Baron announces in his introduction to this speech, divided into five parts.

The aim is not yet to talk about the revival of the Games, but to evoke a «grand mouvement»*, which is spreading and which he rightly calls «la renaissance physique»⁹. The Baron proposes (« je voudrais », « votre serviteur »*), in his capacity as General Secretary, to deal with three systems that dominate the World and which sum up in these three words : « la guerre, l'hygiène, le sport »*. These were to form the basis of the Baron's speech, culminating in the revival of the Olympic Games.

But why was this text called the "Olympic Manifesto"? When did this generic appellation originate? Who was behind it? Was it the IOC through official channels?

François d'Amat came up with the name in 1994, as historian Patrick Clastres points out (2022):

"Prior to this social event that was held under the presidency of the French Minister

of Public Instruction, three conferences had been announced on 'athletic sports': in antiquity by Georges Bourdon, in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance by Jean-Jules Jusserand, and in the modern world by Baron Pierre de Coubertin. Some newspapers had also reported another title for his conference 'Physical exercises in the modern world', confirmed by the first sentence of his speech: 'Physical exercises have, in the modern world, three capitals: Berlin, Stockholm and London'. The title of 'Olympic Manifesto' that the Marquis François d'Amat attributed to it for its first edition in 1994 is therefore not appropriate. Indeed, a manifesto is a public declaration by which a person or group exposes a program of action and puts it into circulation.

However, contrary to his usual habit, de Coubertin never published anything about this conference, neither in the days and weeks that followed, nor in the memoirs that he produced in abundance until his death to justify his work. It remains to be seen why."

Jean Durry (2003), an eminent Coubertin specialist, also stresses the inauthentic character ("knowingly false") of the title given by François d'Amat to the speech of November 25, 1892. In his "Coup d'envoi" for *Coubertin autographe 1889-1915 Volume 1* (a transcription of 150 original handwritten documents), he states:

"The most astonishing reappearance in 1994 was certainly that of the fourteen original pages of this conference of November 25, 1892, delivered during the (more or less

9 The Baron showed a genuine interest in language, as evidenced by the metalinguistic comments to be found in his writings. Such is the case here (emphasis added): « Je voudrais en préciser très rapidement les traits caractéristiques, indiquer leur marche à travers le temps présent et vous décrire enfin la part de la France dans ce grand mouvement qu'on a si justement nommé : la renaissance physique. »*.

fictitious¹⁰) Jubilee evening of the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques, in the closing words of which a 29-year-old Coubertin uttered the misunderstood phrase about the chimera of “re-establishing the Olympic Games”; For more than a century, they had been thought to have been destroyed, and here they were reborn, as new, in their entirety and the freshness of their outpouring, edited with the support of the C. I. O. by their current holder. I.O. by their current owner, François d’Amat, under the deliberately bogus title *Le Manifeste Olympique* (Lausanne, Les Editions du Grand-Pont)!”

(Durry, 2003 : 12)¹¹

Renaming and thus re-categorizing a Conference as a Manifesto clearly alters the reception and interpretation of the text, transforming the original text into a hybrid genre. In fact, generic identification is associated with genre norms that inscribe the text in a tradition and thus, condition its interpretation (Rastier 2001). Having before their eyes what is presented as “THE” Olympic Manifesto, the reader-interpreter scans the lines in search of strong arguments and statements asserting the enunciator’s position of decision-making authority. The reader-interpreter also looks

for the solemnity of the discourse through features characteristic of the Manifesto genre. The reader-interpreter is also looking for the underlying program, the possible stages, the enunciator’s stated objectives...

But none of this is apparent, at least not explicitly, in the Baron’s speech. In the end, it’s only after the event that the text is re-qualified as a Manifesto, no doubt in view of the success of the Baron’s program and the continued existence of the Olympic Games. All the more so as the Baron’s original manuscript disappeared for many years and was not published during his lifetime¹².

In addition, the title given to the document published by the IOC in 2020¹³ is now « Le rétablissement des Jeux Olympiques »* (“Restoring the Olympic Games”). Subtitled « Discours fondateur »* (“Founding Speech”). This title, which replaces “Manifesto”, places the emphasis more on the result of the action, on the actual work of restoring and renovating the Games, rather than on the will that led to this action, as in the original “Manifesto”.

As for the Baron, at the start of Part III of his speech, he describes his conference as an « entretien »*: « Nous avons déjà vu, Messieurs, au début de cet entretien (...) »*.

A second time, in part IV of the speech, the word « entretien »* is used by the Baron : « bien que désireux de ne rien mêler de personnel à cet entretien, j’insiste sur cette date par un sentiment dont la légitimité ne saurait être contestée. »*.

10 The “Union des Sociétés Françaises de Courses à pied”, founded in January 1887, became the “Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques” two years later (on January 31, 1889), which explains why the Jubilee celebrating the Union’s fifth anniversary in the week of November 20 to 27, 1892, is described as abusive by Jean Durry (ibid., p. 49).

11 We translate. This two-volume publication presents the life of Pierre de Coubertin through his writings, letters and manuscripts, covering the period from 1889 to 1937. Vol. 1: 1889-1915. - 356 p. - 2003. Vol. 2: 1915-1937. - 485 p. - 2023.

12 It was rediscovered a century later thanks to the long-term efforts of collector François d’Amat. The Manifesto was published by Editions du Grand Pont in 1994. Then it disappeared again...

13 <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-471847>

However, an *entretien* is a far cry from a manifesto, which in Coubertin's day very often needed to be published in the press, in daily papers such as *Le Figaro* or *Le Parisien*, and which could take the form of a pamphlet, an opinion piece, a declaration, etc. Coubertin was also well acquainted with the world of sport. Coubertin is also no stranger to the manifesto genre, as demonstrated by his criticism of the "Manifeste du futurisme"* (published in *Le Figaro*¹⁴ on February 20, 1909) in an article entitled "Extravaganza" published in the *Revue Olympique*¹⁵ in April 1909. In it, the Baron criticized the "ardor" of Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and Giacomo Balla:

« On a chance¹⁶ de réunir de la sorte un premier noyau de « m'as-tu vu ? » ; et un charivari d'appel avec trompettes et grosse-caisse s'organise par leurs soins. Les initiateurs, cette fois, ont dit-on, beaucoup de talent ; mais il suffit de lire les lignes que voici pour se demander si leur talent n'est pas en train de dérailler. Les « Futuristes » en effet ont lancé leur manifeste de principe. Ecoutez ce qu'ils disent. » (pp. 56-57)*

What's more, the dialogical form the Baron gives to his speech of November 25, 1892, by regularly summoning the audience ("Messieurs"*), does not correspond to the

definition of a Manifesto either. One might think that, through the item "entretien"*, the Baron was seeking proximity with his audience.

As a member of the USFSA, he shares the same goals as the other members *a priori*, and his Board *a fortiori*. What's more, the Sorbonne was a popular venue for talks at the time, and it's likely that the Baron's speech was perceived as a talk like any other. Coubertin used apostrophe ("Et puis, Messieurs, vous savez comment ils sont nos soldats." ; "Ne croyez pas cela, Messieurs."*) and summons (« Faut-il vous rappeler l'agitation que causèrent dans les capitales australiennes, les incidents des îles Samoa et des Nouvelles-Hébrides, le désir hautement manifesté par l'opinion de s'emparer plus tard de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, enfin l'envoi par la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud d'un contingent de ses milices pour soutenir les Anglais au Soudan ? »*). The audience is kept on its toes, invited to react, to form an opinion, to express itself. This dialogical dimension is very striking. The term "Messieurs"* is used eleven times. Note that "Messieurs"* appears in the strikethrough version, but not in the final version. So, there are no "Messieurs"* in Part V.

But what really catches our attention is Part V, with its strikethrough. In this version, the pedagogical program is announced abruptly; note the repetition of « en trois mots »*, which underlines the brevity and directness of the speech's conclusion, and also echoes the three words at the beginning of the Conference "guerre, hygiène, sport"*:

« En trois mots, Messieurs, car il est temps de clore le cycle de cette portion de l'histoire universelle qui vous a été présentée ce soir

14 <https://www.lefigaro.fr/histoire/archives/2019/02/19/26010-20190219ARTFIG00263-le-figaro-publie-en-une-le-manifeste-du-futurisme-le-20-fevrier-1909.php>

15 <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-168806>

16 (Sic)

– en trois mots je vais vous dire quel est le programme que, Ministres responsables, nous proposons à nos électeurs et je crois qu’il a leur approbation. »*.

We don’t find these elements in the chosen version of Part V, which appeals more to the audience’s sense of analysis and presumed foresight: « mais je veux attirer votre attention sur ce fait important qu’il présente deux caractères nouveaux cette fois dans la série de ces transformations séculaires »* ; « ceux qui ont vu 30000 personnes courir sous la pluie pour assister à un match de football ne trouveront pas que j’exagère »*.

It’s interesting to read in the strikethrough version elements linked to a political decision, far removed from the reinstatement of the Games. We find: « le programme »; « Ministres responsables »; « électeurs »; « approbation »*. It’s a case of wanting people to adhere to a project. This project is supported by a “nous”*, referring to the Baron, who takes center stage. The “électeurs”* most likely refer to the audience. These elements move the discourse towards a genuine plea for the development of school athletic associations and their links with the University. But the Baron complicates matters by crossing out this very text and adding in the last version a reference to the reinstatement of the Games.

1.4. Elements of textual genetics

Before going into the details of the textual analysis, we’ll take a look at the annotated 2020 version of the Manifesto, comprising the manuscript on the right-hand pages and its typescript version on the left-hand pages. The transcribed elements are very interesting

in that they include the erasures present in the handwritten text. We can thus follow the evolution of the text from its genesis to its stabilized form, as it was probably pronounced on November 25, 1892 by its author, Pierre de Coubertin. This preservation gives us access to the textualization process and traces of enunciative operations. As Irène Fenoglio (2014) points out, these traces are, in terms of scription, reducible to the four operations of addition, deletion, displacement and replacement.

The following table shows the various elements relating to these four operations. Simple deletion and deletion-replacement dominate.

Looking at both the typescript and the manuscript, we see a series of successive attempts, forming the fore-text of a finally stabilized text. We’d like to make a few observations in this regard.

(i) First of all, there are five unfinished word replacements: « (bataill) combats »; « (menti) retrouve »; « (Eta) New York »; « ne sava » l’employait »; « (Et main) Voilà »*. It’s easy to identify the unfinished word: « bataille » ; « mentionne » ; « Etat » ; « ne savait »*.

We also note two replacements by the whole word: « (à l’automne se fondait la Li) la fondation de la Ligue »*; « (les capit) causèrent dans les capitales »*.

(ii) We count four deletions of unfinished words: « Vous me deman »; « la diplom »; « appl »; « gra »; « gymna »*.

(iii) We note the existence of an encircled part of a sentence : « et non celui des amollis et des libertins, des polissons de la Régence »*, probably to emphasize its importance.

Table 1. Various elements relating to these four operations

Addition	Deletion	Displacement	(Deletion) Replacement
incomplètement ou	et dont la naissance fut entourée de tant de	la guerre	(issus) sortis
débuta si tragiquement et qui	et dont le début fut marqué par des événements si sanglants	libertins	(présent siècle) temps présent
trop	encore	L'envoi	(aurore d'un) fin du
ou ils sont établis sans le moindre esprit de retour	étrange		(cotoient) se mêlent
et homogène	Rendre à la		(rempli des) pénétré des
de combattre	Il lui manque		(vers) au pied
écrit-il	ces courses à pied que sur lesquelles je me propose de faire des recherches		(autour) sous
largement	Vous me deman Je sais bien		(travailler) agir
Aux Etats-Unis précisément après de romantisme	vers Gibraltar		(conviction) croyance
en 1889	déjà		(avant tout) dans son essence
doublement	abouti à une		(sociétés de gym) innombrables sociétés de gymnastique
que quelques personnes semblent croire	détestable pour		(au-jourd'hui) demain
M. G. de Saint-Clair	d'		(allemands) Anglais
qu'avec vous il	elle est		(établi) fondé
	apte à former les soldats, elle en a formé en effet tout et		(l'athlétisme) l'Education physique
	qui		(hommes) habitants
	au cours du présent siècle		(Allemagne) Amérique
	elle		(guerre) lutte
	De me		(de tout temps) toujours
	le très grandiose et très admirable		(et où se forment son corps) se forme un corps d'élite
	de la gymnastique allemande		(confondre avec) considérer comme
	toute		(d'un) de
	tous		(dirigées) commandées
	petits		(les inquiétudes causées à l') l'agitation que

	d'élite		(se manifeste dans les capit) causèrent dans les capitales
	qui ont jusqu'ici trouvé l'emploi de leurs talents dans la guerre contre les Indiens, définitivement vaincus aujourd'hui		(cette grande vertu) cette importante loi sociale
	En Australie		(abord) aspect
	ferme		('admiration) reconnaissance
	eût un bel avenir		(en font honneur) s'en croient redevables
	déjà		(dans) sur
	la possession conquête de la nouvelle Calédonie hautement souligné pour l'avenir		('est) veut
	l'envoi		(aux) à
	cette fait bien intéressante		(est bonne) convient
	social		(y touche) l'atteint
	Ici plus l'énergie du mouvement		(la mettront au service de ces) n'y renonceront pas
	peuple		(révolutionnaires) réformateurs
	bien		(parmi) du côté
	bien		(homme) éducateur
	contribué		(grandes) lignes principales
	impressions		(aux) à leurs
	Grâce à la modération de ses mouvements est utile pour tous et appl		(permet) a prouvé
	La Fontaine aurait donc menti et le boire et le dormir peut se vendre au marché comme le manger et		(construire des gymn) établir des champs de jeu
	où se forment		(le mérite de l'effort désintéressé pratiqué pour lui-même de plus que la jeunesse) le mérite de ne chercher dans l'effort que l'effort lui-même
	deux		(travailler) songer
	cela ne (leur) faire		(très mal) aussi mal
	Et maintes		(J'ai) Je ne
			(une) la

			(a bien mérité) aussi mérite
			(présidé à le) inspiré leur
	étaient		(esprit) âme
	entre maîtres et élèves		(Le temps que nous avons suffit, ne nous en donnez pas davantage) on en avait suffisamment (et nous ne désirions pas qu'on nous en donne davantage)
			(ne sava » l'employait mal
	dont elles avaient gra		(fondée) décidée
	de		(à l'automne se fondait la Li) la fondation de la Ligue
	En un m		(parfois avec un trop grand luxe) avec trop de bruit
	Quand		(éducation) pédagogie
	nouvelles		(provoquer) créer
	D'alors		(nous lier) rester
	patriotiques		(paix sera) cause de la paix
	que		
	sur leur compte		
	Et bien		
	en		
	en France		
	cet		
	parce que je crois		
	Ce plan comprenait		
	N'		
	mais on ne savait pas l'emplo- yer. Et aujourd'hui que l'on encore nous venons dire au Conseil supérieur : laissez les choses en l'état.		
	Tels étaient les deux pivots		
	double		
	C'est dans l'intervalle nous		
	pour moi		
	grâce à vous une œuvre gran- diose et bienfaisante, le		

(iii) We note the existence of an encircled part of a sentence : « et non celui des amollis et des libertins, des polissons de la Régence »*, probably to emphasize its importance.

(iv) In addition, six words are underlined, again to emphasize their importance and significance: « mobiliser »; « doser »; « localiser »; « Times »; « démocratique »; « international »*.

(v) A word is repeated as it stands, after being crossed out at first: « d'Amérique »*. This indicates hesitation on the part of the speaker.

(vi) Without going into the details of the interpretation, we can note the withdrawal of the negation “n” due to the change of turn of phrase: “on (n’)avait du temps”*. This can only be the result of the change in wording, and is a clear sign of elaboration in progress.

(vii) In addition, the end of Part IV (« Voilà le passé, voici maintenant l’avenir. L’Union a de grands devoirs à remplir; elle a un programme. »*) is deleted before becoming, in a modified version, the beginning of part V (“(Et main) Voilà le passé; que sera l’avenir?”*), which will be deleted entirely.

(viii) At the beginning of Part I, there are two attempts to express the beginning of a tragic century: the first phrase seems to have been deleted: « et dont la naissance fut entourée de tant de »*. A second phrase suffered the same fate : « et dont le début fut marqué par des événements si sanglants »*. In the end, the phrase « le siècle qui débuta si tragiquement et qui s’achève »* was retained, as the adverb « tragiquement »* emphasizes the horrors of war and their impact.

It should also be noted that the manuscript contains numerous erasures, some of which

are insistently marked, without a priori attributing any meaning to them. We can only assume that these are marks of hesitant formulations, marked choices and successive changes (when several reformulations are superimposed).

At the end of the speech, the expression «cette œuvre grandiose et bienfaisante»*, attached to the Games, is formulated in a first version in association with «grâce à vous»*. But Coubertin chose a second version, which required the addition of « qu’avec vous »* at the beginning of the sentence. This second version emphasizes the phrase « cette œuvre grandiose et bienfaisante»* by placing it directly next to the last words: « le rétablissement des Jeux Olympiques »*. The point here is to use a periphrase to define what the Baron considers the Games to represent.

2. A five-part speech structure

The baron begins (parts I and II of his speech) with a detailed assessment of the state of gymnastics at the end of the 18th century, and more broadly of the state of physical exercise in England, Germany, Sweden, Australia, France and the United States. The presence of sententious assertions (in the present tense of general truth) establishes the baron’s discursive ethos. The subject of war¹⁷ predominates in Part I, with references to the physical condition of soldiers and descriptions of German gymnastics (virile and disciplinary, in a word, military).

The Baron also remarks on the geopolitical situation in the United States, which may seem out of the scope of his speech, and for which

17 Remember that three words underline the articulation of the discourse: « guerre », « hygiène », « sport ».

he apologizes as an oratorical precaution:

« J'ai l'air, en tout ceci, d'abandonner le sport pour étudier des questions diplomatiques.

En réalité, je ne fais qu'insister sur cette importante loi sociale à savoir qu'il existe une étroite corrélation entre l'état d'âme, les ambitions, les tendances d'un peuple et la manière dont il comprend et organise chez lui l'exercice physique. »*

He then turns to gymnastics in Sweden (part II of his speech), which falls under the theme of hygiene. The Baron is critical of this indolent gymnastics which is more beneficial to the « malades »* and the « faibles »*, and which would be inappropriate for youth, who are expected to become virile through muscular effort.

2.1. The spread of the great movement

In Part III, the Baron discusses Thomas Arnold's teaching in England (1825-1840) and the legacy of the monk Kingsley, truly inspired by « souvenirs de la Grèce »*; he refers to a « prodigieuse transformation »* and a « magnifique relèvement »*, a « purification nécessaire »*. This portrait of Thomas Arnold's England reveals the Baron's interest in this concept of sport. Indeed, it is the subject of sport¹⁸ that fuels Part III of the speech. The Baron details the rise of English athletics and its role in university teaching (Oxford, Cambridge). England is taken as an example of a country that has created « champs de jeux » and equipped itself for athletics. The

18 The third and final subject, then, according to the initial enumeration.

Baron describes how this concept has spread to other parts of the world. He also describes his work as an observer, producing « un questionnaire relatif aux jeux, à leur influence sur l'éducation et à leurs progrès »* (here, the games are athletics, sports games). This questionnaire was sent out in 7,000 copies « en 1889 dans toutes les colonies britanniques et les pays de langue anglaise »*. The results are, in his opinion, unquestionable (« une unanimité »*), and the Baron mentions¹⁹ them to endorse (he uses the verb « prouver »*) the value of developing physical exercise in education (emphasis added):

« Ces progrès sont incessants et les réponses témoignèrent **d'une unanimité qui nous a prouvé** que le mouvement ascendant de l'athlétisme atteindrait des proportions gigantesques et que l'expérience de cinquante ans n'avait fait que partout les doctrines d'Arnold et de Kingsley. »*

This spread of the « grand mouvement »* of athletics is described with emphasis and exaggeration by the Baron, who speaks of an « mouvement ascendant »*, reaching « proportions gigantesques »*. He also evokes a « véritable marée montante »*, of « environ six millions d'individus »* already active in the sport, converted as it were. The evocation of numerical elements serves as an *argument ad numerum*, in the sense given by Plantin (2016 : 156, we translate): “The argument of the (greater) number tends towards the argument of consensus. [...] The speaker alleges that

19 The Baron reported on the results of this investigation at the International Congress held in 1889 (Paris), which provided him with a platform to make his voice heard in the educational and political world.

the data on which he is basing his argument are the subject of a consensus of all men and all times, and that by not rallying to it, his interlocutor would be excluding himself from this community”.

English athleticism was emulated (progress was “unceasing”), and took on a philosophical dimension, harking back to the ancient tradition and enabling the «magnifique relèvement »* and the «purification nécessaire »*:

« Une certaine lueur philosophique les environnait : des ressouvenirs de la Grèce, le respect des traditions stoïciennes et une conception assez nette des services que l’athlétisme pouvaient rendre au monde moderne ne tardèrent pas à attirer l’attention sur eux. On se moqua d’eux, mais le ridicule ne les découragea point. Quand le mouvement prit de la consistance ils furent attaqués furieusement, avec rage. Mais leur œuvre était déjà sous la protection de la jeunesse. Les Universités d’Oxford et de Cambridge avaient commencé de s’y associer. Elles devaient y trouver le germe de magnifique relèvement, d’une purification bien nécessaire. »*

As a keen observer and analyst, the Baron emphasizes the key role played by the specialized press (« une presse spéciale »*) in the spread of the sport and the emulation-adhesion it generates. The craze for athletics is obvious: the sport is becoming international; it is venerated, as it was in ancient Greece:

« Une presse spéciale s’est fondée pour savoir les intérêts du monde athlétique. Les résultats

d’une partie de base-ball, jouée à Chicago ou d’une lutte à l’aviron sur le Paramatta font le tour du monde et s’en viennent prendre place dans ce Times qui, il y a quarante ans, annonçait bien timidement dans un petit coin, les premières courses à pied entre Oxford et Cambridge. Les grands jours de rencontres, les affaires s’arrêtent, les bureaux se vident, il y a trêve comme jadis en Grèce pour applaudir la jeunesse qui passe. »*

The « trêve »* here is nothing like the religious truce of ancient Olympia. It’s a matter of stopping what you’re doing to attend the sporting « spectacle »*. For the Baron, this success is due to the practice of sport for its own sake. Sport is thus described as distinct from military gymnastics (Germany) and hygienic gymnastics (Sweden). Here, we have the seeds of what Pierre de Coubertin would develop in his writings (cf. the differences between types of gymnastics) through an ascending gradation articulated by a concessive “but”, which highlights the taste for effort (emphasis added).

« Elle passe, Messieurs, ayant le mérite de ne chercher dans l’effort que l’effort lui-même, de s’imposer des contraintes auxquelles personne ne la pousse, de se ranger sous une discipline doublement efficace parce qu’elle est librement consentie. Il est très noble et très beau de songer à la guerre, il est louable de penser à l’hygiène, mais il est plus parfaitement humain de rendre à l’effort un culte désintéressé et d’aimer les choses difficiles, parce qu’elles sont difficiles, voilà tout.

Cela, c’est la philosophie du sport en général et de notre union en particulier. »*

Pierre de Coubertin makes a lapidary reference here (at the end of Part III) to the « union » to which both he and the audience belong («notre union»*), and which pre supposedly adheres to this vision of sport: « Cela, c'est la philosophie du sport en général et de notre union en particulier »*. We understand that this refers to the "Union des Sociétés Françaises des Sports Athlétiques"* (USFSA), of which the Baron is General Secretary.

The theme of purification through sport is prominent in the Baron's texts. He uses the expression « épuration morale »*, which refers to moral perfection, or what Pierre de Coubertin calls the « rebronzage »* of youth. This purification is vital to society and to the individual, and works by spreading the Hellenic ideal:

« L'épuration souhaitée se poursuivra d'elle-même ensuite et la grande tradition hellénique, si divinement humaine, pourra de nouveau harmoniser les contacts de l'activité sportive avec les autres manifestations vitales et en fixer sagement les privilèges et les limites. »*

A.1146) 26 mars Vers l'unité sportive. In: *Le Sport Suisse*, 26 mars, n° 1151, p.1.

The expression « divinement humain »* is interesting for the apparent oxymoron it contains. This one merely depicts the manifestation of what Olympism stands for: a harmony between sacredness and humanity. As for the term "rebronzage"*, it's really part of the vocabulary developed by the Baron. In the excerpt below, Coubertin uses quotation marks to point out the appropriateness of the new word.

« Lorsque le « Comité pour la propagation

des Exercices Physiques » s'assembla pour la première fois à Paris, les 31 mai et 1er juin 1888, sous la présidence de Jules Simon, il avait en vue une réforme pédagogique déterminée. Ayant reconnu qu'il n'y avait rien d'exclusivement anglo-saxon dans les principes sur lesquels Arnold avait appuyé sa réforme et basé son système, les fondateurs du Comité avaient pour but d'introduire ces principes en France en les appropriant à la mentalité et aux institutions nationales. Ils se proposaient par là de transformer l'éducation et de « rebronzage » la France. Une pareille ambition ne pouvait naturellement séduire au début qu'une petite pléiade de novateurs et, dès les premières réalisations, elle devait par contre voir se dresser devant elle la coalition de ceux dont les intérêts se trouvaient lésés ou les habitudes dérangées. »*

Coubertin, *Leçons de Pédagogie sportive* données à l'Institut Olympique de Lausanne. Lausanne, La Concorde, 1921

2.2. Intertextuality serving the purpose

Part IV of the speech sets a different tone. A tone that shows that the Baron's voice (even if he has no official academic title) counts in the educational world, and that he is authorized to speak on the subject of sport in France. We know that Pierre de Coubertin came to prominence at the 1889 World's Fair with the organization of the « Congrès international des exercices physiques et des compétitions scolaires »* (alongside the former Minister of Public Instruction, Jules Simon), and that he was commissioned by Armand Fallières, then Minister of Public Instruction, to represent France at the Boston Congress of Physical Education (in November 1890). He had already published an article in the magazine

“La réforme sociale” in 1886 (“Les collèges anglais. Harrow school”), a book in 1888 (*L'éducation en Angleterre. Collèges et Universités*), a second book in 1889 (*L'éducation anglaise en France*), and a third in 1890 (*Universités transatlantiques*).

The Baron took the audience as witness to the presumed success of the work he had been carrying out for five years (since 1887, when the Union was founded):

« Vous savez le reste, la fondation de la ligue de l'Education physique, de la Ligue girondine qui groupe les lycées de l'académie de Bordeaux, l'organisation des concours sur tous les points de la France, parfois avec trop de bruit et pas assez de compétence, bref ce grand mouvement qui a abouti pour nous en cinq années au résultat que vous savez, Messieurs, et dont vous êtes satisfaits : votre présence ici le dit assez. »*

It's worth pointing out that his own presence as a speaker testifies to his authority on the subject. This was not a foregone conclusion, however, as the Baron refers to his abortive attempt to bring about a new impetus and a new pedagogical concept in France. He quotes the author of an 1887 article in *Le Français*, none other than himself (emphasis added):

« En 1886 pourtant, il manquait une aide à l'édifice de l'éducation physique, je ne sais si beaucoup d'architectes s'en étaient aperçus. Mais nul à ma connaissance n'avait exposé un plan précis de la construction projetée. **Il en parut un dans le journal Le Français à la date du 23 août (1887 et) bien que désireux de ne rien mêler**

de personnel à cet entretien, j'insiste sur cette date par un sentiment dont la légitimité ne saurait être contestée.

A cette époque l'académie de Médecine s'élevait avec force contre le surmenage intellectuel. Il paraît à l'auteur du plan en question que l'on cherchait une issue là où il n'y avait qu'un mur.

L'académie de Médecine s'obstinait à vouloir la révision des programmes pour diminuer le travail mental autant que pour faire place aux Jeux : on n'a pas le temps de jouer disait-elle. Erreur grave ; on avait du temps, on en avait suffisamment et nous ne désirions pas qu'on nous en donne davantage, mais on l'employait mal. Quant à l'opinion, elle s'égaraient dans un autre sens : pourquoi ne joue-t-on pas chez vous, disait-elle à l'Université. Allons, remuez-vous. Jouez et faites jouer. »*

In this article published in *Le Français*, the Baron uses the example of England to justify his claim that sports are a remedy for the overwork of French youth.

2.3. Sporting internationalism

Returning to the “Manifesto”, part V, which remains unstruck, sums up a humanist and pacifist philosophy that believes in respect and mutual understanding between peoples, notably through the internationalism of sporting events.

The peroration closes with a formula of barely a few words, without further explanation, which is none other than the evocation of « cette œuvre grandiose et bienfaisante: le rétablissement des Jeux Olympiques »*.

The phrase « rétablissement des Jeux Olympiques »* is the counterpart to the phrase at the start of the Baron's speech, « la renaissance physique ». Here, however, the Baron goes a step further with a single exhortation that evokes the ancient Games, without going into further detail. This enigmatic pause is designed to provoke comment and questioning.

The Baron calls for sporting internationalism (« exportons » ; «le libre-échange de l'avenir»*), which alone guarantees peace. The well-known final formula, presented as the foundation of Olympism, is stated in the imperative with a collective “we”, associating the audience with the actions mentioned:

« Exportons des rameurs, des coureurs, des escrimeurs ; voilà le libre-échange de l'avenir et le jour où il sera introduit dans les mœurs de la vieille Europe, la cause de la paix aura reçu un nouvel et puissant appui. »*

The baron calls out to the audience (« avec vous »*) to associate them with this quest. He then distances himself by speaking of himself in the third person (« votre serviteur »*), and pretends to occupy a position of executor, invested with a mission, requiring the endorsement of decision-makers. The speaker is humble and modest (*argument ad verecundiam*) and respects the audience (*argument ad reverentiam*).

From an intertextual point of view (i.e. relations between texts by the same author ; Rastier 2001), an earlier version of the closing formula of the Olympic Manifesto exists:

« Il y a quelques jours M. Lavisie portant spirituellement un toast libre-échangiste, buvait « à l'incessante circulation des étudiants ». Exportons, messieurs, exportons des rameurs, des coureurs, des escrimeurs : ce seront des messagers de paix. »*

This is an extract from a conference given by Baron Pierre de Coubertin on April 11 1891, published in *La Revue Athlétique* on April 25 1891 (n°4, p. 204).

Note the transformation of M. Lavisie's words:

- le **toast** libre-échangiste devient « le libre-échange de **l'avenir** »* ;
- les messagers de **paix** deviennent « la cause de la **paix** »* ;

And we note the shift from an oral form, with the repetition of « exportons »* and the incise « messieurs »* to a more polished form consisting of a three-term enumeration including the main sports: « Exportons des rameurs, des coureurs, des escrimeurs »*.

As for the « l'incessante circulation des étudiants »*, who are defined as « messagers de paix »*, the Manifesto is about serving a cause, that of peace, and to propagate this peace, to spread it, to introduce it into the « mœurs »*.

3. Semantic-rhetorical strategies

3.1. The ethical component

In terms of ethos, the enunciator appears reliable, documented and confident in his analysis, his experimental method based on observation and investigation, and his recommendations. He relies on what he has

built up over the past five years to secure audience support for the next stage of his program, namely the reinstatement of the Olympic Games. The Baron's discursive ethos is built on the figure of authority. Before embodying the Renovator of the Games, and in order to be heard, the Baron had to be a credible orator, which he sought to be thanks to the historical, philosophical and scientific knowledge he expounded in his lectures and speeches, thanks to his pedagogy, his capacity for reflection, the travels he undertook and the hindsight he gained. In his writings, we sense that he wants to « compter »* on the decision-making scene (school programs and political will), and that he wants to make his voice heard by decision-makers²⁰. His strategy is to appear as an expert on the subjects he deals with. Once recognized as the man who has renovated the Games (pre-discursive ethos), this expertise is reinforced and the Baron is invited to give expert lectures. The pre-discursive ethos is what Amossy (1999 : 70, we translate) calls the “prior” ethos:

“We'll therefore call ethos or prior image, as opposed to oratory ethos, which is fully discursive, the image that the audience can form of the speaker before he speaks. [...]

The prior ethos is developed on the basis

of the speaker's role in the social space (his institutional functions, status and power), but also on the basis of the collective representation or stereotype that circulates about him. [...] Indeed, the image that the speaker projects onto himself refers to prior social and individual data, which necessarily play a role in the interaction and contribute in no small measure to the power of the spoken word.”

3.2. The argumentative component and the pathemic component

On the argumentative level, we note that the enunciator reasons by example. He uses his observations as examples and these ones support the enunciator's analysis. Depending on the case evoked, he invites the audience to be wary, solicits their attention, or seeks their approval.

Recourse to the passions (*pathos*) is prevalent:

(i) firstly, patriotism with the French soldiers who fought with vigor despite the failure of 1870 (« Et puis, Messieurs, vous savez comment ils sont nos soldats. Quand ils n'ont plus de forces, ils en inventent! »*). This patriotism is reinforced by recourse to the audience's (pre) assumed beliefs (*argument ex concessis*).

(ii) Then the evocation of threats (*argument ad metum*), notably those of « l'expansionnisme australien »* and the « germanisation des Etats-Unis »*²¹ revealed in the form of an *argument by consequences*. (« je suis de ceux qui croient que dans l'avenir, le gouvernement de Washington aura le canon facile. »*). These threats are also based on incriminating examples, and it is through a rhetorical question that the

20 He even wants to create the « Conseil supérieur de l'éducation physique » : « Une mission nouvelle plus conforme à l'organisation de ce comité et aux capacités de ceux qui le composent s'offre à vous maintenant et je vais, d'un mot, définir le rôle que je me permets de vous proposer pour l'avenir. Je voudrais que notre comité devint le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation physique. » A.46) 8 janv. Le Conseil Supérieur de l'Education Physique. Rapport présenté à la troisième session annuelle du Comité de Propagation des Exercices Physiques, tenue à la Sorbonne le 8 janvier 1891. In: La Revue Athlétique, 2e année, 25 janvier 1891, pp.24-31.

21 Cf. Patrick Clastres, 2002, p.336.

Baron seeks to get the audience to react («Faut-il vous rappeler l'agitation que causèrent dans les capitales australiennes, les incidents des îles Samoa et des Nouvelles-Hébrides, le désir hautement manifesté par l'opinion de s'emparer plus tard de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, enfin l'envoi par la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud d'un contingent de ses milices pour soutenir les Anglais au Soudan ? »*).

The baron anticipates the audience's objections by anticipating his own words, which he stages polyphonically (« Vous me direz qu'il manque à cette gymnastique ce que j'indiquais tout à l'heure comme la condition essentielle de son succès »*). He then seeks to disillusion them (« Ne croyez pas cela, Messieurs. Vous êtes portés à ne voir dans ces 69 millions d'habitants que des marchands, des commerçants, des faiseurs d'affaires »*).

(iii) Finally, galvanization (« Eh bien j'ai espoir que l'athlétisme fera plus encore : ceux qui ont vu 30000 personnes courir sous la pluie pour assister à un match de football ne trouveront pas que j'exagère. Exportons des rameurs, des coureurs, des escrimeurs ; voilà le libre-échange de l'avenir et le jour où il sera introduit dans les mœurs de la vieille Europe, la cause de la paix aura reçu un nouvel et puissant appui. »*).

3.3. Elocutio

Style serves the purpose. The terms are exact, the discourse clear. All these elements guarantee the credibility of the program. Baron de Coubertin uses images and comparisons to illustrate his point forcefully: « si Napoléon n'allait venir pour consolider la Grande-Bretagne, **comme le vent du nord arrête un dégel** »* ; « les courses

du Directoire vécurent **ce que vivent les roses, l'espace d'un matin** »*.

He also uses analogies, to better represent what he's describing. We find an architectural metaphor:

« En 1886 pourtant, il manquait une aide à **l'édifice** de l'éducation physique, je ne sais si beaucoup **d'architectes** s'en étaient aperçus. Mais nul à ma connaissance n'avait exposé un **plan** précis de la **construction** projetée. (...) Il paraît à l'auteur du **plan** en question que l'on cherchait une **issue** là où il n'y avait qu'un **mur**. »*

There is also a spatial metaphor:

« il fallait qu'une société ayant un point d'appui sur **chacune des rives** entreprît de jeter un **pont** sur **cette rivière** »*

The Baron also resorts to preterition (« je ne parlerai pas »* ; « Je ne vous le dirai pas parce que le rôle de prophète est un rôle plein de dangers et aussi parce qu'il est grandement temps de clore l'aperçu d'histoire universelle qui vous a été présentée ce soir »*). He also uses mockery, intended to foster connivance with the audience (emphasis added):

« En 1886, Messieurs, la France n'était pas aussi mal partagée sur le rapport des Exercices physiques que quelques personnes semblent le croire. Je ne parlerai pas de ce brave colonel Amasos qui fut certainement un convaincu, mais avait composé un recueil de cantiques religieux et moraux que ses

pupilles chantaient en piaffant, **ce qui fait que l'armée du salut a bien autant de droit que la gymnastique de voir en lui un ancêtre.»***

Thematically, Coubertin contrasts physical activity, which keeps bodies virile and muscular, with the softening to which passivity and idleness lead. There are two reasons for this softening, either an excess of intellectual learning (« grande activité intellectuelle », « serments »*), or a pronounced taste for waggery, play and entertainment (« jouer aux dominos », « des amollis et des libertins »*).

According to the Baron, the robustness and valour of French soldiers comes from their physical preparation, and the sports they have played, which have hardened them. Indeed, Coubertin evokes a past when the “jeux de paume”* were busy, and afternoons were devoted to ball games, « homériques »* battles... It was these physical activities that made French soldiers perseverant and strong. Coubertin pays them a vibrant tribute, summoning the audience's approval and ending with an amplification: « Quand ils n'ont plus de forces, ils en inventent! »* :

« (...) sous les murs du Kremlin moscovite, les soldats de France pendant vingt ans d'une folle et sublime épopée donnent au monde l'un des spectacles les plus athlétiques qu'il ait jamais contemplés. Ils épuisent en ce court espace de temps, les forces de plusieurs siècles accumulées par la nation. Ce sang qu'ils versent, c'est le sang des joueurs de paume et des Sire de Gouberville (?) c'est le sang de la France, vicié dans les villes, intact

encore dans les campagnes et non celui des amollis et des libertins de la Régence. Et puis, Messieurs, vous savez comment ils sont nos soldats. **Quand ils n'ont plus de forces, ils en inventent! »***

These performances on the battlefield should not be attributed to academic training, but rather to physical exercise. The Baron's contrast between intellectual training and physical education is also evident. Coubertin would refine this contrast by emphasizing the role of sport in shaping men's minds and character. It's a question of complementarity between body and mind, not dichotomy. In this connection, the Baron develops the concept of “eurythmie”*, which in his writings takes on a very special meaning, that of a balance between two extremes (body and mind).

Finally, on an overall level, this speech is rhythmic, cadenced, tending towards the clause. The Baron's style imbues the text with strength and vigor, determination and lofty vision. The audience is treated to a form of demonstration, thanks to the examples used and the conclusion to which these examples lead. The audience can only agree with the final proposition, which seems to flow from all that has gone before.

Conclusion

In addition to renovating the Games, Pierre de Coubertin created the “Union Pédagogique Universelle”* (UPU) to reform the education system and guarantee lasting peace and social health. Olympism was thus part of a broader program, that of a popular and proletarian

Olympism²². The Baron advocated the right to sport and sports for all, in a formula with a contemporary all-inclusive feel.

« Tous les sports pour tous ; voilà sans doute une formule qu'on va taxer de follement utopique. Je n'en ai cure. Je l'ai longuement pesée et scrutée ; je la sais exacte et possible. Les années et les forces qui me restent seront employées à la faire triompher ; ce sera ma contribution à ces réformes sociales dont le principe servit de base au pacte de l'union sacrée pendant cette longue guerre et dont la réalisation devra être loyale et prompte si l'on ne veut pas que la civilisation saute comme une chaudière sans soupape.

Les étudiants des universités, messagers du savoir et de l'imagination, constitueront les phalanges les plus actives de cette grande œuvre ; mettons, si vous voulez, qu'ils en devront être les aviateurs. Or, je l'ai dit et je le répète, les sports, par leurs puissants effets physiques et moraux, seront un instrument inappréciable dans leurs mains pour l'établissement de la paix sociale. Il faut donc qu'ils sachent le manier avec tact et en tirer le maximum d'effet. L'Olympisme populaire va naître ; que les étudiants se préparent à s'en servir. »*

Coubertin, 13 janvier 1919, n° 12, p.1: XI.
Later reprinted, in: *L'Idée Olympique*, pp. 59-67

In the Baron's words, Olympism is an instrument for transforming society, with great potential, and therefore needs to be used with care. Much of Pierre de Coubertin's

22 Today there is a Federation of Sports for All: <https://www.sportspourtous.org/fr>

work focuses on pedagogy, and specifically on sports pedagogy. In his reflections on his travels (where he was able to study different pedagogical systems), Coubertin distinguished three kinds of physical practice: hygienic or scientific gymnastics ("la gymnastique hygiénique ou gymnastique scientifique"*), military or utilitarian gymnastics ("la gymnastique militaire ou utilitaire"*) and sporting instinct ("l'instinct sportif"*).

« L'éducation physique, dont l'importance est désormais reconnue, se présente sous une triple figure : le Sport, la gymnastique militaire et la gymnastique hygiénique. »*

Coubertin, *Notes sur l'Éducation publique*. Paris, Hachette, 1901

The first concerns young people, the sick and the elderly:

« Ce domaine englobera, très évidemment, les enfants, les jeunes filles, les gens déjà avancés en âge, les malades et, d'une manière générale, les faibles. La gymnastique scientifique s'adapte à merveille aux besoins de ceux-là. »* *ibid.*

It's even part of a medical approach, and we could draw a parallel here with sport-health²³, developed in our time by the Ministry of Sports and the Olympic and Paralympic Games²⁴. Indeed, these elements are reminiscent of

23 <https://www.sports.gouv.fr/decouvrez-les-maisons-sport-sante-les-plus-proches-de-chez-vous-389>

24 There is a national Sport and Health strategy: <https://www.sports.gouv.fr/strategie-nationale-sport-sante-2019-2024-8>

health sport, which has become a major societal issue in the modern era. Based on the recommendations of the World Health Organization (WHO), which recommends thirty minutes of physical activity a day for adults and one hour for children, Paris 2024 has introduced the “30 minutes of daily physical activity at school”²⁵ scheme as part of the Generation 2024 program. The aim is to combine sport, education and health, as advocated by Pierre de Coubertin. Without forcing anachronisms, it's worth noting that the comparison can also be made with sports on prescription, in this day and age (decree dated March 1, 2017²⁶).

Indeed, it's all about the older man, aging well in short:

« l'homme âgé, qui cherche à prolonger sa vigueur et le malade qui travaille à rétablir sa santé, ne s'éprendraient-ils pas d'un remède si aisé, si peu pénible, dont ils peuvent suivre eux-mêmes les résultats et, avec un peu de science et de réflexion, comprendre le principe et la méthode ? Le Kindergarten, l'école primaire, l'institut médical, voilà où régnera et dominera, sans rivalité possible, la gymnastique scientifique. Le caractère d'institution d'intérêt public qui en résultera pour elle, la préservera des exagérations et des dévergondages empiriques, dont l'expérience américaine nous signale le danger, et qui ne manqueraient pas de se produire, si toute l'organisation en devait être abandonnée à l'initiative privée. Mais, dans ses écoles primaires et dans les Instituts,

sur lesquels il s'attribuera un droit de surveillance, si même il ne les subventionne pas, l'Etat ne laissera s'introduire assurément qu'un enseignement sérieux, résultant d'études et de discussions approfondies. »*

(*ibidem*)

These gymnastics do not concern military preparation or sportsmen. Even if it remains important at its level for the well-being of the population. The educational and popular framework envisaged more than a century ago is now fully in place, thanks to the support of the State. Of course, these connections raise questions about the Baron's true “legacy” and the inclusion of his figure in official IOC publications.

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25 <https://generation.paris2024.org/30-dactivite-physique-quotidienne>

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The genesis of Association of the European National Olympic Committees (AENOC) in the 1960s

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Abstract

At the turn of the 1960s, relations between the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) were at the heart of debates and exchanges within the Olympic Movement. It was during this pivotal period that the NOCs wanted to play a greater part in the IOC's Olympic activities, but also in spreading Olympism throughout their territories.

The desire to bring the NOCs together within an association was one of the solutions being considered. The European NOCs supported this initiative and launched the idea of an association of the NOCs of Europe, but this initiative very quickly ran into difficulties.

Keywords

Olympism, AENOC, Europe, IOC, NOCs, History

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Introduction

This article is part of the IOC Olympic Studies Centre's 2023 Research grants programme for doctoral students and young academics. The selected research project aims at questioning and understanding the history of relations between the IOC and AENOC from 1965 to 1995. The article is therefore based on an in-depth study of the archives held at the IOC Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne. For this article, the genesis of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Europe will be examined from 1965 to 1975. At a time when the NOCs wanted more consideration, they formed a General Assembly in 1965, which led to numerous tensions with the IOC and its President at the time, Avery Brundage. Against this backdrop of the NOCs coming together, the French Olympic Committee and its President at the time, Count Jean de Beaumont, took the initiative of bringing all the European NOCs together in Versailles in September 1968 to lay the foundations of the future Association of National Olympic Committees of Europe.

This group of European NOCs also faces a number of challenges at different levels. On the one hand, it upsets the Olympic order (based on universality and the global dimension) and puts it in competition with the desire to place, or reposition, Europe as the nerve centre of Olympism, all at a time when the political will to build the European community is very strong and wishes to use youth as a lever. The study period for this research extends from the first General Assembly of the NOCs from all over the world in 1965 to 1975, the date when all the European NOCs ratified the statutes of the Association of the European National Olympic Committees (AENOC), although they were not officially recognised by the IOC.

The turn of the 1960s: difficult relations between the IOC and the NOCs

There was a time when the coming together of the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) did not bode well. It was the time when the NOC Presidents of Italy Giulio Onesti, Switzerland Raymond Gafner and Belgium Raoul Mollet led the battle against IOC President Avery Brundage, who did not want an association of NOCs to be formed independently of the IOC. Nor did Brundage want Olympic Solidarity.

Despite everything, the NOCs met at a general assembly in Rome in 1965, and this meeting marked the beginnings of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC), which was created in 1979. The strained relations between the IOC and the NOCs in the mid-1960s were the starting point for the desire to unite the NOCs and speak with one voice. This period can sometimes be seen as rather vague. We will see that some NOC initiatives were recognised by the IOC, while others were not. But the aim of these initiatives was always to improve relations between the NOCs and the IOC.

Before looking at AENOC, it is necessary to understand the whole process that led to the creation of this institution. First of all, we need to understand the context, the issues, the alliances, the players and the questions that led first the NOCs and then the European NOCs to want to unite. This first meeting of the NOCs from around the world in the form of a General Assembly was held with the aim of improving relations between the NOCs and also relations with the IOC. The first initiative for a grouping of NOCs was therefore led by the Italian NOC (CONI) with its President Giulio Onesti, who was also an IOC member

and was supported by the Belgian Raoul Mollet and the Swiss Raymond Gafner. It was against this backdrop that the NOCs met for the first time at a General Assembly in Rome in 1965. Up until then, the NOCs had not had an organised association, but they were keen to meet in the same way as the International Federations (GAISF: General Assembly of International Sports Federations), on the eve of IOC sessions, to make unanimous or majority proposals. The NOCs felt the need to unite, and above all they felt that in order to exist and influence discussions with the IOC and the IFs, they needed to speak with one voice.

Many NOCs identified the relationship between the IOC and the NOCs as one of, if not the major problem facing the Olympic Movement in the 1960s. The IOC did not rely enough on the NOCs. In addition to preparing delegations for the Games, the NOCs' main mission was to promote sport, Olympism, its values and, more generally, the Olympic Movement in their territory. According to the NOCs, if the IOC exists it was because there are NOCs, but the IOC sees this idea in a different light, stating that if the NOCs exist it was because the IOC has recognised them.

But this initiative soon caused a stir within the IOC. In a letter written by Brundage to Onesti, the IOC President stated that "as the NOCs are agents of the IOC and exist only because they are recognised by the IOC, an independent organisation is really unthinkable", referring to the NOCs' General Assembly, which wanted an association of NOCs to be created. In the early 1960s, a number of committees led by Italian committee member Giulio Onesti sought to bypass Brundage and the IOC by creating the

Permanent General Assembly of the National Olympic Committees. This organisation was opposed by Brundage and he refused to recognise this by the IOC. (Guttmann 1984)

During this NOC General Assembly in Rome, it was decided to set up and appoint a Coordination and Study Committee, whose main task would be to work on the possibility of creating an association of NOCs from around the world. The NOCs decided by a majority to elect the Italian Giulio Onesti as President of this group, which was also made up of ten other members. Onesti asserted that the proposed association of NOCs was not seeking to compete with the IOC, but wanted to be the IOC's best supporter.

Faced with this delicate period, the IOC had to react. The IOC did not officially recognise the committee chaired by Onesti. At the Teheran Session in 1967, the IOC set up a sub-committee, better known as the Joint Commission, to promote contacts with the NOCs. This Commission was chaired by the Dane Ivar Emil Vind and accompanied by other members representing the NOCs from all over the world: "The Executive Board stresses that the only official body authorised to make contact with the National Olympic Committees was the IOC Joint Commission (set up after the Teheran Session) (...) The President of the Committee, Onesti, promised Brundage that the matter of this Committee would be definitively settled, since the reason for its creation (the study of the need for an association of the National Olympic Committees) had gone unheeded and most of the National Committees preferred direct contact with the IOC Secretariat".

The formation of an association of NOCs seemed difficult. In addition to creating an

association, the NOCs met to discuss common problems and, above all, to present the IOC with several resolutions that had been approved by the majority of the 89 NOCs present in Rome.

Brundage then sent several letters to Onesti, demonstrating the uselessness of an association or a permanent assembly of the NOCs. Despite this, the NOCs approved the deed of constitution of the Permanent General Assembly of the NOCs in Mexico City in 1968, in the presence of delegates from 79 NOCs from the five continents. The NOCs' PGA was therefore created on 1st October 1968 during the third general assembly of NOCs held on the occasion of the Games of the XIX Olympiad. The constitution of the NOCs' PGA had been prepared since 1965, when the first NOCs' GA was held in Rome in 1965, followed by the second in Teheran in 1967 and the third in Mexico City in 1968.

The NOCs' PGA was presented as a permanent forum for cooperation between the NOCs at international level and its aims were as follows:

- To serve the International Movement within the framework of the philosophical, spiritual and sporting principles defined by the IOC in full respect of the IOC's authority
- To promote the creation and strengthening of close collaborative links between the NOCs in full affirmation of their independence
- To establish a systematic exchange of information and experience between the NOCs and to set up cooperation and mutual assistance.
- To submit to the IOC suggestions and

projects aimed at developing or improving the international Olympic movement

- To strengthen the role played by the NOCs at national level in their respective countries.

Several months after the creation of the NOCs' PGA, in a circular written by Brundage, the latter addressed "serious reproaches to the NOCs' Permanent General Assembly (...) he accused its members of wanting to force the IOC's hand in order to obtain its recognition and of wanting to reform it. He also questioned the integrity of the IOC, accusing it of irregularities in its funding"¹.

In fact, Brundage did not want a two-headed Olympic Movement, with the IOC on one side and an association of NOCs driven mainly by the Europeans on the other.

This led to numerous conflicts within the IOC itself, between the European members who wanted to encourage the creation of an association of NOCs on the one hand, and Brundage on the other. The following statement made by the Vice-President of the IOC in 1968, the Soviet Constantin Andrianov, clearly confirmed the differences within the Olympic family itself: "It would be a mistake to forget that without National Olympic Committees there would be no Olympic Movement, no Olympic Games and no IOC either. The IOC does not consider it essential to consult the NOCs on such important matters as the programme of the Olympic Games, the venue and the date of their celebration, etc. The NOCs are not consulted on these matters. The union of the

¹ The Olympic Studies Centre, Library, Raymond Gafner (dir), 1995, *Un siècle du Comité International Olympique, L'idée – Les Présidents – L'œuvre*, Volume II, 307p.

National Olympic Committees within the framework of an association would contribute to improving contacts with them and would favour the exchange of information and mutual experience, as well as more effective activities for the international Olympic Movement in general (...) We propose that: The IOC encourage the creation of a union of the National Olympic Committees, because such an organisation would contribute to the solution of Olympic problems and to the exchange of work experience and mutual information”².

But finally, some NOCs were also reluctant to create an NOC institution in the form of an association for fear of losing their Olympic sovereignty.

Objections to the formation of an association of NOCs therefore have two main origins. Firstly, there was the fear that the NOCs would lose their individual right to establish direct contact with the IOC. There is nothing in the draft constitution or in the proposals for the formation of an NOC association to justify this fear. This was clearly expressed in Onesti’s letter to Brundage, dated 1 April 1967, in response to the remark in the President’s circular letter that some NOCs “prefer to maintain direct contact and negotiate personally with the IOC and would never allow an organisation to speak on their behalf”. Yet the association project has no intention of absorbing or replacing the powers of representation sent to the IOC by each Olympic Committee. In fact, it would be

completely incapable of doing so”³.

On the other hand, there was the fear that in an association of NOCs, the largest NOCs could be drowned out by the smallest, which would cause them to lose their predominance and the privileges they currently enjoy. This explains the genesis of a minority draft constitution which proposes a relatively flexible form of association of the NOCs (this is the case of the British draft in particular). The association of NOCs would be based on a voting system in which each NOC would have one vote, so that each NOC would have an equal vote.

If the creation of an association of NOCs were to lead to the disappearance of all the unfair advantages and privileges, if any, currently enjoyed by the largest and supposedly most important NOCs, then it is the community that benefits, and the MO deserves to promote the establishment of closer relations between NOCs, the exchange of information and experience relating to their practical activity, and mutual assistance, thus contributing to the development of the MO and amateur sport”⁴.

This organism was therefore not recognised by the IOC. However, the NOCs’ PGA played an important role in the debates within the IOC Executive Board. During the IOC Executive Board meetings in Munich and Luxembourg in September 1971, President Brundage declared that he was not opposed to the NOCs meeting in an annual meeting, “but that he was opposed to IOC members taking

2 Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre ,Annexe No 12, Propositions de Monsieur C. Andrianov, Vice-président du C.I.O, « Pour une amélioration des activités du CIO à l’avenir », Ordre du jour de la 66e Session du CIO Hôtel de Ville, Grenoble, du 1er au 5 février 1968.

3 Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, V.A Sugathadasa, letter from the NOC of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 25 March 1968, Memorandum on the formation of an association of national Olympic committees By the NOC of Ceylon)

4 Ibid

part in an organisation of this kind, since the NOCs would then conclude that they had the support of the IOC. He disapproved of the fact that this organisation was permanent”⁵. Brundage attended the first General Assembly of the NOCs in 1965 in Rome, where he gave an opening speech. For Andrianov, the PGA could become a subsidiary organisation, but one run by the IOC with the aim of helping the NOCs. Many EC members were in favour of an institution to improve relations between the NOCs and the IOC, but not in the form of an NOC PGA, and even less in the form of a permanent institution. For some EC members, if the IOC did not support the PGA, many NOCs would leave the PGA. President Brundage went even further, stating “his intention to recommend that any IOC member associated with the PGA resign”⁶.

A very important point was emphasised by Andrianov at this EB: he stated that the main party responsible for the creation of this NOC PGA was the IOC. Indeed, the various meetings and dialogues between the IOC and the NOCs had not been satisfactory. In the past, the NOCs have often criticised the IOC for not relying enough on them in its missions. They expected a more constructive collaboration from the IOC. The PGA seemed to offer the NOCs many positive results. For example, it enabled them to work together and prepare resolutions for the IOC. Andrianov was one of those members who are in favour of the PGA, but he would like such a body to be under the control of the IOC and not alongside it. In addition, many criticisms were

made of Onesti during the IOC Executive Commissions, notably by the Dutchman Van Karnebeek who, according to him, “Onesti, IOC member for Italy and member of the IOC commissions, should be asked to work for the IOC and not for the P.G.A.”⁷.

Another criticism leveled at Onesti and the AGP was its headquarters and funding. Nigeria’s Sir Ade Ademola proposed that the AGP’s headquarters no longer be in Rome, but relocated to Lausanne. Perhaps it upset the IOC that an Olympic institution, which brings together the NOCs and which does not fall within the remit of the IOC, should have its headquarters in Rome on the premises of CONI? Can it be a competing institution?

Lord Killanin pointed out that CONI is the richest NOC in Europe. The IOC, and Brundage in particular, had on several occasions, in correspondence, criticised the NOCs’ PGA for its funding, as almost all the running costs are covered by CONI. This issue of CONI’s financial power needed to be developed as it constituted a threat to the IOC.

This first subsection enabled us to understand both the Olympic context and the desire to create an association of European NOCs. It is therefore in this dual context, in this very special soil that is conducive to initiatives, that this association of European NOCs will be born and take root.

In this context, is an association of Europe’s NOCs possible?

5 Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, Procès-Verbaux des réunions de la Commission Exécutive de Munich 9 septembre 1971 et de Luxembourg 12-17 septembre 1971

6 Ibid

7 Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, Procès-Verbaux des réunions de la Commission Exécutive de Munich 9 septembre 1971 et de Luxembourg 12-17 septembre 1971

The creation of an association of NOCs from around the world is proving complicated to implement, but an association of European NOCs it is possible ?

Despite everything, the European NOCs were going to try to unite. It was with this in mind that Count Jean de Beaumont, then President of the French Olympic Committee, together with Alain Danet, took the initiative of bringing together all the European NOCs at a General Assembly held in Versailles on 7 and 8 September 1968. At this first European Olympic meeting, 22 European NOCs were present, making this future Olympic Europe the largest of its time. In fact, this Olympic Europe stretched from the Atlantic to the Urals, via the countries of Eastern Europe. The Europeans within the Olympic Movement had too often shown their differences, and it was now time to speak with one voice to face up to the new powers that were reshuffling the cards in the “Olympic system” (Chappelet, 1991).

Jean de Beaumont, who became the first President of the General Assembly of the NOCs of Europe, obtained the very strong support of several European Olympic leaders, particularly from French-speaking Europe, as well as support from States that were very committed to European integration at the time, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Italy and Luxembourg. Like Onesi's initiative, the Swiss Raymond Gafner and Jean Weymann and the Belgian Raoul Mollet supported the idea of uniting the European NOCs in an association. These musketeers of European Olympism were to take the reins in the early, laborious years of what would later become the Association of the NOCs of Europe.

This initial contact was the start of friendly cooperation. The European NOCs present reaffirmed their tradition while affirming their attachment to the Olympic ideal, which “found its cradle, its creator and its driving force in France”. The European NOCs welcomed the useful dialogue that had just begun between themselves on the one hand and between them and the International Sports Federations on the other”⁸. The European NOCs have agreed to meet annually: “Deeply attached to the Olympic ideal and respecting the authority of the International Olympic Committee, the European NOCs propose to contribute through their friendly cooperation to the growing development of the Olympic Movement based on friendship, fraternity and love of universal peace and constituting an effective guarantee of a better future for young people throughout the world”⁹. The Olympic values represented a unifying element on which all the European NOCs agree.

A working group of the European NOCs was soon set up. This idea was put forward by President Jean de Beaumont, who submitted to the Assembly a project for the creation of a body called the “working group”, whose mission would be to disseminate European sport. The aim of this group would be to ensure the proper management of the future organisation of the European NOCs, to centralise documents, to study the work of the IOC commissions, to prepare working documents, etc.

8 Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, Réunion des Comités Olympiques Européens et des présidents des FI 8 septembre 1968 Versailles (Palais des Congrès)

9 Ibid

On the proposal of Alain Danet¹⁰ several names were put forward, and the members present at the new meeting of the NOCs in Mexico in 1968 decided to set up a working group of European National Olympic Committees under the chairmanship of the Comte de Beaumont.

This first working group was composed of : Jean Waymann (Switzerland), Raimundo Saporta (Spain), Epaminondas Petrialas (Greece), Igor Kazanski (USSR), Nebojsa Popovic (Yugoslavia) and an observer, Sten Svensson (Sweden). Four alternates are also appointed: Helmuth Behrent (GDR), Iolanda Balas (Romania), Claude Collard (France) et Emmanuel Bosak (Czechoslovakia)¹¹. The President proposed that Nadia Lekarska (Bulgaria) take part in the working group on the women's sports plan, which she immediately accepted.

This future association of European NOCs would then have the task of safeguarding and developing the Olympic movement and Olympism, encouraging greater cooperation and collaboration between the NOCs, developing European Solidarity, studying the possibility of creating European Games or Youth Games, defending the interests of the NOCs, etc.¹² The promoters of this future European Olympic Association have

already taken the initiative in the face of possible criticism, stating that it is “in no way a question of alienation, but of collaboration, mutual understanding and coordination of our means of action, with each NOC in Europe retaining, as it should, according to the very terms of the Olympic Charter, its right and freedom to express itself directly to the IOC”¹³. After the first few meetings, the results were fairly satisfactory, with Europeans agreeing to meet and exchange views on an annual basis. Very quickly, the debate on the form this union should take occupied a large part of the discussions, as did the opposition.



ASSOCIATION DES COMITES NATIONAUX
OLYMPIQUES D'EUROPE
ASSOCIATION OF THE EUROPEAN
NATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEES

Figure 1 - AENOC logo

Source : IOC Olympic Study Centre archives, AENOC Statutes, 1975

¹⁰ Alain Danet was then Honorary Secretary General of the French Olympic Committee and appointed secretary of this first meeting of the European NOCs in Versailles.

¹¹ Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, Réunion du groupe de travail des comités nationaux olympiques européens, Mexico, 21 octobre 1968

¹² Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, Lettre / Circulaire envoyée à tous les CNOE par le Comte Jean de Beaumont et Jean Weymann, Envoyée le 28 novembre 1969

What form would this future union of Europe's NOCs take?

In Versailles, then in Mexico City, and more particularly in Dubrovnik in 1969, the NOCs expressed the wish to regroup. Jean de Beaumont and Jean Weymann, who were respectively President and Secretary General of the General Assembly of the NOCs, realised that it was time to move forward and put an end to this provisional situation, which had lasted far too long. They therefore

¹³ Ibid

decided to propose to all the NOCs that a definitive institution be created, with its possible missions and aims.

One of the aims of creating a grouping of European NOCs was to “make Europe’s voice heard more firmly within the Olympic movement”, as Jean de Beaumont put it. But the missions, goals and structure that this union of NOCs should take on were the subject of debate, and above all highlighted the differences between the Europeans.

Luc Silance, Secretary General of the Belgian Olympic Committee at the time, made a very precise speech at the NOCs’ General Assembly in Munich in 1970. He defended the need to create an association of European NOCs. In his view, the continent’s NOCs had never been able to form a European group within the Olympic Movement. The first meetings of the NOCs showed that, despite everything, the views of the European NOCs were, in many cases, identical, but that they were not organised. Luc Silance promoted the recognition of the Permanent General Assembly of the National Olympic Committees, “I think that the Association of European Committees should be a pressure group to show the IOC that the Europeans, who have always been at the origin and basis of the Olympic movement, wish to support the action of the PGA of the NOCs, wish to see the rules for admission to the Olympic Games changed, wish to see an Olympic Congress organised. All this is a short-term mission (...) which should be achieved rapidly by the constitution of a common organism”¹⁴.

Solidarity between the NOCs throughout the

world, and in particular the European NOCs, had to be put in place. To be organised, this solidarity had to find a place where it could materialise, and this place “is the meeting place of all the European committees, so we need a body where we can all come together”¹⁵.

Luc Silance’s speech caused quite a stir, particularly with regard to the idea that Europe is at the centre of the Olympic Movement, of Olympism, and that the future of Olympism must pass through Europe. For example, Johann Chr. Schonheyder, representative of the Norwegian NOC, disagreed with the form of this association: “We believe that the very basis of the Olympic movement is the fact that it is a worldwide movement and not one divided into sectors. Consequently, we believe it would be a mistake to set up a European association”¹⁶. In his opinion, it is essential for the European NOCs to come together, but not in the form of an association in the strict sense. This idea was shared by other European NOCs, a flexible organisation with working groups and possibly a President and a Secretary who would have the power to convene an annual meeting or conference of the NOCs to discuss European issues. The current format was appropriate. For Dr Van des Ploeg, from the Netherlands NOC, there was a recurring argument that challenged him and called for debate: Europe’s historic place in the Olympic Movement. In his opinion, “we shouldn’t rely too much on historical considerations, but rather look at European problems. If we emphasise our origins too much, the rest of the world will

¹⁴ Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, PV de la réunion des CNOE à Munich, Hôtel Arabella, les 14 et 15 février 1970

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

think we're a bunch of colonialists"¹⁷. The European NOCs were therefore faced with a dual challenge: on the one hand, they had to establish a strong European voice within the Olympic Movement, while at the same time continuing to promote the latter as a worldwide, universal movement. The British, Scandinavian and Dutch NOCs were in favor of flexible cooperation. Creating a permanent organization could duplicate the work of existing organizations. In view of this still very fragile European Olympic unity, the Swiss Olympic Committee asserted its role as mediator and conciliator by asserting that it is necessary to find common goals and objectives that unite Europeans, as it was "better to take small steps together, than to want to take a big step that separates us"¹⁸.

<i>In favor</i>	<i>Against</i>
. Many dangers threaten Olympism. Are we going to stand by and watch them rise?	. Do we need to create a new 'block' on top of the existing ones?
. At the Varna Congress, the disorganised and ill-prepared NOCs found themselves in a very poor position when faced with the IOC and the IFs.	. Should there be an extra layer between an NOC and the IOC?
. What's the point of meeting occasionally just to talk?	. Europeans are already in such a strong position - look at the composition of the IOC Executive.
. Increasingly, governments are showing an interest in the Olympic and sporting movement.	. Europe's NOCs get on well and are happy with the "phone call theory".
. The CNOEs must be able to work together while retaining their independence.	

Figure 2 - Extracts from several arguments in favor of and against a union of the NOCs of Europe

Content source: Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, *Projet de rapport général / Raoul Mollet / Comité Nationaux Olympiques d'Europe* :Bruxelles, le 31 janvier 1974

Turning points in the genesis of AENOC

A new turning point came at the 4th General Meeting of the CNOE in Monte Carlo in 1973. In fact, a new stage was reached in the consolidation of this union: "by constituting a board representative of European trends, small enough to be constructive and large enough to be authoritative, our overall position, in Varna or elsewhere, will be more valuable than our 32 isolated votes" (Prince of Monaco Jacques de Millo, 1973).

The need to bring the European NOCs together was reiterated, as a gesture of European solidarity. Europe has also been facing a challenge for several years: to come together to develop a European way of thinking.

Count Jean de Beaumont made this symbolic statement in Monte-Carlo: "For the first time, it can be said that it is no longer the Europe of the Six, nor the Europe of the Nine, but the Europe of the Thirty that is meeting today and proving its vitality with regard to our ideas"¹⁹.

Following a report by Mollet on the possible creation of an association of European NOCs, the assembly decided to form a working group made up of eight members and a chairman in the person of Raoul Mollet. The representativeness of the participants in the NOCs' "Projects and Studies" working group symbolised the collective awareness of the group's leaders at the Monaco meeting in May 1973. This new action "may constitute an important step towards the development of a renewed sports policy resolutely focused on the future. Europe has very often been a

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, *Assemblée Générale de l'ACNOE, réunion à Monte-Carlo, les 4 et 5 mai 1973*

beacon and a catalyst. We must strive to create a new spirit and approach problems from a progressive and global perspective” (Mollet, 1973).

The 1974 General Assembly of the NOCs in Paris was a landmark in the construction of an association of NOCs, and everything came together to launch the creation of a new Olympic institution.

The date and venue were historically and Olympically symbolic: this GA took place in Paris and began on 23 June 1974, exactly 80 years to the day after Pierre de Coubertin’s speech in the Sorbonne’s great amphitheatre, which renewed the Olympic Games and at the same time created the IOC. The vast majority of the members present were in favour of creating a structure. 27 NOCs voted in favour of the creation of new structures²⁰. A permanent structure was then set up around an NOC bureau, comprising a President, a Secretary General, a Vice-President and 4 members. The statutes were worked on so that at the next General Assembly in 1975 (in Lisbon), they could be accepted to officially create the Association of National Olympic Committees of Europe. The members of this Board, which would run the future organisation, would have to “reflect the different currents of thought that animate Europe and have an inclusive, universal structure that encompasses all the NOCs; all Europeans must recognise themselves in this structure” (Collard, 1974).

Following the vote by the Board of the European NOCs, 3 candidates were put forward for the presidency of the Bureau: Count Jean de Beaumont (France), Bo

Bengtson (Sweden) and D. Prokhorov (USSR). Prokhorov “believes that the history of Olympism owes a great deal to France. It would be very unfair, in fact, on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of Olympism, to consider any candidacy other than that of a representative of France, and it would be a mistake not to support the candidacy of the Comte de Beaumont as President of the Board”.

He therefore withdrew his candidacy in favour of Jean de Beaumont. The latter was elected over Bengtson and officially became AENOC’s first president, even though he had already held the position since 1968²¹. Prokhorov will be elected Vice-Chairman and the Swiss Jean Weymann General Secretary. The 4 members of the Board will be : Bo Bengtson (Sweden), Lisa Manoliu (Romania), Janusz Piewcevicz (Poland) and Dr Peter Ritter (Liechtenstein).

It is also at this Assembly that Collard and Danet would defend one of the primary missions of the future AENOC: “Everyday Olympism”.

Through the values conveyed by Olympism, sport would enable Europe’s youth to create a future for themselves, both individually and above all collectively. The NOCs therefore had to work to promote Olympism among young people in their countries.

Claude Collard asserted that the union of the European NOCs would help to promote Olympism on the continent as “a powerful means of training young people and of the ongoing education of humanity”. Claude Collard chose this date, 23 June 1974, at the NOCs’ General Assembly in Paris, to give a

20 Result of secret ballot: 21 votes in favour and 6 against

21 Result of the vote for the AENOC presidency: 27 NOCs voting. 14 votes for Jean de Beaumont. 10 votes for Bengtson and 3 blank votes.

very solemn opening speech, highlighting Coubertin's legacy but also the dangers threatening Olympism, while calling for the creation of a European Olympic institution.

Claude Collard wished to see a valid structure for the European NOCs. This structure, "I want it to be flexible enough for everyone to feel free, but precise enough to be effective and to carry out all the tasks that await us"²². We needed to find issues that bring Europeans together, not divide them. The case of the European Games project was a subject that has divided the European NOCs and was perhaps one of the reasons for the stagnation of the Assembly since its creation, proposed by the French Olympic Committee in 1968.

However, the broadening of the debates and the setting up of the working group chaired by Raoul Mollet on much broader subjects has enabled great progress to be made since 1973. The union of the NOCs of Europe could help to ensure that Olympism resumes its forward march. "We do not have the arrogance to claim that it will solve all the problems of our time, but we are certain that it can contribute to the essential task of shaping the balanced human being of tomorrow"²³.

22 Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, 5ème AG des CNOE à Paris, les 23, 24, 25 juin 1974

23 Ibid

Name	Countries	Theme of the working group led by the person in question
Nicolaï Andonov	Bulgaria	<i>Study on European "unity in diversity" committees</i>
Alain DANET	France	<i>Promoting the future of Olympism</i>
Walther Tröger	FRG	<i>Financial support for amateur sport</i>
Bo Bengtson	Sweden	<i>Helping to rationalise the Olympic Games</i>
Peter Ritter	Liechtenstein	<i>Sports embassies in Europe (focus on youth)</i>
Günther Heinze	GDR	<i>Possible contribution of the NOCs to the "Olympic Solidarity" project</i>
Janusz Piewcewicz	Poland	<i>Possible contribution to "Sport in leisure time"</i>
Lia Manoliu	Romania	<i>Development of high-level competitive sport</i>

Figure 3 - Presentation of the eight working groups of the Projects and Studies Commission, chaired by Raoul Mollet (Belgium)

Content sources: Archives of the IOC Olympic Study Centre, Groupe de travail Vittel, 1 et 2 septembre 1973, Commission « projet et études », Exposé préliminaire

Olympism as a tool for European construction

At a time when Europe is looking for common denominators to unite and build a continent of peace, can Olympism become a tool to unite the Old Continent ? By creating a continental Olympic organisation whose main aim would be to promote the Olympic ideas of friendship and collaboration between peoples, this project aims to consolidate peace in Europe. The Olympic spirit has always been the bearer of humanist values. The aim of an Association of European NOCs is clearly stated by the Swiss Raymond Gafner, European cooperation is vital for the continent and Olympism can be a means of serving this cooperation. This statement by the President of the COS defines his position: "In the relentless competition of the modern world, and in the face of the great political and economic blocs, European cooperation is an indisputable necessity (...) The duty of Olympic sport, nourished by the generous and prophetic thought of Baron de Coubertin, is undoubtedly to place its power and influence at the service of the noble causes of our time. European cooperation is one such cause"²⁴. The audience for sport and Olympism can highlight European cooperation. Such an initiative to unite the European NOCs would also make it possible to fulfill one of the main missions of the NOCs as defined in the Olympic Charter: the promotion of the Olympic ideal.

Conclusion

To sum up this slow process of setting up a

European Olympic institution, we can define the Versailles GA in 1968 as the founding meeting. Then, from 1968 to 1975, the NOCs questioned and opposed the form that this union should take. On the one hand, there were those in favour of a traditional association, with statutes, elected members, working groups and so on. This position was supported in particular by the NOCs of the West, such as France, Belgium, Switzerland and the FRG. On the other hand, the British and Scandinavian NOCs were more in favour of creating a flexible and open union, i.e. simple annual meetings with a consultative nature, exchanges and few constraints. In 1973, the first "Studies and Projects" working group, made up of 8 commissions, was set up under the chairmanship of the highly influential Raoul Mollet. Following the 1974 General Assembly in Paris, the European NOCs (finally) came to an agreement and the statutes were adopted a year later during the 6th General Assembly of the NOCs in Lisbon on 16 and 17 October 1975. The General Assembly of the NOCs then officially became AECNO following the vote on its statutes.

The aim of this article is to briefly present the genesis of the Association of the NOCs of Europe from 1965 to 1975. First of all, we looked at the relationship between the IOC and the NOCs through Onesti's initiative to bring all the NOCs together in an association in 1965. Then, three years later, the Europeans, with Jean de Beaumont, took the same initiative, but on a continental scale. This article deals only with the main elements of AENOC genesis, without going into the interplay of players and the many issues (official and unofficial) that have organisation of European NOCs this institution. All these other elements will be dealt with in other

24 French National Archives, R.Gafner, 1968, Exposé sur les Jeux Européens, page 2.

publications, and in particular in my thesis. This laborious institutionalisation of the CNOE is largely the result of multiple issues and different and divergent interests.

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The Perception of Olympic Agenda 2020 Recommendations of College Student Athletes in Taiwan: A Cross-sectional Study on the Implementation of the Agenda in 2021

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Abstract

This study is to carry out a survey through purposive sampling to understand how college student athletes in Taiwan who had at least participated in one sports event at a national level think about the Olympic Agenda 2020 after its implementation period. A total of 528 questionnaires were given out with 446 valid ones collected. The data were then analyzed through the methods of descriptive analysis, paired sample t-test, Pearson correlation analysis and importance-performance analysis (IPA).

This study found that five years after the adoption of the Agenda, athletes still value and follow the recommendations. It is crucial that the government sector and related sports associations should also take this into account. Consequently, it proved that the recommendations were developing in a positive direction. When applying IPA, none of the recommendations was in the second quadrant. This finding contrasted with the outcome in 2018 when many of the recommendations were located in quadrant B. Overall, this study demonstrated that some significant progress was made in how athletes perceive the strategic roadmap, and that the efforts made by the government sector and relevant authorities were successful.

Keywords

Olympic Agenda 2020, Olympic Agenda 2020+5, Olympic Education, Student Athletes

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I. Introduction

At the 127th Annual Meeting in December 2014, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) adopted the Olympic Agenda (OA) 2020, with a total of 40 recommendations in three spheres: “Sustainable Development”, “Credibility” and “Attracting Youth” (IOC, 2014). After the announcement of the guidance, countries around the world must commit to reform, promotion and practice. Later in mid-February 2021, the IOC Executive Board proposed the new strategic roadmap, OA 2020+5. Built on the results of the OA 2020 published by the IOC in 2014, the new Agenda aims to respond to the post-coronavirus world, and a total of 5 trends and 15 recommendations are derived to determine the direction of the IOC and the Olympic Movement until 2025.

The 5 key trends are as followed (IOC, 2021): first, there is a need for greater solidarity within and among societies; second, while expanding digitalization across the globe, it is necessary to eliminate digital inequality at our best; third, it is absolutely urgent to achieve the sustainable development goals; next, organizations and institutions should strive to enhance their credibility; lastly, in the face of the financial and economic impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is of vital importance to build resilience among governments and enterprises, which could determine their relevant priorities in actions.

Below are the 15 recommendations:

1. Strengthen the uniqueness and universality of the Olympic Games;
2. Promote a sustainable Olympic Games;
3. Strengthen the rights and responsibilities of athletes;
4. Continue to attract elite athletes;
5. Further strengthen safe sports and the

protection of clean athletes;

6. Enhance and promote the road to the Olympic Games;
7. Coordinate and harmonious competition calendar;
8. Improve the interaction between digital technology and people.
9. Encourage the development of virtual sports and expand their links with the video game community.
10. Strengthen the role of the Movement as an important enabler of the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals.
11. Strengthen support for refugees and displaced persons.
12. Go beyond the Olympic community and expand the connection with the external community.
13. Continue to establish a model of social and corporate citizenship.
14. Strengthen Olympic activities through good governance.
15. Establish an innovative revenue model.

When the OA 2020 was launched, the president of the IOC, Mr. Bach stated that the motto underpinning the process from identification to adoption to implementation was “change or be changed”. Based on the OA 2020, the IOC formulated the OA 2020+5, which took the opinions and feedback of relevant stakeholders and the possible consequences resulted from the pandemic into account, in the hope of seizing this chance to make changes and turn the crisis into an opportunity. The IOC Executive Board has also completed the OA 2020 Closing Report and its impact on the IOC and the Olympic Games.

According to the Sports Administration, Ministry of Education, Taiwan, the focus of the OA 2020 includes the reform of

bidding process, strengthening sports doping testing and encouraging honest athletes, assisting athletes in career planning and employment guidance after retirement, and promoting “environmental sustainability” and “gender equality”. Since 2013, the Sports Administration has commissioned the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee to organize a course regarding career planning for athletes and channel the right talent from the pool to the job market in the sports sector. In 2015, a course aiming to raise awareness on doping in sports was conducted. In addition, the Sports Administration has been keen in promoting gender equality and thus, provides guidance to individual sports associations in Taiwan to conduct relevant courses, workshops and other activities in response to the OA 2020. The Sports Administrative hopes that the course will help the participants understand the future changes in international sports, facilitate the promotion of the OA 2020, and make Taiwan one of the first countries to echo the OA 2020 globally. With these goals in mind, it could help lay the foundation for future sports development in Taiwan and all international sports affairs and be prepared for more challenges.

While the government is committed to cultivate diverse abilities and promote sports knowledge among young athletes, the level of understanding of the OA 2020 of student athletes needs to be further explored. Therefore, the focus of the study is to understand how student athletes perceive the roadmap and the questionnaires were mainly conducted on college sportsmen who had at least participated in one sports event at a national level before. The study aims to understand the extent to which college athletes in Taiwan are aware of the OA 2020.

II. Methodology

1. Compilation of research tools and research objects

This study was conducted through a questionnaire with reference to the one used by Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020), which was prepared with reference to the OA 2020 announced by the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee and was completed in 2018. In this study, the definition of student athletes refers to those athletes who are students in university, and the questionnaire was given to college athletes who had participated in at least one national sports event before. A total of 528 questionnaires were sent and 446 valid questionnaires were collected with a recovery rate of 84%.

2. Importance-Performance Analysis (IPA)

IPA is a technique that prioritizes the relevant attributes of a particular service or product for its importance and perceived performance to consumers (Sampson & Showalter, 1999). IPA has become a popular management tool since the late 1970s, and has often been used to identify the strengths and weaknesses of trademarks, products, services, tourism, retail, etc., and to suggest directions and suggestions for improvement (Cheron, McTavish & Perrien, 1989; Chapman, 1993; Chu & Choi, 2000; Kozak & Nield, 1998).

What the IPA quadrant positions represent:

(1) Quadrant A (High Importance vs. High Performance): The relevant attributes of the product are highly valued and the product's performance is considered outstanding. Products that fall under this quadrant should keep up the good work.

(2) Quadrant B (High Importance vs. Low Performance): The relevant attributes of the

products are considered important but the reviews of the actual performance indicate that it is urgent to improve the situation.

(3) Quadrant C (Low Importance vs. Low Performance): Products that attach low importance to the relevant attributes of the product and receive low performance reviews are the ones that should be put at a later priority to be improved later.

(4) Quadrant D (Low Importance vs. High Performance): The relevant attributes of the products are not paid attention to, but the actual performance of the product is quite satisfactory. For products in this quadrant, it represents that the consumers are happy with the performance and there is no need to make changes.

This study applies IPA to analyze the cognitive expectations and actual satisfaction of the Taiwanese student athletes on the topics of OA 2020.

III. Data processing and analysis

According to the objectives and research questions of this research, the study will process the collected data and analyze them with IBM® SPSS® 23.0 for Windows statistical suite software. Next, descriptive analysis would be applied to indicate the basic information of the Taiwanese student athletes. The correlation between the importance of the OA 2020 and the satisfaction level of the student athletes about the roadmap will be analyzed by using the pair sample t-test and the Pearson correlation analysis. Finally, the IPA method is used to explore recommendations that need to be improved and maintained. The statistical significance level of each study was set as $\alpha=.05$.

1. Basic information of the Taiwanese student athletes

The majority of the college athletes were male, 267 people (59.8%), and 179 (40.2%) were female. The average age is about 20.58 years old, the youngest is 18 years old with 29 being the oldest, and the standard deviation is 1.91 years. For most of the students, the highest level of competition they had participated in was the national intercollegiate athletic games, with 218 participants (48.8%), followed by 63 people (14.1%) who had competed in any national competitions; The third is the National Junior College Ball League with 62 players (13.8%), the fourth is the World Level tournament with 50 players (11.3%), and the fifth was the Asian tier with 25 participants (5.5%). Regarding the career planning course held by the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee, the majority of participants (76.4%) did not join the conference while 105 people (23.6%) had participated.

2. The importance of the OA 2020 perceived by the student athletes

As shown in Table 1, in terms of the current situation of sustainable development illustrated in the OA 2020, it is generally agreed that the topics were emphasized, with an average of 4.33 and a standard deviation of 0.18. The hot topics that student athletes believed to be the most important are “including sustainability in all aspects of the Olympic Games (4.49)”, “setting a framework for the Olympic programme (4.48)” and “maximising synergies with Olympic Movement stakeholders (4.47)”. In terms of the current situation in credibility, generally, it is considered to be emphasized with an average of 4.45 and standard deviation of 0.15. According to the college athletes,

“changing the philosophy to protecting clean athletes (4.67)”, “strengthening the 6th Fundamental Principle of Olympism (4.61)” and “ensuring compliance (4.61)” are the most essential aspects. As for how to attract more participation from the youth, it is accepted that the trend has been emphasized with an average of 4.44 and a standard deviation of 0.11. The topics with greater importance are considered to be “strengthening support to athletes (4.64)”, “blending sports and culture (4.5)” and “spreading Olympic values-based education (4.49)”.

3. The satisfaction level of the current situation in OA 2020 among the students

As Table 1, in the sphere of sustainability, the results showed that it is generally valued with an average of 4.15, and 0.14 standard deviations. The three recommendations that received the highest satisfaction level were “including sustainability in all aspects of the Olympic Games (4.26)”, “including sustainability within the Olympic Movement’s daily operations (4.26)” and “fostering TOP sponsors’ engagement with NOCs (4.26)”. In the sphere of credibility, the average is 4.23 and the standard deviation is 0.12. The recommendations receiving the highest satisfaction level were “protecting athletes who play honestly (4.39)”, “supporting autonomy (4.37)” and “ensuring compliance (4.37)”. Regarding how the sphere of youth in the OA 2020 is carried out, the outcome proved that it is satisfactory with an average of 4.23 and a standard deviation of 0.1. The top three items with the highest satisfaction level were “strengthening support to athletes (4.38)”, “spreading Olympic values-based education (4.3)”, “community engagement (4.28)” and

“blending sports and culture (4.28)”.

4. Differentiated assessment of Taiwanese student-athletes’ attention and satisfaction with OA 2020

In this section, the paired sample t-test is used to understand if there is a gap between the focus the Taiwanese student athletes put emphasis on and the satisfaction level of the three trends proposed in OA 2020, which are sustainable development, credibility and attracting the youth. The following are the results:

(1) Sustainable development

Based on the paired sample t-test, it was found that the importance level of the 13 recommendations in sustainable development in the OA 2020 does not match with the satisfaction level with an average of -.18. Among the recommendations, “forging relationships with professional leagues (-.29)”, “setting a framework for the Olympic programme (-.27)”, “integrating sustainable development into Olympic Movement (-.23)”, and “maximising synergies with Olympic Movement stakeholders” are the ones showing the greatest mean difference (Table 1).

(2) Credibility

According to the paired sample t-test, it was found that the importance and satisfaction levels of the 19 recommendations in the OA 2020 perceived by the Taiwanese student athletes are only extended in question 37, and the age limit for IOC members is not extended. Significant differences, all others showed significant differences, and the average mean difference between satisfaction and importance of this aspect was -.22, the top three questions with the mean difference

are 29. Increase financial transparency (-. 37) Recommendation 14 reinforces the basic principle of non-discrimination of any kind referred to in Olympism (-. 31) and Recommendation 15 to protect athletes who play honestly (-. 28), as shown in Table 2.

(3) *Youth strategy*

Based on the paired sample t-test, it was found that there were significant differences in what the college athletes valued and their satisfaction level of the 8 recommendations regarding youth strategy in the OA 2020 with the average difference standing at -. 21. As shown in Table 3, the following recommendations have the biggest mean difference: “reviewing Youth Olympic Games positioning (-. 28)”, “launching an Olympic Channel (-. 27)” and “strengthening support to athletes (-. 26)”.

5. Analysis of the importance and satisfaction level of the three pillars

The Pearson correlation analysis explored the correlation between the importance and satisfaction levels of the three trends of “sustainable development”, “credibility” and “attracting the youth” of the OA 2020. Among the three pillars, the importance of sustainable development was highly correlated with the satisfaction level of sustainable development, followed by that of credibility and the satisfaction level of public trust. Lastly, the importance of attracting the youth and the satisfaction level of the youth strategies was the lowest showing no significant relation between other variables.

6. The gap in the perception of the Taiwanese student athletes regarding the importance and satisfaction level of the recommendations in the OA 2020

This section uses IPA to explore the awareness of Taiwanese students athletes on the recommendations in the OA 2020 regarding “sustainable development”, “credibility” and “attracting the youth”. The horizontal axis (X-axis) represents the level of satisfaction with the more right indicating higher satisfaction and the more left meaning the lower satisfaction while the vertical axis (Y-axis) shows the level of importance with the higher being more important and the lower being less important. The dominance retention zone (A quadrant) falls in the upper right corner, which indicates high importance and satisfaction level; in the upper left corner is the concentrated improvement area (B quadrant), which represents high importance and low satisfaction; in the lower left corner is the low priority improvement area (C quadrant), which suggests low importance and low satisfaction; in the lower right corner is the area of possible excessive emphasis (D quadrant), which stands for low importance and high satisfaction.

(1) *Sustainable development*

Based on IPA, it seems that the 13 recommendations from the sustainability dimension are distributed in two quadrants, namely the advantage retention zone (Quadrant A) and the low priority improvement zone (Quadrant C).

Overall, 10 recommendations are located in the advantage retention zone (Quadrant A), including Recommendation 5 Including sustainability within the Olympic Movement’s daily operations. Recommendation

7 Strengthening relationships with organizations managing sport for people with different abilities, Recommendation 4 Including sustainability in all aspects of the Olympic Games, Recommendation 35 Fostering TOP sponsors' engagement with NOCs, Recommendation 2 Evaluating bid cities by assessing key opportunities and risks, Recommendation 6 Cooperating closely with other sports event organizers, Recommendation 8 Forging relationships with professional leagues, Recommendation 9 Setting a framework for the Olympic programme, Recommendation 33 Further involving sponsors in "Olympism in Action" programmes and Recommendation 34 Developing a global licensing programme. As for the remaining recommendations, they fall under the Low Priority Improvement Zone (Quadrant C), including Recommendation 10 Moving from a sport-based to an event-based programme, Recommendation 1 Shaping the bidding process as an invitation, Recommendation 3 Reducing the cost of bidding as shown in Figure 1.

(2) Credibility

The importance-performance analysis method shows that the 19 recommendations in credibility also fall in the two quadrants, namely the advantage retention zone (Quadrant A) and the low priority improvement zone (Quadrant C) as shown in Figure 2.

Overall, 16 questions are located in the advantage preservation zone (Quadrant A), including Recommendation 15 Changing the philosophy to protecting clean athletes, Recommendation 28 Supporting autonomy, Recommendation 31 Ensuring compliance, Recommendation 27 Complying with basic principles of good governance,

Recommendation 32 Strengthening ethics, Recommendation 11 Fostering gender equality, Recommendation 17 Honoring clean athletes, Recommendation 14 Strengthening the 6th Fundamental Principle of Olympism, Recommendation 16 Leveraging the IOC USD 20 million fund to protect clean athletes, Recommendation 21 Strengthening IOC advocacy capacity, Recommendation 13 Maximizing synergies with Olympic Movement stakeholders, Recommendation 29 Increasing transparency, Recommendation 30 Strengthening the IOC Ethics Commission independence, Recommendation 40 Reviewing scope and composition of IOC commissions, Recommendation 20 Entering into strategic partnerships, and Recommendation 39 Fostering dialogue with society and within the Olympic Movement. Meanwhile, three recommendations are located in the Low Priority Improvement Zone (Quadrant C), namely Recommendation 38 Implementing a targeted recruitment process, Recommendation 12 Reducing the cost and reinforce the flexibility of Olympic Games management, and Recommendation 37 Addressing IOC membership age limit.

(3) Attracting youth

Based on the results analyzed through the IPA method, 8 recommendations related to the youth strategies in OA 2020 could be found in the following quadrants: the advantage retention zone (Quadrant A), the low priority improvement zone (Quadrant C) and the area of possible excessive emphasis (Quadrant D).

Overall, 3 questions are located in the advantage retention zone (Quadrant A), including Recommendation 18 Strengthening support to athletes, Recommendation 22 Spreading Olympic values-based education,

and Recommendation 26 Further blending sport and culture. On the other hand, 4 recommendations fall under the low priority improvement zone (Quadrant C), including the Recommendation 24 Evaluating the Sport for Hope programme, Recommendation 25 Reviewing Youth Olympic Games positioning, Recommendation 19 Launching an Olympic Channel and Recommendation 36 Extending access to the Olympic brand for non-commercial use. Lastly, Recommendation 23 Engaging with communities is found in the area of possible over-emphasis (Quadrant D) as shown in Figure 3.

IV. Discussion

1. Current situation of how the Taiwanese student athletes perceive the OA 2020

This study realized that the Taiwanese student athletes attach great importance to the three pillars of the OA 2020, which are sustainable development, credibility and attracting the youth, ($M=4.$ 33; 4.45: 4.44). The results corresponded with that of Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020) ($M=3.77$; 4.22: 4.24), showing that despite the fact that 5 years had passed, student athletes still consider it crucial. In fact, it is found that the importance is growing. Hence, related authorities should take the recommendations valued by the student athletes seriously. From 2018 to 2021, the average difference in how college athletes value the importance of sustainable development is as high as -0.56, and it is inferred that the awareness of the aspect of sustainable development has risen in recent years. Therefore, the Taiwanese student athletes regard sustainability as an important topic in sports. In terms of credibility, protecting clean athletes is considered the most

vital recommendation in both 2018 (4.49) and 2021 (4.67). According to the result, it is apparent that athletes expect policies related to the promotion of honest competitions and drug-free sports fairness to be improved. In the aspect of attracting the youth in sports, the most important recommendation in 2018 (4.54) and 2021 remain the same, which is to strengthen support to athletes (4.64). This result illustrates that it is widely acknowledged that athletes are the core of sports or the Olympic Games, and that the government, sports-related organizations and schools must continue to support athletes and be the strongest support behind them

2. Current status of the satisfaction level of the OA 2020 perceived by college athletes

In this study, it showed that Taiwanese student athletes reported a relatively high satisfaction level in the three aspects of the OA 2020 ($M=4.15$; 4.23: 4.23), differing from the results collected in 2018 by Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020), which presented a lower satisfaction level in the three aspects ($M=3.42$; 3.76: 3.77). The change indicates that there's an improvement in the execution of the OA 2020. Thus, it implies that the student athletes acknowledged the progress in sports policies related to the three pillars. In the aspect of the sustainable development, students are most satisfied with 3 recommendations, which are "including sustainability in all aspects of the Olympic Games (1) (4.26)", "including sustainability within the Olympic Movement's daily operations (4.26)" and " fostering TOP sponsors' engagement with NOCs (4.26)." As for that aspect of credibility, the top 3 recommendations are "changing the philosophy to protecting clean

athletes (4.39)”, “support autonomy(4.37)” and “ensuring compliance. “ (4.37) Finally, the recommendations receiving the highest ranking are “strengthening support to athletes (4.38)”, “spreading Olympic values-based education (4.3)”, and “engaging with communities (4.28)”.

3. Verification of the difference in the importance and satisfaction of the Taiwanese student athletes with the OA 2020

The study realized that almost all the 40 recommendations except for Recommendation 37 “Address IOC membership age limit” have a higher rank in importance level than that of satisfaction level and the difference was obvious. The result of this study aligned with the one conducted in 2018 by Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020). The difference is that compared with the year 2018, college athletes generally agreed that the importance of the recommendations is higher and are more satisfied with the OA 2020. The study also found that Recommendation 29 “increase transparency” demonstrated the largest difference between the level of importance and satisfaction, which is consistent with the outcome in 2018 analyzed by Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020). The consistency indicates that even after 5 years, it is still of great importance to improve transparency in the IOC. Other recommendations that the Taiwanese student athletes deemed crucial are “strengthening the 6th Fundamental Principle of Olympism” and “changing the philosophy to protecting clean athletes”.

4. Distribution of evaluation result from the Taiwanese student athletes regarding satisfaction over the recommendations

This study found that student athletes generally recognized that the recommendations of OA 2020 are important while they did not feel that they are fully carried out, indicating that there is still room for improvement in relevant policies. Based on the results analyzed through IPA, none of the 40 recommendations in the three major directions fell in the concentrated improvement area (B quadrant). Meanwhile, 29 recommendations were found in the advantage retention area (A quadrant), which is different from the results gathered by Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020) in 2018. At that time, a total of 6 recommendations were in the concentrated improvement area (Quadrant B), including Recommendation 10 “moving from a sport-based to an event-based programme”, Recommendation 29 “increasing transparency”, Recommendation 30 “strengthening the IOC Ethics Commission independence”, Recommendation 40 “reviewing scope and composition of IOC commissions”, Recommendation 20 “entering into strategic partnerships” and Recommendation 39 “fostering dialogue with society and within the Olympic Movement”. Plus, Recommendation 10 “move from a sport-based to an event-based programme” has moved to the low priority improvement zone (C symbol), and other 5 recommendations have moved to the advantage retention zone (A quadrant). In a nutshell, the IPA result reveals that improvements have been made from the outcomes generated in 2021 and 2018, and that it approves that the government and relevant authorities have successfully made some changes.

V. Results and Discussion

According to the paired sample t-test, it was found that sustainable development, credibility and attracting young people The importance and satisfaction of the three major aspects showed significant differences; Pearson's analysis found that "credibility", "sustainable development" and "The importance and satisfaction of "attracting young people" are positively correlated with each other, and none of the three aspects is significantly correlated with each other; The Importance-Performance Degree Analysis showed that none of the 40 questions in the three major directions fell in the concentrated improvement area (B quadrant), 29 topics fell in the advantage retention area (A quadrant), 10 topics fell in the low priority improvement area (C quadrant), and 1 suggestion fell in the possible over-emphasis area (D quadrant).

This study found student-athletes attach great importance to the sustainable development, credibility and attraction of young people in the three major aspects of OA 2020 issues, which is the same as Chen, B I. , Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. Similar findings from 2018 (2020) show that even after more than five years, student-athletes still consider issues that are important to student-athletes, and that government departments and sports-related organizations should still consider issues that are important to student-athletes.

Student-athletes showed a satisfactory trend in the three aspects of sustainable development, credibility and attracting young people on the reform issues of OA 2020 ($M=4.15$; 4.23 : 4.23), which differs from those conducted by Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020), which presented unsatisfactory aspects

($M=3.42$; 3.76 : 3.77), indicating that the OA 2020 agenda is developing in a positive direction.

They also paid more attention to the OA 2020 than they were satisfied with, and the highest average difference was the 29th Increase transparency ($-.37$), and they are consistent, indicating that student-athletes still have higher expectations for organizational financial transparency. In the analysis of the degree of importance-performance, none of the 40 questions in the three major directions fell in the concentrated improvement area (B quadrant), and 29 topics fell in the advantage retention area (A quadrant), which was similar to Chen, B. I., Chen, M. Y. and Yang, Y. J. (2020) conducted in 2018 differed, and in 2018, many reform issues still fell in the improvement focus area (B quadrant). In general, the results tested in 2021 and 2018 have a trend of improvement, which means that the performance of the Taiwan government and relevant units is obvious to all.

VI. Recommendations for future research

The OA 2020+5 has been proposed as many challenges lie ahead in the post-pandemic era and that the practical implementation of the recommendations regarding sustainable development, virtual sports and technology should continue to be advanced. It is noteworthy that athletes are still the core of sports and the Olympics, and it is necessary to continue to listen and support them. In terms of future research recommendations, topics related to the OA 2020+5 and the challenges posed by COVID-19 can be further explored.

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Table 1

The importance and satisfaction levels of the sustainable development of the OA 2020 perceived by the Taiwanese student athletes analyzed by the paired sample t-test (n=446).

Structural surface	Importance (I)		Satisfaction (P)		Importance and satisfaction Average difference (P-I)	
	average value	standard deviation	average value	standard deviation	mean difference	t-value
Overall	4.33	.18	4.15	.14	-.18	11.15***
1. Shape the bidding process as an invitation	4	.91	3.89	.92	-.11	3.03**
2. Evaluate bid cities by assessing key opportunities and risks	4.37	.8	4.15	.95	-.22	5.61***
3. Reduce the cost of bidding	3.96	1.04	3.84	1.03	-.12	2.93**
4. Include sustainability in all aspects of the Olympic Games	4.45	.79	4.26	.91	-.19	4.69***
5. Include sustainability within the Olympic Movement's daily operations	4.49	.75	4.26	.91	-.23	5.78***
6. Cooperate closely with other sports event organisers	4.37	.77	4.24	.83	-.13	3.98***
7. Strengthen relationships with organisations managing sport for people with different abilities	4.47	.73	4.24	.87	-.23	5.47***
8. Forge relationships with professional leagues	4.42	.76	4.13	.92	-.29	7.08***
9. Set a framework for the Olympic programme	4.48	.71	4.21	.89	-.27	6.31***
10. Move from a sport-based to an event-based programme	4.17	.91	4.03	.9	-.14	3.81***
11. Further involve sponsors in "Olympism in Action" programmes	4.3	.86	4.16	.91	-.14	3.79***
12. Develop an authorized certification program globally	4.38	.79	4.25	.87	-.13	3.72***
13. Foster TOP sponsors' engagement with NOCs	4.45	.73	4.26	.87	-.19	5.23***

Note: * for $P < .05$, ** for $P < .01$, and **** for $P < .001$

Table 2

Credibility-related recommendations and the satisfaction level perceived by the Taiwanese student athletes analyzed through the paired sample t-test (n=446).

Structural surface	Importance (I)		Satisfaction (P)		Importance and satisfaction Average difference (P-I)	
	average value	standard deviation	average value	standard deviation	mean difference	t value
Overall	4.45	.15	4.23	.12	-.22	15.61***
11. Foster gender equality	4.56	.73	4.31	.9	-.25	5.63***
12. Reduce the cost and reinforce the flexibility of Olympic Games management	4.29	.85	4.03	.92	-0.26	6.41***
13. Maximise synergies with Olympic Movement stakeholders	4.4	.74	4.21	.88	-0.19	4.84***
14. Strengthen the 6th Fundamental Principle of Olympism	4.61	.65	4.3	.85	-0.31	7.68***
15. Change the philosophy to protecting clean athletes	4.67	.65	4.39	.89	-0.28	6.69***
16. Leverage the IOC USD 20 million fund to protect clean athletes	4.42	.83	4.23	.92	-0.19	4.58***
17. Honour clean athletes	4.48	.82	4.31	.91	-0.17	4.38***
20. Enter into strategic partnerships	4.36	.83	4.17	.92	-0.19	5.19***
21. Strengthen IOC advocacy capacity	4.46	.78	4.26	.88	-0.2	4.58***
27. Comply with basic principles of good governance	4.54	.77	4.35	.83	-0.19	4.86***
28. Support autonomy	4.58	.67	4.37	.81	-0.21	5.24***
29. Increase transparency	4.54	.71	4.17	1	-0.37	6.99***
30. Strengthen the IOC Ethics Commission independence	4.45	.74	4.18	.96	-0.27	5.73***
31. Ensure compliance	4.61	.64	4.37	.81	-0.24	6.42***
32. Strengthen ethics	4.58	.68	4.33	.82	-0.25	6.24***
37. Address IOC membership age limit	4.02	1	3.95	1.02	-0.07	1.85
38. Implement a targeted recruitment process	4.28	.82	4.07	.96	-0.21	5.08***
39. Foster dialogue with society and within the Olympic Movement	4.4	.78	4.19	.89	-0.21	4.97***
40. Review scope and composition of IOC commissions	4.38	.75	4.21	.88	-0.17	4.37***

Note: * for $P < .05$, ** for $P < .01$, and **** for $P < .001$

Table 3

What the Taiwanese student athletes value in the sphere of youth strategy in the OA 2020 and their satisfaction of the recommendations analyzed through the paired sample t-test (n=446).

Structural surface		Importance (I)		Satisfaction (P)		Importance and satisfaction Average difference (P-I)	
		average value	standard deviation	average value	standard deviation	mean difference	t value
Overall		4.44	.11	4.23	.1	-.21	9.92***
Youth strategy	18. Strengthen support to athletes	4.64	.65	4.38	.85	-.26	6.36***
	19. Launch an Olympic Channel	4.41	.85	4.14	.94	-.27	5.97***
	22. Spread Olympic values-based education	4.49	.73	4.3	.82	-.19	4.66***
	23. Engage with communities	4.45	.74	4.28	.8	-.17	4.67***
	24. Evaluate the Sport for Hope programme	4.34	.8	4.2	.88	-.14	3.68***
	25. Review Youth Olympic Games positioning	4.41	.72	4.13	.91	-.28	6.88***
	26. Integrate sport with culture	4.5	.71	4.28	.87	-.22	5.78***
	36. Expand the non-commercial use of Olympic symbols	4.26	.85	4.12	.94	-.14	3.27***

Note: * for $P < .05$, ** for $P < .01$, and **** for $P < .001$

Table 4

Analysis of the importance and satisfaction level of the three pillars (n=446).

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. The importance of sustainable development	4.33	.18	-				
2. The importance of credibility	4.45	.15	.03	-			
3. The importance of attracting the youth	4.43	.11	-.64	.22	-		
4. Satisfaction with sustainable development	4.15	.14	.96***	.16	-.52	-	
5. Satisfaction with credibility	4.23	.12	-.1	.92***	.25	-.04	-
6. Satisfaction with young strategies	4.23	.1	-.62	.5	.85**	-.555	.53

Note: * means $P < .05$, ** means $P < .01$, **** means $P < .001$

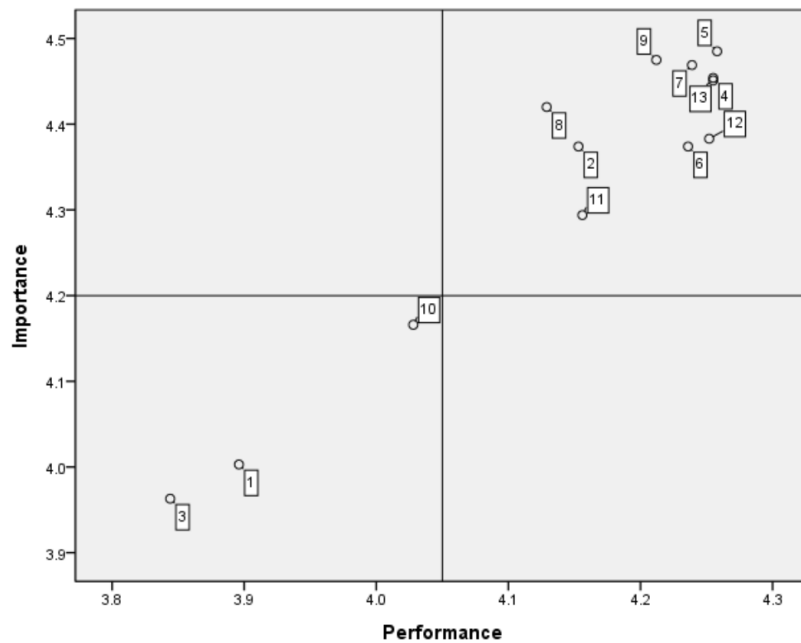


Figure 1. IPA analysis chart of the importance and satisfaction of Taiwanese student-athletes with the sustainable development of OA 2020.

Note: 1. Shape the bidding process as an invitation 2. Evaluate bid cities by assessing key opportunities and risks 3. Reduce the cost of bidding 4. Include sustainability in all aspects of the Olympic Games 5. Include sustainability within the Olympic Movement's daily operations 6. Cooperate closely with other sports event organizers 7. Strengthen relationships with organizations managing sport for people with different abilities 8. Forge relationships with professional leagues 9. Set a framework for the Olympic programme 10 Move from a sport-based to an event-based programme 11. Further involve sponsors in "Olympism in Action" programmes 12. Develop a global licensing programme 13. Foster TOP sponsors' engagement with NOCs

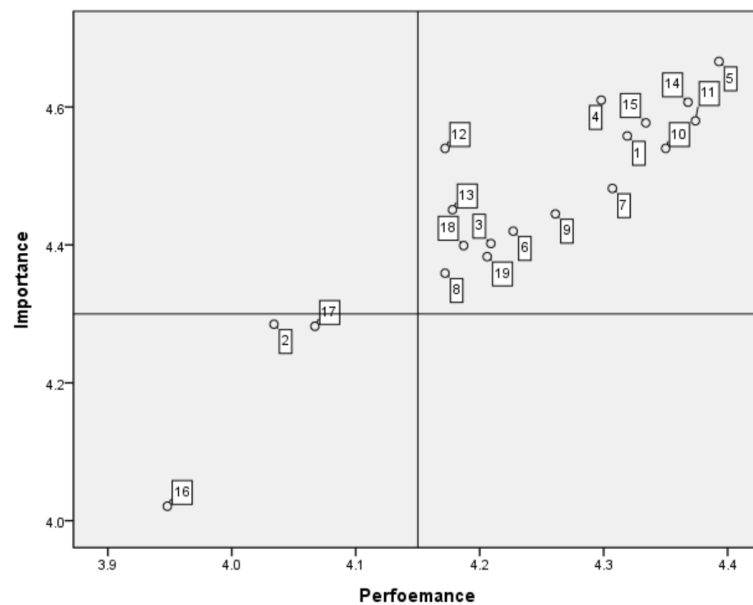


Figure 2. IPA analysis of the recommendations in credibility in the OA 2020

Note: 1. Foster gender equality 2. Reduce the cost and reinforce the flexibility of Olympic Games management 3. Maximize synergies with Olympic Movement stakeholders 4. Strengthen the 6th Fundamental Principle of Olympism 5. Change the philosophy to protecting clean athletes 6. Leverage the IOC USD 20 million fund to protect clean athletes 7. Honor clean athletes 8. Enter into strategic partnerships 9. Strengthen IOC advocacy capacity 10. Comply with basic principles of good governance 11. Support autonomy 12. Increase transparency 13. Strengthen the IOC Ethics Commission independence 14. Ensure compliance 15. Strengthen ethics 16. Address IOC membership age limit 17. Implement a targeted recruitment process 18. Foster dialogue with society and within the Olympic Movement 19. Review scope and composition of IOC commissions

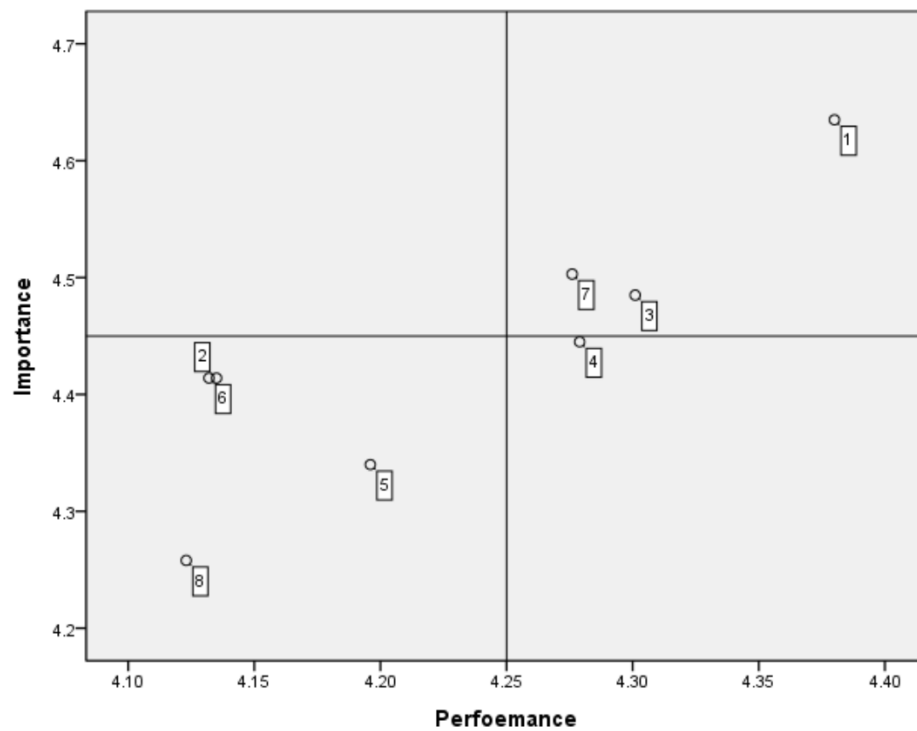


Figure 3 IPA analysis of recommendation related to youth strategies in the OA 2020

Note: 1. Strengthen support to athletes 2. Launch an Olympic Channel. 3. Spread Olympic values-based education 4. Engage with communities 5. Evaluate the Sport for Hope programme 6. Review Youth Olympic Games positioning, 7. Further blend sport and culture 8. Extend access to the Olympic brand for non-commercial use

Toward the integration of esports into the Olympic Movement: retrospective and prospective analysis.

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Abstract

While International Olympic Committee's (IOC) president Thomas Bach recently asked the new IOC Esports Commission to study the creation of Olympic Esports Games, no research provides an empirical analysis of the rationale behind the IOC' esports strategy. This study aims to fill this gap by highlighting how the IOC could plan the maintenance and evolution of its esports strategy for future Olympic esports events such as the Olympic Esports Games. A focus group of Vietnamese Generation Z esports fans forms the main data used for this research. The results provide both a retrospective and a prospective analysis of IOC' esports strategy. The findings suggest that IOC' esports commission decision-makers should try to find a balance between popular and sustainable esports scenes when choosing titles for the future Olympic Esports Games. The latter event further appears to be a strategic opportunity for the IOC to partner with major esports titles while previous initiatives such as the Olympic Virtual Series (OVS) and the Olympic Esports Series (OES) rely on physical and non-physical virtual sports.

Keywords

Olympic movement, esports, strategy, retrospective, prospective

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Introduction

On October 15th 2023, IOC president Thomas Bach declared during his opening speech of the 141st IOC session in Mumbai that he asked the new IOC Esports Commission to study the creation of Olympic Esports Games (IOC, 2023a). This latest announcement follows on from the IOC's previous esports initiatives, namely the Olympic Virtual Series (OVS) held online between May and June 2021 (Chanavat, 2023) and the Olympic Esports Series (OES) held in Singapore in June 2023 (IOC, 2023b). In particular, this statement occurs at a time when many esports disciplines are already medals events both at the Southeast Asian Games and Asian Games (Lu, 2022). Indeed, Lu (2022) reports that esports have "joined the 2022 Hangzhou Asian games as a medal sport under the 'intellectual titles' event category" (p. 258) and "was included in the 2019 Manila Southeast Asian Games (SEA Games) as a medal sport" (p. 258). In this respect, the latest edition of the Asian Games featured popular esports titles in its program such as Arena of Valor, League of Legends, EA Sports FC Online, Street Fighter V: Champion Edition, Defense of the Ancients 2 (Dota 2), Dream Three Kingdoms 2 and Peace Elite (Goh, 2023). The SEA Games followed a similar pattern with its latest edition including esports competitions as a medal event in its program for the third time in a row. Notably, esports players were competing on six popular titles in Southeast Asia, namely, Mobile Legends: Bang Bang, Attack Online 2, Crossfire, League of Legends: Wild Rift, Valorant, and PUBG Mobile (Lukman, 2023).

From there, it seems that an important challenge for the Olympic Esports Games

(OEG) is the possible inclusion of popular esports titles around the world to match the expectations of esports fans and attract younger audiences to the Olympic movement (OM). While the OVS and the OES have been mainly built on physical and non-physical virtual sports (Parry & Giesbrecht, 2023), the OEG represents a unique opportunity for the OM to demonstrate to esports audiences that they truly embrace esports disciplines as medal events. However, despite the existence of a growing literature focusing on OM's esports activities (Abanazir, 2022; Anđelić, Bianco, Maksimović, Todorović, & Drid, 2022; Gries, 2019; Lefebvre & Besombes, 2021; Miah, 2021; Miah & Fenton, 2020; Parry, 2021; Parry & Giesbrecht, 2023; Postma, van Delden, & van Hilvoorde, 2022; Ribeiro, Almeida, Calapez, Matsuoka, & Yamashita, 2023; Witkowski, 2016; Wu, 2019), we found no single research examining how esports fans' perception of OM's esports strategy could help the IOC to guide their esports strategy over the coming decades by taking into account both esports cultures and the rapidly evolving nature of the esports industry (Scholz, 2020). Thus, based on a retrospective and prospective analysis of esports fans' perception of the OM's esports strategy, this research aims to highlight how the IOC might consider supporting and evolving its esports strategy for its future events involving esports such as the OEG. In other words, this research attempts to provide a new managerial direction that could help the IOC reshape its long-term vision regarding esports. To this end, this article is divided into five parts. The first provides a retrospective description of the Olympic journey through competitive gaming. The second part presents our literature review based on OM's esports literature. We then present our methodology

for collecting data through a focus group. Drawing on a thematic analysis of our focus group, the fourth section provides both a retrospective and a prospective analysis of OM's esports strategy. Finally, the fifth section concludes this article by proposing theoretical and managerial implications for the IOC's esports long-term strategy.

1. From Esports to Virtual Sports: The Olympic Journey through Competitive Gaming

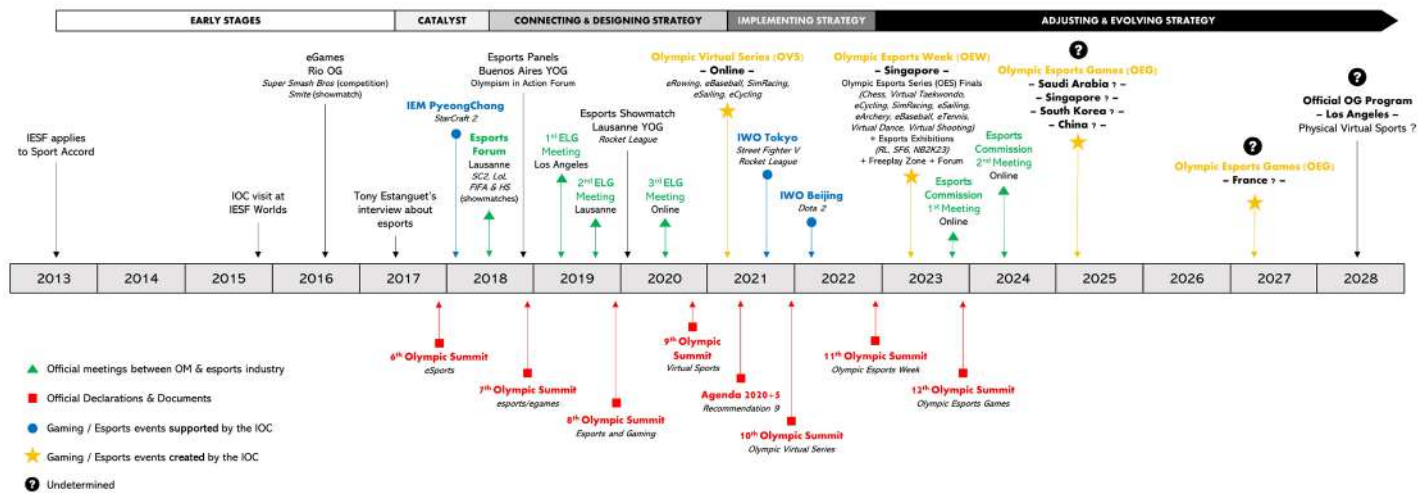
The early stages of the relationship between the OM and the esports industry dates back to July 2013 when the International Esports Federation (IESF) – one of many self-proclaimed international esports federations – applied for membership of Sport Accord – the former name of the Global Association for International Sports Federations (GAISF) – the umbrella organization of international sports governing bodies that is part of the OM (IESF, 2013). Following on from this, the IOC sent representatives to the eSports Summit held in December 2015 at the IESF world championships in Busan, South Korea. A few months later, the eGames, an international showcase event organized by the British Esports Association (BEA), was held in August 2016 at the British Olympic House during the Summer Olympic Games (OG) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

As shown in Figure 1, the real catalyst came in July 2017 when Paris Olympic Bid Committee co-chair Tony Estanguet announced that he was eager to hold talks with esports representatives and the IOC about possible collaborations between the two movements (Graham, 2017). A few months later, during the Olympic Summit – the annual consultation meeting on important issues of significance

for the future of Olympism, OM's leading representatives publicly agreed that: (i) esports was experiencing strong growth that could provide a platform for engaging the youth demographic with the OM; (ii) professional esports could be considered a sporting activity; and (iii) to be recognized by the IOC, esports content should not infringe on Olympic values, and an organization guaranteeing compliance with OM rules and regulations should exist.; and (iv) the IOC and GAISF were asked to open a dialogue with the gaming industry and players to explore areas of collaboration and engagement (IOC, 2018a).

Simultaneously, Intel (one of The Olympic Partners - TOP), former ESL Gaming (one of the leading esports tournament organizers) and the IOC hosted the first-ever esports competition held under the Olympic rings prior to the PyeongChang Winter OG. The "Intel Extreme Master" (IEM) tournament featured a major competition of StarCraft II, a videogame historically strongly played competitively in South Korea. This event remains notable in esports history as Canadian player Sasha "Scarlett" Hostyn became the first woman to win a major StarCraft II tournament (Arrivé, 2018).

Figure 1 - Esports and Olympism Chronology



The first official meeting between the two worlds dates back to July 2018 at the Esports Forum. The event brought together over 150 leading figures from the esports industry (publishers, professional players, media & broadcasters, event organizers, national and international associations) and the OM (IOC, National Olympic Committees, International Federations, TOPs, Right Holding Broadcasters, Olympians) to discuss opportunities for further interaction (IOC, 2018a). The main objectives were to: (i) explore synergies between the two worlds; (ii) build a common understanding of Olympic values & structures; and (iii) establish a platform clarifying the mutually beneficial next steps for engagement. The Forum explored the following questions: could esports be recognized as a sport, could it be represented within the OM, how to achieve gender equality, analogies and differences between professional players and Olympic athletes, governance, media-broadcasting, investors, etc. At the same time, two demo zones were set up to experience esports as a player for a dozen videogames, and as a spectator for four of the major esports games (StarCraft II, FIFA, Hearthstone, League of Legends) (The

Esports Observer, 2018).

In December 2018, the Olympic Summit stated that: (i) some games are not compatible with Olympic values and cooperation with them is therefore excluded; (ii) the esports industry is evolving rapidly, with specific games changing in popularity, (iii) the esports industry is fragmented in nature; (iv) the esports industry is commercially driven. For all these reasons, it was considered premature to include esports as a medal event in the Olympic program (IOC, 2018b). The Olympic Summit also encouraged the International Sports Federations (IFs) to explore the potential benefits and applications of virtual versions of their sports (i.e., restricting their engagement to activation in the virtual forms of their traditional sports). Finally, it was decided that the IOC/GAISF would invite esports and gaming stakeholders to participate in a liaison group to jointly explore collaborative projects.

In June 2019, the Esports and Gaming Liaison Group (ELG) met for the first time during the Electronic Entertainment Expo (E3) in Los Angeles, USA. It aimed to develop mutually beneficial collaboration at an international level, promoting physical

activity and Olympic values (i.e. friendship, respect and excellence) within the esports and gaming communities, and developing electronic versions of traditional sports to promote Olympic sports to new audiences. Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) President David Lappartient was appointed Chairman of the Group. The meeting focused mainly on presenting the attendant stakeholders and key areas for collaboration previously identified by the IOC and GAISF, including an introduction to OM, engagement through esports and gaming, and building a healthy esports ecosystem.

The second ELG meeting was held in November 2019 in Lausanne, Switzerland. Its aim was to work on concrete recommendations to be integrated into the Olympic Agenda 2020 to be presented at the Olympic Summit. Four topics emerged as priorities: (i) sports participation (how to encourage and motivate players to engage in physical activity); (ii) sports in videogames (how to partner with game publishers/developers to promote sports); (iii) showcasing esports (how to jointly showcase esports and sports events); (iv) supporting esports athletes (how to build a healthy and sustainable ecosystem that protects and supports players).

In December 2019, the Olympic Summit agreed on a two-tiered approach: (i) IFs were encouraged to focus their strategy on virtual forms of their sport and to engage with publishers to gain or retain appropriate control over them; (ii) regarding other esports games, OM would focus on players and promoting a healthy lifestyle (IOC, 2019a). Sustainable partnerships between both worlds were required, including platforms and events as appropriate. One month later, during the

135th IOC Session preceding the Winter Youth Olympic Games (YOG) in Lausanne, Switzerland, David Lappartient presented the ten actions identified by the ELG concerning esports and the OM. These projects covered three main topics: (i) promoting a healthy lifestyle for elite players and youth; (ii) engagement between esports and sport at local and global levels; and (iii) engagement between esports and OM, including promotion of Olympic values or support for IFs to create virtual events.

Esports was officially included in the cultural program for the first time during the Winter YOG in Lausanne in January 2020. The event took the form of a Rocket League showcase competition, with a specific independent games exhibition set up in the city. The ELG met online for the third time in August 2020 and strengthened its strategy regarding support for esports athletes, engagement with the OG, promotion of physical activity and sport for youth and grassroots, gender equality, and promotion of virtual sports. This led to the December 2020 Olympic Summit's decision to no longer implicitly use the term "esports" and to focus on its core strategy regarding "virtual sports", both "physical" (e.g., Zwift) and "non-physical" (e.g., NBA2K) (IOC, 2020).

In February 2021, the publication of Olympic Agenda 2020+5 Recommendation 9 added that physical virtual sports could be part of the Olympic Sports Program. This position was confirmed in June 2021 by IOC director of Sports Kit McConnell: *"We open the door to the possibility of seeing physical forms of virtual sports like Zwift (virtual cycling) or rowing, these types of physical simulations could integrate the Olympic program in the future. The Olympic program of Paris*

2024 is already finalized but for Los Angeles this door is open” (France Info, 2021).

Between May and June 2021, the IOC and five IFs produced the OVS, the first-ever Olympic-licensed event for physical and non-physical virtual sports (IOC, 2021). Each IF attempted to offer its corresponding event in a format maximizing online mass participation, theoretically allowing participants from all over the world to compete from their home or training centers (in reality, one of the tournaments was only open to a few Southeast Pacific countries: Japan, South Korea and Chinese Taipei). All five OVS events differed in form and concept, and were operated via the sports’ publisher platforms on which participants could take part: eBaseball Powerful Pro Baseball 2020 for the World Baseball Softball Confederation (WBSC), Zwift for the Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI), Virtual Regatta for the World Sailing Federation, Gran Turismo for the Fédération Internationale de l’Automobile (FIA), and an Open format for the World Rowing Federation.

At the same time, the Intel World Open (IWO) esports tournament, which was initially scheduled for July 2020 ahead of the Tokyo 2020 OG (IOC, 2019b), was postponed to 2021, allowing then for the first time any player, whatever their level, to compete for a chance to join and represent their national team in two major esports titles: Street FighterV and Rocket League. The event was sponsored by Intel and delivered by DreamHack Sports Games (a newly created ESL Gaming subsidiary for sponsored and sports-related gaming and esports operations) and supported by the IOC, as evidenced by the presence of the Olympic rings and the Tokyo OG logo

on all communication campaigns and online content. This model was discreetly replicated in February 2022 in the run-up to the Beijing Winter OG with the Dota 2 IWO.

In November 2022, the IOC announced the creation of the OEW, a new product dedicated to hosting the 2022 OES finals in Singapore. The event, confirmed at the Olympic Summit in April 2022 (IOC, 2022), was based on four pillars: ten virtual sports competitions, physical and non-physical virtual sports free-to-play sessions, competitive gaming (non-sport related videogames) exhibitions and demonstrations, and a forum dedicated to esports conferences (IOC, 2022). Symbolically, the change from “virtual sport” to “esports” in the title reveals the IOC’s decision to adjust its strategy by gradually integrating non-sports video games into its official events. The ten virtual sports tournaments included in the OES event, whose finals were held in person in June 2023 at Singapore’s Suntech Arena, were: archery (Tic Tac Bow), baseball (WBSC eBaseball: POWER PROS), chess (chess. com), cycling (Zwift), dance (JustDance), motorsports (Gran Turismo), sailing (Virtual Regatta), taekwondo (Virtual Taekwondo), tennis (Tennis Clash) and shooting (Fortnite). Table 1 provides a summary of the different typologies of events linking the OM and the IOC to video games, virtual sports, and esports.

Table 1. Typology of gaming and esports events supported or organized by the IOC

EVENTS	SPORTIZATION OF VIDEOGAMING			DIGIT(AL)IZATION OF SPORTS	
	ESPORTS (= competitive video gaming)			VIRTUAL SPORTS	
				NON-PHYSICAL & PHYSICAL	EXCLUSIVELY PHYSICAL
	South East Asian Games (SEA)	Asian Games	Intel Extreme Masters (IEM) Intel World Open (IWO)	Olympic Virtual Series (OVS) Olympic Esports Series (OES)	Olympic Games (OG) ?
OLYMPIC LEVEL	Regional	Continental	International	International	International
YEARS & LOCATIONS	2019 (Philippines) 2022 (Hanoi)	2018 (Jakarta) 2023 (Hangzhou)	2015 (PyeongChang) 2021 (Tokyo / online) 2022 (Beijing / online)	2021 (online) 2023 (Singapore) 2024 (France) ?	2028 (Los Angeles) ?
SELECTED VIDEO GAMES	Dota 2 StarCraft 2 Arena of Valor Hearthstone Tekken 7 Mobile Legends League of Legends RFA Online 4 Wild Rift PUBG Mobile Free Fire	Arena of Valor Hearthstone Dota 2 PES 2018 League of Legends StarCraft 2 Clash Royale PUBG Mobile FIFA online 4 Street Fighter V Three Kingdoms	StarCraft 2 Street Fighter V & 6 Rocket League Dota 2 NBA 2K23	eBaseball Powerful eCycling (Zwift) eRowing eSailing (Virtual Regatta) SimRacing (Gran Turismo Sport) Virtual Taekwondo Just Dance Chess Online eArchery (Tic Tac Bow) eTennis (Tennis Clash) eShooting (Fortnite)	eCycling (Zwift) ? eRowing ? Ping VR ? Virtual Taekwondo ?
Olympic Movement's Stakeholders involved	Olympic Council of Asia (OCA)	Olympic Council of Asia (OCA)	International Olympic Committee (IOC) The Olympic Partners (TOP)	International Olympic Committee (IOC) International Sports Federations (IFs)	International Olympic Committee (IOC) International Federations (IFs)
Esports' Stakeholders involved	Philippine Esports Organization (PEO) Vietnam Electronic Sports & Entertainment Association (VIRESA)	Asian Esports Federation (AESF)	ESL Video Games Publishers	DreamHack Sports Video Games Publishers	?
Olympic Sport ?	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES, it could be considered as an Olympic Sport under the control of the IFs

As aforementioned, the last step in OM' esports strategy deployment is characterized by IOC president Thomas Bach's statement in October 2023 when he asked the new IOC Esports Commission to study the creation of Olympic Esports Games (IOC, 2023a). This last statement is important because it opens the door to the creation of a new product for the IOC which may better integrate popular esports titles as it is already the case for the Asian Games and the SEA Games. The following section presents our research framework.

2. Literature Review: OM' esports strategy analysis

Despite the many initiatives deployed over the past five years, academic work on the relationship between esports and the Olympics is rare and relatively recent. While the

increasing proximity of esports to the Olympic & Paralympic Games (Miah & Fenton, 2020) can be seen as the culmination of the process of international institutionalization of esports (Witkowski, 2016), it has proven to be complex in many respects. For Wu (2019), "esports distribution", which is still mainly limited to certain geographical areas (South-East Asia, North America, and Europe) and younger generations is an obstacle to the value of universality promoted by the OG. For Gries (2019), the private, commercial and monopolistic aspect of video game publishers is antinomic to the OM. For Pack and Hedlund (2020), the absence of a single and legitimate international esports governing body and the violence inherent in certain types of esports (e.g., first-person shooter games) would not be easily compatible with Olympic values.

In this context, Parry & Giesbrecht (2023)

recently pointed out that the IOC has developed a “*hybrid affair*” (p. 212) through the OVS which combines both “physical virtual sports” (PVS) such as cycling on the Zwift platform and rowing, and non-physical virtual sports (N-PVS) like Gran Turismo sport, eBaseball Powerful Pro Baseball 2020 and Virtual Regatta. On this subject, the authors notably argue that the term “virtual” cannot be applied to the OVS and thus “*should be abandoned*” (p. 223). However, it should be noted that the OES which replaces the OVS integrates both virtual sports, hybrid physical sports and simulated sports. In fact, the authors state that “*the confusion reigns*” (p. 224) regarding what is identified as esports by the IOC as the OES features “*a disparate set of activities*” (p. 224) that include one PVS (cycling), four N-PVS (archery, baseball, sailing and tennis), three non-Olympic sports (chess, dance and motor sport) and one duo-type sport (virtual taekwondo). Under these uncertain circumstances, Anđelić et al. (2022) assert that Virtual Reality (VR) technologies also represent new opportunities to embrace the possible joint future of esports and the Olympics. Notably, they suggest that VR esports could be a wildcard for future IOC-led digital events as “*VR esports allows the players to enjoy the gaming experience and compete on the move — as opposed to sitting while playing non-VR esports like League of Legends or DOTA 2*” (p. 2). Finally, Postma et al. (2022) consider that the “*the inclusion of esports in the Olympic program appears to be just a matter of time*” (p. 11). They support this idea because sports cultures have become increasingly digitized since the emergence of Covid-19 pandemic, which further blur the boundaries between esports and traditional sports.

Although research has analyzed the outcomes

of the IOC’s esports strategy through the OVS (Anđelić et al., 2022; Parry & Giesbrecht, 2023; Postma et al., 2022) and the results of the collaboration between OM and esports stakeholders (Lefebvre & Besombes, 2021), to our knowledge, few studies focus primarily on examining esports fans’ perception of the IOC esports strategy. In this regard, we found no single research examining how esports fans’ perception of the OM’s esports strategy might help the IOC to shape its esports strategy over the coming decades. Therefore, this research aims to highlight how the IOC could plan the maintenance and evolution of its esports strategy for future Olympic esports events such as the Olympic Esports Games.

3. Methodology

Given the lack of literature on esports fans’ perception of IOC’s esports strategy, the research approach for this paper was exploratory. We chose a qualitative design method based on one focus group to collect how esports fans experienced the previous Olympic esports events, their opinions and expectations regarding the evolution of the Olympic movement’s esports strategy. Following Stewart and Shamdasani (2015) methodology, we therefore conducted a thematic analysis of discussions among a group of young Vietnamese Generation Z esports fans. This choice was firstly made because this group of individuals is from a country where some esports players participated in both the SEA Games and Asian Games where esports is a medal event. The second reason why we opted a focus group is that it provides a quick overview of a phenomenon. In addition, the flexibility of focus group methodology was also an advantage for examining a relatively

small number of topics, challenges and issues and clarifying answers with follow-up questions. Nonetheless, this would be important to complete in the future our data with focus groups with participants from other continents like Europe, North and South America to cross check our findings.

3.1. Sampling

Primary data source is a focus group with Vietnamese esports fans aged from 18 to

24 years old held on Discord platform on November 14, 2023. Participants were recruited through a post written in Vietnamese by the first author in the Facebook group of the university esports club of the National Economics University (NEU) in Hanoi. Given that groups “*that are relatively homogeneous are more productive*” (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2015, p. 11), we selected Generation Z participants who had been following the popular esports scene in Asia for at least five years. As shown in Table 2, six male Vietnamese esports fans agreed to take part in this research.

Table 2: Vietnamese esports fans interviewed

Interviewee code	Interviewee's position	Age	Esports genre follow	Since how many years
FG1	Student at Phenikaa University	20 years old	MOBA and FPS	10 years
FG2	Student at NEU	19 years old	MOBA and FPS	7 years
FG3	Student at NEU	20 years old	MOBA and FPS	7 years
FG4	Student at Waikato University (New Zealand)	20 years old	MOBA	8 years
FG5	Student at NEU	18 years old	MOBA and FPS	10 years
FG6	Esports reporter	24 years old	MOBA and FPS	10 years

3.2. Data collection

Due to geographical barriers, the focus group was conducted via video call using the online platform Discord. The focus group lasted eighty-three minutes and was recorded and transcribed verbatim by the first author. To debrief before the focus group, the first author explained the aim of the research and answered the interviewees' questions about the aims and purpose of the research. The full interview guide consisted of two sections. In the first section, the researcher began by asking interviewees to introduce themselves and give their esports background. Respondents were specifically asked to explain which esports scenes they followed and for how many years. They were also asked about their perception of the inclusion of esports disciplines in the SEA Games and the Asian Games. The second part included questions on the implementation of IOC's esports strategy. To this end, respondents were first asked to provide their thoughts on previous esports events (1) supported by the IOC, such as the IEM PyeongChang and the Intel World Open and (2) initiated by the IOC, such as the OVS and the OES. More specifically, participants were asked to assess whether these events were in line with the IOC's values and ambitions to better attract younger audiences. To this end, the focus group moderator reminds participants about IOC's values and ambitions at the beginning of the interview. Secondly, respondents were asked to identify the main advantages and limitations of the rapprochement between the world of esports and the world of Olympism. In addition, participants were asked to make managerial recommendations in terms of games selection and the format of the competition for the future OEG. In the final part of the focus

group, the researcher invited the interviewees to discuss the most important challenges and issues regarding the future of Olympism within esports. Finally, it should be noted that the focus group was conducted by the first author who is experienced in qualitative methods and familiar with the many ways of talking about esports and OM research.

3.3. Data analysis

The focus group was digitally recorded and the data was transcribed into verbatims and uploaded into QSR NVivo 12 by the first author to assist analysis (Bryman, 2016). The advantage of using QSR NVivo 12 software is that it allows data to be easily retrieved, allowing it to be reviewed as many times as necessary. Therefore, it permits for systematic coding and qualitative data management processes (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019). All interviewees were given pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. The first author conducted an initial coding, which was then discussed and modified by all co-authors, facilitating further development of the data analysis. Subsequent analysis led to the creation of sub-nodes, as certain elements emerged that refined higher order nodes. In accordance with Lincoln and Guba (1985), all new constructs were discussed among the authors, who independently examined the data collection and theoretical issues, in order to increase trustworthiness and credibility.

4. Findings

To assess how does the IOC might plan to maintain and develop its esports strategy for its future events featuring esports such as the Olympic Esports Games, this section presents

the findings according to three main themes: (i) a description of respondents' perceptions of the addition of esports as a medal event at the SEA Games and Asian Games, (ii) a retrospective analysis of previous esports events supported and initiated by the IOC, and (iii) a prospective analysis of the rationale behind the future development of the Olympic Esports Games by the IOC. Each theme contains different sub-sections for a more structured examination of the findings.

4.1. Addition of esports disciplines to the SEA Games and the Asian Games.

Interviewees collectively agreed that it would be a good idea to include esports disciplines in specific events such as the SEA Games and the Asian Games. In particular, they pointed out that esports could *"bring some global popularity because esports are a global phenomenon with a massive and diverse audience"* (FG3). In this regard, respondents also highlighted that esports *"can attract teenagers"* (FG5) which is important to rejuvenate SEA Games and Asian Games audiences. In addition, one respondent argued that the inclusion of esports in these events is crucial because it *"can show older audiences that people are serious about esports, which can help esports to be more professionalized"* (FG6). This is particularly important as esports is often perceived negatively by older generations in Asian cultures (Lefebvre & Thang, 2023).

4.2. Retrospective analysis of esports events supported and launched by the IOC.

Firstly, the discussions were very fragmented in terms of respondents' perceptions of IOC-supported esports events such as the IEM PyeongChang and the two editions of the

Intel World Open. A first idea reported by one respondent was the fact that these events could bring *"new media and economic value to the IOC"* (FG2). This statement is particularly true as *"esports is gradually being fully recognized"* (FG6) by the society. In this respect, the support of these events also demonstrates *"the willingness (of the IOC) to learn and research about esports [...] as selected games benefit from global audiences and loyal fan bases"* (FG3). However, a limitation of this model is that the IEM PyeongChang and the two Intel World Open were perceived by one interviewee as *"not in line with IOC values except maybe for friendship"* (FG4).

With regard to the esports events launched by the IOC, half of the participants firstly agreed on the fact that the OVS was *"a good idea"* (FG1), which could be described as *"a very safe strategy by the IOC which is sticking to its values"* (FG3). However, the downside of committing to traditional sports on a virtual platform is that it *"might not allow to capture the younger audience that is oriented towards highly competitive games"* (FG3). Interestingly, the other half of the respondents questioned the coherence of the IOC's choice of esports disciplines for the OVS. In particular, one respondent argues that he *"doesn't understand why they have this idea (of virtual sports) for esports"* (FG5) while another supports the idea that *"the IOC should rely on some famous games like League of Legends, FIFA or Valorant if they really want to attract younger audiences"* (FG2). Like the OVS, the OES was also perceived by most respondents as a safe strategy by the IOC, in line with their values. Overall, the OES represents *"a big step for the IOC because it is very difficult, if not almost impossible, for a video game to make it to the Olympics"* (FG4). In this respect, the rapprochement between the world of esports and the OM was not perceived as an impossible task because

“the Asian Games in Hangzhou did it” (FG6). At this point, it seems important to note that five out of six interviewees nevertheless argue that the esports events launched by the IOC were not in line with the current esports culture. The main reason for this was that the chosen disciplines were mostly individual whereas *“popular esports titles generally require you to play in a team”* (FG4). However, one respondent disagreed with this narrative, stating that both *“OVS and OES are in some ways aligned with the esports cultures because esports is for everyone and anyone can play it on any kind of device”* (FG3). Taken together, this suggests that in the future, IOC-sponsored esports events should focus more on major esports scenes to be perceived as more in line with popular esports cultures.

4.3. Prospective analysis of the rationale behind the future development of the Olympic Esports Games by the IOC.

In order to present the rationale behind the future development of the Olympic Esports Games by the IOC, it is first necessary to delve into the main advantages of the rapprochement between the world of esports and the OM. In this regard, respondents firstly argued that this could bring younger audiences closer to the OM because *“esports attracts young people while the Olympics attracts older people”* (FG1). In addition, respondents also reported that such a rapprochement between the world of esports and the OM could *“improve the reputation of the IOC towards younger audiences”* (FG5) which *“could bring them more media and economic value”* (FG2). However, all respondents agreed that this rapprochement is possible because the *“inclusion of esports within the Hangzhou Asian Games was appropriate”* (FG6) but they also shared the idea that *“bringing the*

right concepts into the Olympics by including games like League of Legends and Valorant will take a lot of time” (FG6).

To promote a wider rapprochement of the esports world within the OM, it is then important to consider the possible limitations of the current IOC's esports strategy. In this respect, two main limitations emerged from the discussions between all the interviewees, namely the rapid development of esports and the too safe strategy towards esports developed by the IOC. In fact, one interviewee specifically stated that *“the rapid evolution of esports is a very big disadvantage because esports is evolving more and more every day which will affect the esports titles that could be chosen by the Olympics”* (FG4). Considering these factors, the problem for the OM is that they might choose esports disciplines for future events such as the OEG that could become less popular at the time of the event. Therefore, it seems paramount to choose game titles that are well established in the esports world to mitigate this risk. It is precisely in this respect that the IOC has so far adopted a safe strategy, relying on physical and non-physical virtual sports, which is not without consequences for the OM. In fact, by sticking to disciplines that seem to be in line with the IOC's values and traditions, the OM could completely miss its objectives of rejuvenating its audience if it continues to engage with very minor esports scenes.

Within this complex context, practical recommendations for the OEG emerged from the interactions between focus group participants. From there, the main recommendation that all respondents agreed on was that the OEG should include popular esports scenes, in line with the IOC's ambitions to attract younger demographics. A

key idea was particularly to select esports titles “such as *League of Legends* and *Valorant* because they have benefited from highly established championships for years and their experience could help the OM in its quest” (FG3). Although the interviewees identified different games, they all converged on the idea that the IOC should focus on popular esports genres such as Multiple Online Battle Arena (MOBA) and First Person Shooter (FPS). It is also worth mentioning that half of the respondents reported that the IOC should not forget to include some mobile games in the OEG program, such as *Mobile Legends: Bang Bang* and *PUBG Mobile*, as this could “increase connectivity between many countries” (FG6). Other popular but minor esports genres such as Fighting games and football games were also highlighted by half of the respondents as possible ways for the IOC to explore to broaden the focus of the OEG. Overall, respondents largely agreed that “whatever game the IOC chooses for the Olympic Esports Games, they should have a balance between popularity and sustainability” (FG4). This is particularly important because “you never know when a game publisher will go bankrupt and when its game will be shut down” (FG4).

More generally, interviewees finally identified several stakes for the IOC to consider when launching the OEG. A first stake, highlighted by two interviewees, is based on the need for the IOC to better understand what esports are in order to better explain it to its audience, especially to older people who are not familiar with esports. In this regard, one respondent claims that “his parents’ and grandparents’ generation think that games like *League of Legends* or *Counter Strike: Global Offensive* are some kind of promotion that will lead the children to become violent” (FG5). In other words, it is crucial for the IOC to overcome this obstacle to develop a wider

acceptance of the inclusion of core esports titles to the OEG. Another challenge that the IOC needs to consider when structuring the future OEG is that game publishers may be pursuing financial goals that conflict with the values of the OM. In this regard, one respondent noted that “game publishers want a lot of profit and tend to constantly change the content of their game while the IOC’s traditional sport events tend to rely on stability” (FG6). What should be understood from this statement is that the Olympics generally require from sports to have been established for many years to be part of the main OM events, while the fast-paced nature of the esports industry (Scholz, 2020) does not offer the IOC any guarantee that a game selected for the OEG will still be popular enough when this event will be organized. As a result, another respondent stated that “sustainability is a big thing because you don’t know when a game will fail” (FG4). It is therefore crucial for the IOC to develop an esports strategy that takes this sustainability issue into account to increase the chances of achieving its goals of mass participation and large audiences.

5. Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this research was to highlight how the IOC could plan to maintain and develop its esports strategy for its future events featuring esports, such as the Olympic Esports Games. Through a retrospective and a prospective analysis of IOC’s esports strategy, based on a focus group with six Vietnamese esports fans, this research provides an exploratory answer to this question, which we can break down into two main practical implications.

Firstly, respondents highlighted the fact that it is complicated but not impossible for esports

disciplines to reach the Olympic Movement, as the Asian and the SEA Games already include some esports titles as medal events (Lu, 2022). In this sense, this research shows that the future rapprochement between the OM and esports stakeholders through the OEG could be made by including popular esports disciplines that benefit from widely established scenes in its program, in order to meet the IOC's expectations of attracting younger audiences to its bosom. In fact, in contrast to previous IOC's esports initiatives such as the OVS and OES, which were mainly focused on the introduction of PVS and N-PVS (Parry & Giesbrecht, 2023), this study shows that the OEG rather represents a strategic opportunity for the IOC to further engage with competitive gaming. Following the categorization of Parry (2021), this may include N-PVS such as EA Sports FC 24 or other forms of competitive gaming such as League of Legends.

A second main rationale for this research is based on the assertion that the IOC should find a balance between sustainability and popularity when selecting the esports disciplines to be included in the OEG. In particular, this implies that decision-makers taking part in the IOC's esports commission should invest more time in analyzing the overview of competitive-esports scenes at a global level to come up with a proposal of game titles that fit both the IOC's core values and the expectations of esports fans. In this perspective, our results support the idea that the IOC should primarily focus on popular and sustainable esports titles among MOBAs and FPSs if it wants to be more accepted by the main esports audiences. However, at a time when Ribeiro et al. (2023) argue that in-game emotional experiences could positively influence Olympic values, such a positioning

could still be in conflict with IOC's values given the inherent violence of FPSs' content (Pack & Hedlund, 2020). This is an obstacle that the IOC should still try to overcome if it wants to attract esports younger audiences. Furthermore, our findings also suggest that the IOC could engage with mobile games for the OEG by delivering competitions on popular titles such as Arena of Valor and PUBG Mobile. Another possibility for the IOC which is reflected in our results is that it could decide to complete its positioning for the OEG with some minor esports titles that are either PVS or N-PVS. This last scenario represents the so-called safe strategy for the IOC, in line with previous OVS and OES initiatives.

Overall, if this research is one of the first studies to provide a set of managerial and theoretical implications that could help decision-makers of the IOC's esports commission to define possible ways of operationalizing the OEG, our exploratory findings based on esports fans' perception of the IOC's esports strategy could be further complemented in the future. To this end, it may be relevant to further investigate how game publishers could work with the IOC to provide competition formats on popular esports that can be in line with esports values. Another idea to complete our findings could be to analyze how the IOC's esports strategy is perceived in other continents, such as Europe, North and South America and Africa, to measure if fans' expectations differ depending on the esports cultures in which they are embedded.

Finally, like any research, this paper has some limitations. First, our findings are based only on the analysis of six Vietnamese esports fans, all of whom belong to Generation Z. Therefore, our findings cannot be generalized

to a wider population such as esports fans worldwide. It would have been relevant to conduct other focus groups with older people, with people from other Asian countries such as South Korea, Japan and China as well as from other continents to better highlight possible cultural differences. Second, we only present findings through the lens of esports fans via one focus group, it would have been interesting to strengthen our data set by also conducting focus groups with OM's stakeholders such as the members from IOC esports commission.

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30 minutes physical activity a day! Daily Sustainable Health Olympics to combat sedentary behaviour

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Abstract

The major national concern of Paris 2024: “Move for 30 minutes every day!” This is an up-to-date reflection of the sports & health political construct.

A veritable mishmash of the confusion among elected representatives and their wide-ranging actions: 30 minutes of daily PA at primary school; two additional hours of sport per week at secondary school; reform of the Sports Pass; reconciliation of body and mind; encouragement of the practice to least active audiences; support funds from the Agence Nationale du Sport.

The lexical articulation of sports & health is unique in the world and provides a political lens for redefining sport, as demonstrated in March 2023 by the INJEP surveys and the growth of sport on prescription to combat the sedentary lifestyle.

Keywords

Bio-political bodily self-control, Paris 2024, Move 30 minutes a day, Sports and health

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Introduction

The relationship between body and mind was at the center of the Paris 2024 candidacy. Between 2019 and 2024, sport-health was a public health program for the management of chronic diseases but also a vector for sustainable health education. The search for better health is a harmony to be achieved between dietetics, gymnastics and gentle mobility: the body-mind relationship is here a daily management of health more than a sporting performance to be achieved: the objective is to maintain oneself.

With less than a year to go until the opening of the Paris 2024 Olympic Games, France is rolling out its sports & health strategy, conjugating two terms whose contradictions are reflected in the polemical media appearances of ministers such as J.M. Blanquer, who, in the wake of the success of team sports at the 2020 Olympics, praised the work of Physical Education teachers (Unac, 2021) before being rebuked by professional players exiled to foreign leagues.

The same minister who, a few months earlier, was seen along with the sports minister working up a sweat in the gymnasium surrounded by schoolchildren, to whom he pledged to provide 30 minutes of P.E. a day at school as part of a strategy for gradually resuming lessons after COVID 19 the Sport-Health-Culture-Civism system 2S2C scheme). Then he once again provoked controversy in a forum of PE teachers and STAPS (Science and technology of physical and sporting activities) researchers (Le Monde, 2020) pointing out that trained civil servants were already carrying out this mission but did not have enough practice areas, teaching hours or human resources.

At Regional academic delegations for youth, engagement and sports DRAJES conference

on 20-21 January 2021, the Minister for Sport, Roxana Maracineanu, in her opening speech entitled: “the place of sports educators and coaches in public health policies; the potential health benefits from professional training in sports and coaching”, recalled the desire to engage the French in sports through the deployment of sports & health centres and the generation 2024 label. In her speech she mixed APA (Adapted Physical Activities) APA-S (Adapted Physical Activities & Health), PE (Physical Education), community sport, professional sport and recreational sports activities. (It seems interesting to identify the different ministries in France concerned with the physical or even psychomotor life of children and adolescents, in order to allow readers of the Review to better understand the French context. Moreover, in the development of the article it seems necessary to explicitly situate it in the European context).

The sports & health project in sports politics in France

The confusion fostered by political rhetoric is fuelled by a scientific literature that places all physical activities and sports on the same level, and makes it impossible to compare the results of researchers, given the disparity of the population groups recruited, the approximation of the tools used to measure physical activity, the variability of the programmes and the reference values for pathology. In February 2019, Inserm (The National Institute of Health and Medical Research) published a new report: “Physical activity: Prevention and treatment of chronic diseases”. Experts in the fields of medicine, exercise physiology, sociology and psychology retained only the notions of physical activity

and adapted physical activity, but dropped that of sports & health, aligning with the major international health bodies. The term sports & health, terminology which is exclusive to France (*sport-santé*), is used more in a socio-political context than in the medical world. We can describe the existence of a significant gap between education and health policies and “good educational practices”. An analysis of the processes that contribute to this discrepancy (and some confusion) deserves to be offered in the context of sport health in the period of JOP 2024.)

The landscape is further complexified by superimposed layers of administrative and other bodies recognised as competent to foster the sport & health approach Sport-Health-Culture-Civism system 2S2C system, ICAPS (Intervention with middle school students focused on Physical Activity and Sedentary lifestyle) label, CNDAPS (National Center for Support for Deployment in Physical Activity/Fight Against Sedentary Life), national sports & health strategy, Prescription sport, National Nutrition and Health Program (PNNS), Move at home, post COVID support and guidelines, etc.). Same vagueness and ambiguity in the recognition of sports health professionals, combining the paramedical sector (occupational therapists, physiotherapists, motor therapists), sports clubs and STAPS (Science and technology of physical and sporting activities) graduates (APAS coaches). This sports & health project comes in the wake of years of decline in the modern sports model, which was dealt a brutal blow by the pandemic: sports club memberships fell 30%, 50% of private sports halls were threatened with closure, economic impact on major championships (Euro football, ATP tournaments, NBA championships) and the

media (e.g. ESPN/Disney), and on sports distributors (closure of GO Sport, reduction in the retail space of Décathlon). A number of studies identified a shift in sports practice towards the informal and self-organised (Camy, Chantelat, Adamkiewicz, 1993) and with the impact of the pandemic (Feras AlSamhori J., Ali Alshrouf M., Rahman Feras AlSamhori A., Maytham Alshadeedi F., Anas Salahaldeen Madi A., Alzoubi O., 2023).), with young French people leaving sports clubs (Gatouillat, 2009). The IOC's initiatives to introduce new sports (skateboarding, hip hop, surfing, climbing, esports, etc.) to maintain or increase audience are a step in the same direction : IOC's initiatives influence informal and self-organised practices and propose a sportivization of informal and self-organized practices by the initiative of sportsmen and sportswomen. .

French Decree no. 2023-234 of 30 March 2023 on the conditions for prescribing and dispensing adapted physical activity extends the prescription of sporting activities to people at risk from a sedentary lifestyle (youth with the time spent in front of video games , adults too often sitting to work in front of screen). Chronic illnesses are no longer the only pathologies - now our health is imperilled by lack of physical activity. This turning point is illustrated by the legislator adopting the World Health Organization 2020 guidelines on physical activity and sedentary behaviour (Bull & al, 2020) for defining intensity, frequency and duration. After having preached food prevention without echo (Ungureanu J., Toussaint J.F., Breton E., 2018) there emerges a new generic definition of physical activity, which is neither APA, nor APAS, nor PE, nor sport... but sport & health.

The national sports barometer published by

the INJEP (National Institute of Youth and Popular Education) in March 2023 (Müller J./, Lombardo P., 2023) expounds on this new ideology. It proposes to measure the major spheres of sports activity in France and to consider frequency, regularity and intensity. The Sports Ministry has thrown out the majors sports categories and typologies produced by historians, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, economists, epistemologists, physical therapists, etc., to create new spheres of sports practice such as running and walking, fitness and gymnastics, soft mobility, etc. As part of the finance law for 2024, the appropriations from the Ministry of Sports and the Olympic and Paralympic Games intended for sports-health centers are increased to 6 million (+ 2 million euros compared to 2023).

Ultimately, the picture painted by choosing arbitrary figures shows an increasingly sporty France, but with no clearly defined disciplines, so ambiguous and vague are the boundaries between practices that are in total contradiction with the World Health Organization 2020 guidelines on physical activity and sedentary behaviour! There remains the idea of the threshold, the idolatry of the number by which, as Georges Canguilhem showed in his day (in *Le normal et le pathologique* (1943, trad angl., 1991), normality is decided upon and diseases are manufactured. This comment is particularly apposite in the light of the media campaigns promoting sport as medicine and sedentary behaviour as a deadly epidemic. (Owen N. Bauman A., Booth M.L., Oldenburg B., Magnus P., Serial 1995).

2024: "Move for 30 minutes daily!" in public school

The major national concern in France of 2024: "Move for 30 minutes daily!" is an up-to-date reflection of the political construct. A veritable mishmash of the confusion among elected representatives and their wide-ranging actions: 30 minutes of daily PA at primary school; two additional hours of sport per week at secondary school; reform of the Sports Pass (The Pass'Sport is a sports aid of 50 euros per child to finance all or part of their registration in a sports structure); reconciliation of body and mind; encouragement of the practice to the least active; support funds from the ANS (National sports agency). Everything is amalgamated, with no concern for the socio-historical and cultural roots of practices or people¹.

The National Observatory on Physical Activity and Sedentariness (Onaps)² reported that, as of 21 December 2018, 96 schemes had been identified in France, most of which were run at local level (Taïana, Depiesse, Doha, 2018). The need for a guide had become the means of linking social practices and sport & health. Officially launched on 22 October 2015 by Thierry Braillard, the Secretary of State for Sports from 2014 to 2017. Onaps will help to gather and improve knowledge about the levels of physical activity and sedentary behaviour in the French population, as well as the various determining factors.

The 2018 edition of the "c.o.d.e to sport & health" (Behavior-Organization-Discovery-

1 See the press release "30 minutes can change everything", Spécial l'Equipe / Amaury Media; the press pack "presentation of the national concern / grandecause-sport.fr, Ministry of Sport and the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

2 <http://www.onaps.fr/l-onaps/objectifs-et-missions/>

Effects) is a guide – divided into four sections - Conduct, Organisation, Discovery, Effects - which looks at sport & health through prevention, recommendations, good practices and social fabric, with the support of the Ministry of Sports, the *Pôle ressources national sport santé bien-être*, the Onaps³, French sports federations (rowing, swimming, athletics, sports for all) the National Union of school sports and Mutualité Française.

In March 2018, an *evaluation of action implemented in terms of physical activity for health purposes* published by IGAS (The General Inspectorate of Social Affairs) questioned the State's ability to effectively motivate three million people to move and to create 500 sport & health centres in the country as promised in Emmanuel Macron's campaign and announced by the Minister of Sport the olympics champion Roxana Maracineanu . The desire to create 500 sport & health centres, promised by Macron, is in reality a far cry from the Athens Charter (1933 Athens Charter produced by Le Corbusier) for, as the report reveals, "While the goal of creating 500 'health & sports centres' over the next five years was set by the President of the Republic himself, is it normal that the creation of a sports & health centre in Furdenheim is today largely supported and financed by non-profit organisation *Siel Bleu*, which receives no financial support from the State and is 90% self-financing?" (Belhaddad, 2016) : Beyond this quotation which refers to a French city and an organization whose history is significant of a "remarkable" French socio-historical context, we can understand Belhaddad's arguments : "The role of the sports-health centers which will be set up will be important. They will serve as real support

for developing sport on prescription. The Minister of Health had specified this during her wishes: that these houses could be used in particular for people who are in Long-term illnesses, illnesses that are often serious and require long and expensive care. When it is said to be exempt, ALD is covered in full by Social Security. Today there are 30 recognized ALDs. More than 10 million French people benefit from it. ALD and could be taken care of in these structures"⁴.

The failure of "eat less, move more" in 2023

Three information campaigns under the aegis of the French Health Education Committee (CFES), then the National Institute of Prevention and Health Education (INPES), further the combat against sedentary lifestyles: "Your health also depends on you" (1980), "Move your health" (1984) and "Move your heart" (1985-1986). As sociologist Antoine Radel (2012) analyses in his thesis and elsewhere, campaigns over the last fifty years at least have been evolving from moralising on health to a sense of responsibility for physical management" (Radel, 2013).

Daily physical activity, i.e. "30 minutes a day", is now recommended by the World Health Organisation (WHO). The National Nutrition and Health Programme (PNNS) was set up in 2001 (Ravel and Morales, 2013). Since then, it has been renewed twice, PNNS 2006-2010 and PNNS 2011-2015. The PNNS4 2019-2024 engage prevention by acting on the various levers of nutrition: "diet, physical activity including active mobility (walking, cycling), and the fight against a sedentary lifestyle, the promotion of good nutritional

3 <http://www.onaps.fr/news/le-c-o-d-e-sport-sante-dans-tous-ses-etats-edition-2018/>

4 <https://maladesdesport.fr/belkhir-belhaddad-faut-valoriser-prevention-medecin/>

status contributes to the reduction of risk factors. risk of the most common diseases that the population suffers from, such as cardiovascular diseases, many cancers, obesity, diabetes, etc. To be effective, it is important that the actions implemented to improve the nutritional status of the population can also act on positive values such as conviviality and pleasure”⁵. The French Agency for Food, Environmental and Occupational Health Safety (Anses) was asked on 5 April 2012 by the Directorate-General for Health (DGS) to update the nutritional benchmarks of the PNNS. The referral reads as follows: “ANSES is asked to propose a new formulation of the PNNS’ nutritional guidelines, including those concerning physical activity [...]”.

Nutrition guidelines are a way of tackling the rise in corpulence, obesity and sedentary lifestyles: “The subject is also of concern to French institutions, hence the creation in 2004 of the “*Manger-bouger*” campaign, promoting the PNNS and the brochure *Health comes when you move*, published in September 2004 by a PNNS team. Unlike the WHO programme, the French programme has two targets: nutrition and physical activity. This programme was launched in 2001 and renewed in 2006 and 2011, but despite its longevity, it has encountered a number of obstacles. In April 2010, the PNNS2 evaluation report (2006-2010, p. 87) highlighted the difficulties in implementing the project, particularly because of the “marginal role” given to physical activity in the fight against sedentary lifestyles”.

The counterpart of controlling one’s nutrition

5 <https://sante.gouv.fr/prevention-en-sante/preserver-sa-sante/le-programme-national-nutrition-sante/article/programme-national-nutrition-sante-pnns-professionnels>

is to “encourage different types of physical activity (cardio-respiratory, strength training, flexibility) and identify all the opportunities to practice at any time of the day, it being understood that activity should not be limited to sports: moving around, carrying weights, going up and down stairs, being active at home, etc., are all physical activities”⁶. In the face of the directive to lose weight, through campaigns that promise the loss of up to forty kilos just by dieting, prevention and the fight against overweight and obesity.

With the obesity plan launched in 2010, “the Commission for the prevention and management of obesity has been tasked by the President of the Republic with making concrete proposals in these areas, particularly with regard to children, adolescents and disadvantaged groups. The report published in 2009 endeavoured to describe the extent of the obesity situation in France. It emphasised the multifactorial nature of obesity, the major consequence of which is that prevention requires the coordinated involvement of a large number of players. Current policies were described and analysed on the basis of almost 90 interviews and the documentation gathered. Taken together, these factors were used to draw up a series of coherent, concrete proposals for a new obesity prevention and care plan: the 2010-2013 Obesity Plan”⁷.

Jean Paul Callède explains the mechanics of this shift towards connecting sport, health and well-being: “The Ministry’s 2012 Activity Report (completed in Oct. 2011) focuses on

6 <https://www.anses.fr/fr/content/plus-d'activite-physique-et-moins-de-sedentarite-pour-une-meilleure-sante>

7 http://www.afero.fr/FR/centres_specialistes_de_l_obesite/le_plan_obesite_2010-2013.asp

promoting health through physical activity and sport and the role of the new “pôle ressources”. This promotion was transformed into a National “Sport - Health - Well-being” Plan in October 2012, which drew on the expertise of the National Sport, Health and Wellbeing Resource Centre (PRN2SBE) set up in June 2013. Target groups were identified (for example, the over 65s, with a report produced by Pr. Daniel Rivière). An instruction dated 24 December 2012 provided for a regional approach, with DRJSCS and the Regional Health Agency (ARS set up at the beginning of 2010) in charge” (Callède, 2017).

The Court of Auditors’ reports, which verifies the effectiveness of public spending, show the meagre effect of the PNNS on the health of young people, and in particular the ever-increasing obesity rate. The phenomenon is exacerbated in times of economic crisis - particularly among the populations already most at risk - and by the unchallenged reign of large-scale food distribution. In this context, it is curious to note the lack of questioning of the lobbies that finance major sporting events and whose brands are increasingly visible in everyday life. And yet the origins of the PNNS initially identified the issue of diet before adding a directive to be active physically (Defrance, El Boujjoufi, Hoibian, 2021).

The PNSSBE was drawn up in collaboration with the Minister for Sport, Valérie Fourneyron, and the Minister for Health, Marisol Touraine. In practice, the decentralised departments of these two ministries, the ARS (Regional Health Agencies) and Regional and departmental directorates of youth, sports and social cohesion (D-RD-JSCS), are responsible for implementation at regional level. This plan is based on the construction of a local, cross-

sectoral network of health professionals and local physical activity “providers”. As access to physical activity and sport is still linked to class, and this plan targets people less likely to practise traditional sport, whether for health (illness/age/disability) or economic reasons (precarity).

To compensate for sedentary behaviour, “Move for 30 minutes each day”

In 2010, the WHO published “Global recommendations on physical activity for health”⁸, establishing, for the first time on a universal scale, the “dose” of physical activity deemed necessary and sufficient to maintain health, as defined by the WHO itself. For adults and the elderly, it recommends a minimum of 150 minutes of physical activity per week at moderate intensity, or 75 minutes at high intensity. For children, the aim is to achieve a minimum of 60 minutes of daily physical activity by accumulating several short periods of moderate or intense activity throughout the day. Today, however, the slogan “30 minutes of physical activity a day” is being widely disseminated by the IOC and the French government. In France there are the institutional relations about sport health that exist between the CNOSF (Comité National Olympique et Sportif Français-French National and Olympic Sports Committee) and the French government as the new standard, legitimized mainly by the WHO Europe’s 2016-2025 strategy on physical activity. The CNOSF medical commission, under the leadership of its new president, Doctor Alain Calmat, Olympic champion, developed MÉDICOSPORT-

⁸ <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789241599979>

SANTÉ© in 2015, in close cooperation with the French Society of Medicine, Exercise and Sport (SFMES).

Political recommendations backed up by guidelines (WHO, INSERM, Académie de médecine, Haute autorité de santé) demonstrate (Inserm 2008) the benefits of physical activity as a non-drug therapy for a number of diseases (breast and colon cancer, type 2 diabetes, cardiovascular disease, among others). According to the 2010 WHO report, a large percentage of chronic diseases could be prevented by taking action on four main risk factors: smoking, physical inactivity, alcohol consumption and poor diet : “Today, Germany, Italy and France have the highest burden of insufficient physical activity on health care expenditure in the EU. The WHO/OECD report estimates that these 3 countries will spend on average €2 billion PPP, €1.3 billion PPP and €1 billion PPP respectively on treating diseases linked to insufficient physical activity each year between 2022–2050”⁹. But these figures, which set the limits of the normal and the pathological by the chronic disease criterion are taken from by generalization by complex multimorbidity patterns (Alvarez-Galvez, Vegas-Lozano, 2022).

The recommendations for physical activity set out by the WHO in 2010 are the result of two research projects carried out in parallel in the United States and Canada. WHO experts used the data collected by the United States as the central pillar of their scientific approach, considering the Center for Disease Control’s “Physical Activity Guidelines Advisory Committee Report” as a key resource,

recognised for its depth, comprehensiveness and high quality (WHO, 2010). In addition to this work, the analyses resulting from the revision of the Canadian guidelines were also taken into account.

Taking into account the various scientific references used in these projects, physical activity, practised under certain conditions, certainly seems to have a positive impact on several aspects of health. However, many authors agree that the poor quality of the data available (Skovgaard, Wadmann, Hoeyer, 2019), combined with the notorious presence of methodological bias, makes it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions. Moreover, few studies seem to agree on the quantity or nature of the activities to be recommended.

The changes introduced by home working, video games and industrial food are now being measured in scientific and sociological studies: a sedentary lifestyle, with an average of 15 hours spent sitting, leads to chronic apathy towards movement; yet studies show that sedentary behaviour is a factor in mortality and disease (cardiovascular disease, diabetes, obesity, certain cancers), regardless of our level of physical activity (Mazéas, Blond, Chalabaev, Duclos 2023).

Sedentary behaviour in children has become a public health concern in Europe (Hoofman, Kobel, Wartha, Kettner, Dreyhaupt, Steinacker, 2019) for, in the space of 40 years, young people have lost a quarter of their cardiovascular capacity, and therefore their health capital. In 1971, a schoolboy ran 600 metres in 3 minutes; in 2013, for the same distance, he needed 4 minutes (Ortega F.B, al., 2023). However, the WHO (2021) recommends 60 minutes of physical activity a day. The campaign launched for

9 <https://www.who.int/europe/news/item/17-02-2023-new-who-oecd-report--increasing-physical-activity-could-save-the-eu-billions-annually>

the 2024 generation is now to practise at least 30 minutes a day, as the target of one hour of physical activity seems so unrealistic: “The 30 minutes daily physical activity at school scheme is part of the Generation 2024 programme, the Health-Promoting Schools approach and the National Sport and Health Strategy (NSSS)”¹⁰.

Moving differently on foot or by bike has become a way of increasing slow travel. The CNOSE, the MJS (Ministry of sport youth) and the cycle industry have also signed agreements aimed at increasing sport in companies from 2017. The spread of soft mobility (walking, cycling, scooter) and the promotion of active lifestyles has considerably accentuated this policy over the last 3 years (e.g. 200% increase in sales of bicycles since COVID) (Büchel, Marra, Corman, 2022).

Sport is no longer the most sought after practice since leisure activities, such as gardening are a means of living actively. From this point of view, the State is still struggling to assimilate the cultural revolution in free time, so well predicted by J. Dumazedier (1988) and analysed by J. Viard (2015) in contemporary anthropological transformations. Housework, which should be a gender-neutral activity, “is a significant physical activity”¹¹. Here too, the serious leisure perspective developed by Robert A. Stebbins (2020) could provide decision-makers with further insights. They show, however, that what were idle occupations are now taken seriously as work, and vice versa.

10 <https://generation.paris2024.org/30-dactivite-physique-quotidienne>

11 <https://onaps.fr/la-parole-est-donnee-a-martine-duclos/#>

30 minutes of daily physical activity (30' APQ): an olympic self health in a French context

The 30 minutes of daily physical activity at school scheme is part of the:

- Generation 2024 programme¹²
- Health-Promoting School approach 30'APQ¹³
- National Sport and Health Strategy (NSSS)¹⁴

The introduction of 30 minutes of daily physical activity (30' APQ) at school is a major step forward in the fight against sedentary behaviour among children. In line with the Paris 2024 Games, they also help motivate them to discover the Olympic and Paralympic disciplines. This measure is being implemented to encourage support for a shared objective that serves the well-being (Favier-Ambrosini, Delalandre, 2018) of pupils and benefits their learning in general (ability to concentrate, classroom atmosphere)(Zanna 2023).

The previous reforms, which provided for 4 hours of PE per week for junior and 3 hours for senior secondary school classes, were never applied. The question of the national health myth (Andrieu, 2021) which, as A.M. Thiesse (1999) reminds us, in Europe drew on the development of sports and physical education, no longer refers to the framework of Thomas Carlyle's heroes (2010) or C. Kingsley's Christian muscularity and is faced with a socio-anthropological problem of

12 <https://generation.paris2024.org/30-dactivite-physique-quotidienne>

13 <https://eduscol.education.fr/2569/30-minutes-d-activite-physique-quotidienne>

14 <https://www.sports.gouv.fr/strategie-nationale-sport-sante-2019-2024-85>

changing standards for bodies and their ideal measurements.

The “30 minutes of daily physical activity” programme has been rolled out across 36,250 primary schools in France since September 2022. Supporting this transformative initiative is one of the priorities of the roadmaps of the Ministries of Sport & National Education and Youth in France: “This measure partakes of the building of a sporting nation. It is designed to give children the opportunity to take part in regular physical activity and to encourage them to take up sport to counteract the serious and massive increase in sedentary behaviour and insufficient activity. Educational resources for school teachers have been produced”¹⁵.

For this reason, making the physical body active and moving is central to non-sporting physical activity: socialising and smoothing out tensions go hand in hand with activating physical alertness:

- “Development of motor skills and physical abilities
- Improving the classroom atmosphere: movement helps children combat fatigue and eases tension
- Improved attention and concentration; greater availability for learning.”

The qualities expected simply echo the idea developed in the DRJSCS (Regional Directorate of Youth, Sports and Social Cohesion) reform of sport as a social band-aid, and school overwhelmed by social change (lack of discipline, hyperactivity, screens and the web rivalling for attention, pushing irrelevant knowledge, the order to professionalise, etc.). This is undoubtedly because the political

¹⁵ <https://www.education.gouv.fr/30-minutes-d-activite-physique-quotidienne-dans-toutes-les-ecoles-344379>

approach to social institutions and practices has been sanitised. The succession of doctors holding the post of Minister for Sport, such as J.F. Lamour (the olympic champion), A. Calmat and V. Fourneyron is certainly no coincidence. The same applies to physical education, often placed under the authority of the Ministry of Health.

Physical activity, to be served by teachers or educators, is based on a “sports kit” since 2020 made up of small multi-purpose items suitable for use in the school environment. The first schools to sign up for the scheme will find: 1 pear whistle / 1 stopwatch / 20 cones / 40 cups / 15 hoops / 20 marking strips / 3 mini vortexes / 1 elephant skin ball / 3 multi-activity balls / 1 sound ball / 10 tennis balls / 10 skipping ropes / 10 mini hurdles / 20 vests / 15 game scarves”¹⁶.

The exemplary nature of top-level athletes, based on the De Coubertin model (Clastres 2005) is also emphasised as an incentive to practice: “To embody the roll-out of the 30 minutes of daily physical activity at school, the French Ministers for Education and Youth, & Sport and the Olympic and Paralympic Games, have decided to put together a pool of top-level athletes, a “French 30 Minute Team”(Raingeaud, 2021)¹⁷, to promote physical activity at school through assistance to the 30 minutes’ physical activity at school scheme.

Each top-level athlete has undertaken to make at least one visit to a school of their choice during the 2023 school year, to talk to pupils about the benefits of practising sport

¹⁶ <https://generation.paris2024.org/30-dactivite-physique-quotidienne>

¹⁷ <https://www.theses.fr/s341767>

every day for their physical and mental well-being. Following the discussion, a session will be organised, with the consent of the teachers and headmasters of the schools". Given the antics of top-level athletes in recent years and the underlying ethical issues, it would appear that this idealisation or hero-worship is a thing of the past (Andrieu, 2020). Once again, it has to be said that the models chosen by politicians are not the ones young people prefer, or at least not for the same reasons, as P. Duret (1993) and R. Recours (2011) have shown.

Bio-political bodily self-control

From unifying sport & health to prescription sport, a bio-political shift has taken place (Callède, 2017). Sports medicine is said to be "part of the development of preventive medicine" which is "interested in physical education and sport, and this is how what we will call "Sports Medicine" came into being (Vacher, Perie, Foure, 1989)." The Ministry of Sports' 2000 activity report refers to sport as health, but more in the sense of the health of athletes, especially in the context of performance-enhancing drugs : "This large-format, 95-page volume details the action of the Ministry, and for the occasion introduces a new layout designed for wider distribution.

The issue of physical activity and health is mentioned in a single paragraph entitled: "Action for sport & health" (p. 57)¹⁸. The 2004 Ministerial activity report mentions "promoting health through sport" (p. 37), which takes up the issues raised by the

programme launched the previous year. The Houlgate CREPS has now been given the status of a national pilot site for 'sport & health' initiatives" (p. 32).

In 2002, the creation of the Cnaps (national council for physical activities and sport), chaired by Edwige Avice and abolished in 2008 by Minister Laporte, established a link between "Promoting sport and Sport for All" by proposing to go "from physical education to sport & health"¹⁹. A scientific committee led by Professors Michel Rieu (medicine) and Wladimir Andreff (economics) produced a report that also raised the issue of inequality and discrimination in access to sport through primary prevention.

In the European Union²⁰, the recommended guidelines on physical activity (Kornbeck, 2013) constitute a benchmark defining what is considered to be good political practice, a benchmark which now serves as a framework for a policy coordination process (Council of the European Union, 2013). Here are a few excerpts: "*Guideline 6 – When public authorities (national, regional, local) support sport through public budgets, particular attention should be given to projects and organisations which allow a maximum of people to engage in physical activity, regardless of their level of performance ("sport for all", recreational sport)*". Guidelines for recreational sport that is sport

19 <https://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/var/storage/rapports-publics/034000693.pdf>

20 European Commission (2008): Brussels, 10 October 2008. EU Physical Activity Guidelines. Recommended Policy Actions in Support of Health-Enhancing Physical Activity. Approved by the EU Working Group "Sport & Health" at its meeting on 25 September 2008. Confirmed by EU Member State Sport Ministers at their meeting in Biarritz on 27-28 November 2008. https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/sport/library/policy_documents/eu-physical-activity-guidelines-2008_en.

18 Inserm report, "Fondements politiques du sport. Activités physique. Contexte et effets sur la santé », p.31 <http://www.ipubli.inserm.fr/bitstream/handle/10608/97/?sequence=8>

& health²¹ are a way of combating the over-performance and doping that accompanies top-level sport.

Conclusion

The French National Authority for Health (HAS) recognised physical activity as a non-drug therapy in 2011 (HAS does not use the terms sport & health). In April 2011, the HAS published a guidance report on the spread of prescriptions of approved non-drug treatments²², in which it confirmed the importance of prescribing regular physical activity in the management of cardiovascular disease and sleep disorders.

An ageing population, the search for health practices that are sustainable and eco-friendly, the growth of techniques for well-being to counteract stress and fatigue at work are the new backdrop against which research into sport for health and well-being is progressing.

This is the hidden side of sport & health. Sport is seen, on the one hand, as the dynamics of a young population frequenting sports clubs and competitions, when in fact the age pyramid in France is reversing, and the proportion of over-60s is surpassing that of under-20s. When France organised the 1968 Grenoble Olympics, under-20s represented 1/3 of the population and fell under the sports policy set out in Mr Herzog's essay on the doctrine of

sport Today, the figure is just 23%.

The social theory of biopower, rightly, according to the works of Michel Foucault (2004)) and his disciples (Fassin, Memmi, 2004), finds in this the means to denounce the instrumentalisation of the body through quantitative and objective analysis. The sports enterprise of the self pursues the liberal injunction to constantly adapt (Stiegler, 2019) in response to the fluidity and flexibility of the employability market. In this way, the involvement of managers in a company can therefore be measured the biopolitics.

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22 http://www.has-sante.fr/portail/upload/docs/application/pdf/2011-06/developpement_de_la_prescription_de_therapeutiques_non_medicamenteuses_rapport.pdf

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The Paris 2024 official symbols and their roles in hosting “Revolutionary Games”

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Abstract

This article focuses on the Paris 2024 official symbols: the logo, the slogan and the mascots. The symbols will be presented in the order of appearance they were unveiled to the public, focusing each time on their significations and roles in the Paris 2024 Games’ wishes to host Revolutionary Games. The article covers the process of revealing these symbols to the world, along with their reception and the criticisms they faced, in particular the logo and the mascots. The work will be completed by remarks of the Paris 2024 brand director, Julie Matikhine.

Keywords

Symbols, Onomastics, Discourse analysis, Linguistics

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Introduction

The International Olympic and Paralympic Committees attach great importance to symbols. Among the symbols most representative of their institutions and their respective movements are the five rings (Olympic symbol) and the agitos (Paralympic symbol). The Olympic rings were introduced in 1913. This symbol “expresses the activity of the Olympic Movement and represents the union of the five continents and the meeting of athletes from throughout the world at the Olympic Games.” (Olympic Charter, 2023). Regarding the Paralympic symbol, “the three elements of the Agitos [...] symbolize motion and emphasize the role of the Paralympic Movement in bringing athletes together from all corners of the world to compete and achieve sporting excellence.” (International Paralympic Committee, n.d).

In addition to the emblematic elements of these two institutions, each Olympiad and Paralympic Games possess its own symbols that are used only for the period of the Olympiad, and whose purpose is, amongst other things, to promote the events. For the first time in Olympic history, the Paris 2024 organizing committee decided that the Olympic and Paralympic Games should share the same symbols, a first step in their desire to host unprecedented Games. We wish to give particular importance to the Paris 2024 symbols, focusing on their significance and seeking how the latter are representative of the organizing committee’s objectives to host Revolutionary Games. By symbols, we mean the logo, representing Marianne and the Olympic flame, the slogan “Games wide open” and the pair of mascots named the Phryges.

Method

Our work intends to be exploratory and this research is in its preliminary stage: our goal is to gain insight and understanding of our subject. To this end, we opted for a qualitative research and will be focusing on the symbols’ creation and meaning, the process of revealing them to the public and we will evoke their reception. The three symbols will be presented in the chronological order they were unveiled to the public: logo, slogan and mascots.

For our qualitative research, we conducted a semi-structured interview (Karatsareas, 2022) with Julie Matikhine, Paris 2024’s brand director. After defining our subject, we created interview guidelines including a list of open-ended questions sorted by importance, allowing us to have a structured foundation while keeping some flexibility. We’re well aware that this research method can be contested, the interviewee’s answers being potentially influenced by our questions or answering with what she believes is appropriate to say in this given situation (Blanchet, 2000). However, in this case, we believe that this method’s pros outweigh the cons: organizing this interview gave us the opportunity to collect the words of a Paris 2024 stakeholder who was responsible for the creation of the symbols at the heart of our research.

The conversation was conducted via phone call, recorded with Julie Matikhine’s consent and later transcribed. For the sake of this article, a selection of extracts from the interview will be integrated and analyzed in the following pages, along our case study of the three symbols. Our exploratory approach aims to introduce these symbols and to recognize patterns, as well as discourse and communication strategies surrounding their

creation and introduction to the public.

The Paris 2024 logo

“When creating the logo, we’re dealing with a very public dimension, since it’s the Olympic brand, the one that will be recognized and seen by all visitors to the Games, but we’re also involved in an institutional approach. This means that, in a way, these Games play a political role, whether we like it or not, and so the emblem delivers a message that has a stake, one that goes beyond the subject of general public communication and becomes a social issue. It’s a subject that ultimately involves France’s vision of sport and the Games, and so it’s very important in the creative process to have a clear goal in mind.”¹ (Julie Matikhine)

When asked what the most challenging thing was about creating a logo for Paris 2024, Julie Matikhine presented fundamental aspects that constitute an Olympic and Paralympic logo. On the one hand, she evoked the logo’s function from a marketing and communication point of view: “we’re dealing with a very public dimension”, “recognized and seen by all visitors to the Games”. On the other hand, she acknowledged the logo’s impact from an institutional perspective, saying that it goes “beyond the subject of general public communication”. It should be noted that in this answer, Julie Matikhine sees the Games as a lever to impact society. She states that “these Games play a political role”, and the logo carries this idea. The logo proudly displays the ambitions of Paris 2024 and it needs to be aligned with the latter’s values and goals. Julie Matikhine states that in her eyes, the logo’s most meaningful layer of significance is directly linked to the Paris 2024 organizing

committee’s goal of transforming the French’s perception of sport and the Games (“It’s a subject that ultimately involves France’s vision of sport and the Games”). The logo is more than a visual representation, it has social and political implications. Its creation is intentional, and the question of cultural identity is at stake: it needs to represent the Games to the French citizens, creating a sense of adhesion, but it also needs to represent France to the world.

The Paris 2024 Games logo was designed by Royalties, a French agency in accordance to the concept of ecobranding, which aims to renew the meaning of brands by making them more responsible:

“The specifications, in line with the ecological values defended by the communications agency in charge of the project, called for the design of a logo that could be adapted to different media. Thus, a clear version is intended for printing on paper, to limit ink consumption. Each of the colors composing the graphic charter does not exceed 100% ink consumption. A second, darker version is reserved for screens, to conserve smartphone batteries. The font has also been designed to minimize the resources required in terms of paper (-6%), ink (-17.23%) and data volume (-82% compared with standard font files).” (Graphiline, 2021).

Moreover, this font was inspired by the Art deco style, which was very popular during the 1924 Paris Games, a nod to the past and a reminder that 100 years later, the Games are returning to Paris. It should also be noted that the font is similar to the one used on the Parisian metro signs, linking the font with an existing element of the Parisian culture, another indicator that everything is perfectly

¹ The interview was conveyed in French.

calculated, and every element of the logo is perfectly thought out.

Before going further, it should be noted that the Paris 2024 bid logo and the final Games logo are different. The first represented both the Eiffel Tower and the number 24, whereas the final logo is a combination of three elements: a gold medal, the Olympic flame and Marianne. This change of logo should be taken into account, the first representing an emblematic Parisian and French monument and the second one embodying an ideal and carrying in its visual aspects the OCOG's main aspirations for the Games.

Combining symbols

The logo's design incorporates three important visual elements, both from the Olympic and Paralympic history and the French culture: "The logo for Paris 2024 combines three separate symbols – the gold medal, the flame and Marianne, the personification of the French Republic. Each of these symbols reflects a part of our identity and values" (Paris 2024, n.d).

First, its golden color and its round shape is reminiscent of a Gold medal, echoing the idea of sport performance and surpassing oneself as an athlete, a recurring message shared by the Olympic and Paralympic institutions. The second visual element of the logo is the Olympic and Paralympic flames, an emblematic symbol within the Olympic and Paralympic field, spreading "a message of peace and friendship between peoples" (International Olympic Committee, n.d). The third element of this logo is the human face representing Marianne. "The first allegory of the French Republic in the form of a

woman wearing a Phrygian cap dates back to the French Revolution: this cap, worn by emancipated slaves in Greece and Rome and popular among sailors and galley slaves in the Mediterranean region, was proudly used by revolutionaries from the south of France as a symbol of freedom. As Marianne was one of the most common first names in the XVIII century, it was used to personify the people, and sometimes the Republic" (Elysée, n.d).

The Paris 2024 logo strategically contains three meaningful elements that can easily be recognized by the general public. Using these elements that are familiar to a large audience leads to the notion of shared cultural knowledge and semantic memory within the audience. Integrating well-known symbols in one logo ensures that its different layers can be recognized by a majority of individuals while also showcasing a pre-existing symbol of the French culture.

Unveiling the logo

The logo was introduced to the public on October 21st, 2019 (International Olympic Committee, 2019). It was revealed following an innovative launch ceremony, which saw over 700 runners – led by Olympic and Paralympic medallists including Renaud Lavillenie, Nantenin Keita and Sarah Ourahmoune – run different routes around the centre of Paris and Saint-Seine-Denis, forming the outline of the new Paris 2024 emblem. The emblem was then revealed in full on a giant screen at the Grand Rex cinema in Paris at precisely 20.24." (International Olympic Committee, 2019).

A great importance is attached to a symbol's revelation process as evidenced by the presence

of athletes, which represents authority figures and offer more visibility to the event. Involving sports personalities in the revelation process constitutes a rhetoric strategy: their notoriety was put to a greater use, and these athletes became an appeal to authority.

In a YouTube video titled “Here is the new face of the Olympic and Paralympic Games of #Paris2024.”², the logo is presented and described in detail, echoing the educational aspect of the Olympic Movement. Indeed, anyone interested can learn more about the process of creating this symbol. What is striking is the first sentence of the video: “I am the emblem of Paris 2024”, an assertive sentence personifying the logo. It should be noted that while the logo represents Marianne and exudes a feminine appearance, the voice pronouncing the sentence has a masculine tone, which is quite paradoxical.

The Paris 2024 motto – Claiming openness

Omnipresent in our everyday life, slogans and mottos are language productions that express a great deal using few words. These elements of language are short phrases used for promotional purposes, such as the promotion of an event for example. The “proliferation of slogans” (Alice Krieg-Planque, 2017) is also one of the characteristics of the institutional discourse, which is prominent in the Olympic and Paralympic field. Slogans can be verbal or a verbal and they are characterized by their brevity, pragmatic purpose and memorability: “The slogan, whether advertising or political, condenses the discourse into a thematic core, a condensed, rhythmic formula, for mnemonic and pragmatic purposes, designed to mobilize

and spur to action.” (Reboul, 1975). In the Olympic and Paralympic field, we distinguish mottos from slogans: mottos are used to represent the main principles and values of the Olympic and Paralympic movements (institutional), while slogans are used to promote editions of the Games (promotional).

Since the beginning of its promotional campaign, Paris 2024 made it a point to offer a show to the whole world, as evidenced by its slogan “Games wide open” unveiled to the public on July 25th, 2022, two years before the start of the Games. This slogan is an a verbal slogan modeled on the common expression “eyes wide open”, which refers to a reaction one might have to a surprise and/or a show. This slogan is based on the “deconstruction and playfulness of a fixed formula” (Richard, 2009), a common way to create these brief but meaningful sentences. Here, the transformation of the fixed expression is achieved by swapping the word “eyes” for the word “games”. By changing just one word, the original expression is transformed into a slogan promoting the edition of the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games. This permutation doesn’t affect the rhythm of the original expression, “eyes” and “games” being both one-syllable words. It should be noted that the French version of the slogan - “Ouvrons grand les jeux” - undergoes the same process. Substituting the word “eyes” for the word “games” can be accomplished simply by swapping the letter “y” - “yeux” to “jeux” - resulting on a clever transformation. Contrary to the English version, the French slogan is verbal, with the use of the verb “to open” in its imperative mode (“ouvrons”).

We assume that by choosing this slogan, the Paris 2024 OCOG wants its audience

2 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ccrHmiad6XA>

to recognize the original expression transparently, thus playing on the notion of shared knowledge. This shared knowledge between the enunciator and his addressees underpins a certain relationship of complicity between the latter; a relationship that can only be established on condition that the addressees recognize the pre-existing fixed expression. It's worth noting the creativity of the approach used to create this slogan, since a new layer of meaning is superimposed on the meaning of the original expression. With this short formula, the Paris 2024 organizing committee promises to offer a show to the public and it's claiming its openness to the world. The message is clear: Paris 2024 aims to host an immense sporting spectacle to be shared with the whole world.

The opening of this edition of the Games is multi-faceted and takes place on several levels. The Paris Games will be the first edition of the Olympic Games after the global pandemic, synonymous with the reopening of the world after an unprecedented period of confinement and isolation. The Paris 2024 Games will be the first Games to return to normal since Tokyo 2020 and Beijing 2022.

“Our slogan, “Games wide open”, showcases the possibility of somehow opening the doors to something that wasn’t accessible and making it accessible. In fact, we have this desire to open up perspectives and to be able to bring something fundamentally new to the games.” – Julie Matikhine

Here, Julie Matikhine emphasizes the significance of openness at the heart of the slogan. She claims this openness with the metaphorical expressions “opening the

doors”, which implicates the importance of providing an accessibility that was potentially lacking in previous Games, and “the desire to open up perspectives”, which attests the OCOG’s intentions to bring novelty to the Games. Once again, by using the possessive adjective “our” and the pronoun “we”, she talks on behalf of her team and the Paris 2024 organizing committee, presenting herself as a spokesperson of their ideas. In 2024, the city of Paris, as well as France, will be at the forefront of the world stage, an opening to the whole world that is conveyed by the event’s slogan. Organizing the Games is an opportunity for France to share its cultural heritage with the world and to attempt to change mentalities through sport. It should also be noted that “we have this desire to open up perspectives” acts as a commissive sentence, an implied promise (Searle, 1969). On behalf of the Paris committee, Julie Matikhine commits to this change, promises to accomplish an action in the near future. Indeed, Paris 2024 intends to organize unprecedented and Revolutionary Games, and many projects have been built with this goal in mind. However, the games have not yet taken place, and whether the Paris 2024 goals have been accomplished will have to wait until after the event. In this sense, the post-games period will raise other questions, and elements for discussion, notably in terms of legacy and societal impact of the Games.

Of this slogan, let’s highlight the various ways the Paris Games promote openness: the 2024 edition of the Games promises different openings to the world. This openness is suggested by the complements added to the slogan on the Paris 2024 website. To highlight its various ambitions, the COJOP of Paris 2024, proposes three extensions of its slogan:

“Games wide open to emotion”

“Games wide open to the energy”

“Games wide open for the future”

“Games wide open to emotion”

For the Paris 2024 Games, the opening ceremony will be held in the city for the first time in modern Olympic history: “With 600,000 people invited to the world’s greatest celebration of sport, the Olympic Games Opening Ceremony will be an incredible occasion. Reinvented for central Paris, with the capital’s exceptional heritage and the Seine as a backdrop, this Olympic Games Opening Ceremony will go down in history” (Paris 2024, n.d).

Another factor of openness is the organization of several competitions outside the stadiums. For example, the Champ-de-Mars, one of the largest open spaces in Paris and located at the foot of the Eiffel Tower, will become a temporary open-air arena for beach volleyball and blind football.

The openness promoted by Paris 2024 is also synonymous with open-mindedness and welcoming new ideas. This is demonstrated by the addition of breaking to the Olympic program, a dance style at the “frontier between sport and art” (Paris 2024, n.d), breaking up with tradition and echoing the revolutionary dimension of the Games as claimed by the OCOG.

What’s more, the Paris 2024 Games will be the first Games in history with perfect gender parity. It’s worth noting that it was during the Paris 1900 Games that women made their first appearance in the Olympic history, with only twenty-two women present. In Tokyo, for the

2020 Games, 48.8% of the 11,090 athletes competing were women and in 2024, “In 2024, there will be 5,250 – 50% of the athletes – meaning full gender equality will have been achieved for the first time in Games history.” (Paris 2024, n.d). Finally, the Paris 2024 Games will be “open to all” and for the occasion, the OCOG will organize the biggest Paralympic Games in history with “549 events, 3.4 million tickets on sale and 300 hours of host-country broadcasting” (Paris 2024, n.d).

“Games wide open to the energy”

The openness of the Paris 2024 Games is also reflected in the OCOG’s determination to invite sports enthusiasts to get involved, with more than 40,000 volunteers: “In 2024, there will be 45,000 volunteers! Thanks to their enthusiasm, their energy and their unique features, they will play a key role in the success of the Paris 2024 Games and will help make this event truly unforgettable.” (Paris 2024, n.d). This commitment is reflected in the creation of the Paris 2024 Club, whose aim is to encourage the public to get involved and play an active role in promoting the Games. It also includes the organization of an unprecedented Marathon pour tous, a mass participation marathon which will enable amateur athletes to have a glimpse into the Olympic Experience.

Finally, on a national scale, one of Paris 2024’s goals is to involve several French local authorities, as demonstrated by the Terre de Jeux Label and the fact that some events will be held outside of Paris. This is for example the case of the surfing event organized in Teahupo’o, Tahiti in French Polynesia. However, it should be noted that organizing such events can cause strong objections,

particularly in terms of their environmental impact, and the surfing event is currently highly controversial.

“Games wide open for the future”

By promising to open up the Games for the future, the Paris 2024 organizing committee hopes to transform society and make it more active, as evidenced by its fight against sedentariness and the invitation to practice at least thirty minutes of physical activity a day, an initiative thought of by the OCOG and the French Minister of Education (Education Nationale, n.d). Furthermore, in the Paris 2024 campaign, openness rhymes with inclusion and accessibility, in an attempt to “change perceptions of disability” (Paris 2024, n.d).

Paris 2024’s final objective is to open the door to a new way of staging the Games, notably by reducing the event’s impact on the environment. To achieve this, the OCOG is basing itself on the Paris Agreement (United Nation Climate Change, n.d), and hopes to halve its carbon footprint compared to past editions of the Games, while at the same time implementing offsetting projects.

Unveiling the slogan

Paris 2024’s openness is achieved, first and foremost, through language. The slogan appears, in a way, as a performative formula (Austin, 1991). Declaring “Games Wide Open” is a first step towards this great openness and as we recall, the Paris Games are made to be shared, which was implied from the beginning of the campaign and the bid slogan “made for sharing”. The date on which the slogan was revealed is not insignificant as it was aired two years before

the Paris 2024 opening ceremony, launching the countdown. It is by unveiling the slogan to the world that openness is possible. To unveil the slogan, a press conference was held, with a lot of personalities in attendance. We can quote Michaël Aloisio, Director of the Office of the President of Paris 2024, who explained that the slogan reflected COJOP’s attempt to “open up the Games to the challenges of our time” and Tony Estanguet, President of Paris 2024:

“We continue to reinforce our ambition to open up the Games to as many people as possible. Since the beginning of this project, we’ve changed the way we organize the Games. [...] We want to open up the magic of the Games to all publics, and also to the challenges facing our society. [...] The slogan will be “Games wide open”, because that’s what has driven us since the beginning” (translation – BFM, RMC Sport, 2022).

Alongside the press conference, the revelation of the Paris 2014 slogan was accompanied by the release of a promotional video aimed at the general public. The fast-paced video presents well-structured, coded and semiotically-charged elements. The strength of this video lies in the fact that it highlights French culture and Olympic culture, echoing the objectives of Paris 2024 to open up the Games to the world and showcase French culture and heritage. On social media, the video capsule unveiling the slogan was illustrated with the following caption on Twitter:

“An invitation to the whole world to come and experience new emotions together!

You’re just 1’30min away from discovering the slogan of our Olympic and Paralympic Games #RoadtoParis2024”³

It should be noted that this promotional video

³ <https://twitter.com/Paris2024/status/1551605445156012038>

features a representation of Marianne wearing a Phrygian bonnet, creating a link between all the Paris 2024 symbols. We can also observe several elements referring to the French culture and heritage. These include, for example, the use of shots taken at the Musée de l'Orangerie featuring Monet's painting "*Les Nénuphars*", and video clips showcasing French gastronomy, or historical events. Eventually, the slogan is revealed at the very end of the video, after a long enumeration of meaningful words, starting with the original Olympic motto "Faster, higher, stronger", a reference to the Olympic history and continuing with other comparatives, such as "more astonishing" for example.

The Paris 2024 mascots

The Olympic and Paralympic mascots were the last symbols of the Paris 2024 Games to be introduced to the public. They were unveiled in a press conference in Paris on November 14th by Paris 2024 President Tony Estanguet. In the same way the slogan's unveiling date was meaningful, the mascots' revelation date represents a new step in the countdown to the Paris Games since they were introduced to the public 600 days before the start of the opening ceremony. Respectively named "Olympic Phryge" and "Paralympic Phryge", the pair was introduced to the world on November 14th, 2022. As their name suggests, they are representing Phrygian caps, also called the "Liberty cap" (Press kit, Mascots Paris 2024).

The mascots' names and their meanings

Names are highly evocative (Siblot 1997) and carry values as well as cultural elements

(Lecolle, Paveau & Reboul-Touré, 2009). In the Olympic and Paralympic field, mascots' names are rooted in the culture of the host country. The process of naming mascots – their act of baptism – is not trivial. On the contrary, their names are extremely interesting, carrying values and often revealing the objectives of the host countries. The act of naming a mascot is very significant and says a lot on an organizing committee's ambitions for their edition of the Games. In our case, the Paris 2024 mascots' names are a direct reflection of Paris' ambition to host revolutionary games.

When it comes to creating mascots, the organizing committee can decide to involve the public in the process. It was for example the case for the Tokyo 2020 mascots, Miraitowa and Someity, whose physical appearances were chosen by children in Japanese schools but named by the Tokyo committee; or the Rio 2016 mascots, Tom and Vinicius, which were created by the Rio committee but named through a survey opened to Brazilian citizens. For the Paris 2024 Games, the OCOG decided not to involve the public in anyway: "We didn't hesitate at all. In other words, for the emblems, we had quite a few proposals, and there was only one that stood out and expressed something new, and that's the one we worked from. The idea for the mascots came from a concept. [...] When we saw the idea of a Phrygian bonnet coming up, we told ourselves it was obvious, of course having a mascot that isn't the umpteenth animal, but rather an ideal that really represents the power of mobilization for the French citizens and causes that are important to them." (Julie Matikhine).

The Paris 2024 pair of mascots is referred to as the "Olympic and Paralympic Phryges" and

from an onomastic point of view, the name “Phryge” is a neologism based on the existing adjective “phrygian” (“phrygien” in French). This shift, from adjective to proper noun, can be considered an antonomasia. Typically, an antonomasia occurs when a proper noun becomes a common noun; in this case, the contrary can be observed and an adjective becomes a proper noun. The originality of these mascots’ names also lies in the fact that they share the same name and the use of the adjective “Olympic” or “Paralympic” in front of the name refers to one mascot or the other. Referring to the pair of mascots as the “Phryges” can be likened to referring to the creatures by their surnames.

It’s by naming the mascots that they come to life and enter the Olympic sphere, since the act of naming is performative. The act of naming “links the signifier to a referent” (Lecolle, Paveau & Reboul-Touré, 2009). It’s only after they’ve been named and introduced to the public that mascots can take part in promoting the Olympic and Paralympic movements, as if before they received their name and a proper introduction to the public, they didn’t yet have an active role to play in promoting Olympic and Paralympic values or in promoting the Olympiad. Indeed, it is only after this introduction to the world that they can finally participate in events promoting the Games. Consequently, the act of nomination is also a rite of passage (Alford 1988). After their appointment, the mascots take on the role of ambassador, symbol and spokesperson for the Games.

When asked about the mascots’ nomination, and the possibility of naming them other than “Olympic Phryge” and “Paralympic Phryge”, Julie Matikhine confided that she

aimed for their names to mainly on what they represented:

“We thought about it, we wondered if we needed to name the mascots different names. A lot of names came up. And then, in reality, we realized that if we gave them each a first name, it would create a second level of meaning and it was something we didn’t want. What we wanted was very simple: our goal was to focus on the idea, on what the mascots symbolized. We wanted the public to recognize that they are Phrygian caps, a Phryge is a strong name, and there’s a whole logic behind that. The moment you give them another name, say you name them “Tom and Tim”, all of a sudden, they become the usual first names and the idea of a Phryge is forgotten. But what we wanted was for this strong symbol to remain in the spotlight, so that the first name didn’t distort the message.” (Julie Matikhine)

Julie Matikhine’s answer provides insights about the OCOG’s thought process and decision not to give individual names to the mascots. By using the pronoun “we” and the possessive adjective “our”, Julie Matikhine involves her team and the entire OCOG in the creation process. Indeed, she makes it clear that the process was very intentional and thought of, as suggests turns of phrase such as “we thought about it”, “we wondered”, “we wanted” (repeated three times). In a way, naming the mascots after their appearance signifies that the act of baptism remains partial. The creatures are defined by what they represent, which resonates with their symbolic purpose and underlines the fact that their anthropomorphisation - beyond making the creatures sympathetic and creating pathos - has a single goal: reminding the audience of Paris’s objectives to host Revolutionary Games.

Describing them as “The Phryges” gives a direct information about their physical appearance, emphasizing what they represent: a symbol of freedom, putting mascots at the heart of a revolution through sport. Julie Matikhine justifies the OCOG’s decision not to give proper names to the mascots with an example: “say you name them “Tom and Tim”, all of a sudden, they become the usual first names and the idea of a Phryge is forgotten.”. She believes that naming them could demean and weaken the conveyed message and distract the audience from the mascot’s primary function. In other words, by refusing to assign them individual first names, the OCOG made the decision to emphasize on the mascots’ collective representation as tools and symbols.

Anthropomorphized creatures

The mascots’ anthropomorphisation must also be studied. Indeed, “Anthropomorphizing mascots is rooted in the very purpose of mascots and manifests itself mainly through the human characteristics that we attribute to them, whether it is in terms of their physical appearances or their behaviors.” (Chiabaut, 2021). A representative element of their anthropomorphisation is the fact that they celebrated their first birthday on October 14th, 2022, a year after their introduction to the public: we can quote the announcement “Happy Birthday les Phryges! 1 year old today See you next year for the big party” posted on the Paris 2024 official account on the same day⁴.

Regarding the anthropomorphisation of the

Phryges, we must note that each mascot has its own personality and character traits. Indeed, The Press kit describes The Olympic Phryge as “a fine tactician, it is the smart one of the bunch. A true mathematician, it never launches into anything without thinking it all through. With its methodical mind and alluring charm, it will no doubt inspire everybody to do more sport every day!” while the Paralympic Phryge is presented as “a real party animal, spontaneous and a bit hotheaded, it’s not afraid of anything, it wants to have it all! Always up for new experiences, it will rally everyone around it with infectious energy and enthusiasm. The Paralympic Phryge will bring out the best supporter in you, spread the values of sport and encourage you to create a buzz and celebrate the athletes in all the stadiums and other venues.” (Press kit, Mascots Paris 2024). The discursive formulations used to present the mascots contain only words with meliorative characteristics, since the mascots are ambassadors for the Olympic and Paralympic movements and must embody their values. We should also note that the Phryges share a motto: “Alone we go faster, but together we go further”, a maxim or a rule of conduct, that echoes the Olympic motto “Faster, higher, stronger – together” and the message they share is that “Sport has the power to change everything” (Paris 2024, Press kit).

Despite their anthropomorphisation and the fact that they are attributed human characteristics, the mascots have a limited lifespan. This idea doesn’t only apply to mascots, but to every symbol in general:

“After the OCOG has been wound up, the NOC of the country of the host, may exploit such emblem and

⁴ https://www.instagram.com/p/Czn93zHNs2t/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igshid=MzRlODBiNWFiZA==

mascot, as well as other marks, designs, badges, posters, objects and documents connected with the Olympic Games during their preparation and celebration and terminating not later than the end of the calendar year during which such Olympic Games are held. Upon the expiry of this period, all rights in or relating to such emblem, mascot and other marks, designs, badges, posters, objects and documents shall thereafter belong entirely to the IOC.” (Olympic Charter; 2023)

Unlike the Olympic and Paralympic institutional symbols (such as the rings and the agitos for instance), the symbols associated with each Games have a limited lifespan and are only used for a specific and determined period. Every symbol has a limited time of existence that exists within the period of the Games they represent. Once the edition of the Games is finished, symbols don't have a purpose to serve anymore. In other words, by creating its symbols the OCOG gives life to them for a predetermined time with a main goal in mind: promoting the Games while carrying strong values. Their limited lifespan is particularly interesting, because it leads to a few interrogations, mainly in regards of legacy.

Organizing revolutionary games and the symbols legacy

The Paris 2024 OCOG claims its goal to organize Revolutionary Games, and both the logo and the mascots are strongly linked to the idea of Revolution. Indeed, both Marianne and the Phrygian cap are allegories of the French Revolution that are omnipresent in France. For example, Marianne is already one of the cultural elements anchored in French culture, appearing on stamps, in all town

halls and as the official logo of the French government while wearing a Phrygian cap. In addition to their Phrygian cap appearance, the mascots wear a tricolor cockade in the colors of France, another symbol of the French Republic, on the side of their eyes. The OCOG is revisiting, repurposing pre-existing symbols in the French culture and collective memory in order to associate revolutionary ideals with the symbols of Paris 2024.

However, and despite the OCOG's aspirations, it should be noted that the symbols of Paris 2024 have not been unanimously accepted and have faced a lot of criticisms. The symbols' reception and acceptance were not unanimous. Among the various ways in which the symbols have been criticized, we have particularly observed their mockery through comparison. The logo has been compared to a famous dating app logo, and a lot of users online thought it would be more appropriate for a hairdresser. Regarding the mascots, the Phrygian caps were harshly compared to clitorises or Smurfs' hats ... The Paris 2024 mascots are not the first pair of mascots whose reception was criticized, we can for example think of the London 2012 mascots, Wenlock and Mandeville, who were also quite contested.

The Paris 2024 Games having yet to take place, the post-Games period will be very interesting, as it will give rise to new questions, mainly in terms of the symbols' impact and effectiveness. It will also be valuable to see if the public's perception of the mascots will change after the events. For example, we can think of the fact that people attempting the Games will potentially see the mascots engaging with the audience, particularly children, resulting in a better reception and the spotlight put on their sympathetic and cute appearances. Overall,

we can't help but wonder if the Paris 2024 Games will accomplish all its goals, deliver on all its promises and host unprecedented Games, transforming the way Olympic and Paralympic events are meant to be organized in the future.

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to draw attention to the importance of the creation of the Olympic and Paralympic symbols for the Paris 2024 Games. In an attempt to host unprecedented Games and to lead a Revolution through sport, Paris's OCOG made it a priority to create symbols that were representative of the French culture, the Olympic and Paralympic history and that could be used as ways to illustrate their goals and aspirations. It is particularly noticeable through the reutilization and repurpose of pre-existing allegories of Revolution (Marianne and the Phrygian cap). The meaning behind the slogan, the importance of visuals granted to each symbol and the mascots' figures are all significative and giving information to the public on what the 2024 Games will bring. All symbols undergo a similar unveiling process, each of their revelations being accompanied by a promotional video destined to be inspirational. However, and despite the intend between each symbol and their noble meaning, the reception of an emblem might not always have the desired effect, resulting on a lot of criticisms and mockery.

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Listening to the Locals, Promoting His Presidential Agenda: Lord Killanin's 1973 Latin American Tour

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Abstract

In 1972, Lord Killanin succeeded Avery Brundage as president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Early in his tenure as IOC president, Killanin received an invitation to attend the twelfth congress of the Pan-American Sports Organization to be held in Santiago, Chile in late May 1973. He embraced the opportunity and transformed the trip to Chile into a tour that included several Latin American countries. This article traces Killanin's Latin American tour, touching upon the major developments of each stopover, including accomplishments and complications, and their significance. In doing so, this article shows that by heeding the concerns, successes, and projects of those in charge of regional Olympic and sport bureaucracies, Killanin gained a thorough understanding, and formed an opinion, of the organization as well as the state of Olympic and sport matters in the region. At the same time, this article also demonstrates that Killanin took advantage of the journey throughout Latin America to consolidate and enlarge his network of contacts in the region and to familiarize regional Olympic, sport, and political leaders, and the general public, with his vision for the Olympic Movement.

Keywords

Lord Killanin, Latin America, 1973, Reforms, International Olympic Committee

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In 1972, Irishman Michael Morris, also known as Lord Killanin for his nobility title, succeeded US American Avery Brundage as president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). As Robert K. Barney explained, Brundage, who held the presidency for twenty years, “might well qualify as the most controversial, authoritarian, and at times challenged President in IOC history” (2024, p. 9).¹ Killanin would likely agree with this assessment. He affirmed that the 1972 presidential election was riddled with “manoeuvring and restlessness, which had already lasted several years[,]” caused by “the character of my predecessor—his rocklike conservatism, strong prejudices, and spirit of tough independence” (1983, p. 57).² At the beginning of the 1970s, the IOC, and more generally the Olympic Movement, was ready, and perhaps eager, for a change of leadership.³ After his election in August 1972, Killanin tried to live up to this expectation for renewal, admitting that “his [Brundage’s] autocratic ways in running the Olympic Movement were different from my own” (1983, p. 59). He made a point of listening to the different stakeholders of the Olympic Movement as well as to let them know his position in a number of pressing issues affecting it, which diverged from that of Brundage’s.

Early in his tenure as IOC president, Killanin received an invitation to attend the twelfth congress of the Pan-American Sports Organization (PASO) to be held in Santiago, Chile in late May 1973. He embraced the

opportunity and transformed the trip to Chile into a tour that included several Latin American countries. Killanin’s visit to the region created much expectation. For instance, before landing in Brazil, the first stopover of the tour, *Folha de São Paulo*, a newspaper based in that city, described Killanin, in comparison to Brundage, as noteworthy for his “irreverence and revolutionary ideas” and expected him to reveal his intended reforms for the Olympic Movement during his stay in the country.⁴ Similarly, towards the end of the tour, *El Tiempo*, a Colombian newspaper based in Bogotá, highlighted Killanin’s belief that the reforms were needed and his declaration that he was not a dictator but rather perceived himself to be an “orchestra director that wants to put all instruments in order, to be able to interpret good music.”⁵ In over two weeks, he met with regional Olympic, sport, and political leaders, visited numerous institutions, held several press conferences, and participated in functions honoring him.

This article traces Killanin’s Latin American tour of May and June 1973, touching upon the major developments of each stopover, including accomplishments and complications, and their significance. In doing so, this article shows that by heeding the concerns, successes, and projects of those in charge of regional Olympic and sport bureaucracies, Killanin gained a thorough understanding, and formed an opinion, of the organization as well as the state of Olympic and sport matters in the region. At the same time, this article also demonstrates that Killanin took advantage of the journey

1 For a biography of Brundage see Guttman (1984).

2 For overviews of Killanin’s presidency, see Berlioux (2015) and Martyn & Wenn (2008).

3 For a general account of this period of Olympic history, see Guttman (2002).

4 “O irônico Lorde Killanin dia 21 aqui”, *Folha de São Paulo* (São Paulo), May 14, 1973, p. 24.

5 “‘El amateurismo necesita reformas’: Lord Killanin”, *El Tiempo* (Bogotá), June 2, 1973, p. 3C.

throughout Latin America to consolidate and enlarge his network of contacts in the region and to familiarize regional Olympic, sport, and political leaders, and the general public, with his vision for the Olympic Movement. In short, in the tour, Killanin engaged diverse voices from across Latin America's Olympic, sport, and political circles in conversation to learn about them, but also for them to become acquainted with his presidential agenda. In that initial period of his presidency, Killanin, still all hopeful, had not yet realized, to use his words, "the burdens that lay ahead" (1983, p. 62). It is worth noting that the tour has been overlooked in the Olympic studies literature and that, to accomplish its goal, this article draws primarily on newspapers and magazine articles, documents from the IOC Archives, and Killanin's biography.

Brazil

Killanin started the Latin American tour in Rio de Janeiro, where he arrived on May 21. João Havelange, a Brazilian IOC member and the president of the *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos* (Brazilian Sports Confederation [BSC]), and a delegation of the *Comitê Olímpico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Olympic Committee [BOC]) met him at the airport. As he put it, "a very full program of activities was arranged[...]"⁶ enabling him to meet with national Olympic, sport, and political leaders. The following day, Killanin spent several

hours visiting the BSC in the company of Havelange. According to the press, he was enthusiastic with what he witnessed there and commended the organization of Brazilian sport, accentuating the work of the BSC.⁷ Killanin later explained that the latter was "a semi-Governmental Body financed by the Minister of Education."⁸ On May 23, the BOC convened a special meeting, led by Sylvio de Magalhães Padilha, its president and also a Brazilian IOC member, "to express our feelings of gratitude for this honourable visit and the privilege of our country having been the beginning of this visit to the American Continent."⁹ In the name of the BOC, Magalhães Padilha awarded Killanin "the Medal of the Olympic Order" and expressed certainty that the new IOC president "will attain the great aim which you already proclaimed 'To structure the reform of olympism of the year 2000 and to guarantee in this manner the continuity of this gigantic and irreplaceable work.'"¹⁰ In turn, Killanin gave a speech and, while it was not written out, he thought that "it seemed to be well received, especially the fact that I stressed that we had more to do than just run the Olympic Games, or for NOCs [National Olympic Committees] only to be responsible to making entries."¹¹

7 "Olímpicas," *Diário de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro), May 23, 1973, p. 11.

8 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 1.

9 Speech by Sylvio de Magalhães Padilha, "A-P06/077 IOC Presidents-Michael Killanin," IOC Archives.

10 Ibid.

11 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 1.

6 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 1, "A-P06/077 IOC Presidents-Michael Killanin: Trip programmes, Central America and South America trips: Correspondence, programme, publication and reports" (hereafter "A-P06/077 IOC Presidents-Michael Killanin"), International Olympic Committee Archives (hereafter IOC Archives).

Following Killanin's speech to the BOC, he held a press conference. Apparently, the questions were submitted and selected in advance.¹² For the press, Killanin minced words. While he agreed that international amateur sport was going through a difficult stage, he reasoned that the issues could be solved with the help of the NOCs. Killanin referred to three main problems. One was whether professional athletes should be allowed to participate in the Olympic Games. In this regard, Killanin said that the IOC was going to review rule 26 of the *Olympic Charter*, which detailed the "eligibility code" for athletes at the Olympic Games, to adapt it to the changing times, but clarified that no concessions that could harm Olympism would be allowed.¹³ The second problem was the size of the Olympic Games. He elaborated that the IOC was studying ways to cut the cost of the event and contain its growth. The last problem was political: the development of sport. Killanin stressed that governments should support sport at all levels and for all people. These three main problems would be reiterated along the Latin American tour. Asked about racism, and specifically the circumstances in South Africa, he argued that it was a universal problem that did not affect Brazil. Without any elaboration, he wrote that "It would appear that in Brazil, which is a multi-racial country, the situation in regard to Latin America and South Africa is somewhat different to the other countries which are less multi-racial."¹⁴ Killanin also said that the

return of China to the Olympic fold should follow the established procedure and that until then the Soviet Union was the only candidate to host the Olympic Games in 1980.¹⁵

On May 24, Killanin flew to Brasília on a chartered plane with Havelange, along with Jerônimo Bastos, president of the *Conselho Nacional de Desportos* (National Sports Council), and Eric Tinoco Marques, a sport official, to meet with Jarbas Passarinho, the minister of education of the Brazilian military government, who oversaw national sport. It was announced that in the evening of the same day, Killanin would attend a gymnastics demonstration with President Emílio Garrastazu Médici.¹⁶ It was also announced that the latter could request of Killanin that São Paulo become the host city of the Olympic Games in 1980.¹⁷ It is unclear whether the two men met or not and whether the request was made, but Killanin had a positive impression of his trip to Brasília, observing that "it appears again that the close liaison between the voluntary bodies and the Ministry [of Education] are excellent and there was no question of any sort of Government domination."¹⁸ Satisfied with the first stopover of the Latin American tour, the next day Killanin took off to Montevideo, Uruguay from Rio de Janeiro. Before boarding

12 "Olímpicas," *Diario de Noticias*, May 23, 1973, p. 11.

13 See International Olympic Committee (1973).

14 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 3.

15 "Olímpicas," *Diario de Noticias*, May 24, 1973, p. 11 and "Killanin fala, mas mede bem suas palavras," *Jornal do Sports* (Rio de Janeiro), May 24, 1973, p. 9.

16 "Olímpicas," *Diario de Noticias*, May 23, 1973, p. 11; "Olímpicas," *Diario de Noticias*, May 24, 1973, p. 11; and "Na maneira de ser, um verdadeiro britânico," *Jornal do Sports*, May 24, 1973, p. 9.

17 "Lord vai contact como vê os jogos," *Jornal do Sports*, May 23, 1973, p. 9.

18 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 2.

the plane, he went with Havelange to the airport's chapel to pray, "showing himself to be," as stated in a newspaper's article, "a fervent Catholic."¹⁹ On the occasion, Killanin also condemned the internecine strife in his country between Catholics and Protestants.²⁰

Uruguay

Héctor Payssé Reyes, its president, and other members of the *Comité Olímpico Uruguayo* (Uruguayan Olympic Committee [UOC]) welcomed Killanin at the airport in Montevideo. Right after his arrival, he paid protocolar visits to several government officials. These included democratically elected Vice president Jorge Sapelli because President Juan María Bordaberry was in Buenos Aires, Argentina for the presidential installation of Héctor J. Cámpora, who had won the elections in March, taking place that same day, May 25. Killanin's impression of the meetings with government officials as well as national Olympic and sport leaders was favorable, manifesting that "again there appeared to be the most correct and wise co-operation between the Government administration and the National Olympic Committee, which is quite independent."²¹ Before being honored by the UOC, Killanin held a press conference. In his judgement, "the press here again was similar to those in Rio. In addition to local questions, some of a slightly political nature, there were the usual

routine questions regarding Eligibility, China, South Africa."²² He told reporters that he was against professionalism at the Olympic Games. He also told them that it was inevitable that politics and sport converged, adding that what he did not like was being pressured by political cliques. For him, the decisions of the IOC should be sport decisions, not political decisions. As for expanded representation in the IOC, he expressed that if it ever became an organization similar to the United Nations, it would not be in the best interest of the youth of the world.²³

The following day, Killanin barely had time to draw breath. From early in the morning to late at night, he visited sport clubs and venues, attended a show jumping exhibition and a rugby match, met with Alfredo Inciarte, an Uruguayan IOC member, and participated in social functions. Killanin noted that, "as in Brazil, I visited many sports installations and felt that there was a very different situation between the two countries. This I think is largely economic."²⁴ He specified that "Rio, with its very large population and growing economy has of course far better facilities than Uruguay, which is in [a] more difficult economic situation."²⁵ In another comparative observation, he recalled sensing a "'class' distinction in Uruguay where the best facilities are all in privately owned clubs

19 "Olímpicas," *Diario de Noticias*, May 26, 1973, p. 11.

20 Ibid. See also *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro) May 26, 1973, p. 11.

21 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 2.

22 Ibid., p. 3.

23 Con Lord Killanin. Conceptos de nuevo Presidente del Comité Olímpico Internacional, vertidos en Conferencia de Prensa, "A-P06/077 IOC Presidents-Michael Killanin," IOC Archives.

24 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 2.

25 Ibid.

of a somewhat colonial nature.”²⁶ He was confident that his thoughts were well founded because during his visit he had “covered a fairly large section”²⁷ of Uruguayan Olympic and sport terrain.

After his ample visit to Uruguay, Killanin was supposed to depart for Buenos Aires on May 27 and spend the night in the Argentine capital to fly to Santiago the following morning. However, that plan changed abruptly. Argentine Fernando Madero, president of the *Comité Olímpico Argentino* (Argentine Olympic Committee [AOC]), who had travelled to Montevideo to accompany Killanin, in consultation with Buenos Aires, thought imprudent he visited the city two days after Cámpora assumed the presidency. Killanin explained that “it was obviously not very advisable of me to go to the Argentine where my presence would only give additional problems to the Police.”²⁸ Perhaps Madero was also influenced by the massive mobilizations taking place in Buenos Aires, and the whole of Argentina those days, celebrating that a Peronist politician was again president of the nation after Juan Domingo Perón’s party had been proscribed since 1955.²⁹ At any rate, Killanin enjoyed an extra day in Montevideo. He went shopping, followed by a dozen plainclothes policemen, but an inferiority complex overcame him “when it come to going into shops and buying small souvenirs for half a dollar; I felt my escorts would be

expecting the IOC president to be patronizing at the Asprey or Hermés of Montevideo” (1983, 51).

Argentina³⁰

Due to the abrupt change in his itinerary, Killanin was supposed to have only a brief layover in Buenos Aires of less than two and a half hours on his way to Santiago. However, the ordinary incidents of commercial air travel converted the brief layover into a short stay of eight hours at the airport. The flight from Rio de Janeiro that would take him to Santiago was delayed because of weather conditions. Killanin was greeted at the airport by Madero, Otto R. Schmitt, secretary general of the AOC, and his wife, and Mario L. Negri, an Argentine IOC member, and his wife and son. Negri, who was 84 years old and had then some medical difficulties, was contemplating resigning from the IOC. He discussed with Killanin a potential successor.³¹ Killanin had a pleasant afternoon with the Argentines, but the VIP treatment he was extended caused an amusing problem. His passport was taken from him to avoid queuing at the immigration checkpoint. Claiming that “there was a lot of shooting in the city that day,” maybe justifying the change in his itinerary, Killanin “felt that my Argentine friends might wish to get home as early as possible” (1983, p. 51). Thus, he told them not to await his departure and his passport was duly returned to him. When he went through the immigration checkpoint, Killanin was told that he could not leave the country because he had not formally

26 Ibid., p. 3.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 4.

29 For introductory accounts of this period of Argentine history, see, among others, Novaro (2016) and Romero (2013).

30 Torres (2023a) describes this stopover.

31 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 4.

arrived. “They had forgotten to stamp my passport on my arrival in Buenos Aires,” he recounted, “and a somewhat bureaucratic emigration officer said he couldn’t stamp my passport to allow me to leave Buenos Aires as I hadn’t arrived!”³² After some time, a superior stamped his passport to show that he had passed through the immigration checkpoint in the morning before departing that evening. This episode delayed the flight to Santiago for at least another hour. Killanin landed in Buenos Aires at 10:30 a.m. and took off at 6:30 p.m. Lamenting Killanin’s misadventure in his city, Negri wrote to Monique Berlioux, the director of the IOC, with a touch of sarcasm, that “Lord Killanin did not visit Bs. As. and instead knows the Ezeiza airport very well (sic!).”³³

Chile³⁴

Eventually, Killanin arrived in Santiago late at night on May 28. Venezuelan José Beracasa, president of the PASO and an IOC member, along with a group of IOC members and officials of the PASO and the *Comité Olímpico Chileno* (Chilean Olympic Committee [COC]) were waiting for him at the airport. He was driven right away to a reception at the mayor’s house. In the morning, he attended the opening of the twelfth congress of the PASO, the most relevant happening of the tour. Democratically elected President Salvador Allende could not be present at the ceremony

but sent him a commemorative plaque through his minister of defense, José Tohá, who represented the government. Tohá told those assembled that “sport is a necessity and a right in the community.”³⁵ Killanin considered that Tohá “made an excellent speech completely in line with the best co-operation between the voluntary bodies and the Government.”³⁶ Beracasa and Sabino Aguad, president of the COC and general director of sports and recreation, also spoke at the opening. In line with previous remarks related to other Latin American countries, Killanin affirmed that “it would appear that the co-operation between the National Olympic Committee and the Government sports body in Chile is good.”³⁷

In the afternoon, Killanin delivered a speech at the inauguration of the works of the twelfth congress of the PASO in front of the entire hemispheric Olympic leadership. He started pronouncing, “I come here more to learn than to preach” hoping that “by being here I am able to make some of the contacts that will help us all to cooperate in the future of the Olympic Movement” (1973, p. 248). While he declared that this was not a major policy speech, he “raise[d] certain points which we will have to solve between ourselves and in close conjunction with the International [Sport] Federations [ISFs]” (1973, p. 248). Killanin then explained that the Olympic Movement was tripartite, including the IOC, the ISFs, and the NOCs. He continued stating that the relation between these entities, as well

32 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 5.

33 Mario L. Negri to Monique Berlioux, June 25, 1973, “A-P06/077 IOC Presidents-Michael Killanin,” IOC Archives.

34 Torres (2023b) describes this stopover.

35 Carlos Guerrero (Don Pampa), “Reconfortante y diferente,” *Estadio* (Santiago), June 5, 1973, p. 16.

36 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 5.

37 Ibid., p. 7.

as the definition of the Olympic Movement and its future, and that of the Olympic Games, would be discussed at an Olympic Congress in September, at which he wished to see “the Pan-American Groups” for them “to listen and to express their views” (1973, p. 249). Killanin then offered his thoughts on three “Olympic points which make the daily news”: competitive eligibility, the Olympic program, and political freedom (1973, p. 250). On the first point, he repeated that the IOC would discuss rule 26 of the *Olympic Charter* and that “It is *not* the intention of the IOC to open the Games to professionalism” (1973, p. 250). As for the second point, he linked it to the cost of the Olympic Games and argued that the Olympic Movement should not “scatter around the world monuments which are not used for the sake of youth from the day the Games close” (1973, p. 251). In relation to the third point, Killanin insisted that the Olympic Movement “must be free from political interference or dictation[.]” clarifying that this differed from receiving assistance from governmental sources or cooperating with governments (1973, p. 251). He ended his speech expressing that he would be happy to discuss any matters affecting the hemispheric NOCs or any Olympic matters during his stay in Santiago. Afterwards, Killanin “left the meeting for obvious reasons of discretion.”³⁸ His presidential agenda was clearly articulated and laid out.

According to his account, several presidents and secretary generals of the hemispheric NOCs took up his offer and approached him to discuss certain problems. A prominent one was the appointment of IOC members in

38 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 6.

Latin America and the Caribbean, but also in South Africa.³⁹ Another concern he most probably heard about was the significant delays in the preparations of the VII Pan-American Games awarded to Santiago in 1969 and scheduled for 1975. In their speeches, Tohá and Aguad, president and honorary president of the event’s organizing committee, asserted that Chile would deliver in 1975. After its evaluation commission visited the facilities during the twelfth congress, the PASO confirmed Santiago as the host of the VII Pan-American Games. A sport magazine wrote that the PASO had shown faith that everything would be ready on time.⁴⁰ Killanin was as optimistic as he was prophetic. He educated,

there has been considerable doubt whether Santiago will be able to host the 1975 Pan American Games due to the political situation. My own discreet enquiries lead me to believe that there will not be a problem as long as the present Government under President Allende stays together and these games unite the people of Santiago.

However, there is of course a risk of a counter move towards the Government in which case the situation could alter.⁴¹

With respect to the last point, Killanin was told of an incident that he judged important enough to record it. During the second leg of the final of soccer’s Libertadores Cup between Colo-Colo, of Chile, and Independiente, of

39 Ibid., 6-7.

40 Guerrero, “Reconfortante y diferente,” p. 16.

41 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 8.

Argentina, played during the first night of the twelfth congress of the PASO at the National Stadium in Santiago, “President Allende was whistled and cat-called when he appeared in the Presidential box.”⁴² A month after the PASO’s delegations had left Santiago for their homes, there was a failed coup d’état against Allende. Nonetheless, in September, he was finally ousted by another coup d’état, which installed a ferocious military dictatorship that lasted until 1990.⁴³ Despite Beracasa’s efforts, supported by the COC and the organizing committee, the military junta reneged on the organization of the VII Pan-American Games, which were transferred to Mexico City, Mexico. Unfortunately, the risk pointed out by Killanin based on the political environment in Chile materialized. While well-informed through his discreet enquiries, by the time Killanin left Santiago, on June 1 after the conclusion of the twelfth congress of the PASO the day before, the future of Allende and the event was a matter of speculation. For the IOC, “The Chilean organization [of the twelfth congress of the PASO] entrusted to Mr. Sabino Aguad . . . was remarkable” (Anonymous, 1973, p. 247). The national press was equally exulting. Highlighting the presence of Killanin in Santiago, it quoted a hemispheric Olympic leader who, oblivious to his prediction, contended that “if the [VII Pan-American] Games have the same efficiency than this congress, success is guaranteed.”⁴⁴

42 Ibid.

43 For introductory accounts of this period of Chilean history, see, among others, Huneeus (2006) and Jocelyn-Holt Letelier (1998).

44 Guerrero, “Reconfortante y diferente,” p. 16.

Peru, Colombia, and Panama

The final destination of the tour was Mexico City. Nevertheless, Killanin briefly stopped at three other countries along the way there. He started the trek to Mexico City from Santiago accompanied by Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, a Mexican IOC member and president of the *Comité Olímpico Mexicano* (Mexican Olympic Committee [MOC]), other Mexican Olympic officials, and Julio Gerlein Comelín, a Colombian IOC member. During the layover in Lima, Peru, he met with Eduardo Dibós, a Peruvian IOC member, who had been in Santiago. They discussed the issue of membership in the IOC and Dibós informed Killanin of the overall situation in the *Comité Olímpico Peruano* (Peruvian Olympic Committee), “which,” he related, “seems to be in order.”⁴⁵ As in Buenos Aires, the layover in Lima was also prolonged for reasons beyond Killanin’s control. This time there was a mechanical problem with the airplane. Even more troubling, the hijacking of a Colombian commercial plane on May 30 that lingered on for several days, caused problems in regional air traffic.⁴⁶ Killanin ended up arriving in Bogotá, Colombia much later than expected. He was met at the airport by Humberto Zuluaga Monedero, the president of *Coldeportes*, the governmental institution in charge of sport. Albeit it was late, Killanin held a press conference there in which he broached “the usual three subjects- Giganticism [sic], Rule 26 and Politics.”⁴⁷ He repeated what he had

45 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 9.

46 See Di Ricco (2020).

47 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 9.

elaborated upon in other press conferences during the tour and especially during his speech at the inauguration of the works of the twelfth congress of the PASO. Noticeably, he underlined that “I have never imagined, not even kidding, what an Olympic Games would be like with the participation of professional athletes.”⁴⁸ He also insisted that “he wanted to be a partisan of an evolution and not a revolution of the Olympic Movement” Anonymous, 1973, p. 247). Subsequently, he was offered dinner by the *Comité Olímpico Colombiano* (Colombian Olympic Committee) and *Coldeportes*. His impression of these institutions was favorable, indicating that, “Here again, there seems to be a very clear dividing line between the two bodies and close cooperation, although at times the Minister [Zuluaga Monedero] did tell me there were clashes.”⁴⁹ What these clashes were about Killanin did not specify.

Before catching an early flight to Panama City, Panama on the morning of June 2, Killanin visited sport venues, “which seemed to show a visible advance in sport in Colombia.”⁵⁰ He was met in Panama City by Virgilio de León, a Panamanian IOC member, and was taken to lunch with members of the *Comité Olímpico de Panamá* (Panama Olympic Committee [POC]) and representatives of the governmental institution in charge of sport. Killanin was asked about some difficulties within the POC. As he claimed, Carlos A. Vásquez, its president, “was suspected of trying to place the Olympic Committee under more

Government control and a threat of expulsion [sic] was instituted by the IOC.”⁵¹ The IOC president appeased his interlocutors stating that “This threat seems to have worked.”⁵² From Panama City Killanin flew to Mexico City via Guatemala City, Guatemala, where he changed planes and did not meet anybody related to the Olympic Movement.

Mexico

There were various persons waiting for Killanin, and the Mexicans who had been accompanying him since departing from Santiago, at the airport in Mexico City on June 2. He was greeted by Marte Gómez, a Mexican IOC member, and his wife, José García Cervantes, president of the *Confederación Deportiva Mexicana* (Mexican Sport Confederation [MSC]), Manuel Valle Alvarado, vice president of the MOC, and Ramírez Vázquez’s wife. Killanin held a press conference right upon arrival. He did not seem to have added anything new to what he had already expressed in his other press conferences and speeches during the tour. He also gave an interview to *Excelsior*, a newspaper based in Mexico City. It is interesting to mention that in it, Killanin indicated that he understood the youth because when he was

48 “‘El amateurismo necesita reformas’: Lord Killanin.”

49 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 9.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid., p. 10. The minutes of the March and July 1971 meetings of the IOC’s Executive Board mention problems of political interference in the POC. The minutes of the September 1971 meetings state that the problems had been solved, but also that there were other issues affecting the POC. According to the minutes of the February 1973 meetings, the latter were still persistent. None of these minutes, which can be consulted in the IOC Archives, mention the threat of expulsion.

52 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 10.

young “he wanted to revolutionize the world” (Anonymous, 1973, p. 245). While it is up to interpretation what message he wanted to convey with this declaration, it could be read as another sign that his agenda for the Olympic Movement only included moderate and gradual reforms. What is clear is that he felt particularly at ease in Mexico City, which he had not visited since the Olympic Games there in 1968, when he was a vice president of the IOC. For him, this stopover was an opportunity to renew many old acquaintances. The hosts of Killanin’s stay in Mexico City, which included three nights, prepared a full program for him. However, as the IOC communicated, “the most important moment without doubt, was the interview given [to Killanin] by the President of the Mexican Republic, Mr. Luis Echevarria [sic]” (Anonymous, 1973, p. 247).

Echeverría, a democratically elected president, received Killanin, who came along with Gómez, Ramírez Vázquez, and García Cervantes, at his residence on June 4. This made the newspapers’ headlines the following day.⁵³ Gómez pinpointed that the presidents of Mexico and of the IOC had “a very constructive exchange of points of view and full agreement was expressed with regard to the Olympic principles and trend on which the Olympic movement has to be directed in the future.”⁵⁴ Killanin was quite pleased with the meeting, accentuating that “it was very interesting for the first time not to have to explain to a Head of State what

the Olympic Movement is all about.”⁵⁵ It is worth mentioning that Echeverría was secretary of interior, a prominent post, in the administration of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, his predecessor, who oversaw most of the preparations for the Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968.⁵⁶ For Killanin, the fact that Echeverría was informed about Olympic matters facilitated the work of the Mexican Olympic officials “and [consequently] the Olympic Movement obtains all the support and assistance it requires.”⁵⁷ Furthermore, this also resulted in a close collaboration between the government and the MSC, which Killanin also deemed significant to underscore.⁵⁸

Killanin’s visit to Mexico City assured him that the Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968 were greatly beneficial to the Mexican people as the sport facilities are “widely used, although not necessarily for their original purpose.”⁵⁹ He highlighted that one of the greatest legacies was the training center of the MOC, with which he was impressed. Athletes were brought there to train before international competitions. There were athletes in residence and also commuters, and the coaches were of many different nationalities. Killanin speculated “that some of the more conservative people would not like this system but to my mind it is essential for

⁵³ See, for example, *La Prensa* (Mexico City), June 5, 1977, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Marte Gómez to Monique Berlioux, June 8, 1977, “A-P06/077 IOC Presidents-Michael Killanin,” IOC Archives.

⁵⁵ Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 12.

⁵⁶ See, among others, Blutstein (2021) and Whitterspoon (2008).

⁵⁷ Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 12.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

high performance athletes who in their turn inspire sportsmen throughout the country.”⁶⁰ An uncommon feature of the training center, which caught Killanin’s attention, was “the fact that it has a design group working there for the purpose of posters, and all publications.”⁶¹ Perhaps this was a heritage of the Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968, whose identity design has been hailed as innovative.⁶² In any case, for Killanin, this is “something which is frequently forgotten, even, I regret to say, by the IOC, and is something to which I think we should draw more attention, because it is a prerequisite if we are to have a modern image.”⁶³ Evidently, Killanin found that the Mexican Olympic Movement had established some valuable structures worth considering. As far as Gómez could see, Killanin was “especially friendly to Mexico”⁶⁴ during the Latin American tour. In turn, he was thankful for the arrangements and courtesies extended to him in Mexico City by his hosts, which were, as Marte put it, “only a proof of the respect we have to your category, and also a token of our solidarity in the IOC ranks.”⁶⁵

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 See, among others, Elías (2021) and Castañeda (2014).

63 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 13.

64 Marte Gómez to Monique Berlioux, June 8, 1977.

65 Marte Gómez to Lord Killanin, June 27, 1977, “A-P06/077 IOC Presidents-Michael Killanin,” IOC Archives.

Back in Ireland

After over two weeks touring Latin America, Killanin arrived back home in Dublin on June 6. After taking some time to ruminate about it, he drafted a report of his journey. Killanin’s conclusion was that throughout the region “there is considerable interest in sport, of which the Olympic Movement is obviously considered the highest ideal.”⁶⁶ He commented that there were governments of various stripes “from left to right wing dictators, military governments and normal democracies.”⁶⁷ Approvingly, Killanin elucidated that, with one or two exceptions, in each country appeared to be a ministry

66 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, pp. 10-11.

67 Ibid., p. 14. While interesting and important, it is beyond the scope of this article to explore whether the various political regimes of the Latin American countries Killanin visited during the tour favored or posed challenges to his plans as IOC president. On the surface, the picture appears far from straightforward. Consider, for example, the reaction to the boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow in 1980, at the dusk of Killanin’s presidency, led by the United States. The NOCs of Argentina, Chile, Panama, and Uruguay joined the boycott. At the time, all those countries were governed by dictatorships. On the other hand, the NOCs of Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru sent delegations to Moscow. While Brazil was governed by a dictatorship, the other three countries were led by democratically elected officials. In his autobiography, Killanin suggests that the Chilean IOC member had reservations to support a statement declaring “that the Games must be held in Moscow as planned” (1983, p. 187) because of his government’s antipathy to such a position after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. More research is needed to better understand the positions, debates, and decisions of each of the countries Killanin visited during the tour, as well as the rest of Latin America, regarding the boycott. For details of the Argentine and Brazilian cases, see Torres (2015 and 2020) and Almeida Lico & Rubio (2012), respectively. There is abundant literature analyzing the boycott. Sarantakes (2011), among many other scholars, provides a strong analysis of this controversy.

or government agency in charge of sport, leisure, and/or recreation. This created close cooperation between the NOCs and these institutions. However, he admonished, emphasizing the necessary autonomy he had laid stress on during the tour, that this “is a situation which must be carefully watched and has already given rise to anxiety in certain countries.”⁶⁸ The ones to watch it, he proposed, were the regional IOC members. Killanin also recognized that in almost every country there was a sport confederation with a wider covering than the NOCs, which were “normally limited to Olympic sports or sports taking part in the Regional Games.”⁶⁹

Besides gaining a thorough understanding, and forming an opinion, of the organization as well as the state of Olympic and sport matters in the region, Killanin consolidated and enlarged his network of contacts in the region. He reported being pleased with having “an opportunity of meeting and shaking hands with the Presidents and secretaries of practically all the National Olympic Committees,”⁷⁰ hearing, as he told his fellow IOC members, their preoccupations and views.⁷¹ In this regard, the IOC publicized that “having multiplied on the one hand the contacts with the sporting leaders and those responsible for education, and on the other with the journalists, Lord Killanin did the job of

a propagandist.”⁷² He not only propagated the mission and values of the Olympic Movement, but also his vision for it. While he mentioned others, Killanin concentrated on three main pressing issues: the eligibility to participate in the Olympic Games, gigantism, and political freedom. In a nutshell, he said that he did not envision professional athletes at the Olympic Games; that the Olympic program had to be reduced to control their size and cost; and that, while the IOC welcomed governmental aid to sport, it deplored the use of sport for political purposes.

Throughout Latin America, the press portrayed Killanin as good-humored, affable, extemporaneous, experienced, and intelligent.⁷³ For instance, *Estadio*, a Chilean sport magazine, narrated that during the farewell festivities of the twelfth congress of the PASO, Killanin sang traditional songs of the country and danced to the tune of them.⁷⁴ This contrasted with the stern image of Brundage, his predecessor. Yet, even though many, if not most, in the region seemed to have agreed with his presidential agenda, his signaling of moderate and gradual, rather than drastic and prompt, reforms was not gratifying for others. In this regard, after Killanin left Brazil, the paulista newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, disappointed, titled an article on his visit, “Lord Killanin came, who did not come

68 Draft Report by the President of the IOC on His Visit to South America for the Meeting of ODEPA-PASO May 1973, p. 14.

69 Ibid., p. 15.

70 Ibid., p. 6.

71 Minutes of the meetings of the IOC Executive Board, Lausanne, 22nd-24th June 1973, IOC Archives.

72 “Lord Killanin, President of the IOC: Two Weeks’ Survey in South America,” p. 243.

73 See, for example, Guerrero, “Reconfortante y diferente,” p. 16; “O irônico Lorde Killanin dia 21 aqui,” and “Lorde Killanin veio, quem não veio foi a sua revolução,” *Folha de São Paulo*, May 28, 1973, p. 25.

74 Guerrero, “Reconfortante y diferente,” p. 16.

was his revolution.”⁷⁵ The disappointment was likely out of place, as Killanin, describing himself as a realist,⁷⁶ had promised reforms, not a revolution. He planned to push the former at the tenth Olympic Congress in Varna, Bulgaria scheduled for later in 1973, the first in more than forty years. Tellingly, the event’s main theme was “The Olympic Movement and its Future.”⁷⁷ Gómez promised to be there “to give our support in the difficult task you are facing.”⁷⁸ The rest of the Latin American IOC members, now familiar with Killanin’s vision for the Olympic Movement, seemed to have followed suit. For the IOC, he “directed the meetings with skill and dignity” (n.d.). The “unanimous opinions” of the final statement of the meetings, Killanin would later reminisce, “are the guidelines on which I, as President, endeavoured, not always with success, to conduct the affairs of the Olympic family during my Presidency” (1981, p. 608). Whether, and to what extent, the Latin American tour he completed in mid-1973 had a lasting impact on Killanin’s knotty tenure as IOC president remains to be investigated. However, the unanimous backing of his platform to lead the Olympic Movement garnered in Varna indicates that the Latin American IOC members stood by him, at least at the outset of his eight years at the helm. It also implies that the tour served as an initial but effective platform for Killanin to advocate for and gather such backing.

75 “Lorde Killanin veio, quem não veio foi a sua revolução.”

76 “Esporte Amador: Nova estrutura,” *Diário de Paraná* (Curitiba), May 25, 1977, p. 8.

77 See Anonymous (1972).

78 Marte Gómez to Lord Killanin, June 27, 1977.

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The Effect of the International Olympic Academy's Olympic Studies on Postgraduate Students' Work.

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Abstract

When Pierre de Coubertin introduced the modern Olympic Games, one of the central ideals underpinning the revival of the Games was education. As an established educational and cultural institution of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the International Olympic Academy (IOA) has been providing forums for education and research for 60 years. The aim of this study is to explore the educational aims of the IOA's International Seminars, and the effect of the seminar on postgraduates' subsequent work. The case study design used in this research permitted a deep examination of participants from a single country. Australia was chosen due to its long-standing association with the modern Games and the historical connection of the researchers' University with the IOA. Data were generated via IOA-related documents and semi structured interviews with past participants, and were subsequently thematically analysed. Key findings included the characterisation of the IOA as an inspirational place for participants to continue to critique, extend or implement Olympic aspects in their work. Further, participants' work, or certain aspects of it, seemed to have been directly and/or indirectly impacted by notions of Olympism, Olympics or the Olympic Movement, due to their IOA experiences.

Keywords

Olympic education, Olympism, Olympic studies, International Olympic Academy

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Introduction

Each year, numerous students from around the world travel to Olympia in Greece; here, the International Olympic Academy (IOA) hosts a range of educational programs for individuals interested in Olympic studies (IOA, 2012). One of these programs is specifically tailored to postgraduate students, offering opportunities to further learn about and embed themselves in Olympic studies, share research ideas, and network with likeminded people from various parts of the world. This study examines the effects upon completion of the IOA's International Seminars on the participants' work. To better understand the intended aims of the IOA's International Seminar for postgraduate students and its desired outcomes for participants, the foundations and origins of Olympic education must first be explored.

Origins of Olympic education

Olympic education is a term that first appeared in sports education and Olympic research in the 1970s (Müller, 1975a). Pierre de Coubertin saw himself first and foremost as an educator, and he considered his primary aim to be educational reform (Müller, 1986b). Since as early as 1900, and not exclusively within schools, Coubertin had been encouraging the idea of "making sport accessible" as a new form of educating students about their mind and body (Coubertin, 1901, pp.19-32).

However, despite the early origins of Coubertin's educational philosophy and the IOC's intention to promote the Olympic Movement and values through Olympic education, there has been a lack of specificity in the definition of the concept of Olympic education. Nevertheless, Coubertin did write

about the term Olympism suggesting that "Olympism can become a school for moral nobility and purity as well as endurance and energy (Coubertin, 1896, p.2). But this can happen only if you continually raise your concept of athletic honour and impartiality to the level of your muscular ability (p.2). Coubertin's own view and evaluation of Olympism as a "system" does not allow, therefore, "any unequivocal definition of what should be understood by Olympic education and Olympic values" (Naul, 2008, pp.189). In spite of this, in early 2000 the IOC formally added the definition of Olympic education to the Olympic terminology. Referring to it as "Information and activities that promote the development of the knowledge, values and behaviours that promote Olympism and the mission of the Olympic Movement" (IOC, 2017, p.89). For the purpose of this paper, we use the IOC's statement of Olympism which states that "Olympism is a philosophy of life which places sport at the service of humanity. This philosophy is based on the interaction of the qualities of the body, will and mind. Olympism is expressed through actions which link sport to culture and education" (The Olympic Museum, 2013, p.3).

Purpose and Research Questions

Despite not having a specific Olympic Academy, Australia has a longstanding relationship with the Olympic movement. It is one of only five countries to have participated at all modern Summer Olympic Games (hereon referred to as Olympic Games). Despite its relatively remote geographical location, in 2032 Australia will host the Olympic Games for the third time (Melbourne, 1956, Sydney, 2000). In addition to the strong

historical and contemporary links with the Olympic Games, Australia also has specific ties to the IOA. The hosting of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games and the associated development of Centres for Olympic Studies (Vathi, 2011, p.191) contributed to strong Australian research involvement. Including dozens of Australian academics lecturing and 15 Australian research students participating in the IOA's International Seminars. Providing a compelling context for this study, engaging in a case study related to Australian postgraduate students' involvement in the IOA's International seminar permits a deep understanding of the educational effects on a specific cohort of participants over time. Accordingly, the purpose of this study is to explore the educational aims of the IOA's International Seminars, and the effect of the seminar on postgraduates' subsequent work. The key research questions employed are:

1. What are the drivers regarding attendance at the International Seminar? Prompts: What was known about the Seminar prior to involvement? What specific factors influenced the decision to attend?
2. In what ways, if any, does the International Seminar influence participants' subsequent study or work? Prompts: Did participants continue or discontinue a pathway in Olympic studies? Did attendance impact subsequent work? Did participants make further contributions to Olympic education or Olympic studies? Did participants influence others?

Methodology

A qualitative case study design (Merriam, 2002) was the chosen methodology for this project to explore the educational effects of the IOA's International Seminar on postgraduates' work. In a case study, the researcher investigates a "real-life, contemporary bounded system (case) over time via rigorous data generation involving multiple sources of information" (Creswell, 2013, p.412). In this study, the case relates to the educational effect of the IOA's International Seminar on the work of Australian participants. The case is bounded by the unique Australian context wherein unlike most other countries, there is no specific Olympic Academy. Rather, a select few universities with Centres on Olympic Studies play a unique role in working closely with the Australian Olympic Committee and its educational programs, as well as their communication with the IOA.

Participants

Following institutional ethical clearance, study participants were purposively (Patton, 1990) selected. Postgraduate participants who had attended one of the IOA's International Seminars for Olympic studies between 2009 and 2019 were identified and contacted through an Australian-based Olympic Studies Centre. Out of seven past representatives (n=7) over the ten-year timeframe, five participants (n=5) consented to participate in this study. One participant was untraceable (n=1) and one past participant was the lead researcher (n=1) for this project. To maximize the anonymity of the participants, identifying information was removed as much as possible, and alphabetical letters have been randomly applied to each (e.g., Participant A, Participant B).

Data Generation

Methods used in case studies to co-construct data most often include observations, interviews, focus groups, document and artifact analysis (Merriam, 2009). In this study, the tools used to generate data were the collection of a variety of Olympic education related documents and the conduct of semi-structured interviews.

Documents

Qualitative document analysis has been comprehensively used in social inquiry (Bryman, 2015). Examples of documents accessed in this study include administrative documents (n=10) (e.g., program and outline of the IOA's International Seminar); formal studies including IOA-related papers or evaluations (n=54) (e.g., postgraduate evaluations); journal articles (n=24) (e.g., editions of IOA International Seminar Journals); and online materials (n=9) (IOA publications). The rationale for accessing and incorporating historical and contemporary documents was to gain further insights into the degree of incorporation and type of usage of historical documents (e.g., Pierre de Coubertin's foundations of Olympic education). Furthermore, the terms of the original establishment of the IOA, and the desired outcomes of the IOA related to the provision of Olympic educational programs.

Based on first-hand experiences with the IOA and using established IOA connections, the first author sourced the 'grey' literature for this study (e.g., reports and websites about the IOA and Olympic Education). In addition, materials were incorporated from more traditional sources (e.g., journals) resulting

in the inclusion of articles by the following authors due to their academic interests and expertise. In alphabetical order: Binder (2001-2012), Chatziefstathiou (2008-2020), Coubertin (1891-2000), Georgiadis (1986-2017), Müller (1988-2015), Naul (2005-2017) and Parry (1998-2006).

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were adopted because they provide the opportunity for the interviewer to explore preliminary themes and seek in-depth responses. Conducting the semi-structured interviews generated individual data and permitted the exploration of the participants' experiences and the influence of the IOA's International Seminars on their scholarship. The five semi-structured interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. The interviews were held at locations of the participants' choosing. Where needed, due to COVID-19, measures were taken to conduct the interviews online (e.g., via Zoom). Open-ended questions were constructed to understand the effects on postgraduate students' subsequent study and/or work. Furthermore, the participants' responses to the questions contained direct links with the information gathered in the document analysis.

Data Analysis

The overall approach to analysis in this case study is through Clarke and Braun's (2017) thematic analysis. The thematic analysis encompassed six stages and "micro" analyses were employed. First, the documentary evidence gathered was thematically analysed, resulting in preliminary themes. Thereafter,

the semi-structured interviews were then analysed. Completing several “micro analyses” resulted in the creation of key themes. Finally, all themes and materials were thematically analysed as part of an overall iterative process.

As recommended by Braun and Clarke (2019), the resulting themes were named so that they would make immediate sense to the reader. They were then further analysed in relation to the overall research question, and placed in order related to the strength of the data and their centrality to the research question. An initial report of the findings was shared with the participants as an extended form of member checking. One participant requested a change in rephrasing a statement to ensure that the intent of it was projected correctly. This is an important step to not only ensure the information shared accurately reflected the comments and experiences provided by the participants, but to allow comment on the appropriateness of our analysis. Finally, throughout the preparation of the final report, the researchers continually reflected, learned and evolved (Braun & Clarke, 2019), while drawing connections with the context and existing literature.

Findings and discussion

The purpose of this study is to explore the educational aims of the IOA’s International Seminars, and the effect of the seminar on postgraduates’ subsequent work. As part of engagement in the iterative process of thematic analysis, five key themes were generated. These included (1) Origins (primarily related to the foundations and evolution of the IOA), (2) Internationalism (capturing the multicultural aims and the global network of support and advocacy). Followed by (3) Interaction (with

an emphasis on connection and exchange in relation to Olympic values and ideals) and (4) Outcomes (such as educational and research outputs). Lastly, (5) Legacy (related to documentary archives and the return involvement of professors and students).

These five key themes are the focus of this investigation and are addressed below in order of prominence as they relate to the research questions.

Theme 1: Origins

A policy for the Olympic Movement states that the development of Olympic education programs remains a key goal for the IOC. For example, host cities or nations are not only required to deliver an educational program during the actual Games, but also beforehand seven years between the IOC’s deciding vote, and the actual opening ceremony of the Games (IOC, 2017, p.88).

Furthermore, the IOC and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) have made efforts in constructing institutional strategies for the promotion of Olympic education. The IOC established the IOA in 1961 as an international educational and cultural institution (Chatziefstathiou & Müller, 2014). Fully funded prior to 2020, the aim of the IOA is to deliver educational expert material and lectures for a select group of nominated students. One of the programs on Olympic Studies, that has been around for 30 years, is the IOA’s International Seminar on Olympic Studies for postgraduate students. Almost a decade ago, a book was written about the experiences of past participants (Georgiadis, 2011). Building on this, taking the view that for education to be deemed

effective there is a need for a continuous review process to be put in place (Naul, 2008, pp.189), participants were to provide reports. Including their learnings, experiences, and a closing statement of the IOA's International Seminars, as well as a contribution via a paper presentation. Participant C noted that "Those presentations and publications building repertoire for the participants that enhanced their portfolio for future work", highlighting the positive contribution the seminar makes to the ongoing work of postgraduate students.

While the IOA's International Seminars have undergone minor changes since they were first offered in 1993 (e.g., duration shortened from approximately five to three weeks), each annual International Seminar has hosted approximately twenty-five nominated and selected participants. The type of qualified and personally invested educators has remained largely unchanged. Another aspect that has remained stable is the excursions to archaeological sites, for example to Nemea where the late Professor Stephen Miller uncovered the Sanctuary of Zeus and the ancient stadium. The main characteristic of the IOA's International Seminars was a yearly changing special topic or theme around the trending Olympic issues. For example, in 2005 the topic was 'The Olympic and Paralympic Games of Athens 2004', whilst the following year's topic was 'Sport and Ethics'.

The IOA's International Seminars demonstrate the intention of the IOA "to extend its activity into the field of higher education and to approach young scholars to whom the opportunity is offered of attending seminar courses of an academic level. This while being taught by recognized University lecturers from all over the world" (Vathi,

2011, p.196). Summarised one could argue that the IOA sessions inspire, educate and pass on Olympism and its foundations of Olympic ideas, and simultaneously contributing to the Olympic Movement. As "the IOA was set up with the purpose of serving as an intellectual and educational centre for Olympism", "its work based on human relationships" and "a forum of free expression and views" (Vathi, 2011, pp.252-253). Arguably, this inherently contributes to Olympic legacy, as it is perceived as an inviolable principle. Participants X and Y both reported 'a sense of the honour done to them and their own value' in contributing to Olympic education by handing on their knowledge and experience in the place where the Olympic Games were born.

From the first Congress in 1894 when the IOC was formed, until his retirement in 1925, Coubertin made ongoing efforts to convince the IOC to take its role on behalf of physical education seriously. Indeed, eight out of twelve Olympic Congresses held between 1894 and 1994 were organized by Pierre de Coubertin before 1926, to promote his educational objectives. However, it was not until 1947 that Greek committee member Ioannis Ketseas successfully presented the 40th Session of the IOC in Stockholm with a proposal on the founding of an Olympic Academy. Thereafter in 1949 the Hellenic Olympic Committee funded and managed the creation of the IOA (IOAPA, 2007, pp.25-26).

Commencing in tents on a field within view of ruins of the ancient Olympic stadium in Greece in 1961 (Koulouri & Georgiadis, 2011), the IOA's proximity to the archaeological site of Olympia has appealed to many participants and lecturers. Participant B describes the experience at the IOA as follows: "The IOA's

presence and its meaning create a feeling that is hard to describe, perhaps a certain energy, but 'it' certainly fuels the Olympic spirit, or better the inner Olympic flame".

Associated ceremonies and past traditions celebrating the Olympic Spirit, the past and present Olympics, "multiculturalism and the pursuit of excellence encapsulated the majority of", as Binder (2010) describes "Olympic educational components" (pp.1-3). The strength and impact of the IOA appeared to be recognized by the IOC (Georgiadis, 2011), with various IOC presidents expressing their unreserved support (Müller, 1998). With the IOC giving its full support to the IOA's efforts, educational activities now focus on issues relating to the academic quality of studies in philosophy, objectives, methodology, content, and evaluation of Olympic education programs. Participant D describes the program as follows: "We had to prepare a draft paper to a certain topic set by the IOA, which seemed to be the theme for the lectures during the days of the program". Further, the impact of such programs appears to be long-lasting, with Georgiadis (2011) highlighting the many alumni who return to the Academy as lecturers, having taught subjects or undertook programs related to Olympism (p.19). This is evident in the statement of Participant E: "My nomination was endorsed by a lecturer who was part of the IOA program in the past". This is arguably an important part of the Academy's work; past participants becoming the advocates of its philosophy, having experienced Olympism.

Theme 2: Internationalism

Coubertin stated that Olympism combines, as in a halo, all those principles, that contribute

to the improvement of mankind (Müller, 2004, p.1). "Coubertin's 'Olympism' is therefore aimed at all people, irrespective of age, occupation, race, nationality, or creed" (p.4). Concerning the IOA's International Seminars, each individual applied, has been nominated, selected and decided to participate. In relation to their stage in life, it is evident that each individual was aware of the Olympics or the IOC. For example, Participant C stated, "I did actually go to the Sydney 2000 Olympics and that was a mind-blowing experience". Participant D mentioned; "I completed an Olympic study as an elective in my undergraduate degree". Like Participant D, some of the participants had already chosen to be directly or indirectly involved with Olympism or Olympic education. Participant A noticed "a link with the study direction and newly included sports at the Tokyo Olympics". Participants reported being exposed to Olympism at a very personal level, for example through study, volunteer work, or simply having a special interest in the spectacle of the Olympic Games. As might be expected, this shared interest became the common ground on which they could engage with others in "getting to know more" (Participant B) about Olympism and Olympic ideas in a spirit of sharing. In short, a key driver of participation was a personal curiosity and interest, and a shared identity related to the Olympic ideal (Koulouri & Georgiadis, 2011).

Perhaps proximity to the archaeological site of the IOA, its mythical location, and traditions, contributed to its operational existence, and the attraction to its programs. Participant B summarized the experience as "being part of a group with common interests in a unique place". The associated traditions

and ceremonies “seemed to make you be a part of something bigger, perhaps part of the Olympic family”, as Participant E described it. Participant C mentioned that it was “the site’s surroundings, as well as the layout of the program with dedicated lecturers that really creates that exclusive, special, scene and atmosphere”. Whether this contributes to Olympism as meant by Coubertin is unsure, but one can argue that it has effect on “the formation of intelligence or sensitivity as a harmonious whole” (Durántez et al., 2011, p.10). One of the effects was the reflection or conceptualisation on the participants’ work, identity and their direction taken post IOA experiences.

Pierre de Coubertin envisaged past participants “becoming the advocates of its philosophy, having experienced Olympism, they know that ‘Olympism’ is not the theory of practice, but the practice of theory” (Müller, 2000, pp.222-224). The majority of the participants acknowledged the effect the experience had on their career post the IOA’s International Seminar. For example, “It made me think about, for example value, and how I perhaps unintended, incorporate this in my daily practices”, according to Participant C.

However, in these reflections a certain conceptualization of Olympic values and Olympism resulted in some queries. For example, Participant A felt that “while everything discussed during the IOA’s International Seminars felt true, it was from a historical perspective and therefore had limited relevance to current practice”. The doubt in contemporary positioning of subjects could contribute to the initial creation of special topics during each year’s IOA International Seminar. This could relay

the initial aim of the IOA’s International Seminars; “This program was initiated to target students specializing in Olympic issues” (Georgiadis, 2011, p.19). Participant D commented on the changes and the origins of the program by saying “With the recent changes in emerging sports, and for example wrestling excluded from the Olympic Games, would this mean the message, of Olympism or Olympic education, changes too”? Perhaps this is why the IOA’s International Seminars have an important part to play in the design of Olympic education and the solutions it may bring in terms of Olympic issues. From the interviews, it was evident that each year the IOA’s International Seminars’ special topic changes. Participant C experienced the special topic aligning with, at that time, current Olympic matters by stating; “The topic evolved around values leading into a new Olympic Games”. The same participant felt that the contribution and the participants evaluation provided a soundboard, maybe even addressing solutions. Furthermore, three participants did decide to take upon further education to tackle similar issues or developed (educational) programs in their (work) community.

Theme 3: Interactions

All participants individually mentioned the IOA experience brought certain connections to light, that they had not explored in depth before. For example, Participant E mentioned “The trip from Australia to the IOA is a long journey to undertake, it is quite a novelty to meet culturally diverse but like-minded people or people with a common interest at the International Seminars”. One participant started working in governance

and international relations and found that the understanding and relation to Olympic values has helped in connecting with (overseas) diverse community groups. “Although some developing countries I worked in are economically viable [sic], the people do embrace respect, friendship, fair play, etc. and it seemed to improve social connections”, according to Participant B. Binder (2010) suggests that “The ‘lifeworld’ orientation’, as described by Naul, is represented by five ‘basic objectives’ which formed a pedagogical foundation based on the values of Olympism” (p.6). One of the objectives is intercultural understanding, which aligns with the multicultural mentioning of Olympic education in the Olympic Charter (2018). Müller (2004) discusses the concept of “peace and goodwill between nations”, “reflected by respect and tolerance in relations between individuals” (p.6), in one of the educational conclusions. These conclusions are derived from Coubertin’s writings on initial ideas around Olympism and Olympic Ideals. Either way, effects of the IOA’s International Seminar have been noticed in forms of continuation, reflecting or conceptualisation around Olympism with the majority of participants.

Theme 4: Outcomes

Two past participants mentioned their holistic view on Olympism and Olympic education, as well as Olympic ideas and values and have either indirect or directly implemented these in their work practices. For example, Participant E implements Olympic values and ideas during classes;

“I share examples of historic Olympic events and try to make the students aware about the rationale of a decision. A good example is athletics, where a marathon runner thought that he completed the race. He was miles ahead, but when he stopped, he did not actually cross the finish line. The runner-up made him aware of this and let him win, instead of taking over and finishing first himself”.

Another participant indirectly supports athletes in research around enhancement and, “understanding that not only fair play, but also their performance could lead to an Olympic pathway”. Via the IOA experience, both participants felt that they are inherently contributing to Olympic aspects through their support to well-rounded athletes (Participant D) or classroom students (Participant E). Binder (2012) discusses that certain effects and external influences on pedagogy could mould the direction it takes.

Theme 5: Legacy

Legacy was a theme related to the daily implementations and practices of postgraduate students beyond the seminars. Participant C mentioned “I never really thought about how some Seminar aspects and IOA experience may have an overlap in my work or relate back to it”. Some participants mentioned that continuing to be aware about actions linked to their IOA experience may contribute to create legacy, relating Olympic aspects to current work and educational programs. Participant C mentioned that “values like respect, friendship and excellence, are standard practice in the daily life”. “Discussing these values and

defining or connecting them with Sport Organizations raised awareness for respectful social connections through community projects”, as mentioned by Participant B. These examples are reflective of the long-lasting impact of the past (IOA) experiences on a person’s life.

Creating this legacy by a network of past participants of IOA International Seminars could contribute to the aim of the IOA sessions. To inspire, educate and pass on Olympism and its foundations of Olympic ideas, and simultaneously contributing to the Olympic Movement (Koulouri & Georgiadis, 2011). The impact has proven itself in the sense that most lecturers are returning Professors, who have been past participants in earlier programs. In the Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter, a section mentions “setting good examples” and is linked to “educational values” (IOC, 2017, p. 98).

However, Participant A questioned whether the “desired outcomes are measured well enough for Olympic education to be deemed effective”. During the interviews some participants reflected on their experience, but also on the program itself. A limitation could be that although the experience was overall positive, the intention of the program to have a strong influence on topics like the Olympic Movement, seemed to be unclear. A passage from the document analysis reveals that the IOA “would contribute, more than anything else, to the preservation and continuation of Pierre de Coubertin’s work”. Perhaps this passage describes indeed what the IOA’s International Seminar is meant to do; to provide an Olympic educational experience to a select group of people (Naul et al., 2017). Past participants expressed their strong desire

to (re)connect with their program peers and they also showed keen interest in the effect of current (Australian) Olympic programs. Participant D mentioned “to share that experience ‘you’ had, knowing likeminded doing something that is valuable for others”. Participant E shared “it is about the frequency of the connection [...] and making sure these people are accessible [...] they do well to inspire other people. An alumni connection group would be great, in a more research-based manner, [...] could have an influence like for example the ‘Olympic Unleashed’ program by the Australian Olympic Committee (AOC)”. Participant B hinted that “for example, the AOC could make use of experience and information gained at the IOA. As a ‘think tank’ or to get involved in current programs and bring expertise”. This is a positive outlook, and it shows the current interest in Olympic aspects, and additionally around the programs and the positioning of (Australian) Olympic education.

Conclusion

Pierre de Coubertin stated in his IOC addressed letters to revive the Olympic Games “The Olympiads have been renewed, but the gymnasium of antiquity has not – as yet. It must be”. The gymnasium of antiquity was not merely a training facility, but rather a cultural site. Coubertin envisaged educational locations dedicated to the “joy found in effort” as a fundamental Olympic principle (Naul, 2008). The IOA has perhaps become a “modern workshop of Olympism” as envisaged by Coubertin on the model of the ancient gymnasium. Or perhaps a part of “dialogue and reflection” for the Olympic family, which offers the best “teaching opportunities” in

the birthplace of the Olympic Games (Parry, 1998; Mueller, 1994, Mueller, 2000).

“Pierre de Coubertin, foresaw the creation in Ancient Olympia of an Educational and Research Centre. Envisioning a role for the IOA, in the Olympic Movement context, that ‘would contribute, more than anything else, to the preservation and continuation of his work, and would protect it from the deviations, which he was afraid to happen’. This arguably is the contribution of the IOA to Olympic Culture” (Kouvelos, 2018, p.4).

This research of the effect of the IOA’s Olympic studies on postgraduate students’ work delivered five themes, which summarized highlighted learnings, limitations and applications.

Firstly, the results of this research suggest that the IOA is an inspirational place and contributes to attract like-minded and vastly interested supporters of Olympism, Olympic Movement, Olympic Ideals and Olympic education as such. Olympism is metaphorically spread by individuals for whom their ‘inner Olympic flame is ignited or refuelled’. The impact noted is in relation to Australian scholars and their subsequent research projects and applied programs in their workplace and beyond.

However, there are some points of critique as the Olympic Games keep evolving and perhaps the IOA’s International Seminars need to evolve with them. New sports are included, and long-established sports are withdrawn from the Games. While it is currently a unique factor, the selection and nomination for the IOA’s International Seminars relies

on the proposed candidates, put forward by the respective body (e.g., National Olympic Committees, National Olympic Academies, Olympic Study Centres) leading to a somewhat narrow group of candidate possibilities. Future iterations may involve deeper consideration of candidates’ prospective careers, intentions or contributions to future Olympic topics.

There also remains great scope to “measure” the impact of the IOA’s International Seminars and other programs offered, so as to proceed, reflect and adjust Olympic education. As Müller (2004) argues:

“We must speak more about the ‘Olympic future’, and to do that we have a vital need for ‘Olympic education’. Anyone who thinks in terms of perfectionism and makes the total achievement of his aims a basic condition has failed to understand Coubertin and his Olympism (p.9)”.

Secondly, the IOA’s International Seminars were a reaffirmation and confirmation of the postgraduate participants’ motives to contribute in their work to Olympism, Olympics or the Olympic Movement. Visiting the cradle of Olympism in Ancient Olympia reportedly fuelled a desire, aligned connection or purpose in continuing or starting to contribute to certain Olympic aspects or reaching a greater audience.

Reflecting on possible overlaps of Olympic aspects in the participants’ current work and links with Olympic values or facets were seen as further (indirect) influences. Furthermore, there seemed to be a healthy willingness or recognition of the International Seminars intend and application in the work field

initially. However, some critique of long-term effects of the IOA's International Seminars show dependence on utilization of the gained participants' information and its (contemporary) relatedness to their work field, or the opportunity to do so.

Lastly, it seems that reflection and connection is needed to (re)confirm the meaningful intentions of Olympic educational practices. To capitalize on the IOA's International Seminars' effects, moments and continuity of it, there is a 'post IOA' desire for fostering the spirit in a geographically large and distant spread. While there is an online association for past IOA participants, there remained a craving for an Australian-based community aimed at associated local projects. A new focus on Australian initiatives that draw upon the IOA experiences of past participants has the potential to impact on a multitude of levels and in way that are locally embedded and generate a valuable legacy of their own.

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