

# Abstracts

ISHPES Congress  
“Milestones in the Histories of Sport and Physical Culture”  
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# Keynotes

## WORLD FAMOUS ANGLO-DANISH HEALTH APOSTLE I.P. MULLER (1866-1938)

Hans Bonde

Affiliation: University of Copenhagen

In 1904, the Danish elite sportsman and gymnastics pedagogue, J.P. Müller initiates the first worldwide fitness wave with his book on home gymnastics 'My System', which subsequently is published in 26 languages in 1 ½ million copies. In German-speaking cultural circles, the verb "zu müllern" is included in the language and in the UK 'My System' becomes the most successful book in early 20th century physical culture. In 1912, Müller starts a successful health clinic in the fashionable street for the medical professions, Dover Street, London, and changes his name from Müller to Muller.

The main questions addressed in this paper are: 1) Have I.P. Muller had a previously overlooked role in the breakthrough phase of modern society with regard to a revolt against Victorianism in the form of the cultivation of nudity, outdoor life and deep breathing? 2) Have I.P. Muller had a previously overlooked role in the history of sexology, not least in the form of his bestseller from 1908 'Sexual Morals and Happiness'. The presentation will show that sporting history is much more intertwined with the breakthrough of modern society and the development of sexology than previously assumed. Main sources are I.P. Muller's private archive in the Danish Royal Library, his many publications and 10,000 newspaper articles from different continents.

## A New Sport and Politics: The Close Relationship Between International Sport Leaders and Diplomats

Heather Dichter (ISHPES Award Winner)

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Although longtime International Olympic Committee President Avery Brundage and other international sporting leaders publicly insisted on the separation of sport and politics, these same men frequently met with their countries' diplomats. Through mutual coordination, sporting representatives and government diplomats shared valuable information about countries on the other side of the Iron Curtain and all around the world. Government officials used the information they received from sporting representatives in their diplomatic endeavors, shaping how their foreign service officers engaged with diplomats in their capitals and abroad. Foreign ministries also tried to ensure that sporting representatives factored their official government positions into the courses of action taken within international sport. While these relationships have been considered in terms of national sport politics, their reach goes far beyond a domestic audience. Bringing together files from sport organizations and their representatives with foreign ministry and government records provides new insight into not only international sport and diplomacy during the decades of the Cold War but also how their practitioners engaged with and influenced one another.

## Interaction between the Olympic spirit and the host city. The example of Paris

Pierre-Olaf Schut (Routledge Keynote)

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The Olympic phenomenon is the expression of the globalization of sport. It moves from city to city and engulfs every continent in its specific culture. At the same time, it is entrusted to and appropriated by every city which hosts it and writes its history. This interaction between the Olympic spirit and the territory of the host city is at the heart of our research. Our intent is to bring to light the trace left by the Olympics in the host cities and how the cities themselves mark the Olympic movement.

To carry out this work, we will rely on a city which hosted the Games in 1900 and 1924 and which will hold them again in 2024: Paris. These circumstances present the advantage of avoiding the trap of the exceptional single case, but also pose the methodological difficulty of discontinuity. What was there in common between the Olympics and Paris in 1900 and 1924? And in 1924 and 2024? Answering these questions also sheds light on the concept of legacy, which is central in the discourse of the International Olympic Committee nowadays, but which refers to a wide variety of expressions in the scientific literature. The material dimensions of this legacy as well as the less tangible ones will be addressed, but most of all this legacy will not be viewed as unidirectional. Namely, we will demonstrate that not only does the Olympic spirit leave a mark on the territory, but the host city itself also marks the Olympic movement.

To complete this research, we consulted public archives as well as archives of the sports movement and official reports of the Olympics. Additional information was found through the press.

The results of this work highlight the material elements, especially at the level of sports equipment. But they also address political issues in terms of support of the sports movement and other intangible issues. Rarely discussed in the literature, this research mirrors the effects of the territory on the Olympic spirit and characterizes the French and Parisian influence on the sports movement.

## Birmingham, Berkeley and the transition generation: Milestones in the historical development of academic physical education

Patricia Vertinsky

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When A.D.Munrow set out to persuade the UK's University of Birmingham that physical education was an academic subject worthy of study in 1939, a war time scenario, conservative forces across campus and a physical education profession disunited by gender presented a variety of barriers. Yet in other respects it was an opportune moment for Munrow to forge a unique Department of Physical Education which welcomed scientific enquiry and new approaches to the training of sports skills and techniques while guarding against a cleavage between the sciences and the humanities. His approach differed in emphasis from that of Franklin Henry at the University of California, Berkeley, most especially in his determination to sustain a focus upon the arts as well as the sciences. Sports, he insisted, stand between the poets and the scientists, and he sustained that view on the international stage of physical education as well as in his sensitivity to gender issues. By contrast, Henry's well known demand in 1964 for higher education to approach physical education from an academic perspective called for a body of knowledge with a significant focus upon science, technology and the testing of physical fitness. It impelled an ongoing debate during the 1960s and 70s that affected approaches to academic physical education on both sides of the Atlantic, and lead inexorably to an elevation of the sciences over the humanities and the laboratory over the gymnasium.

## “That’s Jean Lowe”: On Being a Black Canadian Female Track Athlete in 1940s Toronto

Ornella Nzindukiyimana (Gigiola Gori Award)

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Toronto track star Jean Lowe’s athletic biography helps locate race and gender in elite Canadian sport from the novel historical perspective of a racialized woman. Appearing on the scene in the late 1930s, Lowe remained a constant in the city’s sports pages throughout the 1940s. Yet, in 1946, she moved to the Southern United States to complete her education and, as evidence suggests, she did not reside in Canada again. Primarily based on Toronto’s White press media reports on Jean Lowe, the present Black feminist analysis nuances a racialized woman’s tortuous journey to success, demonstrating that no amount of public acclaim could obfuscate raciality. This was a complex process within which praise existed alongside Othering discourse. Most prominent in the athlete’s narrative is the notion that, no matter how valued an individual Black athlete may have been as an integral member of a squad, as Lowe was,<sup>iii</sup> they were and remained a ‘Black athlete’ and, thus, racialized. This had sociocultural implications and tinted even the acclaims of her most enthusiastic supporters in the press. Lowe’s narrative also allows a juxtaposition of Canadian and American Black/White relational contexts. Her departure from her hometown is contextualized by conflicting, yet defining, characteristics of a Canadian society which nurtured an image of tolerance and openness, while firmly endorsing the colour line. This work underscores that locating Black women within Western sport history is necessary to comprehend how simultaneously gendered and racialized individuals fit into, and reorganize, White supremacist settler grand historical narratives of sport and nation.

<sup>1</sup>Full name Alice Maud Eugenia ‘Jean’ Lowe. Married name: Eugenia Butler.

# PANEL DISCUSSION

## Publishing in The International Journal of the History of Sport

Participants: Heather Dichter (Europe Editor), Mark Dyreson (Managing Editor), Greg Ryan (Special Issue Editor), Robert Lake (Great Britain and Ireland Editor), Alejandra Leach-Nunez (Taylor & Francis)

This panel will provide advice about academic publishing, particularly in The International Journal of the History of Sport. The editors will share suggestions and strategies for international scholars so that their research can be published in one of the major English-language journals in sport history. With selected papers from the ISHPES Congress eligible for publishing in one of the annual issues of IJHS, this panel will help interested individuals be able to prepare their work appropriately, with the aim of speeding up the approval process by decreasing time spent on revisions. Advice will also be provided on special issues, including the benefits of publishing in a special issue as well as how to be a guest editor for a special issue. Plenty of time will be allowed for questions from the audience. This panel will be open to all ISHPES participants, from early career scholars through to senior scholars.

# Abstracts

## Changes of North Korea ITF Taekwon-Do according to the Ro-dong Newspapers -Focused on the Taekwon-Do articles from 1992 to 2017

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The purpose of this research is to illuminate and investigate the changes and characteristics North Korea ITF Taekwon-Do through TKD articles in the Ro-dong newspapers. This research was conducted through content analysis focusing on the 643 Taekwon-Do articles of the Ro-dong newspapers. The period of study was set from 1992 to 2017. The period from 1992 to 2001 was set as 1, and the period from 2002 to 2011 was set as 2, and the period from 2012 to 2017 was set as 3.

When North Korea was under pressure from the international community, North Korea emphasized Taekwon-Do. When socialism collapsed in 1992, North Korea used Taekwon-Do as propaganda for its regime. The Kim Jung-Il regime officially took office in 1998. After his inauguration, Taekwon-Do was emphasized as military sport.

In 2002, a North Korean-led ITF Taekwon-Do organization appeared. It has become more robust as a means of propaganda. While under international pressure after the 2006 nuclear test, North Korea distorted the birthplace of Taekwon-Do as Pyongyang. In 2011 the 17th Taekwon-Do World Championships were held. At this time, the content of the TKD article that carried out the historical distortion of Taekwon-Do was detected.

The articles of 2014 and 2015 can be explained based on the trend that has emphasized sports since the inauguration of the Kim Jung-Un regime. Especially, from this point on, Taekwon-Do has been established as a sport, not a martial art.

Throughout the North Korea Taekwon-Do research through the Ro-dong newspapers, the following features were found. Introduced in 1980, North Korea's ITF Taekwon-Do has expanded the base since the 1990s, and In the 2000s, it was distorted by the Pyongyang Taekwon-Do. Since Kim Jong Un's inauguration in 2012, it has been turning into a sport.



# Issues and Controversies in Hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ - The Case of Cape Town, South Africa

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The first ever FIFA World Cup™ on African soil was awarded to South Africa, and took place from 11 June to 11 July 2010. Crucially the hosting of such a prestigious tournament was seen as a chance to prove that this developing nation could host an event of this magnitude as efficiently as the developed economies who had hosted the previous editions of the event, such as Germany in 2006 and Korea and Japan in 2002. With social and economic problems, such as rising crime rates, high unemployment, a lack of access to basic services such as housing and education, and a high HIV infection rate the hosting of the 2010 World Cup also held extra significance to positively effect change within a nation still emerging from the challenges imposed by its social, political and economic past.

Based on the findings from in-depth interviews conducted with the 2010 event and destination stakeholders (from national and regional South African Government departments) as well as economic and social impact surveys, this paper explores the challenges and successes of hosting the 2010 World Cup and examines the issue of sport for social and economic change in the South African context. The paper also investigates the historical role of mega-events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup in enabling social change initiatives. Stakeholders specializing in sport event management, development, operations and communications reflect on the social and economic benefits for Cape Town achieved as a result of the event and the degree to which these were coordinated and co-created between various stakeholders. Insights are also given as to the degree to which the social and economic gains achieved during the event have been leveraged post 2010.

## Football in Uruguay at the 1900's: a decentralized history

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Sports history is a developing field in Uruguay, and many of the studies published so far focus on a specific practice, football. Introduced in the area of Montevideo at the end of the 19th century, football became one of the main sporting practices in the country throughout the 20th century, a process that was certainly promoted by the successful early beginnings of its national team (winner of the 1924 and 1928 Olympic Games football contest; winner of the first World Cup, held in Uruguay in 1930, and once again in 1950). Due to this successful early history, most of the studies tried to understand the place of football in the construction of the Uruguayan national identity, its exploitation for political purposes or the establishment of the rivalry between the two biggest teams in the country. However, not much has been written on the early stages of football in the Uruguay and especially about its dissemination in areas outside the direct influence of Montevideo. The most comprehensive study about the early developments of football in Uruguay, which is Luzuriaga's *"El football del Novecientos. Orígenes y desarrollo del fútbol en el Uruguay (1875-1915)"* (2009), dedicates only a few pages to the spread and development of football in the countryside. Therefore, this paper intends to retrace the early developments of football from a local perspective. In order to do so, we analyse the spread of this practice in the city of Paysandú between 1903 (the first mention in our sources about a football match in the city) and 1911, when local teams gathered to create the Liga Departamental de Fútbol (Departmental Football League). Our main sources are newspapers published in the city in the first decade of the 20th century. The analysis of these sources suggests that football quickly captured people's attention, becoming an important means of interaction with Argentinian and other Uruguayan cities and an important tool for the education of male youth. When in 1911 the president Batlle y Ordoñez signed a law aiming at promoting physical culture in the country, the members of Paysandú's teams took advantage of this opportunity to create the department's football league, aiming at strengthening this practice.

## Sport and childhood in the historical development of the National Commission of Baby Football in Uruguay 1968-2001

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This paper is the result of a broader project named “Children's football and the government of childhood: the National Organization for Children's Football in Uruguay (1968-2015) and intends to answer the following question: which sport and which childhood are configured by the official discourses of the governing body of Uruguayan children's football throughout its historical trajectory? The governing body of organized children's football in Uruguay is the Comisión Nacional de Baby Fútbol (CNBF) - Organización Nacional de Fútbol Infantil (ONFI)

. It is important to observe that this organization does not depend on international federations that regulate professional football, at least in relation to its structure. In order to answer the question raised in this research, we used as main sources official documents, such as minutes, statutes and regulations from CNBF-ONFI. In this paper, we'll emphasize the foundational moment of this organization, trying to identify the appearance of two tensions that last through time: A) One that answers to the polarization between sports for all and professional sports, which produces a habitus (Bourdieu, 2003) that structures children's football; B) one that answers to the relation between children's football and state policies for the promotion of social welfare. In the official discourses, this tension reveals a constant concern of the state over the production of a sporting childhood that expresses a contradiction between social policies for children and policies for sports management, in a process of institutionalization of children's rights. We intend to highlight, from a historical perspective, the many ways that deportization and the professionalization of childhood appear in the various official documents, in a political context that preceded the dictatorship (1973-1985) and can be considered, thus allowing us to consider this social policy as a way to govern a child population.

## Soccer and “Umvolkung”

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The concept of "Umvolkung" (ethnomorphosis) that emerged in the „völkisch“ discourse of the Weimar Republic is experiencing a renaissance in the discourse of the German political right, this time as a warning against the demographic and cultural hegemony of Islam. Football played an important role as a reference plane both in the past and today. In the Third Reich, Schalke 04 was regarded as a model club for the "ethnomorphosis" of Masurian and Polish players into German citizens. The paper confronts the clear ideological "scientific" discourse of the Nazi era with the only slightly revised reissue in the new populist current integration debates. The basis for the paper is the evaluation of the relevant scientific and popular literature. Connecting lines will be drawn between the National Socialist "Forschungsstelle für das Volkstum im Ruhrgebiet", its director Wilhelm Brepohl and his colleague Eberhard Franke and the discussion about players of Polish and Masurian origin at Schalke and in the German national football team. After 1945 Wilhem Brepohl made a career as editor-in-chief of the magazine "Soziale Welt" and honorary professor at the University of Münster. Regardless of its racist connotations, Brepohl's thesis of the "Ruhr people" as a melted down "ethnicity" was widely accepted in all political camps under the concept "Integration". Such attitudes, which defined integration as a process of melting down, damaged the development of an ethnically differentiated society when "new" waves of immigration to Germany began. Turkish migrants were identified as particularly reluctant to be thrown into the melting pot. For the German national team the failure to accept Turkish migrants as a part of society resulted in a time-lag in the recruitment of migrant Turkish players. It was only the crisis in the German national team between 1998 and 2002 that led to a systematic recruitment of national players with a background of Turkish migration. The current discussion about Özil, the former number 10 in the German national team, is a good example of how strongly the discussion continues to be dominated by ethnic categories. The paper aims to provide a historical-political explanation of the positions.

## The nevermatch Braddock vs. Schmeling as unexplored milestone

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Max Schmeling's figure has been studied in several academic works. Since the 1920s, he was a permanent idol for Germany and in 1999 elected champion of the century. He was defined as symbol of the interrupted Weimar's way and an used Nazi idol but later as a non-conformist, as he claimed. He also acted as a model for German reconstruction and will of reconciliation, due to his friendship with Joe Louis, and symbol of a post world war German economic boom due to a successful Coca Cola campaign. However, a further element is missing.

Norbert Frei and Christoph Cornelissen proposed analytical models on how Germans managed their past in post-war decades. Applied to Schmeling's accounts, these parameters suggested another element, the resentment. Immediately after the end of war, Schmeling was jailed because he tried to re-build his house unpermitted. Allied forces scrutinized Germans for denazification, but if Germans were reputed the absolute evil, Allied forces were not absolute good. Writing his story, Schmeling met a common psychological suppression of the war horrors offering an acceptable historical context, and voiced a repressed rebellion, claiming to have been duped in being outcasted the chance for matching Jimmy Braddock in 1937. His story deserved to be accounted being a decent memory to be narrated.

In the German edition of his autobiography in 1951, Joe Louis patented him as a good German and Schmeling foreworded Louis's biography as a fair and good American, not mentioning Braddock who had avoided him unfairly. In 1956, Schmeling depicted Braddock as avid boxer who acted squeamish. In 1977 only, in his Memoirs, Schmeling defined coldly the 'nevermatch' as a scandal like other ones in boxing history. However, there was no reconciliation with Jimmy Braddock. Schmeling omitted how he managed the World crown in 1930-1932 and how he refused to match Braddock in early 1935. The nevermatch is always mentioned a necessary link between two legendary Louis vs. Schmeling, but it fostered Schmeling's legend likewise.

The study took into consideration the accounts of Schmeling, the best bibliography about him and the main journals.

## Emerging typologies in Olympic development

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The inception of the modern Olympic Games in 1896 marked a milestone in the history of sport and physical culture. By the mid-20th century, historic records demonstrate that the Games had begun to exponentially increase in size and scope, as technological advancements facilitated true globalisation of the event. As the number of athletes, sports and disciplines increased, new events became increasingly incorporated into the programme, culminating in the establishment of the Winter Olympic Games (in 1924), the Paralympic Games (in 1976), and the Youth Olympic Games (in 2010). The increasing popularity, scale, and diversification of the Games has resulted in an increasing cost and impact in host cities, who provide the major capital infrastructure to host the events. The Games have the power to deliver long-lasting benefits which can considerably change a community, its image and its infrastructure. Whilst some of the buildings constructed for the Olympic Games have prospered and attracted frequent use by the local community for many years after the Games, others have suffered intermittent and sporadic use over decades, become abandoned, or fallen into disrepair, leading to a rise in debates around the sustainability of the Games. However, the Games continue to hold historical and social importance in contemporary society, and there is support toward minimising costs and maximising use of venues rather than to reducing their scale or scope. At the beginning of the 21st Century, amidst a shift in global policy to address broader environmental concerns, legacy became epicentral to the Games, as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) adopted reforms to reimagine the delivery of the Games, marking a new era of the Olympic development in host cities. In the coming Olympic Games, proposals include revisiting previous host cities and venues (Tokyo 2020, Los Angeles 2028), and implementing temporary, rather than permanent, structures to host the events (Paris 2024). Using archival and current data, this paper examines how these models of Olympic development have been implemented in previous host cities, and their legacy outcomes. Its significance is its contribution to the understanding of sports history and as a tool for future Olympic development.

## The Silvretta Hut and the Madlener Hut in the Austrian-Swiss Silvretta Alps - Two Milestones in the History of Local Alpinism

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In 1857, the British Alpine Club was founded in London and numerous middle-class intellectuals and members of the propertied bourgeoisie began to explore the mountains of the Eastern Alps in France and Switzerland. In the 1860s, several similar clubs were founded on Continental Europe, such as the Austrian, the Swiss, and the German Alpine Clubs. More and more European citizens wanted to escape the polluted cities and spend their time in nature. They explored the mountains and climbed the highest peaks as a sport.

However, they faced a problem. Every time they left their accommodation in a village to climb a peak higher than 3,000 or even 4,000 meters, they had to do their trip within one day. Otherwise, they had to spend the night under the open sky because there were not yet any alpine huts. Thanks to the newly founded alpine clubs, the situation in the Eastern and Western Alps began to improve in the mid-1860s. In 1865, the Silvretta Hut was built and festively opened by the Raetia section of the Swiss Alpine Club in the Silvretta Alps, a mountain range in the Austrian-Swiss borderland.

This paper aims to outline the importance of alpine club huts for the rise of alpinism and it proves that the construction of huts was as important for alpinism as alpinism was for the economic recovery of mountain villages.

The Silvretta Hut was a great improvement for alpinists who wanted to climb the Piz Buin (3.312 meters) from Klosters in Switzerland. However, Austrian alpinists still lacked a hut. Almost 20 years after the Silvretta Hut, the Madlener Hut was opened by the Vorarlberg section of the German-Austrian Alpine club in 1884 and facilitated the ascent of the Piz Buin, which is the highest mountain of the Austrian province Vorarlberg. In this context, this paper, which is a kind of a microstudy, also illustrates the importance of an efficient network of huts and paths for alpinism by focussing on the Piz Buin and its mountainous surroundings.

## Maccabi – From Sports Association to Political Party

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A well-known sports club decides one fine day to run for election. The club presents a list of candidates, picks a national and political agenda, launches an advertising campaign and recruits thousands of members to take part in an election campaign. Fiction? It happened in Mandatory Palestine. Among the parties that competed for a spot in the Fourth Assembly of Representatives of the pre-state Jewish community in Palestine, was Maccabi.

In this paper, I focus on the factors behind Maccabi's reincarnation as a political party that turned sports into an instrument for electoral recruitment. I will examine this question against the backdrop of the politicized and party-oriented social structure of the Jewish community and the function of sports in politics. The conversion of Maccabi into a political body stands as a test case for organizations that exploit their standing to achieve goals which deviate from their founding objective.

Maccabi started out as a national Zionist sports organization. Unlike organizations such as Hapoel, which were founded as part of the recruitment mechanism of political-ideological movements (Workers Union), Maccabi was avowedly independent. This independence exacted a price – loss of direction (and budget).

Maccabi's transformation into a political party in the 1944 elections was due to a combination of factors: The leadership of Maccabi recognized the political weakness of the civic camp and believed that the time was ripe to take charge of it. With membership figures on the rise as a result of the immigration wave from Germany and Austria, the activists of Maccabi were hopeful that they could translate Maccabi's national legacy into electoral power.

The failure was hard. The bid to become a political party harmed Maccabi's public and national image. It also harmed its standing as a sports organization. From then on, the issue was no longer whether Maccabi could influence the Jewish community in Palestine politically, but whether it would survive as a sports association. Joining up with the General Zionists party put an end to Maccabi's independent political aspirations and signaled the conclusion of its historic role as the national sports association of the Jewish people.



## Physical culture in the rivers of the city of São Paulo (Brazil, 1899-1940)

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The city of São Paulo was created on the junction of the Pinheiros and Tietê rivers. These waterways were fundamental for the settlement of the population core and the development of the city. Both rivers were places for various recreations and amusements, especially between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, and they witnessed how bodily feelings regarding nature and water changed from fear to pleasure. Our aim is to analyze how the uses of these rivers gradually changed, culminating in the consolidation of sport, mainly with the appearance of clubs and competitions. The sources used were minutes, clubs documents and registers, legislation, newspapers, sports magazines, images and other artifacts of material culture. The period we have studied demonstrates intense transformations in the city and in its inhabitants' lifestyle. A new physical culture nurtured new ideas amongst physicians, educators and public authorities, urging educational and amusement practices alongside nature and highlighting the benefits of physical exercises and sports outdoors as important elements for promoting health and fighting illnesses produced by urban life. Under these ideas, people began to use these rivers for numerous recreational activities, especially with the emergence of sports clubs. These clubs were promoters of this new physical culture and gradually transformed this variety of exercises into sporting practices.

In this way, at the beginning of the 20th century rivers were a key aspect of the city's public life; a feeling of fear gave way to the feeling of pleasure provided by the amusements and challenges derived from the confrontation with nature. Sports, games, walks and picnics were carried out on the shores of these rivers, as they witnessed the birth of a new physical culture in town. The emergence of clubs and the creation of federations were a key element in the transformation of exercises, deeply influenced by modern sport. As places for pleasure and amusement, from the 1940's on rivers were brutally transformed by contamination and the construction of wide avenues, which destroyed the possibility of benefiting from nature.

## The Masculine Universal and the Feminine Other: Gender Discourse in Swimming in Modern China (1920s-1930s)

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In the late-nineteenth century, the mass media began to develop in modern China. The growing popularity of sports was reflected in Chinese peoples' increasing interest for sports. For commercial marketing reasons, the mass media began to focus on the needs of the readers and sports news was given an independent forum. Of all sports, the most popular was swimming, and therefore the mass media included extensive coverage of swimming news in summertime.

In the early-twentieth century, women had broken free of traditional constraints and had entered all areas of society out of the home. Engaging in sports became a symbol of women's fashion. However, traditional thinking had not changed as rapidly. Women were affected by conservative ideas when they swam in public places, which led to social criticism. Swimming should not have gender differences, however swimming developed differently for men and women in modern China.

This article uses 1920s and 1930s newspapers, magazines, comic books, and other mass media reports to explore the direction of change of gender awareness, how mass media shaped views of the female body, and social issues regarding whether men and women could swim together.

## Sports, physical cultures, and physical education in time and space. Physical Culture beyond empire

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This paper is a historical account of physical culture in South Africa that stretches beyond the confines of coloniality and empire. It hones in on a South African body builder, David Isaacs, whose life and times is rooted in community work amongst South Africa's materially poor but also competed at the highest level in international competition against Arnold Schwarzenegger, Franko Columbo, George Paine and Albert Beckles. Data was gathered by a series of interviews and archival (private and public) research. Isaacs' life experience allows physical culture historians an insight into the - on the ground - personal struggles of urban South African black bodybuilders for international recognition. His life story also directs attention away from a black victim narrative by showing how materially poor sportspersons resisted racist oppression through non-collaboration practices. Isaacs was active on the outer margins of mainstream bodybuilding during apartheid and remained so under the new post-apartheid regime. His narrative thus confirms the notion that "[history] is embodied (or institutionalized) in the continuation of exclusionary practices... The history of discourse ... demonstrates that prior to the silence, a racist discourse was present". At age 80, Isaacs is still committed to his community centered gymnasium on the Cape Flats while having to deal with the normal confrontations facing old age. His life is thus entwined with politics, community work and body building. A life that, as Louis Leipoldt, would have it: "Sufficient in himself... [where] money is of no consequence". It is also, a life of determination as followers of Eugen Sandow expressed: "...willing what you wish to become".

## 'Physical Education in Ireland and Europe on the eve of the Second World War'

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This paper assesses the position of physical education in Free State Ireland's schools in relation to other European countries on the eve of the Second World War. Using a report commissioned by the Irish government, completed in 1938, and other archival sources such as newspapers, it seeks to explore how the Irish system of teaching physical education compared to that in Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, and, to a lesser extent, Russia, Italy and France. It will examine the attitude of the Irish commission towards the subject and it will show how and why Ireland lagged behind these other nations in terms of the subject's treatment as a taught subject in schools and in the provision of specialised teaching for trainee and qualified teachers. Physical Education's status as a curriculum subject had been reduced in the mid-1920s in Ireland and the reasons for this will be outlined. The committee's conclusion from evidence available from these countries was that 'great importance' was given to it and a proper system of Physical Education was needed in Ireland, as the benefits were to be seen elsewhere. It also explores the recommendations of the commission for modernising the Irish system prior to the war and assesses how successful this was in light of Ireland's policy of neutrality. The significance of this paper lies in both the scarcity of comparative material published on physical education in European countries prior to the war and in the need to place developments in the subject in Ireland within this historiography.

## The campaigns against women's soccer carried out by the Sao Paulo press in 1929 and 1940

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There are few researches about women's soccer in Brazil compared to men's soccer. According to Salvani, Ferreira and Marchi Júnior (2014, p.11), "the search for the legitimacy of women's soccer as a sports practice reveals a space that is in the process of struggles aimed at legitimizing this sporting modality as an object of relevant study". According to Goellner (2005), women began to practice soccer in Brazil in the early twentieth century. According to Franzini (2005), the debates about the entry of women on the football field alternated in the Brazilian press between those who defended, those who viewed with reservations and those who rejected the practice. In 1941 the Brazilian government issued a law that restricted the practice of sports modalities considered inappropriate for a women's body. The objective of this research was to analyze the articles published by the São Paulo press about women's soccer during the period from 1920 to 1941. Thirty São Paulo newspaper reports were collected in the Electronic Library of the Brazilian National Library from the terms "futebol feminino" and "football feminino". The Sao Paulo press, in fact, published arguments both favorable and contrary to women's soccer. Meanwhile, the press also supported two campaigns against its practice, deliberately initiated by the Rio de Janeiro press. In 1929 and throughout the 1930's the Sao Paulo press was silent about women's soccer. In 1940 the second campaign began, just when two women's teams from Rio de Janeiro were invited to a match at the Pacaembu stadium in São Paulo. At that time, women's soccer was developing well in Rio de Janeiro, a championship was held and the creation of a specialized sportive entity was considered. The following year a new law restricted the practice of women's soccer, among other modalities. Women were legally suspended from Brazilian soccer fields just as they were beginning to become more professional and gain more visibility, with the Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo press contributing significantly to their rejection and impediment.

## Biotypology, body, sex and gender in the formation of physical education teachers in Uruguay (1948 - 1970)

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This research is part of a broader project that deals with the training of physical education teachers in Uruguay between 1948 and 1970. This paper investigates specifically the main claims of biotypology and its discourse on body, sexuality and gender. The main selected sources are students' theses and three curricula of the period (Plan 1948, 1956 and 1966) of the only professional degree on physical education provided nationally by a public institution, the Instituto Superior de Educacion Fisica (Higher Institute of Physical Education). The main findings indicate that the most practical and evident expression of eugenics in the field of physical education and sports in Uruguay, was developed based on biotypological premises, through a peculiar local and instrumental translation conformed by a mixture of measurement instruments and techniques, rates and coefficients of Latin origin (influenced by the ideas of Nicolas Pende) and anthropometric measurements of Saxon influence. Biotypological and eugenic discourses arose more frequently in the curricula from 1948 and 1956 if compared to the one from 1966, evidencing a change from techniques pointing to the improvement of the race and the population as a whole, with sanitary and social purposes, to a concern regarding the achievement of sports performance. The statistical developments and measurement techniques, biometrics, abandoned morphological and racial components and efforts to target the development of sporting talents, followed the changes that occurred in the field of physical education and the beginning of social sportification. The decrease of eugenics, constitutional medicine and endocrinology as pseudo-scientific explanations of sexed and gendered bodies (Preciado, 2008; Fausto-Sterling, 2006; Rustoyburu, 2012) and the discursive production of sex (Foucault, 1992; 2010) allowed changes within the field of physical culture: based up on biometrics and sports medicine, other measurement techniques were developed targeting sporting and athletic performance (Reggiani, 2016).

## A Study on the Transition Process of Korean Yachts

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The purpose of this study is to investigate the initial appearance and introduction process of the Korean yacht; to investigate the process of change after the introduction; and to systematize it, and examine changes in developing the yacht. For this purpose, we collected and analyzed the domestic and overseas documents concerning the Korean yacht in relation to Government Resources, and the domestic newspaper.

In order to explore the early days and introduction of yachts, we interviewed Peter Underwood, the grandson of Horton Underwood, who built Korea's first yacht "Black duck." The search for information about Korean yachts before the 1970s was based on "independent newspaper" articles and we analyzed yacht articles published in domestic newspapers from 1970 to 2017. Information about the Korean yacht appeared in the 1930s. First, the initial appearance and introduction process of the Korean yacht began in 1929 with H Underwood making a yacht with a carpenter in a factory in Mapo. In the 1930s, "Independent Newspaper" and "Mail Sinbo" articles about yachts did not show domestic yachts. By the 1950s, Yacht sailing and training were conducted at the Naval Academy through the "Okpo Society book". In the 1970s, the first production of the yacht "Allen" in Korea began with the crossing of the Pacific Ocean. In 1986, the Busan Yacht Stadium will be constructed to host the Asian International Yacht Contest and Seoul Asian Games and Olympic Yacht Events. The Korean yacht won the first gold medal in the Beijing Asian Games yacht event in 1990 and won six gold medals in the Bangkok Asian Games yacht event in 1998. Since the 1990s, marine tourism complexes and yacht facilities have emerged. Since the 2000s, marine has developed in the marine tourism complex. Marina is developing the yacht industry as a government-led industry along with marina port development plan.

## Jackie Robinson's Forgotten Crusades against Color Lines, 1958-1972: Anti-Apartheid Boycotts, Civil Rights Challenges to Jim Crow, and the Long Struggle against the New York Athletic Club

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In 1957, Jack Roosevelt Robinson retired from the Brooklyn Dodgers at the zenith of his career as the public face of American struggles against racial inequality. Most historians of “baseball’s great experiment,” such as Jules Tygiel, the leading chronicler of this essential effort to test the proposition that an American bastion of white privilege” could be integrated in a relatively peaceful and progressive manner dubbed it, have (rightly) focused on Robinson’s major league playing career (1947 to 1957) and the fascinating circumstances that led up to it. While his biographers have paid some attention to his post-retirement life, they have not yet grasped his critical importance in expanding the struggle for racial integration beyond baseball diamonds and into broader national and global arenas. Indeed, while many scholars credit Harry Edwards and his “revolt of the black athlete” in the late 1960s with linking civil rights protests of American sporting practices to the larger global campaign for racial equality, particularly the anti-apartheid movement against South Africa and Rhodesia, Jackie Robinson in the late 1950s and early 1960s in fact laid the groundwork of much of the agenda that Edwards’ Olympic Project for Human Rights promoted.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s Robinson articulated a clear vision of a sporting boycott of South Africa and led the charge to marshal the civil rights coalition to boycott racial segregation in American sport. At the same time he worked tirelessly to encourage athletes to engage in civil disobedience to challenge discrimination. Seen in proper context, his efforts laid the groundwork for the “revolt of the black athlete.”

This paper is based on Robinson’s writings and activities and public reactions to them in the African American and white press, and will argue that historians have not yet understood the influence of Robinson’s work in creating the foundation for the later “revolt of the black athlete.” This is a significant addition to the historiography on sport and the struggle for racial equality both in the United States and in international realms.



## Wrestling like a (Breton) man. Breton wrestling and masculinities

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Gouren, the Breton wrestling, is a traditional, regional style of grappling wrestling which is practiced in Brittany, France. It has been deeply “sportized” during the last century. Nevertheless, Breton wrestlers still see, perform and describe their practice as an “ancestral” heritage, rooted in both the Celtic and peasant past of the region. Breton wrestlers perceive their activity as a bodily expression of the traditional regional attributes. What they name “l’esprit gouren” – the “gouren spirit” – epitomizes the features and qualities that are meant to stereotypically embody Breton culture and history (Épron, 2008; Nardini, 2016).

Moreover, as it happens in many other traditional or modern wrestling styles, gouren is also a place of expression and definition of (different kinds of) masculinities (Guillou, 1985; Connell, 2005; Kimmel, Hearn, Connell, 2005). However, in accordance with the narrative that describes Breton wrestling as an ancient tradition, the kind of masculinity displayed by men involved in this practice is far from the esthetized masculinity which emerges from the analysis of other contemporary sports and physical activities. It is, instead, the representation of a much older conception of virility, that includes concepts (Rivoal, 2017) such as rural vigor and Chivalric honor. Indeed, Breton wrestlers’ masculinity is supposed to derive from a (highly idealized) past where physical (manly) strength was considered as both a tool for, and a consequence of, hard work, instead of a goal and a product of hard training – as it is in modern sports (McKay & Laberge, 2006; de Singly, 2013).

From a trans-disciplinary perspective between history and cultural anthropology, this paper will describe how masculinity is, and has been, defined and performed in gouren as a result of the complex and long-lasting process of regulation and institutionalization of such a “traditional sport”. Moreover, according to a dynamic, contingent, contextual and relational perspective on gender construction, it will explore how the idea of manliness at stake in Breton wrestling constantly refers to old and present concurrent representations of masculinity in order to assert itself as a specific (Breton) way of being (and doing) men.

## River as a sea: sea bathing in the Río de la Plata, Montevideo, from 1829 to 1896

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Sea bathing in the Río de la Plata is presented as a cultural practice in Montevideo city from the early 19th century. On a plain with a green view of thousands of hectares that fed savages, cows and horses, lighted by the morning sun during the days and the strong moon in the evenings, this Montevideo became a home for a large number of European immigrants from 1835 onwards. Evidence shows, however, that human presence was rare compared with animals and wilderness. Edicts and police records appear on this scene as published in newspapers, showing that there was a practice that needed to be regulated to become part of civility. It seems that something related to privacy and intimacy was involved there and suddenly became a public issue that must be controlled. Some records mention the importance of moral and civilized values in order to maintain the public order. Sea bathing is also mentioned as pleasant and healthy even though it is pointed out that there are some bathers that seek to break the rules rather than have a pleasurable experience.

We are interesting in seeking out in which ways sea bathing took part in this green, natural view. How did this practice conform to the wild landscape and basic sensibility from 1829 to 1896? How was this practice developed and described by different voices? In some areas it was prohibited; some social actors suggested regulating it while others highly recommended it for some people. What are we talking about when we make reference to sea bathing; a mischief, a prophylactic measure, an amusement? In terms of long duration (Braudel, 1949) in reference to sports history we ask, in what ways do we find current elements of this cultural practice in water sports?

The evidence that will be used are mostly edicts and police records from newspapers, as well as a hygiene book written in 1862 by a French doctor who came to Uruguay to work and investigate, which has a special reference to sea bathing. We will also use pictures from the time, for example one that shows the Sea Baths built for ladies on Pocitos beach in 1896.

## Fighting for the Internationale at the local gym: Working-class sport in Canada in the interwar years

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This paper examines the sporting opportunities that a high-profile Canadian labour union, the One Big Union (OBU), offered its members in a particular local setting: Winnipeg – specifically its downtown gymnasium – in the interwar years. The OBU is best known for its role in one of the touchstone moments in Canadian history, the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, when international labour politics, xenophobia, and post-war unrest reached a flashpoint, and striking workers were attacked by police and federal troops occupied the city.

Access to a gymnasium in downtown Winnipeg was among the benefits the union offered its members. Yet, despite research into the role sport played in the international and Canadian workers' movements, the OBU gym has received virtually no attention from historians. (Bruce Kidd makes reference to the facility, by noting that it was used by his father-in-law, Ben Berck, who was the “only son of an immigrant bus conductor, learned to box and play tennis there during the 1920s” [1996: 150]). Using the Provincial Archives of Manitoba collections related to the OBU as well as the contemporary labour press, the history of OBU gym in the interwar years serves as a case study to broaden our understanding of the sport and physical activity experiences of the men and women of working-class Canada in the interwar years, to connect the ideologies of the labour movement with the practice of sport and physical activity, and to distinguish these from mainstream, middle-class and commercial sport. In attempting to (re)insert the story of the OBU gym into the history of Canadian sport, this paper contributes to efforts to address absences in the historical literature while illustrating institutions/communities where sport and physical activity were common and central to social relations.

## The 1994 Women's Rugby World Cup: The Origins and Outcomes of a Gendered Crisis.

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In January 1994, the Netherlands withdrew as hosts for the proposed second women's rugby world cup. Within days of the news breaking, a determined group of Scottish female rugby players had begun to arrange an alternative world championship in Edinburgh for April that same year. The cancellation was the result of an attempt by women's rugby, as a gender-segregated sport, to integrate into a male-focused international structure that was not prepared to adapt. This paper explores the events surrounding the 1994 tournament through new primary sources, including archival material from the World Rugby Museum and Rugby Europe. Additionally, original oral histories with both organizers and participants reveal heavily gendered interpretations of the decision to cancel the tournament, and the nuanced motivations of a small group of women in Scotland to organize and host an alternative event. The data from interviews expose a politically conscious response to overcome perceived gender inequality, as well as patriotic and personally competitive motivations. The 1994 tournament was a test to the independence and potentially the longevity of women's rugby. The crisis, and the responses it provoked, demonstrated the extremes of relations between male and female rugby administrations, and highlighted the irrepressible enthusiasm of women who just wanted to play their game.

## The Great Apollon at the Kursaal of Ciudad Lineal in 1911: professional wrestling and the construction of the sports field in Spain at the beginning of the 20th century

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The creation of the sports field in Spain took place mainly through the movement of hygienism and regeneration of the Spanish middle class, which understood sport as a means of improving the race and fostering social progress, following largely the amateur ideals taken from the English sport. This research aims to complement this idea with the role of the commercial interests of the incipient professional sport, in order to analyze their interdependence. For this, the international wrestling championship that took place in Madrid's Kursaal of Ciudad Lineal in 1911 is taken as a case study. The international tournament was specially significant because it had the Great Apollon, the notorious strongman and strongest man on earth at that time, among its participants. Through the tournament press analysis it can be seen that along with the mentioned educational interests of the Spanish intellectual class, there were commercial actors at the time developing sport for economic gain and simultaneously helping promote sport in Spain without the hygienic ideal in mind. Likewise, it can be seen that some of the representatives of the legitimate sports movement welcomed this form of professional sport, despite going against their ideals, precisely because of its potential to popularize the sport phenomenon between alien social groups. Therefore, we can see first that the development of sport in Spain and in European societies as a whole was a complex phenomenon in which political, educational and commercial interests all played a role. Second, we can also see that at the beginning of the twentieth century in Spain the distinctions between different types of sports practice, especially between amateur and professional sports and between legitimate and deviant forms of sports and spectacle were much less clear than in later decades.

## When the problem is winning the races: the history of intersexual athletics

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Stanisława Walasiewicz, also known as Stella Walsh, was a Polish track and field athlete, who became a women's Olympic champion in the 100 metres. She became an American citizen in 1947. Upon her death, it was discovered that Walasiewicz had a Y chromosome and was intergender: the autopsy discovered that she had ambiguous genitalia. Stella Walsh was the first known intergender athlete. The first compulsory sex test for athletes was determined by the International Athletics Federation (IAAF) in July 1950. All athletes underwent sexual testing in their own countries. The sex tests during the the competitions began at the European Athletics Championships in 1966 held in Budapest in response to the suspicion that several of the best athletes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were actually men. At the Olympic Games, gender verification tests were introduced in Mexico '68. In recent times, the controversy regarding athletes with a non-binary genre has multiplied. Now the problem lies in assigning in which category they must compete given their high level of testosterone and their great athletic ability. What is clear is that the problem is winning. This proposal aims to make a journey through non-binary genres in the history of sport, reaching the current great debate on genes, testosterone, gender, money and power.

# Analysis of the artistic symbolism from the political and cultural perspective in the recent History of the opening ceremonies of the Olympic Games

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In the current global political scenario, the inaugural spectacle of the Modern Olympic Games has become a strategy for the cultural and political promotion and dissemination at global level, which forms part of the Olympic Games History as a tactical and ideal platform to share and reinforce the values and the cultural and historical identity of the country in which this event is celebrated. The purpose of this research is to analyze the artistic symbology of the Olympic Games in Athens (2004), Beijing (2008), Sochi (2014) and London (2012), representations which reveal historic aspects and traditions interpreted through gestures, codes and metaphorical languages materialized in shows intended for the masses.

On the other hand, is envisioned the projection of a highly expressive and powerful subliminal message that enhances an image of prestige and international power, as well as a cultural identity and a clear way of positioning oneself on the international arena.

For that purpose, written scientific documents and mass-media audiovisual material have been used, through which is explained the important significance and symbology that the spectacle phenomenon plays in the Olympic Games history, and its projection as soft power and nation-branding, ensuring also a positive and very attractive impact on the audience.

The opening ceremonies of the Modern Olympic Games represent an essential part of the event, keeping alive the transcendent role they have traditionally played in the Ancient Games, living showcases of the idiosyncrasy of the host country. The evolution they have been suffered is obvious, especially at technological level, in the last decade, but they preserve their artistic and symbolic value over time, playing a testimonial function in the transfer and dissemination of national tradition and identity; in addition, playing a key role in the understanding of the sporting culture in the said country's history at an international level.

## Press media and Sport diplomacy: The impact of the diplomatic rapprochement between North Korea and South Korea during the 2018 Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang

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The Winter Olympic Games celebrated in 2018 in the South Korean city, Pyeongchang, became the epicenter of an important diplomatic dialogue in the political arena. The recent diplomatic rapprochement between South and North Korea were reflected in a symbolic parade where athletes from both countries were under a single "unified Korea" flag. This was a key event in sport history, depicting a scenario of reconciliation that allows us to foresee an image and desire for reunification. In this context, the objective of this research is to study the impact on the European press media of the diplomatic rapprochement process between South and North Korea on the occasion of the Olympic Games, from a historical and sociological perspective, where peace was sought through image-building, dialogue and reconciliation between two countries that share a common ethnic, cultural, and linguistic heritage. On one hand, the role of the state is considered in relation to diplomacy in the new global environment, taking into account the characteristics of the Olympic Movement and the diplomatic discourse in the context of the Olympic Games (Beacom, 2012). The methodology examined two Spanish, two French, two Italian and two English newspapers. We selected the news that appeared in each of these media, published during the month before and after the celebration of these Olympic Games, in order to identify information related to the subject of our study. Next, a qualitative and quantitative comparative analysis was carried out to identify similarities and differences in the ways this topic was treated in different European countries. This study also includes interviews with senior officials from the South Korean Embassy in Madrid, as well as other types of information such as scripts of the commentators, consulting videos and different images provided by the Olympic TV channel and other more general sources of documentation published one month before the event and one month later.



## The Historical Evolution of Chinese Wuxia Culture

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According to the Ancient Chinese Dictionary, Xia (a chivalrous man) is one who curbs the violent and helps the weak by courageous force in accordance with righteousness. In this sense, Xia (a chivalrous man) is Wuxia. Wuxia has at least two characteristics: one is the skill of Wushu, the other is the quality of justice and bravery, so that force can act on the matter of upholding justice. As a unique cultural form in China, Wuxia culture has been highly recognized in the international community. For example, "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon," which won many awards at the 73rd Academy Awards, and Jinyong's series of Wuxia novels, which were translated into many languages, focus on the expression of Wuxia culture through a combination of film and television portrayals and literary representations. The Oxford English Dictionary defines Wuxia as a genre of Chinese fiction or cinema featuring itinerant warriors of ancient China, often depicted as capable of superhuman feats of martial arts. Obviously, western society's understanding of Wuxia and Wuxia culture mainly comes from the cultural creation of movies, television, literature, and so on, most often in the form of a person with strong Wushu skills. But in fact, Wuxia is not only the characteristic elements and themes of Chinese movies and novels, but also a real class or group in Chinese history. After more than a thousand years of inheritance and continuation, Wuxia, on the one hand, points to a special community with moral concepts and behaviors such as fearlessness in the face of danger, self-sacrifice, courageous action; and, on the other hand, has accumulated a deep cultural meaning and psychological consciousness, which embodies the thinking of Chinese people over the past generations on social and life values and represents a unique cultural character. Based on ancient Chinese history and the records of Wuxia in Chinese historical texts, this study traces the development of Wuxia through the pre-Qin, Qin and Han Dynasties, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Dynasties, Song and Yuan Dynasties, Ming and Qing Dynasties, before it evolves into a process of Chinese national spirit.

# Practicing and Facilitating Inclusion Within a Legacy Program of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games

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## Introduction

The unity of the body and mind, self-improvement through sport, are aspects that de Coubertin focused on in his efforts to revive the Olympic Games. Jigoro Kano, the first Asian member of the IOC was an early facilitator of educational reforms in relation to physical education and sport in Japan (Stevens 2013). Olympic Education in Japan was enhanced via the success of the Japanese national team in Los Angeles in 1932 (Obayashi 2017) and later focused on 'what the Olympics is' for the 1940 games (Sanada 2017). Tokyo 1964 concentrated on 'welcoming guests' and a key strategy of Nagano 1988 was the 'one school one country' programme (Sanada 2017). Tokyo 2020's focus is on 'unity in diversity'. Following in this tradition and with the underlying theme of acceptance and inclusion, a unique sport event, the 'Nanairo Ekiden', based on a traditional ekiden and associated with Olympic and Paralympic value education was conceived and is being implemented by the Tsukuba International Academy for Sports Studies (a Sport for Tomorrow legacy project) and the University of Tsukuba. The three Olympic values (Friendship, Respect, Excellence) and four Paralympic values (Determination, Inspiration, Courage, Equality) are taught through play and games and reflection on the values learnt. The seven values are displayed in seven different colour t-shirts and each team runs for one of the values. Each team should also ideally include people of different genders, abilities and age. It is conceived to be a true sport for all event. Despite the Nanairo Ekiden being held since 2016, in Japan (2016, 2017) Brazil 2016, Kenya (twice in 2017), Uruguay (2018) and Qatar (2019) limited research and analysis of the project as been done up to the present.

## Method

In the absence of specific data participant observation analysis of recorded material (video) was used to consider the activities associated with the Nanairo Ekiden within their various contexts in order to synthesise and identify the shortcomings of this inclusive event so as to provide direction and implementation for the event in the future.

## Results

In general, the Nanairo Ekiden has been successful in facilitating Olympic and Paralympic value education and inclusion within the event with the exception of occasional cultural and gender biases

being present. Further emphasis on cross-cultural understanding and pre-event education, specifically on the Olympic and Paralympic values are considered essential for the future successful development of the OVEP component of the event.

#### Conclusion

The implementation of the Nanairo Ekiden has been successful in the sense that it has been able to reach a large number of participants in the various places in which it has been held. However, in considering this success in relation to its specific aims of inclusion and participation - the knowledge gained, community impact and retention and practice of the Olympic and Paralympic values is unknown. Further analysis is necessary in order to determine these aspects of the event and its impact.

## British Empire Games Journeys: Visual Traces of Team Scotland Through Vernacular Photography

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Scotland has sent a representative team to every Commonwealth Games since 1930. The Commonwealth Games Scotland (CGS) Archive and associated personal archive of Sir Peter Heatly, who had long-standing association with Scotland's involvement in the Games as competitor and administrator, hold within them some fascinating evidence of the athletic adventures across the former British Empire in the middle part of the Twentieth Century. In this visual cultural account, I discuss the historical use of these archives to help us understand what the journeys to the British Empire Games meant to the Scotland team, in particular focusing on the vernacular photographic albums of diver Peter Heatly, who kept a meticulous record of his journeys to the Games in 1950. The Heatly album, and related written archives from CGS, provide unique evidence of the Scotland teams' journey to New Zealand in 1950. The vernacular photographs, whose subject matter is focused on international amateur athletes on their journey across the world on an ocean liner, present particular challenges for critically interpreting the conventions of sporting photographs from the past, understanding the everyday context of their production and their purpose in memory-making. They also provide an opportunity for connecting private visual memories to collective histories of a sporting mega-event in the immediate post-War period. The presentation therefore uses the Heatly albums to explore three inter-related theoretical debates which focus on: the meanings of vernacular photography of sport; interpreting visual cultural memories of sport; and the value of preserving the visual and material culture of sport. In bringing concerns of how to connect the private photographs of a Scottish international diver to the collective experience of the team this paper explores new ways of interpreting the cultural and visual histories of sport mega-events.

## Silentness as an auditory opposite to normality of noise and physical activity in stadiums - Historico-cultural perspectives on minutes of silence as mourning rituals within popular culture of football

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Considering that many types of sport are spectator events, a prudent history of sport always should open its view on cultural phenomena within spectatorship or rather fan scenes. Even if professional men's football (i.e. soccer) is that one sport in Europe with most extensive state of research regarding its supporter's culture, there are still desiderata. Unsurprisingly up to now the research focused on phenomena like loud cheering for teams in the form of chanting, battle cries, rhythmic clapping and melodic singing, insulting and mockery of the opponent and its fans, announcements through loudspeakers and playing music at half time, which are not just conceptions of the general public about football stadiums, but also shaped the historico-cultural perspectives on this field of research. In countless field studies in the stadium and its fan stands the deafening soundscape is regarded as normality in the stadium. Silence of players, coaches, officials and stadium visitors is regarded as an exception within football (in contrast to tennis) and was mostly left out of consideration in historico-cultural, sociological and cultural anthropological studies about the topic.

Based on a current empirical research project (ethnography and archival/media research, content analysis of sports coverage and fanzines) on mourning and sepulchral rituals in football fan culture, the contribution describes and analyses individual observations on the conduction of moments of silence in football stadiums. In a contemporary historical perspective on a timeframe of the last decades, it provides a typology of occasions for moments of silence (e.g. the Heysel Stadium disaster in 1985 or mourning of a deceased player), describes the staging of the event, and also examines deliberate interferences by the spectators.

Moments of silence are considered as auditive expressions of distress over the deceased, and of compassion for the bereaved. In general, staged silence represents a break; more accurately, a pause that symbolises the break caused by death. This effect exponentiates in the stadium: in the sphere of sport as social and cultural expression of corporeal agility, death and the social reaction of a collective pause designate a significant contrast to the noisy everyday experience of physical action and physical cognition. The special character of the moment of silence results from the evoked temporary silence, often shared by tens of thousands of people, and from the devotional, emotionally charged atmosphere

that produces a strong contrast to the normality of noise and physical activity as a basic attribute of sportsmen and spectators in stadiums.

## Minor step or mile stone? A comparative historical approach of Inclusive Physical Education in Germany and Norway”

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Inclusive (physical) education has advanced to the didactical headline across all nations. All children shall be able to learn together according to their individual needs. Since UNESCO called for a change in school systems worldwide in the so called Salamanca Declaration in 1994, efforts in this direction have generally increased. Throwing a glance on the ‘status quo’ in schools of different countries in Western and Northern Europe shows that this requirement is implemented differently: In Norway children have the right to follow mainstream education and one talks about “adjusted” education for pupils with special needs (Dalen 2006; Hyde, Ohna & Hjulstad, 2006), Germany is only slowly breaking up with its traditional system of segregating pupils with special needs (Hausotter & Pluhar, 2004). But what are those differences based on? How did inclusive physical education (PE) historically grow in Germany and Norway, and can transnational developments be identified?

This study is part of an on-going international project, with partners from all continents. In this paper we exemplarily analyze and compare the historical development in Germany and Norway and find out whether, and how far, those differences in the school system and curricula (development) prejudged chances for inclusive PE and thereby led to diverse nowadays’ situations. In addition to the history of inclusive physical education in schools, the social development of the concept of inclusion is considered. As a result, it is confirmed that the educational policy towards inclusion in schools which was internationally determined to apply in different United Nation member states, finally met on the national level different conditions and social attitudes. This again led to the implementation of specific national inclusive and/or exclusive structures of PE in schools which finally deviate quite strongly from each other, not only in terms of current content and policy but also in terms of historical development.

## Patriarchal Internationalism: A New Conceptual Reading of Coubertinian Olympic Internationalism

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The Olympic movement and its organizational embodiment, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), is one of the most, if not the most, “international” organizations today. Further, when the modern Olympic movement was born in the late-19th century, it self-consciously portrayed itself as international, with the goal to transcend state boundaries, and disrupt and dismantle ideologies and ideas such as ‘race’ and ‘nationalism’. Pierre de Coubertin’s international vision has attracted considerable amount of interest ever since the Baron charted the vision in the 1890s. While previous scholars have conceptualized Olympic internationalism as “redemptive internationalism,” “right-wing aristocratic internationalism,” or “pacific internationalism,” they have paid far less explicit attention to the patriarchal structures of fin-de-siècle Europe. By examining the early Olympic discourses in the *Revue Olympique* (and other official publications) and in the discourses of Olympic Congresses in the context of turn-of-the-century cultural history, I will argue that in order to better capture the nature of Olympic internationalism, it should be conceptualised as patriarchal internationalism. Yet, I will further argue that such conceptualisation does not only include the feminist perspective of patriarchy as male-based oppression but even larger social, racial, religious, and cultural anxieties which shaped turn-of-the-century Europe.



## Participation of Taiwanese female athletes at the Olympics

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Since 1900, the second modern Olympics in Paris, women were allowed to participate in the Olympic Games. Many women in Taiwan however still had their feet bound and could not move their bodies freely. It was not until the 1960 Olympics in Rome that Taiwanese women were given more opportunities to join the Games. Ji Zheng was one of the three female athletes representing Taiwan to win a medal at the Rome Olympics. Since 1960, more and more women have begun to take part in the competition and have better performance than men. This study uses a literature review to explore the participation of the Taiwanese female players in the sports field since the KMT government retreated to Taiwan in 1949. The researcher attempts to understand which policies the government made to promote women taking part in sport, and which difficulties those female athletes, who represented Taiwan in the Olympics, encountered in sports field and how they solved the problems to win medals in the competitions. Finally, the paper shows the achievements of Taiwanese sportswomen at the Olympics and discusses the meaning of their achievements at the Olympics for Taiwan.

## Madrid, 1936. Athletes Sing ‘¡No Pasarán!’ / The Role of Athletes in the Defense of Madrid during the Spanish Civil War

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The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War put a halt to the expansion of both professional and amateur sports that had begun in the previous years. However, several expropriation/self-expropriation processes took place in those areas that remained under the control of forces loyal to the Republic, with the aim of advancing the democratization of sports. Federación Castellana de Fútbol was a prime example of this, with left-wing representatives of political, sports and grassroots institutions joining the board of directors. Among those institutions, it is worth mentioning Federación Cultural Deportiva Obrera (FCDO; Cultural and Sports Labour Federation). In order to prevent the intrusion of rebel ideology into the world of sports, the Federation decided to create a battalion mainly made up of athletes named Batallón Deportivo (Sporting Battalion) in August 1936. Grouped under this name, hundreds of professional and amateur Castilian athletes fought for the Republic, namely on the Madrid front. These statements are supported by a variety of archival documents that can be found in the Documentation Centre of Historical Memory, National Historical Archive of Spain, General Archive of the National Library of Spain as are a number of personal interviews and journalistic sources from newspapers such as *El Liberal*, *Hoja Oficial del Lunes*, *La Libertad*, *Mundo Deportivo* or *Nuestra Lucha* and magazines such as *Crónica* or *Estampa*.

## Football fandom in the diasporas: resistance and recognition

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The immigrants who came to Western European countries as “guest workers” in the 1950-60s have been living in these countries for three generations, having established diaspora communities. The third-generation, members of which were predominantly born in these countries and have their nationality, is stuck between the host country that is still hesitant to accept them as equal citizens and the country of origin that they know very little about. Football offers these diaspora members an emotional bond with the “homeland” through fandom, as well as a set of practices that they may display their identity within the “host” society. In the Turkish-speaking diasporas in Europe, it is almost out of the question not to support one of Turkey’s major clubs. Football fandom is one of the most visible aspects of being from Turkey in Europe, and also acts as part of a “resistance identity,” based on the fear that living in a diaspora would eventually break the bonds with the “homeland,” resulting in cultural assimilation.

Historically, Turkish-speaking immigrants in Europe first formed their own football clubs that reflected their identity, then with the help of mediatized communication, developed a long-distance fandom of the clubs based in the “homeland.” The increasing successes of teams representing Turkey in international competitions provided them with opportunities to showcase their fandom, often resulting in Turkish teams playing like at home in diaspora hosting countries like Germany. This has been quite a nationalistic practice, helping build the “resistance identity” through fandom against the host society.

On the other hand, for the third-generation, football fandom is also part of a global cultural practice, which connects them to the world, including the host society. In today’s mediatized and globalized football world, the major clubs of Turkey are part of the global football society as much as any other team, playing in the Champions League and signing international stars. Therefore, being fans of these teams creates a common interest between the third-generation and their coevals in the host society, as their favorite teams are often the best-recognized aspects of their homeland.

This paper will present the results of a small-scale digital ethnography conducted with a group of Turkish-speaking third-generation football fans based in France, based on their interactions with other users on Twitter. Preliminary findings suggest that, while supporting a team from Turkey reinforces the “resistance identity,” it also functions as an outlet to bond with the host society, not through assimilation but sharing of common cultural practices. Thus, the paper aims to revisit and reassess

common perceptions on diasporas and fandom in the scholar world, explaining the current situation through the context of the history of mediatization and globalization of football and fandom practices, arguing that the historical processes that had created the long-distance diaspora fandom eventually connected the diaspora fandom to the global football world, in a way that challenge the “withdrawn conservative-nationalist immigrant” cliché.

## Belonging. Soccer, inclusion and exclusion 1930s – 1950s

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This address will discuss the topics inclusion and exclusion using case studies from the field of sports. Some years ago an old émigré from Germany who fled the Nazi regime (and, by the way, later became Leon Trotzky's bodyguard) began his memories about the importance of soccer for his personal belonging with the words: "Tears were running down my face when I watched a poor football game on a windy day in the outskirts of New York. All what I have lost in Germany came into my mind, when I watched this terrible game. My language, my culture, my family and – soccer!"

Identification with a soccer team can be an interesting measure for identity (mostly of males) and it often includes also the belonging to a certain network. This fact does not only touch the field of positive identification and integration but as well the terms antagonism and segregation. Soccer/football is a good example for the power of identification as well as a tool concerning self-consciousness. During the interwar years soccer was by far the most important mass sports in Central Europe. And it was more – for a specific group of people it was a metaphor for „home“, up to the level of having a sedative or tranquilizing effect against repression and perpetration. The presentation will concentrate on football players and supporters, partly emigrants who fled from Austria and Germany after 1933 and other victims of the National Socialist regime like Spanish inmates in concentration camp Mauthausen. The question how important sports was for the identity of the persons concerned after World War II will also be looked into. The paper is based on archival material, photographs, film footage, memoirs and narrative interviews.

## The Olympisation of «Female Wrestling», from a process secondary to a central issue

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Since the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio, the three styles of Olympic wrestling have been evenly distributed among themselves as far as the number of medals is concerned. This change comes after a complicated period for wrestling that was put on the hot seat on February 12, 2013. Indeed, the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has chosen the 25 sports that constitute the core sports from which wrestling is excluded. It was only after a vote during the 125th IOC session in Buenos Aires from 7 to 10 September 2013, that allowed it to be temporarily retained on the program as an additional sport for the 2020 and 2024 Olympic Games. Equal treatment was important and gave credit to the discipline's application and allowed it to be maintained on the Olympic program. The history of the integration of Female's Wrestling as an Olympic discipline sheds light on its consideration within the International Amateur Wrestling Federation (FILA). We will use the analysis of the exchanges of letters between the IOC and FILA during the 20th century as well as the sessions, executive commissions and program commission available within the Olympic Study Centre to show the different stages of the integration of Female's Wrestling, its transition from a truly secondary issue to a real will at the end of the 1990s. Indeed, the place of women was secondary for the Olympic Games President of FILA at the end of the 1960s, during the 1990s the idea began to be defended by FILA, but the leaders pointed out the difficulties of reaching the minimum standards set by the IOC. The acceleration took place at the beginning of the 2000s with Anita L. DeFrantz's relay to the IOC. We will then look at the emphasis placed on Female Wrestling during the period of tension that wrestling went through as a desire to show another face (a real consideration?).

## Georges Hébert and the education of the female body in Brazil: Hebertist principles and their adaptation to the Brazilian context

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In the book *Muscle et Beauté Plastique* (1909), dedicated to young French women, Georges Hébert consecrated the concepts of health, beauty and strength oriented to women's emancipation by means of his Natural Method. The spaces and trainings dedicated to women in Hébert's proposal were identical to those for men, and the author raised issues such as that of women's "moral happiness", according to which enhancing women's bodily experience would place men and women on equal terms, providing women with elements to overcome prejudices and limitations imposed by society. This book was read in Brazil by authors from the field of Physical Education, such as Rangel Sobrinho (1930) and Lotte Kretzschmar (1932), who proposed national methods for a "women's physical education" inspired by Hébert's work. This article analyses the principles for the education of women in Hébert's work and discusses its reception in Brazil during the 1930's. The main question it intends to answer is: how did Brazilian authors read and interpret Hébert's work in order to create their own methods? The sources were constituted by Rangel Sobrinho's and Kretzschmar's books, and national newspapers published in this period, as well as Hébert's book *Muscle et Beauté Plastique*. We were able to determine that this French work was so innovative regarding women's education, for it proposed a physical and moral emancipation. However, the Brazilian writings were informed by a normative model of femininity in the 1930s, which established the role of "wife-housekeeper-mother". They claimed that women should be devoted to their home, destined to manage their household and take care of her husband and children. With a fragile nature, her femininity should be protected within a delicate body. The exercises they recommended to women should strengthen hips and lower limbs, so they could properly fulfill their childbearing role. Grace, beauty and harmony of the body were recommended in order to improve her languid physical condition. Thus, the Brazilian works presented limitations regarding women's training, once the idea of equivalence appeared in the discourses, but not actually in the training.

## Jews and sport in Norway 1900-1940

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Clause 2 in the Norwegian constitution of 1814 – the so-called “Jew clause” - goes like this: “Jews are excluded from access to the Kingdom.” In 1851 the Norwegian parliament deleted the article, and the Jews were granted religious rights as Christian dissenters. Only a few Jews entered and settled during the next 30 years. In the period from 1880 till 1940 the Jewish community grew slowly, and by around 1930 about 2100 had settled. Most of the Jews coming to Norway during this last period came from East Europe, having escaped pogroms and persecution.

An exhibition in the Jewish Museum in Oslo, “Come on Jews,” about the joy of sport and integration, sparked the interest for these questions: What were the attitudes to and reasons for doing sport among the Norwegian Jews during the period 1900-1940 and what kind of sport did they participate in ?

According to the title of the exhibition both the sheer joy of sport, but also integration into the Norwegian culture and lifestyle – all kinds of open air activities – were attitudes and reasons among the newcomers from Eastern Europe, from where the majority of Jews in Norway came from. The Jews from this region had a general dislike for sport related to their more orthodox views on Judaism. They felt that sport distracted young Jews from what was most important, studies and work. It is of great interest, therefore, to investigate whether there was a change in the attitude to sport among the Jews from eastern Europe settling in Norway at the time of Fritjof Nansen, the polar explorer, and when Norway was coming out of the union with Sweden. Norwegian values and traditions were highlighted at this time and for many of the newcomers it became important to be like other Norwegians.

Another element in my research will be to study the Zionist movement’s influence on Norwegian Jews, in particular how the ideas about “the new Jew” and “Muscle-Judaism” were addressed by important leaders in the Zionist movement in Europe. Max Nordau was the most important with respect to this and his intention was to try to change the European social perceptions of the inferiority of Jewish men.



# Transition Process of Taekwondo in Iran and the Growth of Female Taekwondo

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This study examines the transformation of Iranian Taekwondo, a successful Taekwondo overseas advancement with growth of female participation. Iran has about 2.5 million Taekwondo participants, and achieves excellent performance in various international competitions. The purpose of this study is to historically examine the growth of Taekwondo and characteristics of female Taekwondo in Iran. The database of overseas advancement and various materials of KTA, IRITF and WT<sup>1</sup> were collected and interviews of related officials of IRITF were used as secondary data to analyze characteristics of Iranian Taekwondo. As a result, Iranian Taekwondo transition was affected by major historical moments. First, introduction of Taekwondo is divided into before and after the Islamic revolution. Secondly, various international performances of Iran national team have contributed to spread awareness of Taekwondo. Third, activities of the IRITF and the birth of sports heroes advanced techniques and popularized women's Taekwondo.

In addition, interviews with female Taekwondo experts brought out some characteristics. Firstly, Iranian women can enjoy a variety of physical activities without limitations, and the recommendation and cooperation of their families led Iranian women to learn Taekwondo. Furthermore, Muslim women Taekwondo athletes were able to advance to international competitions. Secondly, Iranian women who are professional in Taekwondo not only have positive opinion about wearing a "hijab" through Taekwondo training and participation in competitions, but also were proud of training in Taekwondo. Unlike general prejudices about the hijab, it was recognized as a culture and tradition inherent in the nation for them. Also, Iranian female Taekwondo experts regard Taekwondo as a potential future benefit of Iranian women in Taekwondo and one of the most important factors for their self-realization. Iran has recently increased the number of women practitioners due to the growth of women's Olympic medalists, and is pursuing both juvenile and youth prospects. In addition, Taekwondo was deeply related to women Taekwondo experts' lives.

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## Signs of Europeanization and idealism of sport and leisure activities in modern Japan: Based on the monthly magazine *The Amusement* (yūroku zasshi, 1906)

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The purpose of this study is to clarify the circumstances and background to the introduction of British leisure and recreation in Japan, by searching for the intention and meaning behind publishing *The Amusement* (yūroku zasshi) in the late Meiji era. The playground was a place where people can exercise in reference to Europe along with Europeanism in the late Meiji era. *The Amusement*, covered in this study, is positioned at the previous stage of it, and it was the first Japanese periodical that targeted western leisure and recreation. This periodical was first published in March 1906, and its contents were not only limited to domestic sport but also foreign sport such as sailing, horse racing, and golf. *The Amusement* is remarkable for introducing sports and recreational activities as amusement outside of working hours. Europeanization brought by modernization for the sake of national existence is also inferred from other published multifarious magazines, such as women's magazines, children's magazines, and business magazines after the Russo-Japanese War. Interest in European intellectual culture included recreational sport, in the late Meiji era. It can be seen through Mr. Doppo Kunikida, who was a writer and the founder of the oldest Japanese women's magazine in existence. Moreover, his consideration of how to spend time in leisure and his understanding of sport and recreational activities deserve special mention in the history of recreation. This study complements Japanese sport history that focused on western physical education in modern schools.

## Corruption and Unfair Practices in the Ancient Olympic Games

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The Ancient Olympic Games were organized by the Olympic Council, formed by the elites of Elis – the government of Elis, so-called "Council of Elis" – and by *hellanodikai*, "judges of the Hellenes/Greeks". The Council accepted the appeal of the contestants and their coaches against the decisions of *hellanodikai*. Most of the games were organized by the same elites, if they were changed, it was because of war; there were no bids. It eliminated some kinds of corruption but it opened the door for another. We have only little evidence about that, but according to other aspects we can assume it. The main questions of the paper are: Did the corruption and unfair practice exist in the ancient Olympics? What examples of these do we have? For the main evidence we will use the primary sources; their studies, analyses and comparisons. So it is possible to say that as an example of possible unfair practices would be the participation of the first woman in the Olympic Games – Kyniska of Sparta – and the role of Agesilaus II, the great Spartan king and Kyniska's brother. Another corruptions were connected with Nero, the emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, as well as the *paradoxos* title in late time of Olympics and doping. Typical examples of the ancient Olympic corruption were reflected by *Zanes*, the statues of Zeus. The data for the paper were gained mainly from primary sources (especially Pausanias, Philostratus, Plutarchos and Xenophon) and relevant professional literature (e.g. Christesen, Crowther, Golden and Miller). The methods used were a comparative method, biography method, progressive method, direct and indirect methods. As a way of processing data, results from primary and professional literature, as well as criticism of the sources, interpretation and synthesis were compared.

## “A Diplomat in Japan, Sir Ernest Mason Satow and Modern Mountaineering in the late Nineteenth Century Japan”

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Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929), Ainosuke Sato in his Japanese name, is known as a British diplomat before and after the period of the Meiji Revolution (1868) in Japan. He was born as a son of Hans David Christoph Satow in Wismar in Northern Germany under Swedish rule in 1843. However, soon after 1846, he was educated as British by the influence of his English mother, Margaret Mason in Clapton, North London. He graduated from University College London (UCL) and later became a scholar as a linguist and collected many Japanese books and manuscripts. Satow's diary composed of 47 volumes provides the political climates of his day and cultural notes memorized through his travel across over Japan including the northern most island Hokkaido and disputed islands between Russia and Japan. Some sources indicate that he was staying in Japan during the period of 1862 and 1883, again 1895 and 1900. While his political involvement with an official translator at the British Consulate has been explored, his influence upon Hisayoshi Takeda, Ernest's son, a botanist and founder of Japanese natural history, who became an initial member of The Japanese Alpine Club (JAC: Sangaku Kai) established in 1905 has not been well introduced. In addition, Ernest Satow's writings such as *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan: Being a guide to Tōkiō, Kiōto, Ōzaka and other cities* (Yokohama: 1881), *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan: Being a guide to Tōkiō, Kiōto, Ōzaka, Hakodate, Nagasaki, and other cities* (London: 1884) and memoirs of his mountaineering experiences provide a cultural history worth considering. Therefore, in terms of Ernest's diary and his other articles, this study attempts to focus on a new aspect of the politically-turbulent period of early Japanese modern nation state and how new attitudes of people were formed through cultural and political accommodation between the two countries by a diplomat.

## Research on Ancient Sports Culture of the Silk Road

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The Silk Road has been the path of dialogue between China and the Western region since ancient times. The term "Silk Road" was created in 1877 by Ferdinand von Richthofen. The so-called "Silk Road" at the time did not refer to an exact road, but rather to many varied, unmarked trails that lie between the vast desert and the mountains. In fact, the quantity of goods transported along this "Silk Road" was not large, but the Silk Road had indeed transformed the culture of China and the Western region. It transmitted not only goods, but also culture, ideology, ideas, crafts, religion, art, and sports between China and the Western region.

This study uses the literature and cultural evidence of archaeological finds over the past 100 years to explore the occurrence and formation of sports, and to study the relationships between the origins of human sports and sacrifices, hunting, etiquette, physical behavior, as well as common culture.

Studies have shown that sport is an important part of cultural exchanges between China and the Western region through the Silk Road. Huxuan Dances, Huteng Dance, Tuozhi Dance which are popular in the Western Region and bai-xi (acrobats), cuju, polo, wrestling, weightlifting, Chui-Wan, and chess became popular in China in the Han and Tang Dynasties and produced the exchange of sports culture between China and the Western region. The unique geographical environment and economic structure have nurtured various activities required by the various ethnic groups of the Silk Road, including bows, wrestling, gymnastics, boxing, weightlifting, polo, Budaqiu, squatting, chess, and equestrian sports, etc.

Due to the large geographical span of the research, it is necessary to make full use of historical research methods, to grasp the developments of ancient sports cognition from the complicated historical sports phenomena of China and the Western region, and to enhance explorations of the countries along the Silk Road in various historical periods and overall studies of "world sports".

## Sports, Diplomacy and Sense of Existence: The Table Tennis Coaches of the Republic of China in Latin America during the Cold War, 1970-1980s

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In the early period of the Cold War (1950-1960s), due to the international recognition of the two sides of the Taiwan Straits, the competition between "Two Chinas" in Latin American sports was also carried out in the diplomatic strategy for the only legitimate "orthodox" status. During this period, with strong American backing, the KMT regime in Taiwan has held the Chinese seat in the United Nations and still gained advantages in the international community including its diplomacy in Latin America. However, the US turned its policy toward the CCP in the 1970s, and the CCP adopted an active diplomatic strategy including ping-pong diplomacy for Latin American and African independent countries. The long-standing "vote battle" eventually led the ROC to withdraw from the U. N. Later, the ROC government adopted "pragmatic diplomacy" to sign bilateral cooperation agreements with Latin American countries, and sports coaches have become a part of overseas cultural and technical cooperation to carry out the tasks and services of the diplomatic ambassador. This paper studies the relationship between sports and political diplomacy. It analyzes the related archives of the expatriate table tennis coaches of the "Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs" to understand the international survival crisis of the ROC and the sport itself through the contribution of expatriate coaches and diplomat. It also points out the life experience and interaction between sports coaches and Latin American people.

## The bike and the Body Culture in Modern China (1920-1930s)

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The Bike was introduced to China in 1868 and first appeared in the Shanghai Concession in large numbers. In 1932, the Shanghai Special City Government counted a total of 17,398 bikes in Shanghai. The popularity of bikes and the construction of roads have affected the daily life of Chinese people, changed the body culture, and increased the participation in bike-races. The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of bikes on Chinese daily life and body culture after being introduced to China. It analyzes diverse historical materials in order to understand the developmental context and cultural meaning of bicycles in modern China. The study found that the number of bikes in the Shanghai public concession had increased to 21,530 in 1935. Bicycle marches began in the 1920s, and all faculty, YMCA, public and private companies organized bicycle teams to travel to local or neighboring cities and counties. In the 1930s, women riding bikes were gradually accepted by Chinese men. In sports, leisure and entertainment areas, women could be seen riding bikes, and even magazines have images of modern women riding. This illustrates the changes in the attitude of the Chinese in terms of traffic patterns, safety and time, the increase in vehicle manufacturers, and the rise of leisure ethos.

## Making Play while the Sun Shines: The Forgotten Dominance of Irish Lawn Tennis in the 1890s

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The fascinating story of the rise of lawn tennis in Ireland in the late-nineteenth century, with few exceptions, has remained untold. Research into key aspects of the sport's social history in Ireland have remained largely incomplete, significantly lacking in detailed critical analysis and characterized by an absence of nuance. Most sport historiography set upon the Irish context during this period has been dominated by narratives of nationalism and politics, and while the Gaelic Athletic Association may have frowned upon lawn tennis as an effeminate pastime, the sport largely escaped GAA-sanctioned bans and much of its associated pseudo-political discourse. This perhaps explains its historiographical omission, but given its brief exalted status, the rise (and subsequent decline) of Irish lawn tennis deserves a fuller treatment. This is especially in light of the fact that Irish male and female players during the 1890s being represented among the world's best, winning several Wimbledon singles titles, alongside their coaching-professionals becoming the most sought-after commodities in leading clubs across Europe and North America. Also during this period, the Fitzwilliam Lawn Tennis Club of Dublin was a close second to the All England Lawn Tennis Club, which hosted the Wimbledon Championships, in European if not global status and prestige, while the Irish Lawn Tennis Championships also positioned itself as equal to, if not also for a brief period surpassing, the eminence of Wimbledon. This presentation examines how the sport rose to prominence in Ireland – its amateur players, professional coaches, leading championships and clubs – before assessing briefly its demise in the years preceding the First World War. Drawing on primary data from newspapers and magazines of the period, and set in the contexts of broader socio-cultural and political developments, this presentation will consider the important - but largely overlooked - significance of lawn tennis in Ireland alongside its impact on the development of the global game before the First World War.



## From shamateurs to professionals – professionalization of Finnish track and field 1960–1990

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By the 1960's track and field had a long history of shamateurism. Olympic amateurism still prohibited money prizes and broken-time payments and set limits for mileage compensations. This had paved way for widespread under-the-table payments, the practices which also Finnish athletes were well acquainted with, as evidenced by the case of Paavo Nurmi in 1932. By the 1990's both the ideology and practice of track and field had transformed completely. Athletes were fully professional, able to pursue freely the revenues that the rampant commercialization of their sport had provided.

The aim of this research is to determine the role of Finnish track athletes in this change. My research questions are: what kind of compensations did elite track athletes receive from their sport from circa 1960 to 1990? How did "the underground labor-relations system" – the concept developed by Joseph M. Turrini (2010) – function in Finland and what kind of role did the athletes have in it? How did gender affect the amount and type of money available? As source material, I draw upon both contemporary material from the archives of the Finnish Athletics Federation and newspapers and oral history.

The research is part of my doctoral thesis in progress about the professionalization of Finnish elite sport. The particular focus in this paper is given to milestones: what were the milestones in the process of professionalization in track and field both internationally and in the case of Finland? Amateurism and professionalism are seen here as multifaceted concepts with financial, temporal, psychological and judicial aspects.

I argue that, similarly to the US, elite athletes were the driving force of professionalization in Finland, but due to more limited financial opportunities and failure to found athlete organizations, their influence was not as substantial as that of their American counterparts. Athletes profited from under-the-table earnings and forced concessions such as a stipend system from the Finnish Athletics Federation but most were dependent on their day jobs, whether genuine ones or sinecures, well into the 1980's. The birth of a professional Finnish track athlete was a gradual process that reached its conclusion only in the 1990's.

## Pioneering Work Or Reproduction Of A Cultural Heritage? An Empirical Study On Increasing Diversity In German Football Clubs

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Besides being a home of the game itself, football clubs can also be understood as places of integration and socialization. Football clubs are among the membership strongest forms of associations in Germany. At the same time they are traditionally shaped by everyday practices of the petty bourgeoisie, dominated by autochthonous men. In recent decades many clubs are increasingly diversifying, however, women and persons with a migrant background are still underrepresented, especially as functionaries as well as club members. This paper is focusing on the pioneering work of voluntarily engaged women and persons with a migration history in football clubs, that can be interpreted as more or less 'quiet milestones' in regards to an evolving club culture. With the help of the analysis of structures and practices of social cohesion, the research project investigates the manifold formations of cultural heritage and their influence on the participation of club members in club life. The following research questions are at the center of the research interest: To what extent are established club structures and traditions able to react to societal developments and allow room for change? And to what extent are the 'new' association members bearers of the cultural heritage of these fields? Are there conflicts arising from social change or increasing social diversity in the associations? Methodologically, the project ties in with Pierre Bourdieu's (1974) theory of practice and the related concepts of habitus, social space and symbolic capital. In this research project, cultural heritage is mainly understood and analyzed as milieu-specific attitudes, habits and traditional everyday cultural practices. The shared beliefs and primarily informal practices can be considered as club culture, in other words, a club specific cultural heritage. To explore symbolic and social demarcations and openings in German football clubs, the focus of my interviews is on female club members as well as club members with a migrant background that hold the rare position as functionaries in their respective clubs.

## KUDAYA veiled handed down Korean special military archery in Japan

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As Poland surrounded by Germany and Russia was involved in many battlefields due to geographical factors, Korea surrounded by great countries became the stage for the battle of the ocean forces trying to enter the continent and continental forces that wish to expand overseas. Especially, since the Age of Discovery when the main propagation route of people, goods and information changed from land to sea, the rise of Japan which adopted the European culture early, brought about a change in the international order in Asia. Since 16th century Korea was exposed to the hegemonic war of the great powers from Japanese invasion of Korea of 1592-1598 to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, the colonial rule of 1910-1945, and the Korean war of 1950-1953. For that reason, there are many unknown shared cultures buried in history between Japan and Korea, despite emphasizes of their own originality.

It is necessary to empathy with each other's history and culture correctly for coexistence and co-prosperity. Therefore, this study clarified one of the realities of cultural exchange history of martial arts focusing on KUDAYA (Fragmentary-Arrow) which is very similar with Korean Fragmentary-Arrow which was Korean special military archery.

KUDAYA is an unique archery technic rarely known to the current Japanese archery society. It is that all the heirs and the people connected were trained in the Heki-School. Furthermore, it is revealed that the Yoshida family whose members were archery masters of Okayama feudal, participated in the reception of the Joseon envoy who regularly visited to Japan in Edo period. Because the Heki-School was an archery inherited to Yoshida family, it was confirmed that this family probably learned the Korean Fragmentary-Arrow skill from the experts of Korean archery. Members of the Joseon envoy visited Japan during the 17th and 18th century and stayed at Ushimado for a long time. Details of KUDAYA which seems to be transmitted from Korea, appears in the historical record *The Book of Strange Bow* by God (ShinMeiFuSinYumiNoSho, 1791).

## On the Study of Physical Education of Kadoories Family School in Shanghai during the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China

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In the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, a large number of Jews came to Shanghai, mainly British Sephardic Jewish merchants, Russian Ashkenazi Jews, and European Jewish refugees persecuted by the Nazis, forming the largest Jewish community at that time. Among the early Jewish businessmen who came to Shanghai, including the Kadoorie family.

Elly Kadoories was concerned with culture and educational undertakings and charity when he became successful in business. In Shanghai, he invested in the establishment of Jewish schools, Jewish clubs, synagogues, and donated money to create the Dermatology Department of Shanghai Tuberculosis Hospital and Zhongshan Hospital. In 1926, the British government awarded a knighthood to Sir Elly Kadoories to reward his charity around the world. In 1933, he also received the First-class Gold Medal and Emerald Medal of the Chinese National Government. His eldest son, Lawrence, succeeded his father's philanthropy and won the title of Royal Jazz. The second son, Horace, did a lot of work for the Jewish community in addition to charity such as culture, education and health.

The Kadoories family founded the Yucai Public School and the Shanghai Jewish Youth Union School. The schools always adhered to the independence of faith and spiritual enrichment and pursued the harmonious unity of the body and the perfect mind. By participating in and organizing various sports activities, they conveyed the optimistic spirit of the state of mind. One of the most prominent was the focus on the comprehensiveness of children's education, and physical education was always an important part of school education.

After the successful business, the Kadoorie family founded Yucai Public School and Kadoorie School. It is unique in the purpose of running a school, as it paid attention to the cultivation of students' physical fitness and talents, and enabled students to achieve results in academics and sports. In the society at that time, it produced great social influence and promoted school sports, as it developed and the spread of modern sports in China, and thus won the recognition of the outside world.

## Women's Participation in Soccer and Political Thoughts of The People Republic of China from late 1970s to early 1980s

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There were consequences for feminism and women's participation in sport after the period of 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution' (1966-1976) in The People Republic of China. Following the Revolution, female participation in sport increased due to several factors: the national striving for greater productivity, with women encouraged to do the same work as men. To achieve this, women devoted more time to physical activity to improve their physical condition. However, although Chinese women participated in many other sports, soccer was not played until the late 1970s.

In this article, I discovered the origin of women's soccer in The People Republic of China based on Chinese sports magazines, newspapers and other historical materials. According to related historical materials, the earliest women soccer players emerged in 1979 and played soccer at factories and middle schools in Shaanxi Province. As a result, the beginning and the development of the Chinese women's soccer is based on a unique socialistic feminism thought, which had been regarded as a forced, top-down dissemination of political ideas. The Chinese women who wanted to play soccer had protected themselves against the discouragement that came from old traditional patriarchal social ideology, by forth putting Mao's social political ideology "Anything men can do, women also can do."

Furthermore, in this research, from a feminist perspective, by exploring the purpose and significance of participation for Chinese women on soccer, we can see at least at this period, the participation is based on their spontaneous desire. And this can be regarded as a meaningful detection with historical value on both political and social gender perspectives.

## Samurai Swimming: Japanese Methods of Swimming in Taiwan (1900s-1920s)

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Taiwan is encircled by the sea and the rivers that traverse the land are fast-flowing because of the long island's short span from north to south. Since unexpected drownings occur frequently, Taiwanese prefer to far away from water activities as the habits and customs of the people who inhabit it. Competitive swimming and Japanese samurai skills were both introduced to Taiwan in 1895 to let people learn swimming comprehensively and systematically while Taiwan was under Japanese colonial rule. The so-called "Samurai Swimming," Japanese methods of swimming, involves swimming skills which mainly allow people to adapt to the environment. There are at least 13 factions of traditional style of Samurai swimming. Samurai swimming skill made its debut at Tamsui River, Taipei, and attracted Taiwanese' attention in 1901. In the same year, Japanese who lived in Taiwan reported seeing Samurai swimming skill and safety notices, such as publicity and promotion notices inserted in local newspapers. In 1907, swimming was promoted systematically and organizationally after the Swimming department of the Taiwan Sports Club was established. In addition, swimming classes were added as educational courses by schools in order to encourage students to join. This research aims to explore the implementation process of Samurai swimming in Taiwan, not only the applied technology of swimming but also the spectacular and orderly sight of long-distance swimming and aquatic meets which were held by educational units and groups. In conclusion, the effects of the implementation of Samurai swimming will be analyzed.

## Pro Football Stories: Critical Readings of Four NFL Stars' Autobiographies

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Autobiographies provide a glimpse into the mentalities of athletes during and following their playing careers. Although these sources are “imperfect” (Taylor 2008) and have an “over-emphasis on sporting aspects” (Bale 2003), they provide “active texts” (Hill 2006) of the era. Furthermore, when the authors of these texts are “significant public entities” (i.e. celebrities) (Andrews & Jackson 2011), autobiographies can be “responsible for structuring meaning [and] crystallizing ideologies” in society (p. 2).

This presentation examines four such texts from professional white football players who became celebrities in the 1960s and 1970s, Paul Hornung, Alex Karras, Joe Namath, and Roger Staubach. These athletes all became known for different reasons. Hornung and Karras were standout players who became infamous for the betting scandal that saw each player suspended from the league during the 1963 season. Namath and Staubach became cultural icons as two of the early star quarterbacks of the modern game. All four wrote autobiographies: Hornung's *Football and the Single Man* (1965), Karras's *Even Big Guys Cry* (1978), Namath's *I Can't Wait Until Tomorrow ... 'Cause I Get Better-Looking Every Day* (1969), and Staubach's *Staubach: First Down, Lifetime to Go* (1980).

Critically “reading” these texts (Birrell & McDonald 2000) along with their public reception in periodicals such as the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* helps shows that football “moved to the center stage” (Crepeau 2014), became a “brand” (Oriard 2007), and developed as a “culture industry” (Oates & Furness 2014) in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. This presentations tells stories about whiteness, the connections between football and the armed forces, cultural shifts between the concept of “law and order,” the sexual revolution, and religion, among others. These themes are now common in contemporary professional football. Yet, it was during this era that they emerged as dominant.

## A comparative study on the differences of historical background in Kendo between Japan and Korea

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From Kenjutsu (Sword-technic) to Gekken (Sword-fighting) and Gekken to Kendo (Sword-way), Kendo not only its name but also its purpose and culture has been changed while answering the demands of the times. Kendo is now a famous martial art that has been internationalized within 50 years by the International Kendo Federation founded in 1970, and it currently spreads to 59 countries and regions around the world. However, this internationalization is a factor of obstacle to the globalization of Kendo. It appears clearly through the confrontation and hegemony of Japan and South Korea, which are two major kendo powers. In recent years, there has been a conflict between Japan and South Korea in relation to the form, ideology, origins and internationalization of Kendo. The chairman of South Korea Kendo Association (Korea Kumdo Association) claims that Kendo was modernized in Japan but originated in Korea, an idea strongly opposed by Japan. Starting with the renaming of Kendo to Kumdo, South Korea Kendo Association is trying to change the image of Kendo from Japan to Korea, aims to increase the number of domestic Kendo populations through the escape of the image of Kendo as a symbol of Japanese militarism. These changes are not limited in the term, the uniform and the form of Kendo, it extends to regulations of game, examination and judging. There is a unique history related to Japan and Korea and problems of each Kendo Association behind this confrontation. In order to bridge the gap between Japan, that promotes the internationalization of Kendo as a Japanese culture and Korea, that promotes it as an Olympic sport, this study focused on the history of Korean Kendo, which had been missing in modern Kendo history, especially during the period before and after the Japanese colonial rule of Korea. Through a comparative study of the history of Japan - Korea, this study highlights the history of Kendo that have not been targeted so far, and seeks the future-oriented Japan-Korea relations based on correct historical recognition.



## Beginning of the turnen (gymnastics) in Tartu two centuries ago – the basis for the emergence of sport in Estonia

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The turnen was brought to Tartu (Dorpat), the university town of Estonia, in 1819 by Carl Eduard Raupach, who had studied in Berlin and practised turnen under Friedrich Ludwig Jahn in 1814. Raupach's turner squad of academic youth laid the first foundation for systematic practice in Estonia, now celebrating 200 years of activities.

The turnen movement that had meanwhile lulled, gained a new momentum in the mid-19th century on the initiative of a high school director Julius von Schroeder. In 1857 a turner ground was built on Toomemägi (Dome Hill) in Morgenstern's garden, for which necessary equipment was provided. In 1862 Julius Richard Reinhard of Dresden was invited and appointed gymnastics teacher at the high school of Tartu, whereas turnen was made mandatory in the high school with two lessons per week. On 17 May 1863, under Reinhard's guidance, the first gymnastics festival took place at Toomemägi Gymnastics grounds. This example was followed in other high schools as well.

In 1864 the Dorpater Turnverein was founded and became, along with the university, the main promoter of gymnastics in Tartu up to the last decade of the century. In 1867 a hall of a rental house was equipped for the practising of turnen during winter and in 1890 a new building of the Dorpater Turnverein, explicitly constructed for the Turnhalle, was completed in Lai Street.

In the 1870s the turnen movement reached the rural people through the school system when mandatory turnen classes were introduced. In 1876 a turnen festival organized by the Laiuse teacher Jüri Soo was the first public event to occur among a rural school audience.

The practising of the turnen laid a good foundation for the emergence of the sports movement in the late 19th century, not only in Tartu, but in all Estonia as well.

## Muscular Christianity and the crisis of the Waldensian ethos: the arrival of sport in the Waldensian colonies of Uruguay (1920-1970)

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This work analyzes the crisis of the Waldensian community ethos arising from the incorporation of sports practices in the Christian Youth Unions of the Waldensian colonies of Uruguay, during the period between 1920 and 1970. From a historical-discursive perspective, this research -based on the study of documents kept in the Waldensian Library and Archive, in Colonia Valdense, Uruguay- explores the ideological and discursive processes by which sports, -driven by an evangelizing movement of missionary and proselytizing, under the influence of the Muscular Christianity doctrine - entered and joined the unionist life and the life of the Waldensian community in general-, displacing and replacing practices and rituals of community life, resulting in a crisis of the Waldensian community ethos. We inquire into the linguistic-discursive mechanisms that made a process of substitution of traditional religious vocabulary by sports vocabulary possible, giving rise to a tension and polarization between spiritual and sports practices, characterizing a crisis of the community ethos with strong ethical-political resonances. The purpose is to show the way in which the doctrine Muscular Christianity would condense and institute multiple destabilizing effects of the discourse required by an attempt of religious (re) subjectivity, locating the subject in front of a new significant materiality: that of a muscular-Christian subject. In this way, we will try to approach some theoretical lines to think about the way in which Muscular Christianity is incorporated into the history of bodies, physical education and sport, determining the conceptions of body and corporal education of modern states.

## Syndicalism and sport in the Bank Workers Football League - São Paulo, 1930-1945

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The importance of syndicalism at the beginning of the 20th century in São Paulo has already been widely studied. Trade unions were very important for the organization of different types of workers. In São Paulo, in the 1930s, the Bank workers' trade union was one of the most important ones, and offered many kinds of services for its members. One of these was the Liga Bancária de Esportes Athleticos (Athletic Sports Banking League), a league in which only clubs composed of bank workers were able to participate. The period between 1930 and 1945, known as the First Vargas Government, brought great political and social changes to Brazil. These included changes in labor legislation, strengthening of the labor movement, the first steps towards sport legislation, and the installation of a dictatorship between 1937 and 1945 (the period of the New State). During the New State, the repression of the labor movement and the unions grew and many trade unionists were persecuted and imprisoned. This research aims to answer what kind of use this trade union made of sports, how two of the social and sporting bank workers' clubs that participated in the league (Satélite Esporte Clube and Associação Atlética Banco do Brasil, both of them constituted of workers from Banco do Brasil) came to be, and how the installation of the New State dictatorship changed the way sports in general, and football specifically, were inserted into the policies of this syndicate. The main sources used were the trade union newspaper and magazines, Clubs' assembly minutes, and Club, Union and League statutes. The sources suggest that looking into class issues could help provide new interpretations of the practice of football in São Paulo and Brazil, since it focuses on a different dynamic in comparison to the great shows performed by the Official Clubs. In addition, the study of football practiced by the workers allows for the observation of the relations between sports and politics, both within the trade union and at a national level.

## CHILDHOOD AND URBANITY: ORGANIZATION OF “VIOLETA DORIA LINS” MEMORY CENTER

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The educational project of playgrounds in São Paulo – Brazil, conceived in the 1930s - tried to reestablish children’s experiences with nature, even in the developing urban environments. This perspective was mediated by different elements, such as Brazilian colonial architecture and the representation of nature’s elements in playground equipment. Thus, although playgrounds were an extension of a project internationally known in the 19th century as playground movement, they presented particular characteristics in their expansion throughout the Brazilian territory, meeting local needs and contexts. According to the particularity of these institutions, the goal of this work was to establish a memory center in Violeta Dória Lins school, in Campinas city – state of São Paulo. In 2017, documents, photographs, minutes, official bulletins and school plans were catalogued. Representing the memory of the school, 622 photos and 41 culture artifacts were selected and reorganized. The work involved searching for materials in schools. The printed photos are dated from 1966 until 2004. Photos of 1960s portray the visits and festivities performed in the playground. On these photos, it is possible to notice that despite neighborhood transfer of the institution, the ideology that circumscribes the playgrounds project has been preserved: large, green and wood areas, without bars or fences and a pool for medical-educational intervention. The whole playground area – 19.180m<sup>2</sup> - underwent changes over the decades. The arena theater – part of the playground project – was given to other school. Copies of school plans filed in the archive complemented our understanding of the spaces portrayed in the photographs. With the establishment of the memory center, a range of sources was made available to consultation. In addition, contributing to the preservation of archives, the sources were studied not in a sparse manner, but trying to understand the historicity of these reorganized sources. Using specific methodologies of history, it is possible a better understanding of the transformation of these educational institutions built for children. Emphasizing the importance of such initiatives, which preserve sources available in school archives, we value the memory of these institutions facilitating the understanding of its historicity.

## “God on the Pitch”: the Presence of Religion in Football (an International Historical Perspective)

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In recent years, there has been steady growth in research concerning relations between sport and religion. In this paper, the author presents different facets of the presence of religion in football. He starts with shamanistic rituals of African teams, moving next to other behaviors of players, inspired mostly by Christianity. To be more precise, these are: crossing oneself, prayer, or wearing T-shirts with the image of God or the Mother of God. Public manifestations of one's attachment to religion concern players from different countries, for example Uruguay (Edinson Cavani and others). Overt displays of religiousness also include taking part in social actions, such as “I am Not Ashamed of Jesus”, which was initiated in 2011 in Poland (with the participation of Robert Lewandowski and others).

The World Cup in Russia in 2018 constitutes an interesting field of analysis of such attitudes. To give one example, Croatian players often demonstrated their religiosity and their coach clings to the Rosary. The question of political correctness will be also discussed by the author. For example, the Brazilian football body put a ban on religion-themed celebrations among its players, including prayer. In short, Neymar and his colleagues were told to keep their faith out of football, which sparked much controversy. As for religion among football fans, the religious ritual of making pilgrimages to the Jasna Góra Shrine in Częstochowa – the most important place of the Marian cult in Poland – is definitely worth discussing. This annual patriotic event (initiated in 2008) has been organized by the football fans of many Polish clubs. Other examples of religion-inspired attitudes in the world of football fandom will be discussed as well.

The research, which focuses on the first decades of the twentieth century, required familiarization with numerous publications devoted to sport and religion, mostly the ones which present the question of religiosity of football players and fans. The paper thus contributes to an expanding scholarship on the history of sport and religion and stimulates further exploration of the subject.

## History of body education: Modernity and the museum of physical (s)cul(p)ture

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This article aims to establish a space for historiographic investigation of body education in Uruguay at the beginning of the 20th century. For this purpose it focuses on the analysis of the notion of "physical culture", enunciated and promoted by the institutional authorities of the Republic, through the National Commission of Physical Education, in its first two years of creation 1911 - 1913. It uses the minutes of the National Commission of Physical Education as the primary source of the research, based on the following questions; What did the idea of "physical culture" imply? What statements can we find in it? What visibilities were condensed? In what conditions of historical possibility were proposals of "physical culture" institutionalized? The set of the representations between the body and the culture happens to take an important place in the political intervention of the Republic, to such a point that once the CNEF was created in 1911, after several transformations, it was assimilated by the Ministry of Tourism and Sports. Faced with this process for over a century the term "physical culture" came to imply a new configuration of the relationships between culture and the body? Between the body, bodily practices and sports? The working hypothesis of the paper focuses upon the idea of a large urban project of showcases and exhibitions – an intervention that seeks to sculpt visibilities in the physiognomy and soul of the city, and in that of its citizens. We thus view the city as a museum of physical culture, with a modern focus upon body literacy. This research seeks to assist in our understanding of the processes of body education in Uruguay, particularly, to understand the transformation of sensibilities related to bodily practices and sports associated with the promotion of physical culture.

## Swimming in the sea: institutionalization of competitions in the coast of Fortaleza, Brazil (1930-1940)

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The coast of many Brazilian cities was not an attractive place for most of the population until the beginning of 20th century. The shore of Fortaleza, a city in the northeast of Brazil, was mainly used for residence and the work of fishermen and dock workers. It was also the place of arrival and departure of goods and travelers in the city. By the 1920s part of the city's elite built houses on the coast, while part of the society started going to the beach in search of fun, health and beauty. Slowly, many practices started taking place in the coast, including sea bathing, walks in the sand, sun bathing and sports.

Swimming in the sea was a practice that started closely related with sea bathing. Due to the drowning of several bathers, swimming became a necessity of self-protection and a way of rescuing others. From the 1930s however the practice of swimming got more independent, with its own organization, bringing together athletes, training, clubs and competitions. This paper focuses on analyzing the institutionalization of competitive swimming in the sea of Fortaleza during the period from the 1930s to the 1940s. The historical sources of this research are: newspapers, magazines, novels, chronicles and images.

Swimming, as well as other sports, was also part of modern life in Fortaleza. At this period, the city's cultural life had other innovations, such as movie theaters, radios and electric light. Swimming in the sea was associated with health benefits, but also with prestige, virility, bravery and force. Besides the newly established nautical clubs, the press also played an essential role in the development of the competitive swimming.

## The Austro-American Sports Physician Hans Kraus (1905-1996) and his Influence on the Modern American Physical Fitness Movement

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Anyone who studies the origins of modern physical improvement and optimization cultures in and through sports, encounters their roots in the USA in the 1950s. A central figure in the founding of the American fitness movement was the Austrian physician Hans Kraus. Kraus was born in Trieste in 1905 and obtained a doctorate in medicine from the University of Vienna in 1929. Subsequently he practiced as an orthopedic surgeon at the Vienna General Hospital. After the annexation of Austria through Nazi Germany in 1938, he migrated to the United States and worked at the prestigious Columbia Presbyterian Hospital (now the New York Presbyterian Hospital).

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



## Dance as an Academic Discipline in the United States and its Return to its Roots in Physical Education

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Physical Education has a long, rich history in the halls of American academe. From the early development of departments of physical culture, with their emphases on hygiene, health, and social development, to the evolution of modern-day departments of kinesiology, exercise science, and public health among others, the history, while complicated at times, is rather robust. Dance, on the other hand, is a younger discipline, with its origins in departments of physical education, dating from the early parts of the twentieth century. Since the days of Margaret H'Doubler's founding of the first baccalaureate degree in dance (c. 1920s) in the Department of Physical Education at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, a proliferation of dance programs, if not free-standing departments or schools, has occurred on college and university campuses across the United States. Early on, dance in academe often involved folk dancing, ballroom dancing, and "aesthetic dancing," which later developed into what is termed "modern dance" today. During the mid-twentieth century, factions within the discipline of dance shifted their focus from movement education to technical training for professional stage careers. This, in turn, caused a dramatic shift in the curricular offerings at many American colleges and universities where dance separated from physical education to align itself more closely with areas of the fine arts such as music and theatre. This trend is still evident today at many institutions; however, some have begun to realign themselves with physical education again, albeit often in departments of kinesiology, especially as dance medicine has become a burgeoning field of study. Further, with respect to primary and secondary education, degrees in dance education are beginning to proliferate, often in conjunction with physical education and teacher-education programs. Lastly, dance is alive and well today, often in physical education programs, especially service or basic instructional programs on college and university campuses, where the development of the whole individual, in the name of wellness, is stressed. Dance, in American academe, has its roots well planted in physical education, and today, is reconnecting with those historic roots.

## The IRONMAN Triathlon: From Extreme to Mainstream

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The IRONMAN World Championship is triathlon's premier event, with some 2,400 athletes gathering annually to compete. The race's origin stemmed from a debate over which endurance athlete - swimmer, cyclist, or runner - was best. In 1978, to settle the debate, John and Judy Collins created the "Hawaiian Iron Man Triathlon" by combining three existing races held on Oahu - the Waikiki Roughwater Swim, the Around-Oahu Bike Race, and the Honolulu Marathon - into a single-day event. They coined the phrase, "Swim 2.4 miles! Bike 112 miles! Run 26.2 miles! Brag for the rest of your life," and remarked, "Whoever finishes first, we'll call him the Iron Man," hence the race's name. The first race had 15 competitors, with 12 finishing. From such modest beginnings, how did this event grow to an enterprise that sold for \$650 million in 2015, and in 2019 holds over 100 world-wide events? By examining the participation rates, the media exposure, and the event's marketing strategies, one can discern how this modest race became such a phenomenon. For example, "The Running Boom" of the 1970s and a fortuitous article published in Sports Illustrated in 1979 sparked considerable interest. Later, moving the race from Oahu to the Big Island, with its barren lava fields, created a true mystique, and led to ABC's Wide World of Sports covering the race and bringing "the human drama of athletic competition" to a large audience. These events, and many more, were key in the race's development, and made the IRONMAN into the formidable enterprise it is today. Other than the physiological demands of the race, limited scholarship has been conducted on the event. The purpose of this presentation is to address the historical and sociocultural factors of the race to discern how a one-day event went from extreme to mainstream, culminating where tens of thousands of individuals compete annually, hopeful to hear the words, "You are an Ironman," as they cross that coveted finish line.

## National Archery vs. Archery in Korea

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Korea is an archery powerhouse. In Korea, there is a national sport of archery called Gukgung, and archery which has been handed down from the West. In the case of the sport of archery, there were 39 medals in the Olympics alone. In the case of archery in Korea, which is called traditional archery, various kinds of archery were performed during the 800 examinations of military servicemen in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). In the Japanese occupation period(1910-1945), many archery contests were held and after liberation (1945), traditional archery was developed as an upper-class people's sport. As of February 2019, there are 10,351 athletes in 401 clubs and teams in traditional archery and 1,836 athletes in 434 teams in archery. The purpose of this study is to examine how Korean archery was able to develop both archery and traditional archery. To this end, I investigate the changes in the causes, reasons, and social environment of Korean national archery and archery development based on the literature found in newspapers and books. In 1959, Western archery was introduced to traditional archery clubs and coexisted over 20 years until separated from each other in 1983. In the meantime, archery was developed through traditional archery techniques and the development of an improved bow.

In the mid-1970s, a domestic archery bow was made and again a newly improved bow was developed similar with the traditional horn bow. It was cheaper and better and created an opportunity for the archery population to increase. Since the 1988 Summer Olympics, the archery population has increased more because the government changed from elite sports policy to a 'sports for all policy' and during the confrontation and tensions between the Union Archery Association which was established in 1994 of the Korea Council of Sport for All and the Korean National Archery Association of Korean Sports and Olympics Committee.

## Sports Nationalism and Development of Korean Sport

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Since the beginning of 2019, Korean sport has been inundated by scandals and ethical issues, such as corporal punishment and years of sexual violence committed by national team coaches. As a result, the government launched a Korean elite sports reform. The main reform included the abolition of the National Junior Sports Festival and the national teams' training camps. Korean elite sport, a source of national pride for over 100 years, has become a breeding ground for injustice due to a few coaches' lack of ethicality. Have elite sports' policies, represented by sports nationalism, deteriorated the purity and development of sports? To answer this question, this study conducted a literature review to identify the changes in Korean elite sports policies. The study found that Korea's sports nationalism policy was first introduced in the 1960s to inspire national self-esteem. Under the full support of the government, a Korea-specific institutional infrastructure was established to turn Korea into a sports powerhouse. This infrastructure included school sports teams as the foundation of elite sport, a specialized training center for national teams, and pensions for national athletes. However, the school sports teams did not focus on encouraging student-athletes. Instead, they focused on creating an all-or-nothing career selection environment, where students were required to dedicate themselves to academic achievements or elite athletics from childhood. The school sports teams were operated to train student-athletes to become sports robots rather than to use sports as a means of education, resulting in the abnormal structure of Korean elite sport. Although it clearly led the development of Korean sport toward elite sport, causing the current imbalance, sports nationalism has increased the overall competitiveness of Korean sport over a short period, enhancing national pride and the brand value of the Korean sports powerhouse. Therefore, Korean sports nationalism has clear advantages and disadvantages. Korean sport is now attempting a novel strategy to move beyond its deformity, which was born from sports nationalism. This study may serve as a milestone in the establishment of a new structure of Korean sports that moves beyond sports nationalism.

## British Asians and the spectre of cricket

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Recently, the England and Wales Cricket Board announced a South Asian Action Plan, 'to better engage with South Asian communities and grow the game'. It was a reaction to their previous findings that South Asians make up one third of the recreational playing base. In some ways it confirmed what people already knew; cricket is inextricably linked to British Asians. The politicisation of British Asians and cricket is in fact nothing new. In 1990 Conservative MP Norman Tebbit coined the famous 'cricket test'. He suggested South Asian and Caribbean immigrants that supported their native country in international cricket have not integrated into British society. This narrative has glossed over the function of cricket for the early wave of post-war South Asian migrants. The paper will argue that before the 1990s cricket was not a political site for South Asians. Cricket is better understood as a driver for the social development of immigrants from the subcontinent. Therefore, the key question that underpins the research is, to what extent did cricket contribute to the social development of South Asians in Britain circa 1960-1990? The evidence used is based off interviews with current and former grassroots cricket players and administrators in England. To supplement the recordings, local newspapers and cricket records will also be used. The paper will argue cricket provided an important function for early Asian migrants as an escape from domestic conflict or as resistance to racism faced in Britain. For example, the British Tamils Cricket League served as social site for those that had escaped the Sri Lankan Civil War (1983-2009). For Pakistani economic migrants, the Quaid E Azam League was formed in reaction to racism faced in the 1970s. Further conclusions are that South Asian immigrants began to challenge the dominant constructions of cricket in the past as a pastoral, gendered, middle class, and amateur game. Analysing South Asian cricket in England sheds light on the wider social constructions of 'Englishness' in sports. Importantly, it highlights that sport can be a window to gain a broader understanding of communities in history.

## Football match Ilirija-Slavija in 1913, a lection of football and milestone in slovenian footbal development

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In the history of local, national or international sports there are many milestones. Milestones can be of a different nature, or organizational-administrative, political or professional, or also of an event, such as, for example, ski jump over 100 m of Austrian Sepp Bradler on a ski jump in Planica in 1936, a spectacular and eagerly awaited world record that it was jumped on a previously unknown ski jump hill in Slovenia, Yugoslavia, which Slovenian or Yugoslavian skiing sport shot into the world ski jumping orbit even though initially only with the facility, and only later with sportsmen and the profession. Or, for example, slightly older football game between Ljubljana football club Ilirija and Slavia from Prague in summer of 1913 in Ljubljana. With the match the Ljubljana football players and fans met in live with a technically and tactically perfect play of the established Slavija and prague-czech football school and got an experience where they are and where to go. The renowned Slavia was a role model and motivation that influenced further work. The story of the football match combines the organizational milestone of the organization of football and sport in the city and within the nation, which upgraded archaic beginnings and promotes club activity and the physical culture of the city and the nation, strenghten the image of sport domination of one nation in the city in the nationally mixed environments of the Austro-Hungarian everyday. In the article we will highlight the organization of football club Ilirija and »the Match« of prewar generation as some stressed, even though it was from the professional point of view for Prague guests only a part of the summer journey to the Slavic south. Oposite was for the hosts and as it turned out later, a professional milestone, which will be highlighted on the basis of the preserved archives of the sport club Ilirija and the secondary sources of the then newspapers.

# The Sportification of the Olympics: A Comparison of the 1900 and 1912 Games

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This presentation employs diverse theoretical frameworks (Guttman's definition of modern sport, Lorber's and Connell's constructivist approaches to gender, and Bourdieu's concept of habitus) to analyze the transformation of the Olympic Games from a folk festival to organized athletic performances promoting a particular male, upper class ideology relative to proper sporting practices.

Whereas the 1900 Paris Games, held in conjunction with the World's Fair, produced a festival that included a wide range of female participants and myriad events such as ballooning, underwater swimming, and an aquatic obstacle course, as well as mixed-gender competitions; the 1912 Stockholm Games displayed the emergence of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The IOC, composed of older, upper class men, developed a program that marginalized women, adopted an amateur ideal fashioned after their own class based lifestyle, and produced the means for the expression of nationalistic political messages despite its avowed apolitical stance. Thereafter the IOC succeeded, at least temporarily, in marginalizing female athletes as it recruited like-minded males to its governing board, thereby spreading its sporting ideology throughout the world.

The Games became fraught with symbols, ceremonies, and regulations that enhanced gendered power relations thereafter, which continue to this day.

## Football milestones: an alternative history of Portugal

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Traditionally the history of Portugal was written by the historians under the hegemonic influence of the political domain of the time. In the Portuguese case, their milestones are determined by key-political dates, when changing political regimes: Monarchy, until 1910; I Republic, 1910-1926; Dictatorship, 1926-1974; and Democracy, since 1974. These are the political milestones of contemporary Portugal. At the same time, they are the milestones for writing the history of Portugal, in general, not only from the political point of view. The history of economy, society, labor, religion, music or sport, for example, were all written mostly from the perspective of this political milestones chronology. However, there are other ways to examine chronologies and milestones, inside the objects of the historical studies and sometimes disconnected from political influences. As defended by Lucien Febvre (1992), these histories need to be written by historians from different origins, cultures, skills and with thematic concerns since the pursuit of “understanding” the past is the main task for the historian (Hobsbawn, 2002). In the Portuguese case, only in the last two decade has sport become an object of historians, because sport occupied a large space in the daily life, with football the most privileged (Vassort, 2002).

For the first generation of Portuguese football historians, contextualization was a critical explanatory paradigm, as defended by Booth (2006: 40). By placing football in its broader political, economic, and social context, these historians hoped to earn intellectual credibility from peers who dismissed the subject as trivial and irrelevant. However, recent analyses show that football, like many other cultural phenomena, has its own history, its own chronology, its own narratives, sometimes far away from the political influences. Portuguese football history, throughout its 130 years (1888-2018), has developed its own evolution, and milestones. These include (Pinheiro, 2013): 1888-1902 – Discovering; 1903-1920 – Organization; 1921-1934 – Popularization; 1935-1954 – Transitional and Changing Phase; 1955-1977 – Professionalism and internationalization; 1978-2018 – Consecration, mediatization and commercialization. The key-objects of this proposal are to open new perspectives of research in the field of football history.



## From athlete to entrepreneur – towards a Romanian model of successful career after the sports activity

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The process of athletes turned entrepreneurs is an under-explored aspect in the history of sport. An athlete may have a social and economic impact also after the end of his career if he uses its abilities to become more than a chapter in a book.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a conceptual and theoretical comprehension of athletes as entrepreneurs by utilizing human capital in the form of social, emotional and management abilities. In this direction we will analyze some figures that transformed their sport brand and their leadership abilities in tools for a successful entrepreneurship career.

The question of this research is which aspects of their athlete career contributed to their entrepreneurial success? There are many different factors which influence an elite sportsperson and those determinants are working asymmetrically in different countries/cultures.

The paper will examine the biographies of the some Romanian former athletes who are successful entrepreneurs: Ion Țiriac, a former tennis player, Ilie Dumitrescu, ex-footballer, Leonard Doroftei, former boxing champion, Claudiu Miu, former climbing athlete, and Iulian-Constantin Pitigoi, ex-footballer. They are from different generations, with particular evolutions, they have various businesses and they have succeeded to convert to a second career that uses their skills.

This paper offers a new understanding of athletes as entrepreneurs by creating a link between social capital theory, sport entrepreneurship theory and micro-history.

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# The bidding crises of the Summer Olympics: A comparison between Los Angeles 1984 and 2028

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The historic decision of simultaneously awarding the Olympic Games 2024 to Paris and 2028 to Los Angeles reveals the actual crisis this mega event finds itself in. However, this is not the first time that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has handled a bidding crisis. During the Cold War, Los Angeles again was the only candidate city to offer to host the 1984 edition of the Summer Olympics. From this perspective, this paper will discuss the existence of cyclical bidding crises in the organization of the Summer Olympics and discuss how the IOC reacted to them, making a comparison between the two major panic moments of 1984 and 2024-2028.

In order to do this we contextualize the offering of candidate cities to host the Summer Olympics since the II World War, evaluating the different phases of expansion (1948-1960 and 1988-2004), stability (1964-1972 and 2008-2016) and contraction (1976-1984 and 2020-2028); due to the international political and economic context, the circumstances of the Olympic governance and the legacy of previous hosts countries.

The main conclusion is that a bidding crisis starts when the IOC cannot attract enough bids because is unable to guarantee that the political, economic or social gains for the host city (and country) will outweigh the costs of hosting the Olympics. Therefore, due to this lack of credibility, the IOC is forced to re-conceptualize its mega events in order to assure its continuity. At the same time, the main difference and the most dangerous one is that, this time around, the lack of IOC's credibility persists even after the implementation in 2014 of the Olympic Agenda 2020, that has provided a new approach to the bidding process.

The significance of sports history to this paper lies in establishing a connection between the 1984 crisis and the current one, considering the different historic and political context of the Cold War.

## An Exploration on the History of Competitive Sports in China's Century-old Modern Universities

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Over the past one hundred years, college physical education in China has experienced a winding course of starting, rising, setback, recovery and prosperity. As an important part of college physical education, competitive sports is the most attractive part. This study systematically sorts out the history of competitive sports in a number of typical universities in China, and finds that: (1) In the late Qing dynasty, China's modern universities began to be established. University is of great significance for the development of competitive sports in China. It has popularized and improved the function of modern competitive sports, and had great influence to the society at that time. (2) During the Republican Period, college sports became the mainstream of competitive sports, and to some extent represented the highest level of competitive sports in China. (3) After the founding of PRC, due to the establishment of the General Administration of Sport of China, the role of university competitive sports was weakened to some extent. In 1985, university sports, however, drew the attention of the national administration, and the authorities determined that universities can recruit, and train high level sports teams (athletes), and send them to take part in the Olympic Games, world championships and Universiade and other sports events on behalf of China. (4) To continue the innovation and development of competitive sports in colleges and universities, it is necessary to pay attention to top-level design and overall planning of the project, bring intercollegiate sports competitions into the education system, and make sports a real part of college life. In view of the bottlenecks and problems in the development of high-level sports teams, it is necessary to strengthen the organization and coordination of different departments, and construct a scientific and reasonable development system of university competitive sports from the aspects of enrollment policy, team management, training system, competition system, guarantee conditions and contradiction between learning and training.

## The role of assistive technology in advancing the participation of people with disabilities in sport and physical education in the 21st century

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In researching equipment / assistive technology in sport for people with disabilities, the focus is not on equipment that is normally used on a regular basis in sports such as golf, tennis or baseball. In the instance of sport for people with disabilities the emphasis falls on specialised equipment or assistive technology that is designed purposely to enable disabled individuals to participate, compete and enjoy sport and physical education. The evolution of this assistive technology and equipment entered into a new era since the turn of this century. Since then sport for people with disabilities has been challenged and/or blessed with highly sophisticated equipment and technology that progressively dominated in taking sport for people with disabilities to a new competitive level. On the flipside of the coin this evolution ensured a broader level of participation and an increase in numbers in recreational sport and physical education for people with disabilities. Since 2000 assistive technology has helped people with disabilities to contribute more in the workplace, improved their quality of life, and also opened new doors towards participation in recreational sport, competitive sport and physical education. The paper will use a multidisciplinary analysis of investigating the development of assistive technology in sport for people with disabilities since the turn of the twenty-first century, the increased participation in physical education and recreational sport, and the improved performances of people with disabilities in competitive sport. Both qualitative and quantitative methods will be used to compile and present evidence to highlight and contextualise the issue of shifting the boundaries of assistive technology in sport for people with disabilities. The advancement of assistive technology and equipment during the 21st century is bound to take sport for people with disabilities to new heights. It could also further intensify the historical debate around “unfair advantages” of assistive technology in sport for people with disabilities, a contentious issue that became prominent in discussions around competitive sport for people with disabilities towards the end of the previous century.

## We are the Champions – 1995 as a Defining Moment in the History of Sports in Finland

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Finland won the World Championship title in ice hockey in Stockholm 1995. Nearly 100,000 people participated in the victory parade on the streets of Helsinki, cementing ice hockey's status as Finland's number one sport, as the country was just emerging from deep economic depression.

The success and status of Finnish ice hockey had been built systematically in preceding years and decades. This paper analyses the triumph of ice hockey in Finland concentrating on the key aspects of the development of the sport such as professionalization and rapid establishment of indoor infrastructure. The main questions of the research are: what made ice hockey so special for the Finnish people and what followed the title triumph of 1995? The research is based on the archive of the Finnish Ice Hockey Association, literature and newspapers.

Ice hockey really began to grow in Finland after the Second World War. First artificial ice rinks were built in the 1950's following the example of Sweden and Central European countries, and by 1967 all Finnish championship league clubs were playing on artificial ice. The first indoor arenas were built in the 1960's. Ice hockey benefitted from urbanization as the sport grew in emerging suburbs.

The World Championships hosted by Finland (1965, 1974, 1982, 1991, 1997, 2003, 2012, 2013) supported the growth of registered players, audience, infrastructure and resources. The surplus generated by most of the tournaments was invested back into the sport by the Ice Hockey Foundation. The huge difference between the development resources available to the Finnish Ice Hockey Association and other sports in Finland in the last few decades is explained by this regular extra income. Influential leadership of the association and efficient networking with business leaders, politicians and national and municipal administrations paved the way forward. By the end of the 20th century over 200 indoor ice rinks had been built in Finland, and the highest valued sports brands in the country were associated with ice hockey.

## Spies in tracksuits: Sport espionage during the Cold War

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The Cold War epoch was marked by the antagonistic relationship between two socio-economic and political systems as well as the clash of irreconcilable geopolitical interests. It appeared as a confrontation between capitalism and communism and determined foreign as well as security policy worldwide in the second half of the 20th century. For decades, political, economic, technical and military efforts were made on both sides of the Iron Curtain to contain the influence of the opposing camp.

In this constellation, secret services became more and more important as part of the "nerves of government." Intelligence actions such as espionage, covert operations, targeted disinformation and propaganda, sabotage, hostage-taking and even murder of unpopular individuals marked the Cold War between both the superpowers and their allies.

Furthermore, the East-West conflict shaped all areas of life, economy, culture, society and especially sport. Governments realized sport and physical culture's political potential. International sports competitions, world championships and Olympic Games became areas where the rival powers could prove or assert their dominance. Western countries and Soviet bloc nations invested heavily in sports training and development, particularly in sports involving international competition. This inevitably led to a scientification of sport, to the rise of sports medicine but also to the spread of doping practices.

Against this background this research traces the sport espionage during the Cold War. Focusing on the divided post-war Germany as the focal point of the East-West conflict, intelligence actions of both German states against each other will be investigated and compared. Particular attention will be dedicated to motives and institutional structures as well as to actors and practices. Relevant and previously unpublished documents from the archives of the German secret services form the basis of this study.

## A history of basketball in the city of Cáceres – Mato Grosso – Brasil

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This paper is a result of research that aimed at retracing the history of basketball in the city of Cáceres, Mato Grosso, Brazil. We aimed to construct a history of male basketball in the city, based on the trajectory of the first athletes. Considering the particularities and the search paths, we have chosen a qualitative approach based on oral history (Martinelli, 2003). We did four semi-structured interviews with veteran basketball players from Cáceres-Mato Grosso. We have also used photographic collections (Kossoy, 2005) made available by our interviewees. According to their reports, basketball in the city of Cáceres began in schools, with the goal of finding athletes to participate in city's championships, and then in regional and state competitions. A systematic practice of youth basketball only appears in 1990, when the city of Cáceres makes its first appearances in regional championships, with male and female youth teams. Later, at the end of the 2000s, Santos (one of our interviewed subjects) creates the Asa Branca Association, which was the city's first basketball club, creating the possibility for the main athletes of the city to have a proper space for training. However, once the athletes began to leave the State to pursue their studies, followed by the end of Asa Branca in 2004 and the lack of public support for their practices, Cáceres' basketball teams were less competitive and did not qualify for the state championships. These difficulties, which last until the present moment, lead us to believe that there is a compelling need to resume the discussions about public policies that encourage, create, and maintain the possibility for diverse bodily and sporting practices in the city of Cáceres. During the 1990s, belonging to one of the strongest teams in the area was more than practicing a sport. It meant a feeling of belonging to a group, a basketball tradition that needs to be reclaimed.

## Three Portuguese clubs in São Paulo: identity, sports and sociability (1930s)

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Portuguese immigration was intense in Brazilian history during the 19th and 20th centuries. They established themselves in Brazilian cities and started associations to promote better living conditions, political and economical networks and also cultural activities. This research aimed to answer how the main three sport and social clubs from São Paulo were represented in the press of the 1930s, around national identity. The 1930's represent of political tensions and national identity debates. In an attempt to uncover this, we consulted newspapers from that period and a magazine entitled *Revista Portuguesa*, which was edited by one of the clubs. Since Brazilian and Portuguese immigrants shared the same language, they were able to read the same publications, and thus access similar representations about a particular object. In that way, the interpretation of our sources allowed us not only to understand how the clubs worked and which kind of activities they realized, but also how the Portuguese or Luso-Brazilian identities were represented for their readers at that time. Our conclusions point out that the press frequently represented those clubs as expressions of a strong cultural connection between Portugal and Brazil. They were seen as places to promote Portuguese culture and also places where Portuguese could contribute towards the development of progress in Brazil. Through their general events and in particular, as well as through their sports like football or fencing, the clubs were important to understand cultural mediations made by the press regarding different social groups and national identities in the city. Our results contribute to an understanding that the history sports associations can be an essential aspect to comprehend the development of national identities amongst immigrant groups in Brazil.



## Lucas de Iranzo and the Emergence of Non-Violent Sport in Fifteenth-Century Jaen

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Between 1460 and 1473, when the Muslim kingdom of Granada was the only thing that remained to conquer to the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula to complete the Reconquest of their land, Lucas de Iranzo, an ennobled villain, governed Jaéna city and region bordering Granada in an absolute manner. A chronicle of the time, 'Relación de los fechos del muy magnífico e más virtuoso señor el señor don Miguel Lucas muy digno condestable de Castilla', dedicated to the exaltation of the excellence of that character, Lucas de Iranzo, contains very valuable information on sports in Castile in the fifteenth century. Its study shows us that violent chivalrous sports typical of medieval societies were relegated and replaced by non-violent substitutes. We explain that phenomenon with the theory of Norbert Elias. As a conclusion we suggest that there existed a relation between Lucas de Iranzo's excellent image, his political absolutism, and the relegation of violent knightly sports.

## Moderate and modern: an essay about the relationship between body education and hygiene from the films fixes in CEDRHE

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This article analyzes body education processes, particularly in relationship with school hygiene as a field of pedagogic interventions. Documents which have not been much studied were selected to work with, for this purpose: films fixes, especially the ones present in the Centre d'Etudes, de Documentation et de Recherches en Histoire de l'Éducation (CEDRHE), in the University of Montpellier. With characteristics very similar to those of a photographic film, the films fixes differ from these basically for two reasons: because they present images "in positive" (images of the photographic films are "in negative"), and because they tolerate light (therefore, they can be used in everyday instances of the classroom). Composed by a variant number of images, they could present texts that accompanied them; while the images could vary in their coloration (black and white, color or sepia). For the French case, although its use can be found between 1930 and 1950-60, the educational use of these materials knew its moment of apogee for the end of the period (Goutanier and Lepage 2008), in particular thanks to the stimulus that meant the subsidy to educational establishments for the acquisition of projection equipment. Taking a close look into some special features these sources present has become of importance, enabling us to propose the following hypothesis: the integration of technologic innovation in the educational environment contributed to the appearance of interests foreign to this field. For the French scenery of mid twentieth century, films fixes allowed external subjects regarding the educational field whose concerns were centrally economic, to find fertile grounds in which to develop themselves. Central ideas about the education of the body and its organization, about the cares and hygiene of it, and about life in general are mixed up with extremely particular economic and commercial interests. In this way, knowledge transmission to children attending scholastic institutions begins to be crossed by these same interests and concerns. In these materials, attention was posed in practices like sports, together with food regulations and the transmission of hygiene habits. Thus the study of film fixes can contribute to comprehend the way in which body education, especially hygiene practices and sports are organized inside educational institutions.

## Football Punch or Drunkenness and Blackguardism: Sport, alcohol and prohibition in New Zealand 1870s-1930s

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Drawing on substantial archival research, primarily from New Zealand newspapers, and on themes identified by Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew in *Mud, Sweat and Beers: a cultural history of sport and alcohol* (2002), this paper traces the contested relationship between sport, particularly rugby, and alcohol in colonial New Zealand. This was a new world society in which very strong influence was exerted over more than half a century by a temperance and later alcohol prohibition movement grounded in the Protestant churches. There is an evident tension to be explored between the increasing prominence of sport as a component of national identity, especially with the international success of New Zealand rugby teams after 1905, and the sometimes virulent attacks by prohibitionists on the supposed alcoholic excesses of sportsmen and spectators alike. While public houses had a significant role as venues for sports club meetings and other sporting occasions, and there is also evidence of brewery patronage for sport and a desire to reference it in alcohol advertising, it is clear that sports bodies also sought to neutralise the prohibitionist challenge through strictures on player behaviour and efforts to discourage 'lavish entertainment'. Over time, prohibitionist rhetoric also shifted to emphasise specific examples of success by sportsmen who abstained from alcohol – a line of argument that was also pursued by others not directly engaged with the politics of the prohibition debate. The central question underpinning this paper is how successful was the prohibition movement in shaping the ways in which sporting organisations regulated the behaviour of their players.

## Bullfighting and fox hunting: a comparison between the Spanish and English civilizing processes

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Bullfighting's early period share a common ground with other sports including animals such as fox hunting; they were part of the leisure culture of nobility. Nevertheless, the development of bullfighting and fox hunting was very different. Precisely, the main questions of this oral presentation is the following: was the different development of bullfighting and fox hunting related to the different patterns of the Spanish and English civilising processes?

This oral presentation uses different historical resources from text and original documents to state the main argument: the different power relations between social groups in each case ended up in different state formation patterns that affected the development of leisure and sport activities. The comparison between both cases can help to enhance the historical understanding of the development of different physical cultures connected to national traditions.

In the English case, the reformist urban middle classes (industrial bourgeoisie) succeeded in controlling and suppressing brutal activities including animals such as bull and bear baiting. The Cruelty to Animals Act of 1835 was mainly addressed to the kind of gory entertainment of the "unruly" working classes that could be controlled through the recently created police forces of the time. The control over the leisure practices of the landed classes (aristocracy and gentry) was much less successful. This situation permitted fox hunting to survive in the countryside, confined to the terrains of the landed classes.

In the Spanish case, the presence of the reformist urban middle classes was much more restricted and had slight influence on the control/abolishment of the activity. From an aristocratic practice of honour and status, bullfighting unfolded towards a professional activity (already well established in 18thC) in which common folk acted as main actors in the arena and landed classes acted as organizers and promoters. Bullfighting was seen as an essence of the Spanish identity against foreign fads such as English sports.

## Olympic Glory and the Rise of Nationalism in Imperial Japan

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International sporting competitions evoke national identity and pride, and governments are frequently accused of using and abusing sport to enhance such expressions of nationalism. In Japan, the dominant belief is that the government has controlled as well as enhanced sports, but an equally plausible case can be made that the leaders of amateur athletics and the Olympic movement in Imperial Japan capitalized on rising nationalism to obtain government subsidies to promote greater participation in the Olympics. The amateur athletic world itself was a major beneficiary of establishing the link between international athletic success and national prestige.

This study explains the process of the amateur athletic movement's promotion of Olympic participation (1912-1938) in Imperial Japan, and how it convinced the government that Olympic success would enhance national prestige. This process is tracked through analysis of the annals (*Dainihon Taiiku Kyokai-shi*) and the monthly magazine (*Athletics, Olympics*) of the Japan Amateur Athletic Association (JAAA) and articles from newspapers (*Asahi Shimbun*, *Yomiuri Shimbun*).

Although the International Olympic Committee (IOC) advocates the ideal of athletics free of nation-state politics, JAAA leaders sought government subsidies to send more delegates to international games from the late 1910s. To do so, they made the case that athletic success would bolster national prestige, not just strengthen people's physiques. That set the pattern of claiming the nation benefited from promoting sports. As a consequence, sports forfeited its autonomy and independence.

After winning the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), Japan became a self-proclaimed "Asian leader" and "first-class world power." Participating in the Olympics and winning medals became one element of a national effort to catch up with and overtake Western developed countries. Winning internationally also helped Japanese people try to overcome their image of physical inferiority to the West. People made connections between the triumphs of their athletes and their nation's superiority. The culmination of this process was Tokyo's bid to host the 1940 Games, which the government finally withdrew because of its war in China.

## Does Physical Activity need Space? – Cybernetic Development of Sports

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The development of sports relies on information, material and energy. In short, it relies on cybernetics. The question as to whether physical activity needs space will be reflected according to the model of cybernetic on five aspects:

Physical activity needs space to match the criteria of sports: Stadiums, soccer grounds or swimming pools are more or less standardized places to play fair. That is why they can be used as a measurement also. However, tolerances in building those sporting facilities might distort fair results; inventions for the optimal presentation of movements in space: Optimising the interaction between human and apparatus forces adaption of the athlete to sporting space; “Time of Flight” in trampoline sports, the Fosbury-Flop or the altering of the centre of gravity at the javelin are shining examples; physical cultures conquer social spaces: pedelecs and E-Scooters, le Parkour, Calisthenics or Beach- or Snow-Volleyball belong to our everyday-life or our holiday spots. Urban street- and traffic development is looking for ways to safeguard population in spite of new members of public place;

spaces will be adapted (temporarily) in their function to sports: Alpensia, the new area, exclusively built for Olympic Games in Sochi, can be regarded as a permanent change of natural space to a functional sporting space, while walking bus and house-running are temporarily adaptations; importance of space for movement and sports: Naumachien, the near-by option to train navel battles in a flooded stadium, disc-golf, to combine being outside and doing healthy steps, or outdoor-gyms, you can use before work or during lunch-break, fit perfectly to include movement and sports into (individual) life.

You have to consider space if you think of physical activity, because space can be a limit for information, material and energy.

Space is an important and shining dimension in sports and physical culture that we have began to discover, only recently.

## Mecca of Ski in Korea, Pyeongchang, 2018 Winter Olympic Games

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In February 2018, the attention of the world was concentrated in Pyeongchang, Gangwon Province, Korea. The purpose of this study is to find out the way of Korean skiing through the process of spreading and developing modern skiing in Pyeongchang, Gangwon province, which was at the center of the Winter Olympics. Modern skiing was introduced to PyeongChang in 1950. A period from 1960 to 1975 brought up development of technologies with the introduction of new ski technologies because South Korea participated in the first winter Olympic Games in 1960. In 1975, the first ski resort, Yongpyeong Resort, opened with a modern facility. The opening of Yongpyeong Resort would further promote the popularization of ski culture.

In the late 1980s, the Yongpyeong Resort continuously developed ski slopes that conformed to international standards. In 1988, the Silver and Red Line slopes in the Yongpyeong Ski Resort were recognized by the International Ski Federation as an official course and it could hold international games. Since then, the International Yongpyong Cup was held in 1991, and the Yongpyong resort became an international ski resort. The Yongpyong resort was selected as the venue for the 1999 Winter Asian Games.

## The collective memory and sportification of ice-skating in northern China (1890-1940)

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Analysis of 1009 newspaper reports with achieves and documents about the skating activities that had taken place in Beijing and Tianjin and some other northern China cities between 1890-1940 were examined, from which we could draw a conclusion that during the period between 1890s-1940s there was a democratic tendency and sportification shift which took place in the development of skating culture.

The trend mainly took place in following aspects:

1. Along with the regime shift from the Qing Government Emperor to the Northern Warlords Government and national people's government the skating shift from royal family entertainment to citizen's entertainment, with the introduction of rules and program of winter Olympic games in the middle of 1930s, it gradually became a competition oriented culture. People who participated in skating in the Qing period were mainly Man people, while during the 1910-1920s, the government forbade people to go near the brisk and dangerous river; but when the YMCA began to promote modern ice skating in north China, it become a popular activity in the big cities. In the 1930s, with the introduction of skating rules and skills from world winter Olympic games, skating become very popular among young college students and finally become a program in the national competition.
2. The shift of the public place of skating: the three lakes in the royal park and the city moat became the place to skate mainly for transporting and military training by the late 1890; but after the corruption of the Qing government, the forbidden park opened up for ordinary people to play in winter, and newly founded universities and Christian middle schools began to build man-made rinks to run the skating business and set up new skating organizations.
3. The new media formed the citizens' taste of a visual frame of skating with foreign skating movie star images and scientific illustrations. With the introduction of modern technology of skating arenas and training processes, skating became a greater part of social life and included the romantic stories for ordinary people.



## Historizing the contemporary uses of testosterone. A visual analysis of American body culture

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*“Testosterone has infiltrated modern life in ways that that often escape both our attention and our censure.” (John Hoberman, 2005 p. 277)*

This paper presents a visual anthropology of historical and contemporary discourses embedded within testosterone advertising. Since 1935 synthetic testosterone has been fuelling men’s desires and fantasies. “It has played all the major roles in which a charismatic hormone can function: it has been regarded as a rejuvenating drug, as a sexually stimulating drug, and as a doping drug that builds muscle and boosts athletic performance” (Hoberman, 2005 p.1). Drawing on visual data from (American) magazines, journals, television, social media, website and billboards advertisements I demonstrate how the historical discourses of masculinity, health, sexual performance and (economic) productivity have begun to re-emerge, via the popularity of ‘Californian’/Appearance and anti-ageing medicine clinics located in Los Angeles and throughout the United States of America. Testosterone has once again become part of the collective consciousness of (American) men and their mind-body drug of choice in their attempts to overcome fatigue and loss of stamina, reduced sex drive, lack of joy and happiness, muscle weakness, ageing and a lack of muscular development. In this paper I examine historical and contemporary discourses of synthetic testosterone, exploring the role synthetic testosterone has played within American (body) culture and men’s lives. To conclude, I critically question the ‘health’ claims made by medical practitioners and pharmaceutical companies as they attempt to increase their profit margins through the sale of synthetic testosterone. Do men really need testosterone and does it really improve their quality of life?

## Franjo Bučar as the first promotor of Olympism in Croatia

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During the last decade of 19th Century, one of the key points for the development of international sport community was the foundation of International Olympic Committee (IOC). The foundation of the IOC and organization of the first Games in Athens was registered and commented upon in Croatian newspapers Šport (Sport) and Gimnastika (Gymnastics) by Croatian sports workers. Franjo Bučar played the leading role in informing the Croatian public about these events. His texts were very positive and affirmative towards the development of the IOC and Olympism although sport did not yet play an important social role. The background to Bučar's knowledge and information's about the Olympic movement lies in his education in Stockholm, Sweden at the Royal Gymnastics Central Institute from 1892 to 1894. There he met with Jiří Guth-Jarkovský and Viktor Balck, later original members of the IOC. These friendships with members of the IOC enabled him to receive important information about events related to the development of the Olympic movement. Franjo Bučar had intensive correspondence particularly with Mr. Jarkovský and those letters are preserved today in the Croatian sports museum. One of the important events in promotion of the Olympic movement was also the visit of Viktor Balck to Zagreb in 1903. During his stay, Franjo Bučar as his host acquainted him with the developing sport society in Zagreb. Still Franjo Bučar, known today as the father of Croatian sport, had one lapse during the years of development of the IOC. Jiří Guth-Jarkovský sent him an invitation to the Olympic congress in 1897 in Le Havre, France but he didn't go there and thus missed an important opportunity to become a member of the IOC. In the years to come, the Croatian sports community tried to gain sport independence through the appearance at the Olympic Games under the Croatian flag. Unfortunately, Croatian athletes had to wait until 1992 to participate at the games under the Croatian flag. Despite this, Franjo Bučar played an extremely positive role in affirming and promoting the Olympic movement in Croatia.

## Passion, ponies and poliomyelitis- Elsebeth Bødtker, a pioneer in therapeutic horseback riding

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Elsebeth Bødtker (1917-1998) was a passionate equestrian her whole life. She started to ride at an early age, and was among the first female equestrians in Norway to compete in dressage as well as show jumping. In 1953, she met Lis Hartel, the Danish Olympic silver medallist who, despite her disability due to polio, still was among the best equestrians in the world at that time (Hedenborg, 2017). Inspired by this meeting, Mrs. Bødtker was intrigued to combine her passion for horses with her profession as a mensendieck physiotherapist. She immediately started to develop a program, specially designed for children with polio, using horses for therapeutic reasons. In 1964, she managed to get the therapeutic riding recognized as a treatment qualifying for reimbursement from the Norwegian social security system, as any other physiotherapeutic treatment (Falch, 2008).

The use of horses for therapeutic purposes was not a new phenomenon, and even in ancient Greece Hippocrates argued that riding horses was good for health (Urban, 2018). With the epidemic spread of poliomyelitis, horse riding was introduced in programs of locomotor rehabilitation. The Scandinavian countries, UK and Canada were among the pioneering countries for the growth of organizations and societies supporting the idea of therapeutic riding during the 1950's (Saywell, 1988; Urban, 2018). Elsebeth Bødtker was among the pioneers.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the life story of Elsebeth Bødtker from a gender and disability perspective, focusing on how she, by combining her passion for horseback riding with her profession as a physiotherapist, managed to develop a program for therapeutic riding. The paper builds on letters and documents in the possession of the family, archive material, newspaper reports and some interviews.

## From athlete to entrepreneur – towards a Romanian model of successful career after the sports activity

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The process of athletes turned entrepreneurs is an under-explored aspect in the history of sport. An athlete may have a social and economic impact also after the end of his career if he uses its abilities to become more than a chapter in a book.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a conceptual and theoretical comprehension of athletes as entrepreneurs by utilizing human capital in the form of social, emotional and management abilities. In this direction we will analyze some figures that transformed their sport brand and their leadership abilities in tools for a successful entrepreneurship career.

The question of this research is which aspects of their athlete career contributed to their entrepreneurial success? There are many different factors which influence an elite sportsperson and those determinants are working asymmetrically in different countries/cultures.

The paper will examine the biographies of the some Romanian former athletes who are successful entrepreneurs: Ion Țiriac, a former tennis player, Ilie Dumitrescu, ex-footballer, Leonard Doroftei, former boxing champion, Claudiu Miu, former climbing athlete, and Iulian-Constantin Pitigoi, ex-footballer. They are from different generations, with particular evolutions, they have various businesses and they have succeeded to convert to a second career that uses their skills.

This paper offers a new understanding of athletes as entrepreneurs by creating a link between social capital theory, sport entrepreneurship theory and micro-history.

## Home Advantage: The 1960 European Women's Rowing Championships at Willesden

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This paper addresses a milestone in the history of British sport, namely the hosting of the 1960 European Women's Rowing Championships at the Welsh Harp reservoir in Willesden, London. It explores the significance of this event to male and female amateur rowing communities in Britain at the time – communities that were still administratively (and, to a significant degree, practically) independent in 1960, and has three key objectives. Firstly, using archival materials from the River & Rowing Museum, British Rowing headquarters, newspaper archives and personal collections held by former athletes, it locates the event in sporting and social context. Secondly, it explores the remembered experience of the championships using oral history interviews with three women who competed for Great Britain at the event, and considers the content of these interviews alongside the methodological implications of their interactions with the written record. Lastly, using this research as a foundation, the paper examines how the different objectives of the Amateur Rowing Association (ARA), the Women's Amateur Rowing Association (WARA) and the British athletes were realised or diminished through the hosting of the event. It will argue that the event was, administratively, a success, despite relatively poor results on the water for the British team. Hosting the event served political purposes for the ARA and the WARA: in addition to building Britain's profile in international rowing, it increased the perceived relevance and value of the women's sport in the broader context of amateur rowing in Britain. The amalgamation of the WARA into the ARA was agreed just two years later, and the paper argues that more progressive factions of the ARA saw building an understanding of this relevance and value as a necessary precursor to greater integration of men's and women's rowing. Yet it will also suggest that individual experiences of the event were more equivocal than published accounts, and that the political manoeuvrings behind it are suggestive of patriarchal as well as progressive impulses.

## A review of the related Insurance of Sports in Taiwan

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The development and study of sport has attracted much attention in Taiwan over the past decades. Yet the issues of the sports-related insurance in relation to local social environmental changes have not been valued and discussed as popularly. It is vital that sport and recreation organizations protect their assets with adequate insurance as athletes might get hurt, become seriously wounded, or even pass away during competitions. Sports insurance policies are designed to cover amateur and professional players, as well as clubs, groups and associations and organizations in the sports industry. In addressing risk management in sport, this study aims to examine the origin and the formulation of the sports-related insurance in Taiwan and its connection with the social environment. The contents of this report are presented under four main sections: (1) sports and social environmental change; (2) the development of the sports-related insurance in Taiwan; (3) the construction of the connection between sports and insurance in Taiwan; (4) the future development of sports insurance in Taiwan. The major strands of this analysis are drawn together in the conclusion.

## The Olympic Games and anti-authoritarianism: an analysis of the mechanism of integrating the codes of rebellion embedded in extreme sports into State policy

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This paper provides a historical analysis of counter-culture and sports involvement in a consumption-oriented society. As an important example, this paper focuses on the Youth Olympic Games of 2018, where skateboarding, an extreme sport, was added as a consideration in the Tokyo Olympic Games of 2020. Kit MacConnell, an athletic manager in IOC, argues that the world of sports continues to be transformed, hence the Olympic Games must change accordingly. In addition, Satsuki Katayama, a member of the House of Councilors, asserts, in *The Brochure of CHIMERA GAMES (vol.4, 2017)*, in relation to extreme sports, that “Recently, I hear, the phrase, ‘the Young People’s Disregard of the Olympic Games’, and it is not such an easy task for us to get back the young people to the Games even if the events of the Games were partly altered as long as their fundamental interests are retained in other newly-built fashionable leisure activities which were not existing in the past.” In these situations, ‘The Plan of Urban Cluster’ will be worth considering. In the plan, artists and DJs enliven some events with music composed of various genres, and the standing audience feels free to pop in to watch the games....I think this way of enjoyment a clue to change the conventional Olympic Games into a new attraction.” However, this MP’s political idea appears to be contrary to the value of extreme sports because her idea of adopting the new audience style of extreme sports attempts to integrate the youth culture into the Olympic Games, which is affected by State policy. On the contrary, extreme sports have been historically rooted in the counterculture. Jean-Claude Lebeau and Ryan Sides argue that athletes who enjoy extreme sports wish to liberate themselves from the rigid regulation and social codes in ordinary life. Therefore, this paper will analyze the mechanism of how anti-authoritarianism is absorbed into power-related structures such as state nationalism, and how such power has been able to intervene in grass-roots sport culture since the emergence of extreme sports 30 years ago.

## The role of early 20<sup>th</sup> century water-safety and physical-education programs in the development of synchronized swimming

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The dearth of swimming ability among turn-of-the-century American women came to national attention in 1904 when the General Slocum, a steamboat carrying primarily women and children on New York's East River, caught fire. Hundreds of women drowned—many not far from the riverbank—leading to calls for water-safety education. Lifesaving enthusiast Wilbur Longfellow began a crusade to “waterproof America,” teaching improved lifesaving methodologies to beach guards and raising interest in swimming among the general public. Hired by the American Red Cross to run its water safety programming, Longfellow wrote scripts for a series of water pageants featuring plots, costuming and displays of “fancy” or “ornamental” swimming strokes. His pageants were performed widely at camps, municipal gatherings, and Y.M.C.A. swimming pools and inspired the publication of entire books on water pageantry.

By the late 1920s, women were filling colleges in unprecedented numbers, and the expanding field of physical education had opened new teaching doors to women. While women physical educators sought athletic opportunities for their female students, many preferred to sidestep ongoing controversy over whether sports were masculinizing girls. Swimming was less controversial than other sports due to its value as a lifesaving skill and the association between femininity and swimming that had been established in the public imagination by vaudeville aquatic performers like Annette Kellerman. They experimented with group swimming that combined water ballet, pageantry, military drills, and ornamental strokes—aligning with the idea held by some that women's sport should be communal and noncompetitive. Katherine Curtis, a Chicago physical education instructor added music, setting a gramophone on the pool deck, and created sequences of strokes that kept time with the beat, calling her innovation “rhythmic swimming.” Curtis' swimmers performed at the 1934 Chicago World's Fair, where an announcer coined the term “synchronized swimming,” a name that stuck even after Curtis later wrote the rules and judging criteria that turned swimming performance into a competitive sport. This paper uses archival documents and secondary sources, including the papers of Longfellow, Curtis, and others, to analyze historic connections between early lifesaving efforts, physical education, and synchronized swimming—now a modern Olympic sport.



## IDENTITY POLICY USING PELÉ

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The paper deals with identity policy connected to a film *Pelé: Birth of a Legend* which illustrates Pelé's early career, especially his role in World Cup 1958. Pelé is described as the great saviour of the Brazilian team who almost single-handedly brings about the victory which had previously evaded Brazil and simultaneously revives the black roots of the game, creating a new kind of Brazilian identity. The film emphasizes how the "jogo bonito" football was created as a form of resistance against white lords during the times of slavery. Pelé is thus made also a champion of his race.

The paper asks what does this film tell about our own age and values: why does it offer us this particular view of 1958? How is the film used in creating identity policy and how credible are its interpretations?

The material consists of the film itself and contemporary newspapers. This enables testing the film's views of Brazilian heroism, which is underlined by an enemy image: the Swedish team which is presented as arrogant and brutal, almost "Aryan" Europeans and even as the favourite of the final – a "Miracle on Ice" constellation. Also the Swedish public is described as hostile.

All this is contrary to most descriptions in literature. The existing studies have also rather suggested that Brazilian black awareness has not seen Pelé as a hero of his race but been rather critical towards him for being too neutral and too correct towards the establishment.

Moreover, the view given of the 1958 World Cup, especially the Swedish (in a wider sense European and white) enemy image was tested by contemporary press – English, German, Swedish. These did not offer support to the image which the film gives either.

The paper argues, that the film interprets and explains the events of 1958 according to our present-day needs and values. Thus the study of it helps to understand the meaning of sports in modern-day identity building.

## The ideal of a Soviet athlete in Estonian SSR in the years 1940-1958

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In the philosophy of Soviet sport the athletes were considered as great role models with considerable responsibility. This paper seeks to create a model of the “ideal Soviet athlete” of the Estonian SSR in the years 1940-1959. Also, it analyses the key modifications made in this model during the period.

Various historical sources are used. The most important sources are archival documents. Much is based on the protocols and directives of the Physical Culture and Sports Committees of the Estonian SSR. The Sports Committee represented the highest degree of state institutions of sports in the Soviet Union. The author has also closely studied different channels of media in Estonia during the period. The more theoretical parts of this research are mostly based on foreign literature.

From the 1970s many books and articles have been published, which focus on the Soviet sports policy from the perspective of the entire Soviet Union. Some East European countries have also been researched, but there are very few works, which handle a single republic of the Soviet Union.

Physical culturists and athletes were under constant attention and pressure in the Estonian SSR. An ideal athlete of the Estonian SSR was a world class sportsman who always performed in the best possible way. He or she as a person held certain values and had a high morality. An ideal athlete had to be educated, hard-working and politically active (a true communist). He or she was expected to be an atheist. During the late 1950s it became more important to have the right qualities considering sports meetings abroad.

It can be seen, that even these Estonian SSR athletes who enjoyed great international recognition and had big accomplishments in the field of sport came under criticism in Estonia. Of course, this criticism wasn't always public.

## Sports Commentators' Figurative Language as a Way to Document Sports History

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The paper deals with sports commentators' often humorous language use as an interdisciplinary subject in the area where sports history meets both folkloristics and linguistics. The paper analyses the sports commentators' gaffes/bloopers collected from live sports broadcasts on different Estonian media channels in 2010–2018. The remarks are usually not funny for commentators themselves. The audiences see the jokes that have emerged during live broadcasts as unintentional humour (see Martin 2007) or accidental humour (Nilsen & Nilsen 2000). What makes these experiences worth recording is their different logic, mistakes, and developments that seem interesting and emotionally valuable. The material has a great potential of becoming folklore, starting a life of its own among people and losing the initial connection with the author of the gaffe.

This survey is an attempt to categorise the material: tautologies, and unintentional juxtapositions where the viewer/listener knows what is meant, nonsense, pointless words, unintended puns, reuse of old proverbs, etc. The material referenced here has in part already become folklore. It has come alive and lost its connection with the creator. It does not matter who said what exactly. What matters is the emotion received from it – why it seems funny.

The Given material also has a link to sports history – it shares commentators' attitude towards different sports events (Olympic Games, World Cup competitions, national competitions. etc), elite athletes' and also local level athletes' performances. So this material can thus be seen as a distinguished cultural phenomenon reflecting the sports history.

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## Research on the Thoughts and Practice of Sports Figures in China's Century-old Modern Universities

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During the development of sports in the century-old modern universities in China, there are rich thoughts and practices. This study mainly adopts the methods of documentation and expert interviews, as well as field visits and surveys of China's century-old modern universities to systematically analyze the role of sports figures in the development of university sports culture and their contributions to the cause of physical education. For example, Cai Yuanpei, President of Peking University, put forward the initiative of “complete personality, first in sports”, and he integrated sports thoughts into an educational concept. Mr. John Ma of Tsinghua University is referred to as a banner of China's sports. He emphasized the “general, active, automatic, brave spirit” of sport and the spirit of “fight to the finish and never give in”. Sports educator Wu Yunrui obtained his master's degree in sports in the United States. His book *Kinematics* is the first of its kind in sports biomechanics research. His research is of great significance for advancing the establishment of China's modern sports system theory and the scientific research process of sports. Professor Fang Wanbang’s thought of sports education, the concept of sports science, and the viewpoint of naturalization of sports have enriched the connotation of sports, established the scientific attributes of sports, and promoted the status of sports ontology.

These iconic figures have had a great effect in the shaping of university sports culture, and can be an important embodiment of the sports culture of a university. Therefore in building university sports culture, it is a must to acknowledge their influence. In practice, we should strengthen the training of PE teachers, and cultivate teachers with ideological influence. We should especially emphasize PE teachers’ ability of scientific and academic research, and sports thought, and cultivate more PE teachers like John Ma and Wu Yunrui.

# The Progress and Problems of Korean Olympic Education

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The purpose of this study is to find out the progress of Olympic education in Korea and to assess the problem. The course of Olympic education in Korea was analysed through books, papers, newspaper articles, and the documents of the Korean Olympic Committee, the Korea Sports Promotion Foundation (KSPO) and the Ministry of Education. In addition, I participated in the Olympic education for elementary school students as a researcher to discover the potential effects of the Olympic education.

South Korea's Olympic education development process is as follows. In 1974, the KOC opened the Olympic Academy as a project to promote the sub-committee. It established the Korean Olympic Academy (KOA) rule in accordance with the 1980 Olympic Academy regulations and spread Olympism by conducting academic research, seminars and symposiums. Since 1989, the year after the 1988 Seoul Olympics, about 100 sports-related workers and the general public have been trained for the Olympics for three days every year, and about 3,500 domestic Olympic leaders have been trained during the 29th phase.

The KSPO signed an MOU with the Olympic Committee (IOC) to link the 2014 Olympic Value Education Program (OVEP) to enhance the education function of young people through the Olympics and sports. In 2015, it developed the Korean Olympic Value Program (K-OVEP), that fits the nation's educational characteristics with the Museum Education Research Institute, and has been running it for elementary and middle school students since 2016. It has made it possible for the Olympic spirit to be applied to sports activities and, by extension, everyday life. The Ministry of Education provided Olympic education to elementary, middle and high school students nationwide for about seven days from November 1 to November 9, 2017, 100 days before the PyeongChang Winter Olympics. It was the first Olympics in 30 years since the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics, and it was a government-level education to inform students of the Olympic spirit and values, and was organized with its own plans for creative hands-on activities, curricula, and autonomous learning hours at schools.

As such, although Olympic education has been steadily carried out in organizations and institutions in Korea, it is mostly single-minded, and the Olympic education at school sites can be seen as so elusive as to have no systematic curriculum.

In the run-up to the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics, I participated as a researcher in the 'Experiment of Personality Education through Olympic Education' conducted by Seoul National

University's College of Education in order to discover the potential effects of Olympic education on students at Seoul National University elementary schools. In 2016, I participated in the Nepal Bahunepati Shree Mahakadi secondary school and applied Olympic education to students affected by the earthquake. Students who questioned the need for Olympic education at first also gradually found themselves rewarded through the five values of OVEP: joy of efforts, respect for others, fair play, pursuit of ease, and the process of cooperating with each other while learning the spirit and balance of the body.

Rather than the Olympic spirit pursued by Coubertin, which lasted about 120 years and only turned into a competitive sports event, it is necessary to seek ways to educate and systematically create the spirit and balance of the body rather than the Olympic Games, which are only a single-minded one.

## The Cult of Matsu in Taiwan: the Pilgrimage of Gender and Body Performance

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The culture of the Chinese people's belief in the Goddess Mazu dates back to the Song Dynasty (AD.960s) and has continued to the present. Moreover, it has passed to Japan and Southeast Asia, because Taiwan is an island. Already very early, immigrants moved to Taiwan to worship Mazu and prayed for a safe-and-sound voyage. Mazu is the most respected goddess in Taiwan, where there are over 500 Mazu temples. On the occasion of Mazu's birthday, there are annual celebrations and religious activities, extending - at a round-trip distance of 330 kilometers - to four counties in Taiwan. The celebrations last nine days and eight nights, attracting hundreds of thousands of local people and visitors every year. It can be called one of the most important religious activities in the world. UNESCO considers it to be "the cultural heritage of the world's intangible living." The activity was designated as an important national intangible cultural activity asset in Taiwan in 2008. The research methods of this paper are literature analysis and interviews designed to understand the gender relations in this activity and to show the religious significance of the participants' body performance. The results of the study show that the shape of the Mazu statue in Taiwan is roughly that of a middle-aged woman who is slightly fat and amiable. In addition to the general power of gods to prevent disasters, she nevertheless offers maternal care, watching over the major events in women's lives, such as: marriage, maternity, child-rearing and other maternal duties. However, one of the taboos, in accord with other Taoist beliefs, forbids menstruating women and those in postnatal confinement from attending the birthday celebrations. Despite this the number of women participating in the event — mainly middle-aged and older women — is very large. In addition, the believers exhibit often painful physical feats, such as: fasting, oral worship, walking, crawling over the goddess' sedan, sleeping on the ground, etc., as a demonstration of their respect for their goddess and thanks to her for her blessings in times of need or trouble.

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