GOALS AND DREAMS: THE QUEST TO CREATE ELITE YOUTH ATHLETES IN FRANCE, 1958-92

by

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Abstract

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France was one of the first countries to develop programs that integrated youth athletics with academics and medical supervision to produce elite athletes. Today the products of the French systems play for the best teams and leagues around the world. Many countries from Africa to Great Britain have implemented youth training structures based upon the French model. But it was not always this way.

This study examines the origins, implementation, and evolution of French youth sports training programs from 1958 to 1992. The lenses of football and basketball are used to amplify how Anglo-American team sports were used by the French to reformulate French identity and influence. Yet, this work is about more than just athletics. It is the story of France during the last half of the twentieth century, how it grappled with and adjusted to the many transitions that defined the post-1945 era, and how it positioned itself in the new Cold War world.

Sport, specifically at the youth level, was one of the ways in which the French tried to address and adapt to a variety of post-war changes. After 1973, sport was an antidote to the legacy of 1968: a way to reinforce authority and nationalism in an era of increasing globalization during which the youth tested the limits of the rules. Youth sports programs served to assimilate youth, especially immigrant youth, into French society.

France used youth sports as an agent of modernization, to re-launch itself as a rejuvenated nation that relied upon rationalized athletic development to produce elite athletes, ideal citizens who would win international sporting events and titles. The youth sports programs were important ways for the French to regain their sense of honor and prestige domestically and abroad. At a time in which soft power was an important tool of diplomacy, such athletic successes helped to demonstrate a revived France in a way that Charles de Gaulle was unable to accomplish during the 1960s.

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Goals and Dreams: The Quest to Create Elite Youth Athletes in France, 1958-92

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Chapter One

Introduction and Literature Review

On July 12, 1998, France clinched first place at the football World Cup.[1] The win came late in the match, which pitted France against heavily favored Brazil. In the 93rd minute of play French midfielder Emmanuel Petit sent the ball sailing into the net behind Brazilian goalkeeper Taffarel. Petit's goal brought the score to 3-0 in favor of France, and sealed the French conquest for their first-ever World Cup championship.

Pandemonium spread inside the Stade de France stadium in St. Denis, France, on the outskirts of Paris. The song "We Are The Champions," a classic victory anthem by the rock group Queen, blasted over the speaker system as 80,000 fans celebrated the historic win. French President Jacques Chirac was among the revelers in the stadium, sporting a football scarf around his neck. Some of the fans surrounding him had painted the French *tricolor* (the national flag) on their faces while others were dressed in the national colors of blue, white, and red. All reveled in euphoric folly while outside the streets of France rang with the toot of car horns and people cheering. The game placed French football and athletics in the international spotlight.

Football, known as soccer in the United States, is fervently embraced in the rest of the world. In France, football is a visceral phenomenon, bordering on ecstatic for the decidedly male population in the stands; there are comparatively few women who attend professional football games in France. Unquestionably, it is the number one sport of

[1] As the rest of the world, France included, uses the term "football" to refer to the sport that Americans call "soccer," this study will use "football."

French society and of the youth.[2] For many French boys today, football is not just a sport. It is a way of life.

French youth culture's embrace of football, already strong in the 1990s, grew in the years after 1998. One long-time youth football coach, attested that, "within the youth the sport is enormous."[3] He noted that after the 1998 victory, he had 40 or 50 more youths wanting to join his youth team. "It was a snowball effect," he said.[4]

In France, football has increasingly shared the spotlight with basketball since 1992 when the Olympic basketball tournament showcased the U.S. "Dream Team." This was the first time that the Olympic rules allowed professionals to participate in the basketball tournament.[5] Team USA had a roster that boasted players from the world's elite basketball league, the U.S. National Basketball Association (NBA). Thanks to television and sports marketing campaigns, most of these athletes were well known and recognizable to the global public. The impact was instantaneous. Many youths in France subsequently wanted to play basketball to emulate their new heroes Larry Bird and Michael Jordan, including those in the "hot" suburbs. It created a new generation of young athletes who aspired to be elite basketball players. The 2001 emergence of Tony

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[2] Communications officer with a mayor's office, interview with the author, Paris, France, March 2002. Due to IRB constraints, information obtained from journalistic interviews conducted with French authorities, teachers, parents, coaches, and former players in 2002 (pre-existing data) can only be used in this study if the original interview subject has granted permission to use their words in 2009. For the many interviewees who were unable to be recontacted, all identifiers have been eliminated at the IRB's insistence.

[3] Youth football coach, interview with the author, Colombes, Frances, March 2002.

[4] Ibid.

[5] The first time that professional football players were allowed to participate in the Olympic football tournament was for the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Games. That summer, the French Olympic football team won the gold medal.

Parker and other French basketballers into the NBA reinforced the sport's popularity in France.

Such an athletic culture has thrived alongside, and within, the national education institutions. France was one of the first countries in the world to develop programs that specifically integrated youth athletics with academics and medical supervision to produce elite athletes. Anand Menon, Director of the European Research Institute and Professor of West European Politics at the University of Birmingham, noted that "the French youth system is generally regarded as one of the best there is."[6] Today the French produce elite athletes who play for the best teams and leagues around the world. Many countries, from Africa to Great Britain, have implemented similar youth training structures based upon the French model. But it was not always this way.

This study examines the origins, implementation, and evolution of French sports and youth sports training programs from 1958 to 1992. The start of the Fifth Republic was selected as a good point to commence the story as it was a new start for the French government, the beginning of the cultural period of the 1960s, and the point at which sport at the international level grabbed greater headlines. The year 1992 is used as the terminus point for several reasons. First, it was the end of the core twenty-year push by the French to implement youth sports programs. Second, when research for this study began in the early 2000s, the 1990s were still too recent and it would have been difficult to treat them as history rather than the very recent past. Third, the 1990s were a period during which French sports underwent dramatic change, much of which is still playing itself out in the 2000s.

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[6] Anand Menon, e-mail to the author, March 2002.

Yet, this work is about more than just athletics. It is the story of France during the last half of the twentieth century, how it grappled with and adjusted to the many transitions that defined the post-1945 era, and how it positioned itself in the new Cold War world. The lens of sport is an important way for scholars to examine and learn about a society, how it thinks of itself as well as how others perceive it. History interpreted through a nation's athletic narrative reflects that state's values, characteristics, and ideals; class divisions and tensions; and sense of community.[7]

There were many developments and trends that rapidly transformed France in the first three decades of the Fifth Republic. Sport, specifically at the youth level, was one of the ways in which the French tried to address and adapt to these changes, especially during the 1960s. After 1973, sport was a tool to integrate youths into society and to ensure that the youth would not rebel again in the future. It was an antidote to the legacy of 1968: a way to reinforce authority and nationalism in an era of increasing globalization during which the youth tested the limits of the rules. Youth sports programs also served to assimilate immigrant youth into French society. Once such training systems began to be successful, as judged by their ability to produce quality athletes who won major awards, the export of these youth sports models was a way to maintain ties to former colonies following decolonization. In short, France used youth sports as an agent of modernization, to re-launch itself as a rejuvenated nation that relied upon rationalized athletic development to produce elite athletes, ideal citizens who would win international sporting events and titles.

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[7] See Patrick Mignon, *La passion du football* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1998).

My investigation of the modern foundations of the youth sports movement in France focuses on the nation's (and the world's) two most popular sports: football and basketball. Although both are Anglo-American imports, they have different class and religious histories. Since sport became a larger component of international relations after 1945, football and basketball events were more prestigious than the world championships for skiing, swimming, or track and field. One could argue that the Cold War sports rivalry between the United States, the Soviet Union, and East Germany at the quadrennial Olympic Games precluded countries with smaller populations and resources. As such, football and basketball events became as prized, if not more so, than the ability to win Olympic gold medals for many countries.

The focal point of this study is the examination of the youth sports programs that marked a revolutionary departure for France: the 1973 implementation of the sport-study section and the center of formation. The former was situated directly within the national school system, while the latter was the private initiative of national sports federations set within the context of professional teams. Both were novel ways to integrate youth, sports, and education in the shared goal of producing elite young athletes to win acclaim for the nation in international athletic competitions.[8] These programs relied on a combination of athletics, academics, and medical supervision. As they evolved, the center of formation and sport-study section reflected the shifting attitudes of French society and the state of

[8] The sport-study sections existed for all recognized Olympic sports disciplines and thus did not focus only on football or basketball. In fact, the skiing and swimming youth sports training models pioneered in the late 1950s proved highly effective in producing elite athletes who, by the 1968 Olympics, won gold medals for France. These two examples were influential in the government's creation of the sport-study section. In contrast, the centers of formation begun for football were copied by other team sports such as basketball, handball, volleyball, and rugby by the 1980s.

the 1970s and 1980s. These youth sports programs were also the antidotes to the anxiety over the youth cultivated by the 1960s counterculture as well as a means to cope with the youth after 1968.

France prided itself on egalitarianism but lacked a national sports culture. Thus, the creation of an elite cadre of athletic youths who received specialized assistance as part of their training program was a marked departure from previous eras and attested to the French desire to win. The increased emphasis upon sports medicine to protect the health of athletes was a reflection of the growing rationalization and medicalization of athletic training.

The narrative of France during the last half of the twentieth century is told in the historic evolution of state and public support for youth sports training and understanding how the center of formation and sport-study section programs changed to reflect new trends, movements, and events. I argue that both the sport-study section and the center of formation were successful for the French government and sports authorities in that they solved the youth and sports crises of the 1960s. Such success is evaluated from the quantity of major world sports titles or medals won by French athletes, the number of French athletes playing in the world's premier sports leagues, the degrees of influence that French athletes, coaches, officials, and the general French sports model have both domestically and abroad, and the lack of major dissent stemming from young elite athletes.

The youth sports programs were important ways for the French to regain their sense of honor and prestige domestically and abroad; thus the programs created

"winners" out of not only the government but also French society. At a time in which soft power was an important tool of diplomacy, such athletic successes helped to demonstrate a rejuvenated, revived France in a way that Charles de Gaulle was unable to accomplish during the 1960s.

The "losers" of such structures are more difficult to gage. Were the French youth sports programs failures in areas that lie outside of the terms of success? For example, did they rob young athletes of the chance to be normal teenagers? Did French youth formation exploit young athletes? Were such systems detrimental to the concept of amateurism in France? Did the allure of money, fame, and the increasingly commercialized nature of sport encourage dangerous behaviors amongst aspiring youths, such as doping or overexertion? Such angles are difficult to analyze given the limitations of the data available for this study (noted below). As this study relies upon information culled mostly from government archives, the press, and interviews with sports officials, it focuses upon the successes and the winners. There is, however, room and perhaps the need for a future study that would look more closely at the French youth formation programs from the angle of the players. Such a study will be able to more adroitly tackle questions about the losers of the French youth sports systems.

Sources

A variety of sources were used to collect data for this study. Government archives from the Ministry of Youth and Sport constitute the bulk of archival material. Press accounts through the early 1990s are also used extensively. Most of the material is

culled from the French press (both the national dailies as well as the sports dailies), but some coverage from American newspapers is also included, reflective of the growing globalization of the period. Press accounts of the youth sports programs are sparse after the mid-1980s, an indication of the decrease in public attention to the structures once their novelty wore off. Thus, information for the period 1985-92 relies upon personal narratives provided by interview subjects.

Roughly two dozen government officials, sports authorities, coaches, doctors, teachers, and former players gave the oral histories used in this study. The reliance upon such data for the 1980s reflects the relatively recent historical nature of the material examined, especially as government archives have a 30 year moratorium (the last date available for consultation of the archives was 1978).

The overwhelming quantity of written historic data on French sport pertains to football, while comparatively little is available for basketball. My study does not give the issue of gender significant examination for lack of sufficient information. Football is historically a male sport in France. Although today females play football in France, youth programs to train them only began in the early 1990s. This explains the lack of sufficient historic data on female football. In contrast, basketball did not suffer from such chauvinistic conceptions, and female basketball was a part of French athletics since the early twentieth century. Yet, there are no works that examine the history of women in French basketball through the later twentieth century; thus the primary focus of this study is on sport for young men.

Literature Review

This is the first scholarly study on the history of French youth sports training programs and one of the few examinations of French youth sport during 1958-92. It is also one of the first works in English to trace the history and role of sports medicine in France. Nonetheless, my work builds upon several fields of established literature.

In many ways, the origin of the French youth sports programs is the story of France during the 1960s. Arthur Marwick, Axel Schildt, and Detlef Siegfried identify the 1960s as the period from 1958-74, bookended by the emergence of the counter and youth cultures in the West in the late 1950s and the impact of the oil and economic crises of the early 1970s.[9] According to Marwick, the "long sixties" were revolutionary in terms of altering the ideology, structure, and institutions of many Western countries. This study posits that though the 1960s began in 1958, they were truncated in 1973 when France instituted the first sport-study section and center of formation as measures to start a new post-1968 era. That this was also the start of the energy crisis and subsequent unemployment and economic downturn reinforce that 1973 marked the start of a new period in French history.

Within the context of the 1960s, the origins of the implementation of youth sports programs were firmly entrenched in the youth and sports predicaments that defined the era. The problem of the youth demographic, which was unprecedented in its size and the way it challenged the traditional social and institutional norms of the nation, is what this

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[9] Arthur Marwick, "1968 and the Cultural Revolution of the Long Sixties (1958-74)," in *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 82; and Alex Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, "Youth Consumption and Politics in the Age of Radical Change," in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960-80*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 7.

study refers to as the youth crisis. The idea of a youth demographic that was conceptually different from that of children or adults was not new in 1945. Jon Savage finds that the idea of adolescence emerged around the 1870s and 1880s and that adolescents were shaped increasingly by a shared culture, a youth culture, which was born alongside them.[10] What English-speakers refer to as "adolescents" or "teenagers" are known in France as "the youth" or "youth" and refer to young adults aged 15 to 24. Anne-Marie Sohn writes that this demographic became a recognized category in French society after 1945. It was at this juncture that youth became a focal point, she writes, especially after the emergence of the *blousons noirs*, of juvenile delinquents, in 1959.[11]

The emergence of the youth coincided with the unprecedented consumerism of the 1960s. Kristin Ross argues that such consumption was an event of modernization for France and marked a rupture from the pre-1945 world.[12] The youth bought into this modernizing consumer culture. As early as 1958, French youth sought to break with the past, as Richard Jobs notes.[13] This resulted in a youth culture that was perceived by some as threatening. Schildt and Siegfried contend that the new leisure culture of the youth included self-realization, diversification, de-traditionalization, and individualization.[14] They argue that these trends were aided by the ability of the growing mass media to bring the various youth cultures together within an increasingly integrated Europe, as Todd

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[10] Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture* (New York: Viking Adult, 2007).
[11] Anne-Marie Sohn, *Âge tendre et tête de bois: histoire des jeunes des années 1960* (Paris: Hachette, 2001).
[12] Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonizaiton and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996).
[13] Richard Jobs, *Riding the New Wave: Youth and the Rejuvenation of France After the Second World War* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007), 2.
[14] Schildt and Siegfried, 11.

Gitlin has noted for the American example.[15] Schildt and Siegfried also note that listening to popular music was a major factor in creating a youth culture in the 1960s. Gerd-Rainer Horn contends that this youth culture, a counterculture of its own, grew to become part of mainstream culture, an indication of prosperity.[16] Jonathyne Briggs has argued that the youth culture glorified peace, not military service or war, and was exemplified in the *yé-yé* popular music that defined French youth.[17]

In light of these domestic pressures, French officials turned to a tool traditionally used to help harness the youth, teach them republican ideals, and reinforce democracy: athletics. I argue that the growing push by French officials to have a youth more entrenched in sport during the 1960s was a reaction to domestic problems such as juvenile delinquency and the new youth culture.

The physical toll inflicted by the Second World War, compounded by psychological issues with the youth, led the new French government to look at physical education as an instrument of "sanitary politics."[18] French physical education after 1945 still reflected the German-style of gymnastics and calisthenics that was popular in French policy after 1880. This was a reflection of what Allan Mitchell has noted as French emulation of German social models and programs.[19] The French adaptation of the

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[15] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1980).
[16] Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).
[17] Jonathyne Briggs, "*Les Temps de Copains: Youth and Community during Postwar Modernization,*" Society of French Historical Studies Annual Conference 2009, St. Louis, MO.
[18] Theirry Terret, Patrick Fargier, Bernard Rias, and Anne Roger, *L'Athlétisme et l'école* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 21.
[19] Allan Mitchell, *The Divided Path: The German Influence on Social Reform in France After 1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

German model of physical education was a reflection of their perceived defeat and anxieties following the Franco-Prussian War.[20]

Jean-Luc Martin noted that when Charles de Gaulle created the High Commission of Youth and Sport in 1958, it was a conscious attempt to break with the past.[21] Although the High Commission of Youth and Sport handled all athletic disciplines, it focused equally on sportive and physical education. Sportive education centers on team sports and emphasizes the development of technical skills, such as dribbling or passing a ball, in addition to athleticism. It is a direct byproduct of the Anglo-American team sports that permeated France in the late nineteenth century. The trajectory of athletics in pre-1939 France increasingly favored team sports as increased leisure time prompted more Frenchmen to join sports clubs. This was true especially for the discipline of football, which gained great popularity during the Interwar period, as best described by Geoff Hare.[22] Basketball also gained greater popularity during this period as noted in Gérard Bosc's numerous contributions to the history of that sport.[23] Yet, such changes within French society were slow to be incorporated into official government policies. Thus, the post-1958 push to incorporate sportive education into education was, I argue, a definitive break from the past in France and reflected by the sport-study sections and centers of formation launched in 1973.

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[20] David B. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1982), 19.
[21] Jean-Luc Martin, *La politique de l'éducation physique sous la Vème République. 1. L'élan gaullien, 1958-69* (Paris: PUF, 1999).
[22] Geoff Hare, *Football in France*, (New York: Berg, 2003).
[23] Gérard Bosc, *Une histoire du basket français, Tomes I & II*, (Paris: Presses du Louvre, 2002) and Fabien Archambault, Loic Artiaga, and Gérard Bosc, *Double jeu: histoire du basket-ball entre France et amériques*, (Paris: Vuibert, 2007).

By the early 1960s, sport was a critical component of constructing an image of a renewed and dynamic France, while it also held the promise of strengthening society.[24] In this way, sports were instrumental tools of modernization.[25] Jacques Defrance finds that since the 1960s and 1970s, sport has played an increasingly significant cultural role, reflective of the rise of team sports.[26]

The French turned their attention to sport for another reason during the 1960s: the country's continued inability to win major international athletic titles or events at international competitions. French government officials quickly termed this the sports crisis. In the aftermath of World War II, France faced many epic challenges that transformed how it viewed itself and how it was perceived around the world. By the start of the 1960s, the humiliations of the Indochina War, the Suez Canal crisis, and the Algerian War combined with the realities of post-1945 Moscow-Washington bilateralism to leave little illusion about France's new international standing. As Brian Jenkins and Tony Chafer note, France's position in this new world order was precarious.[27]

Athletics during the Cold War were a way to solidify international power and to combat old rivals. Sports were part of the Cold War arsenal, notes Gertrud Pfister, perhaps best exemplified by the rise of East Germany as one of the world's most dominant athletic powerhouses.[28] Athletics were also important in establishing national identity, especially in the post-colonial period, as Alan Tomlinson and Christopher

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[24] Jean-Emile Mazer. "Mémoire du Diplôme de l'Institut National du Sport et de l'Éducation Physique." (Paris: Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Associative Life, 2003), 8.
[25] Jobs, 122.
[26] Jacques Defrance, *Sociologie du sport* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003).
[27] Tony Chafer and Brian Jenkins, "Introduction," in Tony Chafer and Brian Jenkins *France: From the Cold War to the New World Order* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 1.
[28] Gertrud Pfister, "Cold War Diplomats in Tracksuits: The Frauleinwunder of East German Sport," in J.A. Magan, ed., *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War Without Weapons* (Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 2003), 223.

Young argue. They posit that with the platform of international competitions, smaller countries are able to establish themselves upon the world stage in a way that they would otherwise be unable to do outside of sport.[29] Thus, in a period in which sports events were a way to project power abroad, the French failure to garner many Olympic medals or to win major titles in football or basketball was a growing cause for consternation. That the French were continuously unable to reverse the sports problem during this period acted as a blight upon national honor and served to heighten the general state of anxiety.

With the growth of television during the 1960s, international impressions of a nation's athletic victories or defeats had new resonance. Garry Whannel notes that television coverage impacts how a society understands sports and is a means of interpreting a society's sense of self, nation, class, gender, and international relations.[30] Set against the backdrop of other transformative trends of the 1960s, both the youth and sports calamities acted as catalysts that spurred the Fifth Republic to invest in youth sports. The merging of youth and sport was the first such effort since the Vichy Regime. The shift was vital as it laid the foundation for the two revolutionary youth sports training programs investigated in this work.

If the origins of the youth sports movement tell the story of France during the 1960s, then the implementation and evolution of the sport-study sections and centers of

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[29] Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young, *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2006).
[30] Garry Whannel, *Fields in Vision: Television, Sport, and Cultural Transformation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 2.

formation constitute France's post-1968 narrative. According to Jeremy Suri, the counterculture was not necessarily about revolution but more to incorporate rapid reform within the existing social structures.[31] The year 1968 was a historic moment in the radicalization of the youth.[32] The generation of 1968 was part of an international youth movement and European youth culture, the product of prosperity and forged by communications and travel.[33] Jérôme Ferrand argues that this transnational youth generation was akin to a Third Estate: that it was a new class that defied international borders, reinforced by the post-1945 economic integration and cultural exchange programs run by European governments.[34]

Siegfried argues that the youth revolution of the 1960s succeeded in changing the political culture and lifestyles of Europeans, especially given the spending power, consumerism, and demographics of the youth. I argue that consumerism helped to turn sports, especially football, into a business (in tandem with television) during the 1980s and that this consumption of sports in turn helped to feed into the youth sports systems.

Yet, even before this consumerism of sports got under way, during the 1970s the youth sports models helped to put a band-aid over the ruptures caused by 1968. The growing concern about the youth problem culminated in May 1968, but was not fully resolved at the time. As Michel Caillat has noted, sportive activities served in the

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[31] Jeremy Suri, "The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960-75," *American Historical Review* (February 2009), Vol. 114, No. 1, 45-68.
[32] Michel Field and Jean-Marie Brohm, *Jeunesse et Révolution: pour une organisation révolutionnaire de la jeunesse* (Paris: Librairie François Maspero, 1975), 20**.**
[33] Richard Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe 1968," *American Historical Review* (April 2009), Vol. 114, No 2, 376-404.
[34] Jérôme Ferrand, *La Jeunesse, nouveau Tiers état* (Paris, R. Laffont, 1968).

reconciliation process after 1968.[35] Sébastien Fleuriel notes that elite-level sports are the result of biological production and social order. He notes that since 1945, the French state has sought to produce elite athletes whom they can control (whereas the older sports elites were formed and controlled by the clubs).[36] This study reinforces such findings and seeks to demonstrate how this was accomplished through the creation of an elite athletic youth.

Starting in the 1970s and 1980s sports were increasingly broadcast on television and thus began to globalize. By the 1980s, athletes, teams, and sports events appealed to a transnational audience of consumers and fans. Such globalization is a reflection of the universality of global social formations, argues Jean-Marie Brohm.[37] As such, Brohm views modern sports culture as a product of industrialization and an ideological apparatus of any modern state. For Christian Bromberger, sport, especially football, has become a symbol of late twentieth century societies as it helps to solidify certain social fundamentals: merit, solidarity, justice, and the processes of collective identification.[38] Although war is a potent way to forge a national identity, sport serves in much the same way, according to J.A. Magan, in that it reinforces images of heroism, sacrifice, and symbols of unity.[39]

One of the ways that nationalism was reinforced in the globalizing world was through athletic competitions. Thus, major international sports competitions are a good

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[35] Michel Caillat, *L'Idéologie du sport en France* (Paris: Les Éditions de la Passion, 1989), 13
[36] Sébastien Fleuriel, *Le sport de haut niveau en France: sociologie d'une catégorie de pensée* (Gémenos: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2004), 8.
[37] Jean-Marie Brohm, *Sociologie politique du sport* (Nancy: PUN, 1992).
[38] See Christian Bromberger, *Football: la bagatelle la plus sérieuse du monde* (Paris: Bayard, 1998) and *Passions ordinaires* (Paris: Hachette Littérature, 2002).
[39] J.A. Magan, ed., *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War Without Weapons* (Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 2003), 1.

way to view the impacts and ramifications of globalization.[40] Franklin Foer argues that football was a way to reinforce local identities, and while globalization failed to eliminate local tribe loyalties, football served to reinforce nationalism.[41] Global sports events are a way for nations to assert their autonomy.[42]

As sports became an integral component of television broadcasting during the 1970s and 1980s, images of teams and athletes competing for the nation had a powerful impact and reinforced national identity. Benjamin Rader has noted that television significantly changed the world of sports, including how they are consumed.[43] Jean-François Bourg and Jean-Jacques Gouguet find that during the 1980s television truly globalized sports and that spectators became consumers.[44] I contend that in a globalizing world, the French youth sports programs helped to reassert French identity amongst its young players, again trying to counteract the trend of a transnational youth that was produced during the 1960s. Moreover, as France began to produce winning teams and internationally recognized athletes such as Michel Platini, televised images reinforced and helped to reinvent French identity: that of an athletic, victorious nation.

Aside from helping to cobble together a national identity, sport helps to form individual identities, according to Patrick Mignon.[45] Sport was also a powerful tool of

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[40] Tomlinson and Young, 1.
[41] Franklin Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World: An {Unikely} Theory of Globalization* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2004), 5-6.
[42] Tomlinson and Young, 2.
[43] Benjamin G. Rader, *In Its Own Image: How Television Has Transformed Sports* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 3.
[44] Jean-François Bourg and Jean-Jacques Gouguet, *Economie politique du sport professionnel: l'éthique à l'épreuve du marché* (Paris: Vuibert, 2007), 37.
[45] Patrick Mignon, *La passion du football* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1998).

identification that could be used to exert control or influence over a society.[46] This was an important consideration given that sport has historically been used to assimilate France's immigrant minorities and confer upon them a French identity, dating to the 1920s and 1930s as Yvan Gestault and Laurent Dubois articulate.[47] Beginning in the 1980s, the issue of immigrants in French society became a problem, chiefly because of increased unemployment.[48] John Ardeagh notes that the problems pertaining to France's immigrant communities, especially those of African or North African descent, were non-existent until the 1970s when the Maghrebs began sending home for their families and the Thirty Glorious Years came to an end.[49] This brought to the forefront issues on racism in France, pertaining specifically to the post-1960 immigrants, many of which had origins in North Africa. Herrick Chapman and Laura Frader contend that the racism exhibited in France of the post-1945 period was cultural racism based upon the notion that cultural differences threatened the concept of French identity and unity.[50]

Alec Hargreaves notes that by the 1980s French minorities began to be represented as part of the social milieu on public television.[51] This coincided with the growth of sports television broadcasting, particularly after the 1984 establishment of France's first private television network, Canal Plus. Televised images of athletes, many

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[46] Jeremy MacClancy, *Sport, Identity, and Ethnicity* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), 4.
[47] See Yvan Gastaut, *Le Métissage par le foot: l'intégration mais jusqu'ou?* (Paris: Éditions Autrement Frontières, 2008), and Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France*, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010, Author's manuscript). Prof. Dubois graciously allowed me to view his work in manuscript form during the summer of 2009.
[48] John Ardeagh, *France in the New Century* (New York: Penguin Press, 2001), 220.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Herrick Chapman and Laura L. Frader, *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 5.
[51] Alec G. Hargreaves, "Television Gatekeepers and Gateways," in Alec G. Hargreaves and Mark McKinney, eds., *Post-Colonial Cultures in France* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 84-99.

of whom were of immigrant extraction, helped bring the image of the French immigrant into the public eye during this period. Thus, sport was used to help assimilate French immigrants into the wider social fabric and served as a way to legitimize their Frenchness as it always had throughout the twentieth century.

If sport could serve to heal the rupture caused by 1968, then it was also used to rebuild France's international appeal abroad. In an era during which China's use of ping-pong diplomacy began to alter international attitudes and policy, and East Germany rose to the forefront of sports (such as swimming) through its sports schools and doping programs, the incentive to attain athletic victory grew. Now, more than ever, countries wished to use sport to augment their soft power abroad, a vital outlet if one was not a superpower. Starting in the 1960s, medicine became an increasingly important aspect of ensuring athletic victory.

The focus of such efforts was on ways to enhance athletic performance, both naturally and artificially. In order to organically assist athletes to obtain optimal performances, a warm embrace of scientific knowledge of the body marked the 1960-90 period. This consisted of rationalizing athletic training to make it more efficient. Diet and nutrition were also important components of such a program. Better athletic results also came in the artificial variety through the use of performance enhancing pharmaceuticals such as steroids and amphetamines.

While some countries embarked upon doping programs to provide their athletes with the best chances of winning, France bucked the trend. France was the first country to pass anti-doping legislation (1965). The French emphasis upon health and the large

role of the anti-doping movement may have come at the expense of obtaining the "best" results from athletes but served to protect the health of its athletes. Perhaps this was one way for France to distinguish itself from other sports powers during the Cold War.

Chapter Layout

Chapter Two examines the historic role of youth, French sport, and how sport was used in France from 1870-1958 as a means to socialize the youth. It traces how sports acted as divisive factors in pre-1914 French society, how the war democratized and equalized football and basketball, and the subsequent spread and professionalization of these two sports in France during the Interwar era. It lays forth the pre-existing conceptions of youth, sports, and youth athletics and argues that the post-1945 emphasis upon sportive education (team sports) was indicative of a shift away from the traditionally German-inspired physical education model. This was a rupture from the past, specifically the recent Vichy past. That sportive education finally won greater acceptance at a time (1945-58) when British and American culture influenced the French, could be perceived as an agent of modernization.

In Chapter Three I lay out the various transformations that were under way in France of the 1960s, including the youth movement. It was the high visibility and widespread nature of the youth crisis, I argue, in conjunction with the concurrent sports crisis, which forced France to revolutionize its conception of youth and sport and led to

the 1973-74 implementation of ground-breaking programs to encourage greater youth participation in sport and to develop better athletes.

Chapter Four continues the narrative of France during the 1960s, and focuses upon the sports crisis. I argue that the Rome Olympic Games of 1960 were the key lynchpin in the growing politicization of youth and sport in France. That summer, France placed twenty-fifth overall, behind such countries as Pakistan, Norway, Ethiopia, Japan, Turkey, and New Zealand, and constituted a humiliation of epic proportions. Not only did the French team fare poorly, but also the catastrophe was the first time that television captured the Olympic competition for a global audience. The fallout was rapid. The creation of the post-war French system of youth sports training to produce elite athletes was the legacy of this event.

Chapter Five examines the trends and movements of the 1973-92 period that helped reformulate French attitudes towards, interactions with, and consumption of sports. Specifically, it was the development of government legislation, a youth culture that embraced sports, and television that served to fundamentally alter French sport. These transformations provided the foundations for the wide acceptance and support of sport that enabled the flourishing of the youth sports structures.

All three trends grew out of the 1960s and came into fruition during the 1970s and 1980s. They combined to create larger numbers of educated, well-integrated young athletes. The 1970s marked a fundamental shift in the French support for sport, one that changed how the nation participated in athletics, while the 1980s altered how sport was viewed and consumed within the country, particularly amongst the youth. The

repositioning of French sports laid the foundation for future athletic successes and served to overturn some of the legacies of 1968. Crucially, the youth sports training programs launched in 1973 were reliant upon these foundational movements.

In Chapter Six, I argue that the two examples of the new youth sports training structures, the center of formation and the sport-study section, were the Fifth Republic's answer to the youth and sports crises of the 1960s. This chapter looks at what these two structures looked like and how they changed over time. It points out how their goals shifted in conjunction with the formative trends described in Chapter Five.

The two youth programs investigated in this chapter were revolutionary for the attempt to integrate the youth into society. In this regard, sports were used to instill an appreciation not only for democracy, but also the tendencies to obey authority, to follow the rules, and the belief that one can advance through hard work and one's merits. Moreover, team sports such as football and basketball reinforced the concepts of citizenship (community) and teamwork.

These sports programs were also revolutionary in that they were a marked departure from the traditional French school day schedule with their emphases on sport. The sport-study section and center of formation sought to create elite athletes, and consequently created an elite youth that had special education privileges. This was significant for a country that prided itself on egalitarianism. That the French were willing to launch such novel youth sports programs was reflective of the urgent desire to produce athletes to regain the nation's honor through sports.

Chapter Seven addresses the issues of identity, immigration, and race in French sport. I will show why race was not an issue in French sport prior to the 1990s. Nor was it an influential element within the youth sports structures or a problem on the playing field amongst the French players. If anything, racism was manifest within the public and made its way into the sports arena through the fans. Since the democratization of team sports in the World War I period, immigrant communities have historically used sport as a way to assimilate and obtain a French identity. I argue that in order to understand the role of race in French sport, it must be considered as a function of immigration.

Chapter Eight details the role of sports medicine in French athletics and how it was implemented at the youth level. As the third component of the three-pronged French approach to creating elite youth athletes, medicine played an increasingly dominant role, especially the anti-doping campaign pursued by French authorities after the mid-1960s. The French felt the need to protect their young athletes from the dangers of doping and thus developed what many consider to be one of the most comprehensive, and successful, anti-doping programs in world youth sports.

Lastly, while this study stops in 1992, the epilogue narrates some of the changes that occurred between the 1992 Summer Games and the 1998 French World Cup victory. Many tensions and question arose during the 1990s in conjunction with youth sports programs. Did youth sports formation exploit young athletes? What was the preferred or practicable ratio of government-municipality-club involvement in youth training? Did youth sports programs assimilate their charges or segregate them through the growing stigma of an athlete with special privileges? What role did youth sports play in altering

conceptions of French masculinity? Why did female sport draw greater adherents and what did this mean for French femininity? What was the degree of American influence in the growth of French basketball and what impacts might this have had upon French identity and race? At what point did French youth formation programs reinforce or tear apart a French national identity in a globalizing sports world? To be able to answer these questions one must take into account the 1990s. In understanding the historic foundations of the French youth sports programs examined in this study, the reader will be better equipped to give consideration to how the role of sport has changed in France and how French society has changed thanks to sport.

Chapter Two

Pre-1958 Trends and Movements

This study is an investigation of the modern foundations and structures of the youth sports movement in France. While the story begins with the Fifth Republic in 1958, several trends pertaining to youth and sport were already underway prior to 1945, such as the use of athletics as tools for domestic and international purposes. Some continuity between the two epochs may be found in the idea of youth as a discrete time of life, the belief that athletics could influence and shape the youth, and the continued growth of team sports. Sports such as football and basketball, though they originally amplified social and religious divisions, served as agents of national unification and assimilation. By the post-war years, team sports at their highest level (professional and elite), were used to project French power abroad and enhance France's position in international affairs.[52]

The two French youth sports programs examined in this study broke with the past in a number of ways, most of which are addressed in detail in later chapters. Importantly, they broke with several pre-1958 trends and attitudes about sport in France, both in theory and in practice. The sport-study section and center of formation were successful in their unprecedented ability to train generations of elite athletes by embracing academics and medicine as part of the three-pronged approach to youth sport. At the

[52] When discussing high-level sport there are two distinctions to be made. First is that of elite sport, which consists of the nation's best athletes who compete for the nation at international competitions, such as the Olympics, or play on the national team, such as in the football World Cup and basketball World Championship. The second category is that of professional sport, which consists of athletes who earn monetary compensation for playing a sport as their primary job. For the two athletic disciplines under investigation in this study, football and basketball, there was and remains a high degree of overlap between the two categories, as often professional football and basketball players are selected to represent the national teams, thus joining the ranks of elite sport.

same time, there were elements of continuity in these programs that built upon pre-1945 beliefs about youth, sport, and youth athletics.

In order to understand just how distinctive these youth sports structures were, one must first understand the previous role of sport and youth. This chapter traces the history of sport as a domestic and international instrument up to 1958, as well as some of the early movements that helped to influence the French attitude towards and consumption of sport.

Trends in Domestic Uses of Sport in France: Youth and Physical Activity

Historically, youth and athletics have been closely intertwined in the belief that physical activities helped instill certain traits while at the same time creating a strong body. That the modern conception of youth and the start of public anxieties over it coincided with the rise of modern sports in the mid-to-late nineteenth century was significant. The French state began to use physical activity in the 1880s in order to exert some control and influence over the youth demographic.

Although there was an identifiable period of childhood in France dating to the Enlightenment, the concept of adolescence was a product of nineteenth century transformations of French society, economy, and culture. The emergence of adolescents, those aged 15-24, was a trend in the industrialized world of the period 1870-1914.[53]

The two industrial revolutions were responsible for generating unprecedented levels of prosperity and enlarging the middle class. Moreover, the greater understanding of how disease spreads, improved sanitary conditions (such as sewers and cleaner

[53] In France, the term "youth" or "the youth" referred to adolescents, and continues to be used today.

drinking water), and the advances in medicine and public health that accompanied industrialization ensured that more people survived the deadly, disease-riddled childhood years. These factors combined to generate a healthier, more robust population that enjoyed new levels of wealth by the *belle époque*.

In France, a series of laws in the 1870s and 1880s helped cultivate the idea of youth by legislating work and education. In 1874 the Third Republic passed the first of several protective laws aimed to limit the ability of children (and adolescents) to work.[54] The Ferry Laws and the Camille Sée Law of the 1880s required all French boys and girls to attend school between the ages of six and 13. These legislative acts did not separate older working class adolescents from adults. Rather, they served to implement the idea that youth was a generational construct formed by shared experiences, such as attending school.

For adolescents of the middle and upper classes who did not have to earn a living and had disposable income provided by their fathers, the period of adolescence was one devoted to schooling and leisure activities. It was this youth demographic that developed the concept of adolescence during the late nineteenth century. Jon Savage argues that the affluent, educated adolescents of France, Britain, and the United States of the 1870s cultivated their own culture that evolved around leisure activities and entertainment. Out of this phenomenon grew the popular concept of youth and youth culture.[55] Though such a notion was sown in the late nineteenth century, the idea of a unified youth generation

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[54] The first of these laws passed in 1874 limited the number of hours that children aged 12 and older to 12 hours a day, while stipulating that children aged 10-12 could only work shifts of six hours per day. On November 2, 1892, France passed a law that limited the ability of adolescents between the ages of 13 and 16 from working more than ten hours a day.

[55] Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture*, (New York: Viking, 2007), xv.

formed by cultural phenomena and shared experiences did not emerge until after World War II.

The youth demographic after 1870 was a point of concern and focus within France because it symbolized the future of the nation. The country's quick and humiliating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) was the main reason for the focus on youth. After 1871, France contemplated the necessity of a future war with Germany in order to reclaim Alsace and Lorraine. Another war with the Germans meant that France needed to close the population gap between the two countries. This translated into French anxiety over its declining birthrate. French concerns played themselves out by focusing upon the physical condition of its citizens, specifically of the youth.

If the youth were the future of France, then their good health was needed to ensure the survival of the nation. At the same time, they needed to be educated to respect and embody the ideals of republicanism. By the 1880s the intersections of the desire to cultivate a healthy and civic-minded youth, the new mandatory schooling obligations, and the rise of modern sports and physical education movements produced a revived interest in athletic education. Athletically active youth would be stronger, more fit, and better able to serve in the military or produce healthy children. Additionally, physical activity could also help to instill desirable traits in the youth, such as discipline and respect for meritocracy, which would help mold them into exemplary future citizens.

The idea of using physical activity as a complement to a child's education was not new, but by the 1880s and 1890s it enjoyed a revival. That athletics should be incorporated into the national education curriculum was undisputed. Nevertheless, there

was no consensus as to what type of activity was best: physical education or sportive education. By the late nineteenth century, physical education was understood to consist of gymnastic exercises, drills, and stretches, a program to physically train the body. A sportive education was one that encouraged the development of skill and physicality through team sports, such as football, rugby, and later, basketball. The debate as to which format of physical activity was best for French youth raged amongst French pedagogues of the era. Although physical education, due in large part to its longer history and Germanic roots, originally won out, the growth of and popular support for a sportive education ultimately triumphed.

Examples of physical activity as a prescribed element of education date to the Renaissance. The ideas of the Humanist movement first championed by Didier Erasmus (1467-1566) gave birth to the modern foundations of physical education. The beliefs of Erasmus about the necessity of incorporating physical training into the overall education of children were passed down through a succession of French thinkers and writers. Over the centuries, this became the foundation for modern French physical education.

Jean-Louis Vives (1492-1540), a contemporary of Erasmus, felt that exercise was an integral part of education, was beneficial to hygiene, and also to a child's intellectual development. He advocated games with balls and boules.[56] François Rabelais (1494-1553) reinforced the belief that physical training was an important aspect of a noble son's education, as gentlemanly training in fencing and wrestling helped to develop courage and alertness.[57]

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[56] Jean Zoro, *Images de 150 ans d'E.P.S.* (Clichy: Verdier S.A., 1986), 18.
[57] Emmett Rice, *A Brief History of Physical Education*, (New York: Ronald Press, 1969) Chapter VIII.

Another promoter of physical training, Michel de Montaigne (1533-92), felt that for a boy's education, "it is not enough to fortify his soul; you must also make his muscles strong."[58] In describing the ideal education program for a noble son, Montaigne details that

> Our very exercises and recreations, running, wrestling, dancing, hunting, riding, and fencing, will be a part of his study. I would have his manners, behaviour [sic], and bearing cultivated at the same time as his mind. It is not the mind, it is not the body we are training; it is the man and we must not divide him into two parts. Plato says we should not fashion one without the other, but make them draw together like two horses harnessed to a coach.[59]

Montaigne's interweaving of physical exercise with the development of behavior and manners promoted the belief that physical training could introduce certain morals or characteristics to the pupil. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), writing in 1762's *Émile,* believed that children "must exercise, to move, to develop at the same time their sense and efficiency," which outlined the modern concept of physical education theory in France.[60]

During the Napoleonic era, the focus upon army life emphasized another benefit of physical education: training the student to be able to serve well in the military. This was not the first time that military drills were incorporated into a physical education regimen. During the French Revolution, Félicité de Genlis (1746-1830) was responsible for educating the Duc d'Orléans's children.[61] The Duc, a member of the Jacobins, desired that his children be educated with strong bourgeois ideals. Madame de Genlis

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[58] Lizzie Eliza Rector, trans., *The Education of Children (*New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899), 35.
[59] Ibid, 61.
[60] Zoro, 18.
[61] Madame de Genlis was a late eighteenth century educator, who had educated the children of the Duc de Chartres prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution.

complied, incorporating gymnastic exercises into the children's education program. Physical activities included running, marching, and aristocratic sports beneficial for future army service, such as fencing and horseback riding.[62]

The link between physical education and military service was strengthened by Friedrich Ludwig "Father" Jahn (1778-1852). Born in Prussia, Jahn was best known as the father of the modern gymnastics movement, one that closely integrated nationalism (in this case, German) with education and physical training via the *Turnverein*, German gymnastic societies. In 1800 Jahn published *The Development of Patriotism in Prussia*, which publicized his ideas of German nationalism. Jahn alleged that a future for the former Holy Roman Empire lay with the development of a strong youth generation, which would be able to unite Germany and guide it to greatness. For Jahn, physical education was a way of regenerating the national body and creating the next generation of leaders.[63] This was done through hiking and exercises such as jumping and stretching, balance beams and high jumps. The influences of Father Jahn and his gymnastic societies, which incorporated nationalism, military drills and training, and physical exercise within the schools, held dominance in France for much of the nineteenth century.

Physical education in France first became mandatory in the mid-nineteenth century, when France implemented a blend of gymnastics and military drills that sought to produce future citizen-soldiers. The method of implementation was the school system for, as Pierre Arnaud argues, the scholastic system in France was formulated to serve the

[62] Zoro, 21.
[63] Rice, 102.

state and society.[64] Initially, gymnastics were obligatory for boys enrolled in secondary schools (lycées). As early as 1851, gymnastics became a mandatory part of life for French schoolboys within the primary schools (collèges) and was later reaffirmed by the decree of July 2, 1866.[65]

French physical education pedagogy of the latter nineteenth century also rehabilitated the medical benefits first established by Montaigne. Dr. Philippe Tissié (1852-1935) was the most vocal proponent of this school of thought and left a large mark upon French pedagogy. Tissié and his supporters advocated an increased focus upon physical education as the best way to mold the nation's youth. Despite the close tie of physical education to its German roots, it was a discipline that flourished both in and outside of French schools in the late nineteenth century, especially in the southwest and amongst urban populations.

Gymnastics and military drills grew in popularity in the late nineteenth century with a strong push by French republicans for an even stronger program of German-style youth sports training within the schools. Arnaud argues that the defeat of 1871 led to the French desire for revenge, which could only be obtained through a future war with Germany, and that this, in turn, led to the inclusion of mandatory gymnastics in the educational reforms of Jules Ferry.[66] The Ferry Laws also established obligatory gymnastics instruction and drills for boys, with a parallel curriculum for girls. By 1884,

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[64] Pierre Arnaud, *Le Militaire, l'écolier, le gymnaste: naissance de l'éducation physique en France, 1869-1889*, (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1991), 19.
[65] Ibid, 29.
[66] Ibid.

gymnastic exercises, military marches, and swimming were a prescribed part of the national scholastic curriculum.[67]

Allan Mitchell argues that the French subscribed to the notion that "[t]he easiest and least disturbing explanation of the disaster of 1870 was that France had been outmanned."[68] This fear of being "outmanned" was directly linked to the consternation within France over the health of its citizens. The mania of producing healthy babies for the future survival of the French nation extended to the realm of females. If Frenchwomen were physically fit, then their babies would be healthy as well, not to mention perhaps more numerous. Mary Lynn Stewart argues that by the 1880s and 1890s, as a direct result of the idea that some forms of physical exercise were beneficial to the female French population, limited sport for women, even bourgeois women, was encouraged.[69]

Sports such as swimming and dancing were seen as a means of increasing the physical health of French women. Richard Holt points out that female sport in France was less a development of increased leisure time and more a response to the need for the healthier production of babies.[70] By the 1870s and 1880s tennis was seen as a respectable sport for aristocratic and bourgeois women, and eventually cycling would be included on this list of acceptable female sports, though it was originally a hobby of working class women. As Holt noted, "some even claimed recreational cycling would increase the

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[67] Ibid.
[68] Allan Mitchell, *The Divided Path: The German Influence on Social Reform in France After 1870*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 28.
[69] Mary Lynn Stewart, *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for Frenchwomen, 1880s-1930s*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 155.
[70] Richard Holt, "Women, Men, and Sport in France, 1870-1914: An Introductory Survey," *Journal of Sports History*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring 1991), 121.

birthrate by stimulating the body and the sexual drive."[71] The Catholic Church weighed in on the female-bicycle debate, ruling that cycling would damage a woman's ability to bear children.

Physical education was seen as a way of ensuring a healthy youth. Thus, in France, the German-influenced format of physical education was promoted in the schools from the 1880s through the 1940s. When the Third Republic collapsed in 1940, the Vichy regime run by Philippe Pétain issued a new credo for the nation, replacing the traditional French concepts of *liberté, egalité, fraternité* with *travail, famille, patrie.* Vichyites blamed France's collapse on the Third Republic and the general decay of Frenchmen that it had encouraged under its excesses. This sentiment provoked Vichy to rectify such rot through the investment in and encouragement of youth athletics.

In December 1940, Vichy issued a sports charter that, for the first time, brought all athletic activity under the state. It also tried to place a greater emphasis upon athletics in the schools, an attempt to move physical recreation away from the private sports clubs that were dominant social fixtures of most towns and communities. Vichy created a minister for sports and assigned the former French tennis champion Jean Borotra to oversee the nation's youth athletics program. The National Revolution of Vichy co-opted the nation's youth into sports programs that, through exercises and drills, sought to form healthier, hardier youths. Moreover, the state's increased emphasis upon physical fitness, especially for boys and young men, was an indication of how Vichy desired to reconfigure the idea of French masculinity, one of strength and courage.

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[71] Ibid, 125.

The melding of youth, politics, and physical education under Vichy was revolutionary in France. Yet, it was part of a European trend of the post-1919 era: to rectify the defeats or humiliations suffered during or endured after the Great War by creating a stronger youth. This new generation would overturn the perceived ills or decline of society after the war, and help in the nation's rebirth. These credos were reflected in the programs in Germany (Hitler Youth) and Italy (Ballila), which influenced Vichy. Ultimately, Vichy's attempts to cultivate greater youth participation in athletics failed, especially as the food deprivations enforced by the Germans began to take a physical toll upon the French body. Yet, such policies provided a blueprint for state subjugation of sport that was to be revived to a certain degree, and after some hesitation, during the Fourth Republic. Although Vichy's youth sports programs were dismantled upon Liberation, government programs of youth physical education retained a collaborationist stain after 1945. The close association between Vichy and politicization of the youth explains why the French were reluctant to launch large-scale youth sports programs until the twin crises of the youth and sport predicaments of the 1960s demonstrated that there was little other option.

If one strain of thought on the promotion of youth physical activity was the Prussian-German based physical education model, then the second was that of sportive education. Led by Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), this alternative stemmed from the sports movement that developed in Britain in the early nineteenth century under Thomas Arnold. Arnold was a priest who introduced the sport of rugby into an academic setting in August 1828. Though Arnold died in 1842, his legacy remained strong. The strongest

testament to his influence was the wide acceptance of rugby and its derivative, association football (known commonly as football), as parts of the British private school and university curriculums by mid-century. De Coubertin, a vocal proponent of British education and team sports, continued Arnold's advocacy, urging, amongst other things, the merits of team sports in helping to build democratic leaders for the future generation.

Under the leadership of de Coubertin, this rival group espoused the British-style team sports as the best model of physical training. De Coubertin wrote extensively on the merits of the British system. His work *L'Éducation en Angleterre* recorded his observations of the British school system. [72] He was genuinely impressed by the athleticism encouraged by team sports such as rugby and football. De Coubertin felt that such sports produced what he termed "muscular Christians" or Christian muscularity and that this helped to "toughen up" schoolboys and university men.

Many of de Coubertin's supporters were from the French aristocracy and bourgeoisie, and for them, British team sports could teach their sons British democratic qualities, attributes believed to be beneficial to developing the next generation of political and business leaders. The traits that team sports developed were numerous: team work, democracy on the playing field, advancement based upon merit and ability, a healthy sense of competition, fair play according to the established rules, and the ability to draw the sons of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy into close and equal status on the field, which (so the parents believed) would forge useful bonds for future endeavors. Geoff Hare argues that these elements were emphasized and recognized as the merits of British-style

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[72] Pierre de Coubertin, *L'Éducation en Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1888), republished in *Pierre de Coubertin: Textes Choisis Vol I*, (New York: Weidmann, 1986), 78.

school sports.[73] Furthermore, in addition to building moral character, de Coubertin believed that team sports helped to build "team spirit and moral fiber" in young boys.[74]

The French aristocracy sought to emulate British team sports.[75] This British style of youth fitness was different from the Prussian version. The Prussians focused upon discipline, seen through gymnastics and military-style drill, whereas the British team sports were "gradual emancipation and self-revelation of youth," and emphasized democracy.[76] Thus, a sportive education of the youth rather than a physical education was felt to produce more well-rounded future republicans rather than merely better soldiers or healthier mothers.

Within France, de Coubertin felt that gymnastic training was irrecoverably linked to militarism, a carryover from the days of Napoleon Bonaparte:

> The genius of Napoleon I was that he created the boarding school such as it still remains today. The emperor needed soldiers and was worried about the poor quality of his citizens [for such an endeavor]. However, today, under the influence of a noble but very special idea, there is a tendency to militarize education more and more.[77]

De Coubertin blatantly rejected the German system of physical education, argues David B. Kanin, because he wanted "to use sport to strengthen French moral fiber, not merely to increase the power of individual Frenchmen on their way to a war with Germany."[78] Thus de Coubertin waged war against physical education. He advocated a

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[73] Geoff Hare, *Football in France*, (New York: Berg, 2003).
[74] Stewart, 151.
[75] Pierre Lanfranchi, "Exporting Football: Notes on the Development of Football in Europe," in Richard Giulianotti, and John Williams, *Game Without Frontiers: Football, Identity and Modernity (*Ashgate: Aldershot. 1994), 25.
[76] Ibid.
[77] de Coubertin, 78.
[78] David B. Kanin, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1982), 19.

sportive education, one that was devoted to exercise, developing sporting technique, such as dribbling a ball, and championed athletics rather than military preparation. He left an indelible mark upon the pedagogy of athletic education, the debate over which created a divide within France that lasted until 1945.[79]

France was not the only European country to debate whether physical or sportive education should be encouraged within state schools. Both Germany and Italy emphasized physical education as the best method to induce health and strength while preparing future soldiers and mothers. Yet, in Italy, just as in France, there was a greater push towards sportive education by the 1890s in the form of football and cycling. The infusion of both sports into Italian culture occurred along roughly the same time period as that of France. The Fascists under Mussolini oscillated between support for both physical and sportive education. While gymnastics were encouraged within Italian state schools of the 1920s and 1930s, Mussolini strove hard to successfully create a dominant national football team for Italy, one that enjoyed the most victories of any national side during the era. Consequently, within Italy and France, the uneasy coexistence between physical and sportive education endured until the post-1945 period.

The History of French Football

It was against this backdrop that modern team sports developed in France. This study looks at the two most popular sports in France (and in the world) today, football and basketball, for several reasons. First, both sports were introduced to France in the

[79] De Coubertin is also recognized as the father of international competition and elite sportsmanship thanks to his efforts to resurrect the Olympic Games.

late nineteenth century. Second, looking at an English model (football) and an American model (basketball) highlights the importance of sport not only as a tool through which to view society, but also as a prism through which society perceives itself. The trend towards Anglo-American sports came at the expense of Prussian-style gymnastics and physical education.

Third, football and basketball do not require expensive equipment and may be played in fields or in the streets. Thus, they are accessible to all, unlike sports such as ice hockey or tennis, which require expensive equipment and specific terrains. Fourth, in understanding the unique histories of both sports within France, one will be better able to understand the later French consternation at the lack of football or basketball victories at major international athletic competitions of the post-1945 world. This was perhaps a source of greater anxiety than the lack of Olympic medals.

For much of the twentieth century, football was the most popular sport in France, both in terms of participation and spectatorship. The history of French football originated in mid-nineteenth century England when the sons of the British elite (the men at university) developed a game involving a ball kicked with the feet. The objective was to kick the ball into the opposing team's goal-area. Known as football, the sport was hugely popular amongst all social classes of British male society by the 1880s.

Football was transported to France over the next two decades by French university students returning home, the sons of the upper and middle classes. The game was also spread by British workers migrating to the shores of the Continent. Therefore, football was originally associated with and played by the French elites. At the time,

emulation of the British was desirable by these French social classes, for the British were perceived as being "modern." Hare attributes this image of modernity not only to Britain's laissez-faire economic policies, but also to its sportsmanship, known as *le fair-play*, which promoted equality on the field.[80] Consequently, many middle class men began to play football as a way to distinguish themselves from the lower classes. The association of modernity with Great Britain might explain why the sport's British name and terminology endured in France, whereas in other parts of the world it was adapted along national linguistic lines (*futbol* in Spanish-speaking areas, *calcio* in Italy).

Once on French soil, the game spread rapidly. The first French football club was the Le Havre Athletic Club, established in 1872. The first football game played on French soil was held in Paris in October 1891 between the White Rovers, a group of ex-patriot Englishmen, versus the Gordon FC, composed of expatriate Scotsmen. As the game spread throughout France, its popularity grew. Bordeaux, Normandy, and Northern France, traditionally the first areas influenced by British ideas due to geographic proximity, warmly embraced the new sport.[81] Football also reached the southern regions of France, thanks to British migrant workers who played the game and encouraged locals to join. Consequently, these areas became the football strongholds in France, and produced some of the country's most storied and successful teams of the twentieth century.

Throughout the *belle époque* football continued to grow as a recreational sport, but it was the first decades of the twentieth century in which the sport took firm root in

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[80] Hare, 18.
[81] Ibid.

French society. The army contributed significantly to the spread and popularity of football. Young men serving their mandatory national service from the 1880s through the First World War picked up the game in the military and brought it back home as a form of popular recreation.[82]

The popularity of football at all levels was aided by the development of an international football governing body that universalized the rules of the game and organized club competitions and major international tournaments. In 1904 the French and the Dutch created the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA), an international group established to govern football worldwide.[83] Reflecting the growing popularity of the sport in France, in 1919 a national governing organization was formed, the *Fédération Française de Football* (FFF). The FFF quickly became the country's largest and most powerful sports federation, a testament to the sport's wide popularity.

French working class men, who learned the game from their comrades in the trenches during the Great War, helped to spread the game in the post-war years. Northern France grew riveted with football fever, due to an industrial working-class population that appreciated the competitiveness of the game. Football appealed not just to the working class, but also to their employers, for the game fostered a sense of team solidarity and cemented the community together. The spread of the game through French society was reinforced under Léon Blum's Popular Front government in the 1930s, where leisure sports, especially football, were heavily promoted.

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[82] Ibid, 19.

[83] France, along with the Netherlands, recruited Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, and Spain as the original participants in this governing body. The group expanded over time to include all major football nations and still serves today as the regulator of all international competition.

French football by the 1930s had grown so much in popularity, demand for good players, and matches, that it began to professionalize. In 1932 under the guidance of the FFF, the first professional football league (comprised of 20 teams) was launched. By the 1933-34 season, the league was divided into two tiers: the First Division (today's D1) consisted of the 14 top teams in the country; the Second Division was the next-best tier and was divided along geographic lines into the Second Division (North) and Second Division (south).[84] The D1 was important in that it allowed France to cultivate heroes at the national club level who played for the national team.

The growth and entrenchment of football in France during the Interwar period was not unique. Although the sport had permeated British society by 1914, many Continental European societies experienced the same saturation of and passion for football as France did during the 1920s and 1930s, particularly Italy and the Netherlands.[85] Despite the infusion of football fever in many parts of Europe, not all countries implemented professional leagues prior to 1939. By the outbreak of war that year, France, Spain, Italy, and England all had professional football leagues, while the Netherlands and Germany did not professionalize until after 1945.[86] As Jean-François Bourg and Jean-Jacques Gouguet note, during the Interwar period, professional sport in France began to evolve into the concept that is more familiar today. It was during this

[84] Today, the second tier of France's professional football league is known as the Second Division (D2).
[85] See Simon Kuper, *Ajax, The Dutch, and the War: Football in Europe During the Second World War*, (London: Orion, 2003), and James Riordan and Arnd Krüger (eds.), *European Cultures in Sport: Examining the Nations and Regions*, (Portland, Ore.: Intellect Books, 2003).
[86] England started playing professional football prior to 1914, while Spain professionalized its football league in 1926 and Italy in 1929. The Dutch did not professionalize football until the 1950s, and professional football was not implemented in Germany until 1963.

time, they argue, that sportsmen started to become ambassadors abroad.[87] With the notion that the athlete-hero could be a goodwill ambassador for a nation and symbolize a country internationally, a greater push came to develop athlete-heroes.

Team followings sprung up, especially around football teams such as R.C. Lens, which enjoyed strong local ties and sponsorship from the large mining (and Polish immigrant) community of Nord-Pas-de-Calais. Once football professionalized, the sport took on a new dimension: it was now possible to earn a supplemental salary while playing football, a situation that provided a larger income than working in the mines or the factories, though not nearly comparable to holding one of the professions of the white-collar occupations. This provided a new generation of young boys the drive and reward to become football stars, especially amongst the immigrant and working class youths.

Although international governing bodies to regulate and promote specific sports were rooted in the early twentieth century, the encouragement of cross-border competitions by a nation's elite athletes grew in conjunction with the professionalization of football. This cultivated the first generation of high-level football players in France that participated in professional and elite sport. Both FIFA and the FFF promoted international football competitions during this period. Frenchman Jules Rimet, as president of FIFA (1921-54), suggested an international tourney to be held every four years. Under his guidance the first football World Cup was held in Uruguay in 1930.

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[87] Jean-François Bourg and Jean-Jacques Gouguet, *Économie politique du sport professionnel: l'éthique à l'épreuve du marché,* (Paris: Vuibert, 2007), 30.

Though French football continued to increase in popularity, at the international competition level, the national squad endured hard times.[88] In both the inaugural 1930 World Cup and its successor in 1934, France exited after the first round of tourney play. Elected to host the 1938 World Cup, the national team attempted to honor its country but crumpled in a second-round defeat that eliminated them from the tourney.

The years leading up to and immediately following the Second World War were dark for both the nation and football, with the national team failing to qualify for entry to the World Cup in 1950.[89] Under the authority of the German Occupation and the Vichy Regime, club-level play remained intact, though with depleted numbers and a reorganization of structure as the country was divided into two zones.[90] Despite the quandary of French football during the 1940s, the 1950s were a refreshing breath of air as several footballers established themselves as heroes of the sport worldwide. Just Fontaine, Raymond Kopa, and Maryan Wisnieski led France to third place in the 1958 World Cup.[91] It was during the 1950s that football emerged for the first time as a way to bind the nation together in a sense of national community, due to successes at the national and international level, and the superiority and popularity the French hero, Kopa.

Yet, given the growth and popularity of football in France, it is striking that no effort was made to incorporate football or other popular team sports into national education. Neither football nor other team sports were accorded time within the structures

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[88] The role of sports in international relations through friendly matches and international tournaments is given greater attention in a subsequent section of this chapter.
[89] Due to the war, there was no World Cup between 1940 and 1946.
[90] After the defeat of France in 1940, the country was divided into two zones: the Northern Zone, occupied by the Germans, and the Southern Zone, administered by the Vichy regime.
[91] As examined in Chapter Seven, many of the French national team that competed at the 1958 World Cup were of immigrant extraction, including Fontaine, Wisnieski, and Kopa.

of the rigid French school day and thus never gained wide acceptance as a vital part of a student's education as did physical education. Instead, boys and young men remained confined to playing the sport in what little free time they had after school or on the weekends with the youth teams of their local sports club. In this they were much like their counterparts in Continental Europe where school athletic programs still emphasized physical education after the war, even in countries such as Italy and West Germany where the legacy of the fascist youth sports programs was more poignant than in France.

Although football and other team sports were widely played by boys and young men in the Interwar years, very few team sports were deemed acceptable for girls. Due to the originally violent nature of rugby and football, these two sports carried a stigma of being "manly" sports, not the sort that good, bourgeois girls (or otherwise) should take up as hobbies. French girls and women were not encouraged to exercise in the same way that men were, due to the fear that an overly-exercised body could become too muscular, could be viewed as unfeminine, or that they could be labeled lesbians.[92]

In addition to the aforementioned swimming, dancing, and cycling, one team sport was considered beneficial for women by the Interwar period: basketball. Basketball was seen as a sport easily applicable to women in France, due to the game's aesthetics, such as elegance and grace, traits usually attributed to women.[93] Yet, very little has been written on female basketball in France. The general absence of the historic narrative,

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[92] Stewart, 167-171.
[93] Éric Claverie, "Le ripopo ou la naissance d'un style français: 1920-1939," in Fabien Archambault, Loic Artiaga, and Gérard Bosc, *Double Jeu: histoire du basket-ball entre France et amériques*, (Paris: Vuibert, 2007), 155.

press coverage, or scholarly literature on women's team sports in France is thus attributable to these early perceptions and stereotypes.

The History of French Basketball

By the post-1945 period, football was firmly entrenched within French society. Basketball, on the other hand, had a very different trajectory. Despite being thought of and appreciated by the French as a cerebral sport well-suited for the national character, basketball took much longer than football to be widely disseminated.[94] Basketball never attained the same level of popularity or power that football did during the twentieth century, and only began to make significant gains in prominence in the 1980s and after 1992.[95]

Dating to 1891, basketball was one of the few American sports that became popular in twentieth century France. Dr. James Naismith, a physical activities coordinator at the local Y.M.C.A, invented the sport in Springfield, Mass. Basketball was designed to be easily played inside and not as violent as other popular team sports of the time. The first official game was held January 20, 1892, and the sport soon spread far outside Massachusetts, thanks to the physical educators of the Y.M.C.A. who acted as

[94] "Notes for the Director General of Youth and Sport on the Preparation for the 1960 Olympic Games," Center of Contemporary Archives, Installment 19780586, Article 100, "Rome Olympic Games of 1960."
[95] The narrative and success of the United States Olympic basketball team at the 1992 Barcelona Summer Games, a team commonly known as the Dream Team, was responsible for redirecting the attention of some youth away from football and towards basketball. Although this attention did not unseat football from its place as the world's most popular sport, the Dream Team succeeded in making basketball the world's second most popular and played sport.

basketball missionaries. Basketball found a permanent home in Europe, first introduced in 1892 by Professor Rideout.[96]

The Y.M.C.A. educators brought basketball to France the following year. Due to the fact that the Y.M.C.A. was a Protestant-backed organization, in France the sport was originally associated with the Protestant Church.[97] In its early years, French basketball was played widely by the *Union chrétienne des jeunes gens (UCJG)*, the French branch of the Y.M.C.A.[98] By the early 1900s basketball gained popularity within the youth groups run by the rival Catholic Church, as well. Basketball was embraced as an alternative to the German-inspired gymnastics. At the same time, many in France admired the sport for remaining untainted by strains of professionalism, as had started to occur in British football by the turn of the century.[99] The first French basketball team was created in 1898 (Trévise Basket-Ball Club), and the first major basketball tournament (Robertson Challenge) was held in 1902.[100]

Gérard Bosc, former National Technical Director (DTN) of basketball in France and the country's premier historian of basketball, notes that the spread of basketball through the religious youth sports leagues coincided with the renewed religious battles and the question of the place of religion within France.[101] The youth teams devolved into a de facto fight between the Protestant and Catholic factions as these struggles worked themselves out. Although the 1905 Emile Combes law banished all religion from French

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[96] "Historique du Basketball," in Archambault et al., 7.
[97] Gérard Bosc, interview with the author, April 2006.
[98] Fabien Archambault, "Le basket dans l'entre-deux: les avatars d'un sport de masse entre France et Amériques," in Archambault et al., 7.
[99] Ibid, 8.
[100] In 1902 the first major basketball tournament, the Robertson Challenge, was held in Paris between two basketball teams of the Union Chrétienne de Jeunes Gens, the rough equivalent of the YMCA in France.
[101] Bosc, April 2006.

government, public life, and the state schools, basketball retained its early association with Protestantism. It was for this reason, Bosc explains, that basketball was not as fully nor as warmly embraced in early twentieth century France, especially in comparison with football which had a class-based, not religious, association. Patrick Clastres argues that another explanation for why basketball was not warmly embraced by the French during this time due to the weak influence of Parisian Protestant culture.[102]

The experience of the Great War removed the religious association from French basketball. The sport enjoyed renewed popularity starting in 1919 thanks to American servicemen stationed in the country who helped spread secular basketball.[103] Two of the dominant French basketball clubs of the Interwar period were founded in 1917 as programs through which Frenchmen and American soldiers could mix together on the basketball court.[104]

As more French learned basketball, the sport expanded. Contrary to the example of the United States, where basketball has always been one of the dominant games of urban areas, French basketball has historically, until the past twenty years, been strongest in rural areas.[105] The *Fédération Française d'Athletisme* (FFA) created a special Basketball Commission in 1920 to govern and manage the sport. In 1921 the first basketball championship was organized in France, won by the Evreux Athletic Club, and the first international basketball game was held between France and Italy in 1926, with

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[102] Patrick Clastres, "Comment peut-on être chrétien et sportif? L'américaniste Pierre de Coubertin à l'UCJG de Paris (1891)," in Archambault et al., 18.
[103] Bosc, April 2006.
[104] One of the clubs established in 1917 was Foyer de Mulhouse, which proceeded to win the 1924 French championship. The second club was the Centre athlétique de l'Union franco-américaine de Reims, which won the Championship of France in 1926. Archambault et al., 8.
[105] Ibid.

the French winning, 24-20. During the 1920s, basketball became more fully regulated within France, with the 1929 creation of the *Fédération Française d'Athlétisme et de Basket-Ball* (FFABB), remodeled out of the old FFA. By 1932 the basketball contingent of the FFABB obtained independence and became the *Fédération Française de Basket-Ball* (FFBB).

Also in 1932 was the establishment of an international governing body for basketball, the *Fédération Mondiale de Basketball Amateur* (FIBA).[106] Similar in scope to football's FIFA, FIBA established international rules and regulations for the game. FIBA also tried to promote basketball around the world. The international appeal of basketball continued to spread in the 1930s, officially becoming a part of the Olympic Games in 1936. One year afterwards, the first international tournament of basketball, the World Championship of Basketball, was held in the Pierre de Coubertin Stadium in France.

Just as in football, the 1930s for French basketball was an era of increased international competition in the form of friendly matches and tournaments. France was an Interwar powerhouse of European basketball, garnering the title Champions of Europe for 1937. The French were also responsible for helping to spread basketball to the eastern reaches of Europe, introducing the sport to Turkey and Yugoslavia.[107] Despite occupation by the Germans, basketball continued to be played during World War II, and started to professionalize after 1945. In 1949 the first Championship of France was created for the men's leagues, and in 1951 a similar Championship of France was in place

[106] The organization changed its name in 1989, dropping the "amateur" moniker, thereby being known as the *Fédération Internationale de Basketball*, reflecting the sport's progression and professionalization.
[107] Ibid.

for women. Although basketball was popular amongst French women, and the French women's basketball teams were successful in inter-European competitions, women's sport was still considered a niche enclave.[108]

Like football, basketball had uncomplicated rules and could be played in an organized manner or as a spontaneous pick-up game. It did not require large expanses of grassy fields, did not require much equipment, and what minimal equipment was needed to play the game was relatively inexpensive. Basketball also instilled the same moral attributes championed by football supporters: democracy, teamwork, community, and meritocracy. Moreover, the French believed basketball to be a sport that required thinking and calculation in addition to skill.[109] Still, despite increased popularity during the Interwar years and the success of the French national teams in major international competitions, the numbers of French youths who played basketball still lagged far behind that of football for most of the twentieth century.

Creating Frenchmen – Identity, Assimilation, and French Sport

As football and basketball grew in popularity during the pre-1958 period, they were used to help forge a unified French society. Despite their earlier reinforcement of social and religious divides prior to 1914, football and basketball helped mend these cleavages after 1919. Sport is an important agent in creating a sense of unity and thus of forging identity. For most of the twentieth century, the primary identity created and

[108] As there was no comparable league or team for women's football, this study does not focus upon the gender implications of football and basketball.
[109] "Notes for the Director General of Youth and Sport on the Preparation for the 1960 Olympic Games," Center of Contemporary Archives, Installment 19780586, Article 100, "Rome Olympic Games of 1960."

reinforced by athletics was national identity, or the identification by a people to the nation. A nation is a political entity represented by a series of common constructs such as culture, language, and a shared sense of history. These attributes, as Benedict Anderson notes, bind the people together into an imagined collective identity surrounding the national myth.[110]

There are many ways to create such an imaginary community. One method is the process of modernization. In utilizing technology, communications, and knowledge to colonize the countryside in the pre-1914 decades, Eugen Weber argues that the Parisian cultural, political, and bureaucratic elites unified and modernized the country, creating Frenchmen.[111] In particular, he noted, it was the schools that acted as a mass agent of indoctrination to create something "vast and intangible called France."[112]

Historically, war, which helps to create an identity in opposition to the enemy, or the "other," was another conduit of forging national identity.[113] War reinforces images of heroism, sacrifice, and symbols of unity. Albert Feuillerat, a professor of English literature at the University of Rennes in the 1920s, thought the Great War was the main event that consecrated modern French identity. With the outbreak of war in 1914, all came to the defense of France, at whose "cry of distress the whole nation rose, determined to defend to the death the moral heritage which had been slowly garnered for

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[110] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verson, 1991).
[111] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1976).
[112] Ibid, 334.
[113] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging a National Identity 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

centuries," writes Feuillerat.[114] The shared experience of survival, defense of the nation, and grappling with the new age of modernity that technology and the war forced upon European society was a greater unifier in France than the pre-1914 period.

Although war is a potent way to forge identity, team sports serve in much the same way and cultivate many of the same characteristics or traits (heroism, unity) ascribed to war.[115] Team sports also reinforce the concept of courage, a trait that along with heroism, was considered a crucial part of French masculinity during the Third Republic.[116] That football was spread amongst the troops in the trenches, and basketball by the Americans in the immediate post-war years speaks to the ability of team sports to unify through the shared wartime and post-war experience and create an image of French manhood. Both sports, but particularly football, symbolized the nation and its unity in a way that gymnastics and physical education never could. That the French emerged out of the Great War as a unified French entity with a common identity is indisputable.

The symbolism of a national sports team also served as a unifying factor. As football was the most popular sport in France and most of the world, historically the football national team has been thought to embody the nation more than any other team sport. The post-1919 French press felt that the French played a style of football that exemplified the national characteristics detailed by Feuillerat and dubbed this French-style *football-champagne*. By 1925, Feuillerat wrote that the "French" temperament was a combination of the traits brought by centuries of immigration, mainly, up to this point,

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[114] Albert Feuillerat, *French Life and Ideals*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1925), 21.
[115] J.A. Magan, *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War Without Weapons* (Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 2003), 1.
[116] Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 220.

from other parts of Europe. "Levity, frivolity, and inconstancy" were three words Feuillerat used to describe his contemporary Frenchmen, as well as endurance, energy, courageous facades in public, gaiety, seriousness, intellect, creativity, sociability, love of work, and the love of a good time.[117] This was the core essence of *football-champagne*.

The concept of national identity consecrated through sport and international play served to unite the French in another way: as a conduit to assimilate the country's immigrants into the larger social body. Immigrants traditionally assimilated into French society through the tools of the Republic: patriotism, education, political participation, and culture, a custom adhered to by the groups that settled in France between the 1870s and 1950s. During the Interwar period, sport served to assimilate the immigrant community into French society and bind them to French national identity.

The Italians were one of the largest immigrant communities within France of the 1920s, many of whom fled the political and economic implications of the accession to power of Benito Mussolini in 1922. The Poles were another substantial minority, actively recruited by the French government after the Great War in order to bolster a French workforce decimated by years of fighting. The Franco-Polish Convention of September 3, 1919, facilitated this migration, with many Poles settling in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region, whose mines and heavy industry were in dire need of staffing. By the 1930s the Poles were the largest immigrant group in France.[118] Other groups that relocated to France in the 1920s and 1930s were Russians, fleeing the Bolshevik regime,

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[117] Ibid, 23.
[118] 500,000 Poles had immigrated by 1931 under the Franco-Polish Convention. David Assouline and Mehdi Lallaoui, *Un Siècle d'Immigration en France: Deuxième Période: 1919-1945, De l'Usine au Maquis*, (Paris: Syros, 1996), 29.

Algerians who sought better economic and work conditions, Greeks en route to America, Jews from Central Europe, Slovenians, Chinese, and Armenians. The Spanish also sought entry into France to flee the Civil War and afterwards, the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco.

As most of these immigrants originated from Europe they, like the French, were Caucasian. Their religious traditions and cultural values were similar to those of the French, thereby enabling these communities to easily assimilate into French society. For many, sports represented a way to integrate into society, especially if they could be recognized as part of the community. This is why so many members of the national teams were of immigrant extraction. Thus, sports, especially football, are a good way to historically view assimilation within the context of a republican tradition, as Christian Bromberger argued, for it marries them to a collective identity.

Anderson posits that in order to nurture a sense of shared experience between native citizens and those who are naturalized, there must be communal actions that will create a shared memory. The exploits of a national team do exactly this as their actions draw the people together into a shared sense of national history. Consequently, a national team can help create one shared history that focuses upon the team's most memorable moments and legendary players.

Additionally, in wearing the national team uniform, which reflected the colors and symbolism of the nation, a citizen could feel a full part of France. To this end, the FFF integrated the symbols and colors of the Republic into the national football team uniform. The French kit replicated the colored-order of the French flag with blue shirts, white

shorts, and red socks. It also displayed the emblem of the FFF, the Gallic Cockerel, the national bird. As a result, the team uniform was an insignia of the nation and the players who wore it stood emphatically for France. Even today, the national football team uniforms reflect these symbols.

The press reported on the imagery surrounding a national team, its exploits, players, and foes. Language used by reporters helped to reinforce the national myth and thus, mass media was an important agent in creating national identity.[119] A number of specialty sports publications such as *France Football* (1923) and *L'Équipe* (1920s) sprang up and provided daily or weekly coverage of national teams, victorious clubs, and prominent French athletes. Through coverage of French athletes in international competitions, the press also chronicled the waxing and waning of the nation's prestige abroad as viewed through the number of Olympic medals or major titles won.

International Uses of Sport in France 1870-1958

By the 1930s sport, especially team sports, was an international tool of soft power. A nation's elite athletes could bring glory or humiliation based upon their athletic prowess. For example, the Italian national football team of the 1930s dominated the competition, winning most of that sport's accolades until the outbreak of World War II. As such, they symbolized the new might and dynamics of Fascist Italy cultivated by Benito Mussolini to demonstrate to the world a rejuvenated and resurgent Italy. The Italian case is one of the strongest in demonstrating the uses of sports internationally to

[119] Neil Blain, Raymond Boyle, and Hugh O'Donnell, *Sport and National Identity in the European Media* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1993), 13.

promote a nation's image of strength and power. Yet, it was not just for Olympic competition that European nations, including France, sought to train elite athletes. It was for the football World Cup and also "friendly" international matches between football teams. Friendly matches were games played by national teams that were not part of an international tournament competition. Such competitions served as a form of practice, and were originally conceived of as a way to showcase a sport and promote the concept of fair play. The growing politicization of sport in the 1930s began to alter such friendly international matches so that, by the mid-1930s matches reinforced nationalism and, at times, international political agendas. International friendly matches were perhaps more important during the infancy of the use of sport as a form of diplomacy than after 1945.[120] Once the Cold War was under way, the use of sports diplomacy was much more firmly situated in the arenas of the Olympics, the World Cup, and the World Championship due in large part to greater media coverage and importance.

As Hare and Dauncey point out, "when football acquires national popularity, it can contribute to the formation of narratives of collective national identity."[121] One example of this was the first French triumph over the English, 2-1, in a friendly match on May 9, 1929. The win, the first for France since they began to play England in 1923, added concrete evidence to the mythos of the French national team. Another win over

[120] One of the more high-profile examples of using the friendly international football match as a form of diplomacy was the May 1938 game between England and Germany. Held in Berlin, the English national squad was instructed to give the Nazi salute before the start of the game in homage to their hosts. This was viewed as an act of appeasement and is still debated to this day.

[121] Geoff Hare and Hugh Dauncey, *France and the 1998 World Cup: The National Impact of a World Sporting Event*, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1999), 44.

England, 5-2, on May 14, 1931, furthered the sense of solidarity, as did hosting the 1938 World Cup.

Friendly matches aside, the Olympics were an important showground for the use of sport as an international tool. The first modern Olympic Games were held in Athens in 1896, at which only 311 athletes from 13 countries participated.[122] Most of these athletes, 230, to be precise, were Greek.[123] Participation at the second Olympiad, held in Paris in 1900, was an improvement and included 11 female athletes.[124] Needless to say, it took several Olympiads for the phenomenon of elite international competition to catch on. It is notable that de Coubertin promoted international competition as a mechanism to help mitigate the growing nationalism of the era.

The guns of August 1914 put a halt to all plans to host the 1916 Olympics in Germany, and the Games were not resumed until 1920.[125] Starting with the Interwar period, each Olympiad increasingly amplified nationalism. This was a trend that began with the Antwerp Games of 1920, for which the former Central Powers were not invited.[126]

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[122] There were no female participants at this first Olympiad.
[123] Kanin, 23.
[124] Ibid, 28.
[125] An international sporting tournament held prior to Antwerp 1920, the Inter-Allied Games of 1919, acted as a mini-Olympiad for the victorious Allied powers. Thierry Terret argues that these games "imposed upon French sport," the need "to imagine a new organization for the training of a national team, in particular because of the American initiative in French territory to incontestable diplomatic and economic prolongments." Out of this effort came the first of the major twentieth century transformations of the Joinville sporting complex, which would later become known in 1978 as INSEP. Thierry Terret, "Les modèles d'entraînement en France dans les années vingt: diversité, references scientifiques et pressions internationals," in Jean-Philippe Saint-Martin, *Le Sport français dans l'entre-deux-guerres: regards croises sur les influences étrangeres.* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), 149.
[126] Also missing from the 1920 Games were the Russians, who were not invited by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), due mostly, as Kanin argues, to the lack of credibility given the new Soviet Union by the Allied powers. Kanin, 28.

As Fascism overtook Europe, the Olympic Games took a heightened significance. The 1936 Games were viewed by Nazi Germany as an opportunity to demonstrate to the world the merits of the Third Reich. By all accounts the 1936 Berlin Games were a success. Athletes who attended from all corners of the globe felt the warmth of German hospitality and the international press departed from Berlin with a favorable impression of the Third Reich, despite its racial policies. The unprecedented large media presence at Berlin reported back to the world the dynamism with which Germany had recovered from the war. The press noted that the Games illustrated the strengths of the Nazi regime in terms of rebuilding, employment, social services, and organization of a mass event. These images and words were carried to the foreign public through newspapers and magazines, photographs, radio broadcasts, film reels shown at movies, and, for the first time ever, live local television broadcasts in an experiment with the new medium.

Again, as in 1914, the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 put an end to all hopes for the 1940 Games to be staged and it was not until 1948 that de Coubertin's pet project was revived. Unfortunately, Pierre de Coubertin died in 1937 and did not live to see the day that his Olympics, originally intended to promote international peace, turned into a de facto battlefield during the Cold War. The growing rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union took center stage at the post-1945 Olympics. If prior to the war the Americans took home the vast majority of Olympic medals overall it was due to their sheer numbers and unique system of sports training through the American university and college system. A continuation of this trend was expected in the post-war world. What

was unexpected was the extent to which the Communist Bloc, now under firm control of Moscow, invested in elite athletes.

During the Cold War political rivalries and hostilities were fought in the sporting arena. These spectacles included the fight between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as clashes between the Eastern Bloc countries resilient to Soviet control and the USSR. One such example is the infamous men's water polo final during the 1956 Melbourne Games, between the Soviet Union and Hungary. The match, held one month after the Soviets steamrolled into Hungary, was so rough that there was Hungarian blood in the pool.[127] Speaking nearly 40 years after the incident, a former Hungarian Olympic diver recanted that there were "very, very hard feelings" that year between the two teams.[128] Eventually, as decolonization rapidly spread in the 1950s and 1960s, another form of rivalry, that of former colonial ruler versus former colonial subjects wound up skirmishing within the sports arena.

By 1958, with the Cold War fully in swing and sports increasingly politicized, France sought to restore its international honor. It also wanted to create a third, alternative path to that of the United States or the Soviet Union, one that other countries, such as those of the Third World, could adhere to. Winning international athletic competitions was one way to demonstrate to these Third World powers that France had the vitality to successfully negotiate the path between Washington and Moscow.

General Charles de Gaulle returned to power in 1958 amid a political crisis. The new government that he instituted, the Fifth Republic, was one in which the state

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[127] The blood was that of Hungarian water polo player Ervin Zador. The game became so tense that it was called with the Hungarians ahead, 4-0. Hungary went on to win the men's water polo competition.
[128] Harvey Araton, "Raw Emotion And Spilled Blood of '56," *New York Times*, July 21, 1996, S1.

undertook major roles in the political, economic, and social lives of its citizens. Under his leadership France continued a strong post-war economic boom, lost her empire, absorbed an unprecedented number of immigrants from this former empire, sought to carve out a role in the Cold War, and tried to integrate the post-war baby boom generation. Also begun during the de Gaulle years was a quest to restore some iota of international dignity to a France from several colonial humiliations through athletic accolades.

One of the major post-war trends was the increased integration of European state economies, moving toward eventual political unification. Another tendency was the transfer of nationalistic battles off the battlefield and into the sporting arena. More so than ever before, international competitions where each nation's elite athletes competed for glory became the new method for displaying the dangerous, and still potent, strains of nationalism. Tournaments such as the World Cup for football, the World Championship for basketball, and the Olympic Games, all quadrennial events, acted as post-war amphitheaters for nationalistic rivalries.

Conclusion

For France, the traditions of utilizing sport to further domestic and foreign policy agendas were thus historically contingent upon an athletic youth. While the promotion of youth sport was not novel by the start of the Fifth Republic, the new regime's eventual answer to the challenges posed by both youth and sport during the 1960s would be a revolutionary break from the past. Yet, this chapter has not mentioned much about the history of sports within French youth culture. The omission of this narrative is because

scholarly literature, with the exception of the Vichy Regime, neglects to mention the role that sport played in French youth culture prior to 1958. There is perhaps a logical explanation for this neglect: that, despite playing sports, French youth prior to the 1960s did not have an athletically-orientated youth culture. It was this absence of a sports culture amongst the nation, not solely the youth, that was blamed for the sports crisis of the 1960s, and which the French government sought to rectify in the 1970s.

Chapter Three

France in the 1960s and the Youth Crisis, 1958-72

The 1960s were a transformative period in modern French history, an era laced with consumerism, cultural clashes, and challenges by the youth to the status quo.[129] These years were a period of significant political, economic, cultural, and social change that was captured and disseminated to a growing audience (domestic and international) through the development of television. Following the demoralizing humiliation of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Suez Canal fiasco of 1956, and the lingering quagmire of the Algerian War of the 1950s, the new developments and the uncertainty they presented made the French government acutely aware of how they were perceived at home and abroad.

Arthur Marwick, Axel Schildt, and Detlef Siegfried identify the 1960s as the period from 1958-74, bookended by the emergence of the counter and youth cultures in the West in the late 1950s and the impact of the oil and economic crises of the early 1970s.[130] According to Marwick, the "long sixties" were revolutionary in terms of altering the ideology, structure, and institutions of many Western countries. The period of the 1960s conforms more to the years 1958-73, I argue, as by 1973 the combination of the energy crisis, the end of economic expansion, and the start of France's youth sports programs all marked the start of a new era. The next two chapters chronicle this period,

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[129] For the purposes of this study, the term "youth" refers to those aged 14-25.

[130] Arthur Marwick, "1968 and the Cultural Revolution of the Long Sixties (1958-74)," in *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 82; and Alex Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, "Youth Consumption and Politics in the Age of Radical Change," in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960-80*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 7.

an era shaped by the youth and sports crises. I contend that these two interwoven dilemmas forced a transformation of French thought and attitude towards youth and sport that broke with pre-1958 trends.

The youth crisis refers to the problem of the large youth demographic, which was unprecedented in its size and the way it challenged the traditional social and institutional norms of the nation. The growing concern about the youth problem culminated in the Events of May 1968, but was not fully resolved. The sports crisis stemmed from France's inability to win major international titles or competitions in athletic contests. In a period in which sports events were a way to project power abroad, the French failure to garner many Olympic medals or to win major world titles in football or basketball was a growing cause for consternation. That the French were continuously unable to reverse the sports problem during this period acted as a blight upon national honor and served to heighten the general state of anxiety. Set against the backdrop of other transformative trends of the 1960s, both the youth and sports calamities acted as catalysts that spurred the Fifth Republic to invest in youth sports. The merging of youth and sport was the first such effort since the Vichy Regime. The shift was vital as it laid the foundation for the two revolutionary youth sports training programs investigated in this work: the sport-study section and the football center of formation.

This chapter examines France of the 1960s, from the start of the Fifth Republic in 1958 through the end of the Thirty Glorious Years of the postwar economic boom in 1973. Domestically, this was an era of unprecedented prosperity that led to new trends in the French work force, education, consumerism, communications, and immigration.

These developments intersected with a maturing youth generation to produce the sense of a growing calamity. Several factors combined to produce the brewing youth crisis in France: the size of the youth generation; the antiquated educational institutions, which failed not only in structure but also in facilities and size; the growing influence of a common youth culture, centered upon consumerism, that united the nation's youth in a way that was not experienced by any previous generation; and the expanding power of television as the medium which drove several of these changes.

The French viewed the youth crisis with great unease as it portrayed a nation in chaos and decay to the international audience. It countered the nation's attempts to rebuild the image of a vigorous, rejuvenated France in the aftermath of World War II and the colonial wars of Indochina and Algeria. Television nakedly displayed the images of the May 1968 turmoil to the world at large, thus exacerbating the consternation over how to tame and transform the nation's youth. It was the high visibility and widespread nature of the youth crisis, I argue, in conjunction with the concurrent sports crisis, which forced France to revolutionize its conception of youth and sport and led to the 1973 implementation of ground-breaking programs to encourage greater youth participation in sport and to develop better athletes.

France and Domestic Developments During the 1960s

The Thirty Glorious Years (1945-75) in France were the result of a variety of factors, chief of which was U.S. aid to revive and reconstruct the French economy. Yet, there were other forces that contributed to the prolonged postwar economic growth: the emergence of new industries, increased immigration to staff the factories producing

consumer goods, and an overall population explosion. These developments translated into increased wages and standards of living for the French middle and working classes, thereby encouraging a new wave of consumerism.

France emerged from World War II in tatters and was reliant upon financial assistance from the United States in the form of Marshall Plan funds to rebuild. These funds successfully jumpstarted the French economy and by the early 1950s French industry thrived once again. The Fourth Republic instituted a series of five-year plans that sought to create an efficient, more competitive state economy through heavy state regulation. Government economic planning was continued by President Charles de Gaulle's Fifth Republic after 1958.

The postwar economic strategizing emphasized job creation in technology, management, and service sectors. Within France of the 1950s and 1960s, the targeted industries were atomic energy, communications, and computerization, in addition to state bureaucracy, clerical and administrative staff and management, health services, and education. These new jobs created the need for workers with more specialized skills that often required technical or professional training beyond secondary education.

Trends in French Employment (in thousands of workers)[131]

	1954	**1962**	**1968**
Farmers	5,175	3,878	3,087
Shopkeepers and assistants	1,664	1,627	1,689
Transport and Communications Staff	1,299	1,386	1,495
Workers (including craftsmen)	6,685	7,050	7,364
Clerical Staff	1,507	1,850	2,254
Executives	304	378	463
Health services	250	346	500
Education	361	506	695
Technicians and scientists	457	622	877

The new economy had several byproducts, the first of which was a shift in the concentration of the country's population. The move from agricultural production to professional and technical services translated into a sharp increase in urbanization.[132] Kristin Ross argues that the new economy was crucial to transforming France from a rural, Catholic, colonial power into a modern, urban, decolonized country in a very condensed time span.[133] The new economy also produced a greater level of disposable income. The technology-, management-, and service-based jobs typically required greater schooling or training and thus commanded higher salaries. Between 1960 and 1970 the average worker's income increased by nearly 120%.[134] This translated into a

[131] Daniel Singer, *Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968*, (New York: Hill and Want, 1970), 78.
[132] The urbanization of France was not a new trend. It began in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. What was different about post-1945 urbanization was that it was concentrated in a relatively short period of time.
[133] Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 4.
[134] Mathias Bernard, *La France de mai 1958 à 1981: la grande mutation*, (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2003), 86.

new prosperity for workers in these sectors, money which could be spent on consumer items. In particular, electronic appliances such as refrigerators were in high demand, as were cars, radios, and eventually, television sets. This in turn fed the demand for supply, which France's factories obliged.

The new prosperity was not the only factor that stimulated post-war consumerism; so, too, did the changing French demographic. The surge in births after 1945, known as the baby boom, translated into the need to manufacture items to clothe and entertain the nation's growing youth population. This encouraged the production of baby carriages, shoes, and clothing, which gave way over the years to the need for new school clothes, books, and toys. The need and ability to entertain the youth was a trend made feasible by such a period of prosperity.

France sustained this unprecedented economic growth by importing foreign workers to staff low wage or unskilled jobs that many French men and women did not want. This was a continuation of immigration trends in France from the pre-1945 period and is more closely examined in Chapter Seven. Immigration into France increased demographic numbers, but the French populace also expanded thanks to lower mortality rates and significantly higher birthrates. From a country of 40.5 million in 1946, by 1968 the population swelled to 49.7 million and by 1975 it reached 52.6 million.[135] The generation born between the years 1945 and 1960 was referred to as the baby boom generation. Once these baby boomers came of age in the early 1960s, they had a huge impact upon the daily life and institutions of France, from the national education system

[135] INSEE, "Population en France métropolitaine depuis 1851," http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=0&ref_id=NATnon02145.

to popular culture to the economy. This baby boom generation was one of the most transformative of modern French society.

By the start of the 1960s, the number of French youth was at an all-time high for the first time in decades. In 1950, those who were under 20 years old constituted 30.2% of the overall national population; by 1960 they constituted 32.3% and by 1970 they numbered 33.2%, the highest percentage of the youth population in twentieth century France.[136]

Growth of French Youth[137]

Year	**0-14 years**	**15-19 years**	**20-24 years**	**25-29 years**	**Under 18**
1950	9,379,834	3,175,763	3,213,798	3,302,223	11,242,140
1960	11,927,392	2,737,462	2,917,543	3,227,765	13,651,876
1970	12,582,264	4,165,997	4,061,952	2,921,654	15,058,129
1980	12,088,191	4,330,432	4,213,080	4,269,258	14,707,085
1990	11,388,759	4,330,888	4,271,752	4,304,120	13,951,196

These numbers evoked a looming sense of a youth crisis within the French government, referring to the fact that the state must educate such unprecedented numbers of youths and to incorporate them into the national educational, vocational, and social systems. When one takes into account that throughout the 1960s it became increasingly necessary to hold a university degree in order to obtain one of the higher paying technical, managerial, or service-orientated jobs of the new economy, the question of education at both the secondary and university levels became the focal point of the youth crisis. As Émile Copfermann noted, with the significant increase in the numbers of

[136] "Population by Age Group," INSEE, http://www.insee.fr
[137] "Evolution of the Youth Population," INSEE, http://www.insee.fr

youth, "all the problems of apprenticeship, formation, and professional orientation increased tenfold."[138]

Schooling the baby boomers posed a problem as the national education system in France was not prepared to cope with the sheer numbers of this generation nor with the larger numbers of students it was required to educate as the age for mandatory education was increased. In 1936 education was mandatory for all youths between the ages of six and 14; the ordinance of January 6, 1959 enlarged this to include youths through the age of 16.[139] These new regulations had a significant impact upon the population of the nation's schools. If only 11% of French youths continued their education after they turned 14 in 1939, by 1958, 35% did.[140] An illustration of the consequences of the increased school age obligation and how it intersected with the large numbers of baby boomers was the enrollment levels within the schools. During the 1945-46 academic year, there were 902,000 youths registered in the education system, whereas there were 3,005,300 registered for 1963-64.[141]

The difficulties in accommodating larger class sizes were not confined to primary and secondary education; they were manifest at the university level as well, especially as the new economy increasingly required university or other professional degrees. For example, in 1946 there were 123,000 students enrolled in French universities, by 1961

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[138] Émile Copfermann, *La Génération des blousons noirs: problems de la jeunesse française*, (Paris: La Découverte, 2003), 88.
[139] Copfermann, 290.
[140] Henry Giniger, "French Schools Face Big Strain," *New York Times*, November 2, 1958, 29.
[141] Anne-Marie Sohn, *Age Tendre et Tete de Bois: Histoire des jeunes des années 1960*, (Paris; Hachette Littératures. 2001), 13.

there were 202,000 students, and by 1968 there were 514,000 enrolled university students.[142]

The schools and universities were not built to accommodate such large numbers of pupils, and space as well as teacher availability were two of the most pressing problems throughout the 1960s. It was not just classroom space that was at a premium; so was space for other educational necessities, such as libraries. An illustration of the lack of space was at the Sorbonne (University of Paris), where the library had seating accommodations for 300 students, but the student body in 1968 numbered close to 30,000.[143]

Added to these strains on the French educational system was the changing demographic of the university student body. For years, a university degree was equated with the promise of a well-paid job upon graduation and a greater level of respect. Traditionally, the children of the elites and upper bourgeoisie filled the universities. With the shift in the economy during the Thirty Glorious Years, more segments of French society began to enter the university system. In 1968 there were 23 national universities in France and it was estimated that fewer than 10% of the nation's university students originated from the working classes.[144] Still, there was a more diverse student population than at any time previously in French history.

This growth in diversity was the result of the merit-centric university system. Admission to university was open and free to all, as long as one had successfully passed the national *baccalauréat* exams (commonly referred to as the "*bac*"). The *bac* was the

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[142]Jean-Jacques and Servan-Schreiber, *The Sprit of May*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969), 22.
[143] John L. Hess, "French University Life Is a Study in Rigor," *New York Times*, May 18, 1968, 3.
[144] Hess, 3.

examination given at the end of one's secondary studies and was known for being (even to this day) a rigorous ordeal. It was common for students to prepare for the *bac* two to three years in advance of sitting for the exam. Thus, especially at the secondary level, the school day was notoriously lengthy and arduous, so that students could learn and prepare for the *bac*.

The typical French school day was known for being one of the most time-consuming of the Western industrialized nations, and ran from 8:30 or 9am through 4:30 or 5pm five days a week, with a half day on Saturdays. Despite miniscule amounts of time reserved for mandatory physical education, there was no dedicated time within the traditional school day for sports. This began to change as the 1960s gave way to the 1970s when, in light of the increased pressure to succeed academically, there came greater calls for sports within the schools to act as an outlet for student stress. The pressures to do well academically at the secondary school level and the increased desire to attend university translated into greater numbers of baby boomers that sat for and passed the *bac*. During the 1960s, roughly 80% to 90% of students passed the *bac*, thus enabling them to register in the universities.[145]

Once they were in the university system, students remained overworked, rigorously training to pass exams that determined whether or not one could continue past the first year of university study. Robert Daley reported in the *New York Times* in 1961 that "the average student here [at university in Aix en Provence] attends classes 15 hours a week… standards are fantastically strict and difficult, and only about 55% ever

[145] Francette Brac de la Perrière, email to the author, October 27, 2000.

graduate."[146] Francette Brac de la Perrière's case is illustrative of the university system of the time. The daughter of a *pied-noir* who returned to the mainland with her family after the Algerian War, Brac de la Perrière enrolled for her first year of university study in Paris along with 3,000 other first-year students in the psychology department. She wanted to work towards a doctorate in psychology. Three years later there remained a class of 20 in this same program. After one more year of study, there were only seven students still enrolled. Of that number, only two others completed the doctoral program with her.[147]

To combat the growing cries for educational reform, the government sought to alleviate the issue of space and facilities, though not the actual structure of the nation's educational system. The Fouchet Reforms of 1965-66, named after the Minister of Education from 1962-67, Christian Fouchet, called for the division of university studies into several cycles in order to pare down the number of students within the system at any given time. The new plan called for the maintenance of four-year degree programs at the regular university and postgraduate levels; however, it also provided for "second-rate" degrees after two years of study for junior jobs in teaching, government, or industry.[148] The reform called for new technological institutes (*Institut Universitaire de Technologie*, IUT) that would supply practical engineering graduates with a less rigorous academic background. The notion of a "cheaper" degree did not rest well with the students.[149] Thus, between discontent with the government's inability to fix the schoolroom shortages

[146] Robert Daley, "Students of France in Political Ferment," *New York Times*, January 15, 1961, SM12.
[147] Brac de la Perrière, October 27, 2000.
[148] Singer, 47.
[149] Singer, 47.

and the dissatisfaction with its attempt to provide "cheaper" university degrees that would not carry as much weight, French students of the mid- to late-1960s were increasingly frustrated and started to vent their outrage and exasperation. As *New York Times* reporter Sanche de Gramont noted, any form of protest against the education system in France, as it was part of the highly centralized national government, was akin to protest against the government itself.[150]

In addition to adding the burden of greater numbers of students to the education system, the baby boomers posed a problem to the work force as well. Heading into 1968 the French economy was recovering from a two-year downturn. By 1968, with tight economic controls enforced by the government and the stagnation of industrial growth, there was widespread unemployment amongst the youth. By the spring of 1968 France had an unemployment rate of 2.3% (450,000).[151] Many students, upon completion of the rigorous university degree programs, found themselves in possession of diplomas but without a job. This further frustrated the students who had worked vigorously for years in order to obtain their degrees, who believed by doing so they had secured their professional and economic futures.

Rising tensions surrounding unemployment and the schools aside, the baby boomers were the root of another vein that fed into the government's sense of crisis: the emergent global youth culture to which most factions, regardless of socio-economic position, adhered. This was the first generation of the twentieth century to be acculturated by non-French influences, yet another cause for consternation. Particularly

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[150] Sanche de Gramont, "A Bas – Everything!" *New York Times*, June 2, 1968, SM23.
[151] Singer, 74.

vexing was that French youth of the 1960s idealized and fashioned themselves after American and British icons and trends. This was perhaps perceived as an assault on French society and culture, and heightened the sentiment of a youth crisis. The sense of anxiety manifested itself in several ways, from establishing programs abroad to promote the French language and arts to instituting quotas on the number of British and American film and television programs imported into France. Yet, for all of de Gaulle's attempts to shore up French civilization and culture, French youth culture of the 1960s was heavily influenced by that of the Anglo-Americans. Consequently, the English language was increasingly spoken amongst the younger generations. This was often the result not only of scholarly study, but also of picking up the language through watching or listening to English-language music and films.

The 1950s were an era when American cultural icons and influences reigned supreme amongst French adolescents. The popularity of blue jeans, rock 'n roll, and western films and television shows certainly illustrate this point; however, French youth culture during the 1960s also experienced the British Invasion. From music (the Beatles) to fashion (miniskirts for young women, British tailored suits for young men), British influence dominated the French youth during the 1960s. It was noted in 1967 that, "the youth of France and England seem closer to each other than to the adult generations of their own countries," an American observation of the growing transnationalism of the youth culture or the era.[152]

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[152] Sanche de Gramont, "De Gaulle Says No, But – Britain and France Build A Common Market of Youth," *New York Times*, July 16, 1967, 170.

Amongst young Parisians British pubs gained increased popularity, frequently replacing cafés as main congregating places. Even home-grown French cultural icons, such as the rock star Johnny Hallyday, adopted Anglicized names to seduce success.[153] By the early 1960s, French youth demonstrated that they were increasingly more influenced by their neighbors across the Channel than by those across the ocean. This could have been due to de Gaulle's attempts to distance France from the tentacles of the United States during the Cold War. It may also be attributable to the growing dissatisfaction with the United States as a result of its involvement in Indochina. Certainly, the shift of French youth preferences away from American and towards British culture demonstrated the power of the new global youth culture, one that during the 1960s triumphed the British Invasion, regardless of whether it was the British youth, the American youth, or the French youth. But also, that French youth of the 1960s no longer looked toward traditional French culture or the subsequent saturation of American culture that characterized the immediate postwar period is indicative of a sharp break with the past, as Richard Jobs argues.[154] According to Kristin Ross, this rupture with the past, specifically the Vichy past, was needed to cleanse France of the stain of collaboration and the wartime experiences.[155]

To reinforce their solidarity as a youth unit, the baby boomers of the 1960s adopted the name *décagénaires*, and were also known as *les copains*. These adolescents

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[153] Ibid, 170.
[154] In his work, *Riding the New Wave*, Richard Jobs argues that French youth of the late 1950s wanted to break from the past, to start afresh, and the way that they did so was through cultural reconstruction. Richard Jobs, *Riding the New Wave: Youth and the Rejuvenation of France After the Second World War*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007), 2-3.
[155] Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 9.

had more pocket money than any previous youth generation, thanks to the fact that most parents began to give out allowances by the 1960s. Additionally, French students began to work part-time jobs so as to have extra spending money, with 43% doing so in 1965.[156] French youths were avid consumers. In 1965 the youth accounted for four million of the country's consumers, and spent nearly $1 billion each year.[157] A new market developed that catered to supplying the French youth with new clothing, cosmetics, shoes, cars, records, and other activities to fill their leisure time.

It was this increased leisure time, especially the time spent listening to pop music, that helped to shape the youth culture of the time, argue Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried.[158] Thousands of youths would rush home every day to listen to the radio show "*Salut les copains*" to hear the new generation of French music idols: the *yé-yés*. *Yé-yé* was the French popular music of the 1960s that the youth adored. Drawn originally from American rock 'n roll, the French *yé-yés* by the mid-1960s were idols to millions of French youths. Their king and queen, Johnny Hallyday and Françoise Hardy, created a French youth culture defined by age, taste, and consumption rather than social class or economic status. It was this acculturation that formed a youth that emphasized self-realization, individuality, and a turn away from the traditional, a generation that increasingly integrated recreational drug use as a key component of its identification.[159]

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[156] France Embassy Press and Information Service, *France and the Rising Generation*, (New York, 1965), 4.
[157] Ibid, 4.
[158] Alex Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, "Youth Consumption and Politics in the Age of Radical Change," in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960-80*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 14.
[159] Ibid, 11-14.

As if the assaults on traditional French culture were not enough, the baby boomers engendered concrete, tangible fears about their growing drug use. This was an important consideration in an era of escalating recreational drug use amongst the youth, an act that was an inherent part of the youth culture.[160] Heroin was an increasingly popular drug, as were LSD and cannabis. In 1965, 13% of youths who entered drug rehabilitation programs in France were younger than 21 years old, while 38% were 30 years old or younger. By 1969, 37% of youths who entered drug rehabilitation programs were under 21 years old, and 90% were aged 30 or younger.[161]

At the same time, the French were increasingly concerned about the growth of juvenile delinquency, which many linked to augmented drug use. This was not a uniquely French anxiety. By the 1960s there was consternation around the globe as to the state of modern youth, namely, what to do to prevent juvenile delinquency. "The infection has spread throughout the prospering, industrialized countries of the Western world," wrote Gertrude Samuels in the *New York Times*, "whose 15-to-20-year-olds in general 'never had it so good.'"[162] In Britain juvenile delinquents were called teddy-boys, in West Germany they were called *halbstarken* (half-strong), in Italy they were referred to as *teppisti* (hooligans), and in France they were known as *blousons noirs* (black leather jackets).

The specific characteristics of the world's juvenile delinquents varied; however, some of the common unifiers were blue jeans, rebelling against social norms, pocket

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[160] Ibid, 14.
[161] "Les concours de pronostics," *France Football*, April 29, 1970, 12.
[162] Gertrude Samuels, "World-Wide Story – Juvenile Delinquency," *New York Times*, February 14, 1960, SM14.

money, hooliganism, vandalism, and in general, citations for disturbing the peace. In trying to pinpoint an explanation for the rise in delinquency, Samuels points to the violence of the war and immediate post-war period. When trying to explain why this violence continued even as prosperity and the rising standards of living were transforming Europe, she explains that the "war sent millions of European mothers out of homes into factories and shops. And virtually full employment and steadily rising wages and prices have kept them at work ever since. This has brought about breakdowns in parental control."[163] Throughout the 1960s the numbers of juvenile delinquents who were arrested by state or local police skyrocketed around the world. These statistics, combined with the swift social change that the general worldwide postwar economic boom created, explains why many governments fretted over juvenile delinquency and sought out ways to curb and prevent it. The high profile of the *blousons noirs* and of juvenile delinquency dominated the public dialogue in France for most of the 1960s. Anne-Marie Sohn argues that popular fascination with the *blousons noirs* was due to the fact that these juveniles were symbolic of French society's fears about the new wave of youth and the rapid modernization of society that they represented.[164]

The French *blousons noirs* were seen as a step apart from their global rebel brethren, mostly due to the uniqueness of French contemporary history, in the continued violence of the French wars of decolonization in Indochina and Algeria, and the continued mandatory military service required of every young man. The Algerian War had the most impact upon the postwar French youth for the war was not purely a colonial

[163] Ibid.
[164] Sohn, 266.

war abroad, as was the case for the war in Indochina. Rather, the Algerian War was the first prolonged conflict that molded and formed the outlooks of many of this baby-boom generation. Not only did young males have to fight the conflict in Algeria; once the FLN brought the conflict to mainland France, the war impacted everyone. The divisiveness of the question of Algerian independence split families apart, and many youths found themselves on opposite ends of the debate from their parents.

Émile Copfermann argued that it was the years of war in Algeria that helped to mold the *blousons noirs* into a different breed than the *stilliaks*, the teddy boys, and the *teppisti*. "Seven years of the Algerian War," he wrote, "the murders, the daily assassinations," were all factors that helped to form the *blouson noir*.[165] French *blousons noirs* were different from their international counterparts in terms of their class origins. While the majority of juvenile delinquents in France prior to 1939 were from the working class, increasingly, the *blousons noirs* of the post-1945 period were from the bourgeoisie.[166]

The French government was concerned over the rising numbers of reported juvenile delinquents. In 1956 the government counted 500 juvenile delinquents out of 15,000 reported cases; by 1966 there was a 900% increase with 4,500 juvenile delinquents out of a total 45,000 reported cases of delinquency.[167] In April 1970, *France Football* published statistics obtained from the police prefectures of Paris, Haute-de-Seine, Seine-St-Denis, and Val-de-Marne which illustrated the increase in youths arrested for delinquency: 31,336 youths aged under 21 were apprehended from January 1, 1969

[165] Copfermann, 33.
[166] Ibid, 35.
[167] "France Facing Sharp Rise in Delinquency," *Chicago Tribune*, September 29, 1966, N8.

through December 1, 1968, while for the same prefectures, this number increased for the period January 1, 1969 through December 1, 1969 to 42,094.[168]

French public opinion believed that the root behind the rise in juvenile delinquency was a result of the country's urbanization and industrialization, the rise in automobiles, the increase in the housing crisis amongst the lower-income working population, and the general sort of youth culture being imported and imitated from abroad.[169]

In France there was an attempt to tackle the issue of juvenile delinquency by providing greater supervision over youth leisure time. There were a variety of remedies attempted to curb the juvenile delinquency problem. One way that the government felt that they could combat the rise in juvenile delinquency was to establish a series of youth foyers, which would serve as a home-away-from-home for the nation's adolescents and provide activities to structure their leisure time. Another alternative was the push to engage the youths in sports programs.

If in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sport was viewed as a method for creating strong bodies and a good way to indoctrinate the youth, then by the 1960s this perspective shifted. Sport was now admired for its abilities to teach youths not only to be ideal citizens, but also provided supervised leisure time entertainment. By following the proscribed rules of a given game, the young learned to abide by and respect authority, a continuity from earlier beliefs on the merits of sport. Yet, given the dramatic social and economic changes that occurred during the era, the concepts of community,

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[168] "Les concours de pronostics," *France Football,* April 29, 1970, 12.
[169] Colin Fox, "French Youth Have More Money Now," *Washington Post, Times Herald,* June 27, 1965, A11.

citizenship, meritocracy, and teamwork were viewed as increasingly important attributes in order to provide a stable foundation to a rapidly fluctuating society.

In the 1960s, sport was used to deter juvenile delinquency. Youth detention centers in France funded more sports programs, constructed more sports facilities, and purchased more sports equipment for their young charges.[170] This was done in the hope that learning an appreciation for sport and its merits could help rehabilitate the disaffected youth. Although an increase in the number of sports programs was encouraged, as previously noted, these attempts were hampered by the rigors of the long French school day.

Television was another equally important development within France of the 1960s. The growth of television in France was a direct product of the Thirty Glorious Years and it also influenced the youth culture of the 1960s. The power of the images broadcast on television was marked, beaming images of the decade's youth and sports debacles into the living rooms of the nation.

Although the French were at the forefront of television broadcasting in the Interwar period, the medium's development and growth was set back by the war. For much of the twentieth century, television in France was a government affair, with the state controlling broadcasts and networks. French television was run and controlled by the government for most of the immediate post-war years. In 1949 the government created *Radiodiffusion Télévision Français* (RTF) to control the country's televised broadcasting. In 1964 the RTF became the *Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision Française*

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[170] Ministère de la justice, *Le role de l'éducation physique et sportive dans le traitement des delinquents,* (Paris: Ministère de la justice, 1968).

(ORTF). The government viewed television as an educational tool and a cultural outlet. If the medium of television was slow to catch on and spread throughout the immediate post-war years in France, then the 1960s was an era of revolution in the viewing habits, consumption, and content of French television.

In 1957 only 6.1% of French homes had television sets, due to the high expenses associated with ownership. Aside from the cost of the purchase, one also had to pay a yearly tax on each television set owned.[171] This trend changed during the 1960s, thanks in part to the new consumerism ushered in by the post-war economic prosperity and the continued augmentation of wages. Individual television set ownership increased and by 1967 over half of French households owned at least one television set.[172] The saturation of television sets ensured that the French could easily watch television, and in doing so, were influenced by the images and reportages they saw.

[171] "Chronology" in *Les Grandes Aventures du Petit Ecran,* (Paris: La Découverte, 1997), 305-308.
[172] Ibid, 305-308.

French Household Television Ownership 1960-1975[173]

Year	Percentage of households that had TV sets
1960	13.1%
1962	23.1%
1963	27.3%
1964	39.3%
1965	45.6%
1966	51.75
1967	58%
1968	61.9%
1969	66.4%
1970	70.4%
1971	74.2%
1972	77.5%
1973	79.1%
1974	82.4%
1975	84.2%

The government's ability to broadcast television signals to the entire country also heightened increased ownership. By 1965, most of the country received the television broadcast of the original government-run channel.[174]

Television also became more attractive during the 1960s because the government increased the number of television networks, thus providing greater variety. The nation's second television station was launched in 1964 and by 1970 most parts of the country could receive its broadcast signals.[175] A third station was set up in the early 1970s. Technical evolutions in television also played a role in the increased popularity of television in the 1960s. The first color television programs were broadcast in September

[173] Ibid, 305-308.
[174] Hervé Michel, "Les Années 1960, les années television," in *Les Grands Dates de la television française*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 42.
[175] Ibid, 42.

1967.[176] By 1968 the second French television station broadcasted mostly in color, although widespread ownership of color televisions sets did not occur until 1975.[177]

Lastly, the types of content broadcast by French television during this period also played a role.[178] In the late 1950s television programming was sporadic. In keeping with its mission to use television as an educative tool, the ORTF by 1957 was transmitting "very little daytime television," and "only a couple of quiz and panel shows, as the Ministry doesn't really approve of them," reported John Crosby for *The Washington Post and Times Herald* readers.[179] Many television programs tended to be fairly long, as they did not have to take into account time for commercials.[180] It was not uncommon to find one- and two-hour long television broadcasts. Some of the more popular programming by the end of the 1950s were American Westerns, "which they love," noted Crosby, in addition to classical music programs, pieces of theater, old films, and a few variety programs on top of news programs.[181] Other programming included documentaries, drama shows such as "Three Musketeers," information shows, and American imports like

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[176] "French TV Plans Color," *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, September 11, 1965, F49.
[177] Michel, 42 and 51.
[178] At a time in which Franco-American relations were strained, American observations about French society, whether likening the youth culture to similar trends in the United States or exalting some of the merits of French television, were indicative of an attempt to ameliorate ties between the two countries. The French press of the era never described French television programming, though a list of broadcast schedules confirms American observations as to the content of French telecasts. Likewise, the French press never described the televised broadcasts of sports, or the advanced technology used for it. Thus, the reliance upon some American press accounts helps to illuminate what youth culture and television content were like.
[179] John Crosby, "Artless Pandemonium Rules Most TV in Paris," *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, August 9, 1957, A16.
[180] Until 1968, French television aired generic advertisements in between programs that publicized slogans such as "eat cheese" or "fly Air France." Starting in 1968, French television was forced to start accepting and airing paid advertisements from companies that promoted specific consumer products or brands.
[181] Crosby, A16.

"Rin Tin Tin," "Sherlock Holmes," and "Hopalong Cassidy."[182] Martin Gansberg reported that in 1961 on French television was composed of

> Typical series of programs [that] include[ed] Charlie Chaplin, animated cartoons, games, and variety acts. The American influence comes to the fore with a Mickey Mouse club of sorts and the serialized "Black Eagle" with American Indians giving out in French war cries. There is no doubt that this plays a major role in influencing games that youngsters enjoy, for cowboys and Indians is very popular with school children here.[183]

Watching television transformed what people were exposed to and how they were exposed to it. Rather than waiting to read about an event in the next day's newspaper or going to watch the event itself, people could now view it live on their television sets from the comfort of their living rooms or the neighborhood café. For the youth, such exposure to American television programs influenced the development of an Anglo-American culture and created one shared experience. Thus, television served to unite French youths across the nation and they experienced one shared adolescence based upon what they digested on television. Moreover, the youth were greatly influenced not only by what they watched on television, but also in the way that watching television provided a new leisure time activity at the expense of other pastimes, such as playing sports. Thus, the new trends of television-viewership by the nation's youth and the images of the youth culture broadcast on the national television networks contributed to French anxiety over the youth.

As the television broadcasts of the 1960s were government controlled, there was a fair degree of censorship. One of the reasons behind government control of television

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[182] Gene Moskowitz, "French Telecasts," *New York Times*, June 23, 1957, 99.
[183] Martin Gansberg, "Television in France," *New York Times*, May 7, 1961, X15.

broadcasts was that, "the President feels that almost all newspapers are opposed to him. To balance their views, he must count on French radio and television."[184] Another reason for the government's stringent control of television content was to ensure television's educational mission. By the early 1960s this mandate had not changed, as Minister of Information Alain Peyrefitte noted

> It is up to us to contribute to the education of the public in encouraging their demand for news and then in fulfilling that demand… the best bulwark that a democracy can have is an enlightened public opinion, demanding information and capable of evaluating that which is presented."[185]

Therefore, Frenchmen and women were hesitant to name television as the most reliable news source.[186]

Ministry of Information Poll on the Reliability of News Sources, 1963[187]

Media Source	**Percentage of respondents who felt this was a reliable news source**
Daily newspaper	29
Radio Luxembourg or Europe No. 1	27
French radio	9
French television	9
No answer	26

In 1966 the criticism of the government's one-sided reporting started to build amongst the French public, with French television criticized for its lack of objectivity.[188] That same year television faced another problem: angry complaints that there was too much violence and sex. Colin Gibson reported that "the men responsible for the two state-run channels have been told that brutality, eroticism, and bloodshed must be

[184] Robert Alden, "French Assess Role in Networks," *New York Times*, February 21, 1963, 8.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Richard E. Mooney, "En France, It's 'Face to Face,'" *New York Times*, March 13, 1966, 127.

reduced."[189] This came on the heels of a complaint lodged by French mothers that, "current programs containing provocative scenes…give their children nightmares and threaten their morals."[190] Amongst some of the more worrisome content that aired on French television were "torture and suicide by fire, scenes from hospital operating theaters, cold-blooded killings such as strangling, and people under the influence of hallucinatory drugs."[191] Much of this was reflective of the violence described in daily news reports and reflected by world events. As *New York Times* reporter Gene Moskowitz pointed out, "the recent political tensions and violent upheavals in Eastern Europe and North Africa have given television an immediacy and timeliness that could not be achieved by the slower theater newsreels."[192] Thus, these images could prove (and were) extremely influential in swaying public opinion and helping to formulate and acculturate youth culture.

France and the International Situation of the 1960s

Television became a powerful medium during the 1960s. It exerted greater influence upon youths and adults alike, but was important in helping to form the youth generation. The advent of satellite technology in the early 1960s helped to foster more awareness of global events and trends, thanks to the newfound ability to transmit television broadcast signals across oceans and continents after 1962.[193] Additionally,

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[189] Colin Gibson, "France Says That Its Television Is 'A School of Sex and Violence,'" *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, December 16, 1966, A6.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Moskowitz, 99.
[193] The 1962 launch into orbit of Telstar, the world's first privately owned satellite used for communications purposes, allowed for a revolution of communications in that television signals could now be transmitted live across continents.

television impacted the public abroad as France's international humiliations were broadcast nightly around the world. Thus, one of the greatest tasks for the French Fifth Republic, to reestablish international credibility, was hindered. While there were other means of projecting international power and influence, such as educational or cultural exchanges, sport's ability to reflect a society's values and ideals made it an ideal way to ameliorate a nation's image.

France's status as an imperial power was also challenged. After a humiliating defeat by the German military in 1940, France emerged out of the war's wreckage with its prized empire intact. While most of the empire aided the Allied French war efforts after 1942, Indochina was taken over by the Japanese. It was duly returned to the French in 1945 only to explode into war as the French tried to maintain their tenacious grip. The failed colonial war in Indochina (1946-54) was not the only blight upon the French sense of honor and glory in the post-1945 world; a second colonial war in Algeria (1954-62) nearly forced France into a civil war and proved that the military was no longer up to the task of maintaining France's traditional hard power abroad.

Beginning with the Indochina War, the French military's changed status was apparent. The French invested more money in trying to keep Indochina between the 1947-54 than it did to initially conquer it. As much as 10% of the national budget was spent trying to bolster the French military presence in Indochina, or more money than France received in Marshall Aid funding.[194] Not only was Indochina expensive to hold on to, but it also cost the French dearly in terms of casualties, with 70,000 casualties by

[194] Alistar Horne, *French Army and Politics, 1870-1970*, (New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1984), 73.

the time that Dien Bien Phu fell in 1954.[195] The French tried to hold on to Indochina to try to reestablish some of its lost glory. As François Mitterand wrote "when the war in Indochina broke out, France was able to believe that the 1940 defeat was nothing more than a lost battle, and that the armistice of 1945 was going to restore its power at the same time as its glory."[196] The French were forced to back out of Indochina in 1954, only for the Americans to enter the power vacuum. More than ever, the French military felt vulnerable; it could not afford another loss of face. Unfortunately, it endured two other humiliations, the failed intervention in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 and the Algerian War, which exposed the failures and need for reengineering of the military.

By the 1960s, one of de Gaulle's major aims was to withdraw from Algeria without plunging the *métropole* into a civil war. He also wanted to restructure the French military, which he viewed as old and outdated for the nuclear age. Increasingly, de Gaulle believed in the *force de frappe,* the need for France to develop a nuclear arsenal as the key for a new national defense policy. Not only would a nuclear program keep France up-to-date in terms of defense technology, but it would also restore some glory to the nation, placing it in the elite club of states that had the atomic bomb. Additionally, by seeking to integrate this *force de frappe* into the French defense arsenal, de Gaulle believed that he could reduce the numbers of the armed forces to create a leaner, more modern military that focused upon national defense rather than defense of the empire. The French detonated their first atomic bomb in the Algerian Sahara at Reggare in

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.

February 1960, and a second one in 1961, just as the failed military insurrection in Algeria was collapsing.

The Algerian War was an episode that left much of France disillusioned. By 1965 the French government reduced the universal military draft, citing the fact that the numbers required to maintain the French army by this time were significantly fewer than in decades past. Of the estimated 430,000 youths who would serve between 1966 and 1970, only 180,000 were needed. Although the 18-month period of mandatory active military service was kept in place, alternative solutions were in the works.

The restructuring of the French armed forces and the development of French nuclear technology was set against the backdrop of the Cold War. The Allies who defeated the Axis powers in 1945 had by 1947 entered into a new conflict, a "cold" standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States. De Gaulle did not want to enter into a tight alignment with Washington because he sought to establish France as leading a third, alternative way in the bipolar world. Moreover, as the French government by the 1950s acknowledged that it was perceived as middle-of-the-road in terms of many international indicators, striking out independently of Washington and Moscow could help to refurbish the image of France abroad.

Événements of 1968

France of the 1960s grappled with a variety of problems that included the questions of how to restore honor and prestige abroad, and how to forge a different path from the Moscow- Washington alliances, as well as how to incorporate the nation's youth

successfully into the social fabric and workforce of the country. These difficulties were all amplified by the coverage that they received in the press and on television.

May 1968 was a turning point. The voices of the nation's youth resonated off the walls of the old institutions, clamoring for change, freedom, and a more liberal way of thinking. The message came across loud and clear, garnering the attention of the public and the world. The student movement of May 1968 was an all-out challenge to unaltered rigid institutions. The baby boomers' quest to take control and to initiate change to ameliorate their lives was their legacy to subsequent generations. Moreover, the Events of 1968 were not purely confined to overzealous students. The students were backed by others, including workers, professors, television broadcasters, journalists, and professional football players. The demonstrations shook and rattled France and the country came to a standstill. The tide of the unrest was felt from the economic sector, to the political sector, to the undercurrent of French society.

The sights of the student protests of 1968 were captured in many mediums and words. Sanche de Gramont reported in the *New York Times* that in the Latin Quarter "bloody faces, arrests, streets clouded with tear gas," were the order of the day in early June as the crowd of protesters swelled from 42 to 40,000.[197] Francette Brac de la Perrière recalled that tennis shoes were a student's most valuable asset so as to quickly flee the police forces.[198] The images of students occupying the Latin Quarter or fleeing riot police were broadcast to the French and the world.

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[197] Sanche de Gramont, "A Bas – Everything!" *New York Times*, June 2, 1968, SM23.
[198] Brac de la Perrière, October 2001.

Though confined to a relatively short time span, the movement of 1968 had many consequences. One of the biggest and most direct ramifications was that the French university system was overhauled. The man in charge of restructuring the system was the new Minister of Education, Edgar Faure. As minister, Faure wished to modernize the university system by combining some of ex-Minister Fouchete's rechanneling tactics with student input. He sought to modernize, yet to isolate the extremists in order to keep them at bay.

In the political realm, the crisis of 1968 solidified de Gaulle's hold on power. He emerged as a triumphant leader, raised from the ashes of popular discontent to lead France out of civil turmoil. This act was reminiscent of his ascension to power in 1958 and played heavily into the public consciousness ten years later. Yet, the May movement eventually succeeded in removing de Gaulle from power the following year. Though immediate repercussions of May '68 did not materialize, the movement's aftereffects were present in the sociopolitical attitude and consciousness of the day. John Ardagh argues that the long-lasting implications of 1968 were that "in working life, in education, even in families, it dealt a permanent blow to the patterns of obedience to authoritarian rule, hitherto so marked in France."[199]

Conclusion

The students strove to alter the institutions of university, government, and society. While May 1968 did not produce revolution, it convinced the French that the youth had to be better integrated into the social fabric and workforce so that they would not rise up

[199] John Ardagh, *France in the 1980s*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1982), 18.

in provocation again, as exhibited by the students' take-over of the Latin Quarter. The generation's large numbers and defiance of traditional French culture, the rising numbers of juvenile delinquents and drug use, were all broadcast on television for the world to see and were unsettling for French authorities.

In light of the international and domestic considerations of the time, these factors contributed to the sports crisis. The dilemma of what to do with this unprecedented number of youths was a quandary. There were some within the government, however, who believed that the youth crisis could perhaps be solved by fixing the sports crisis that developed and deepened throughout the 1960s.

Chapter Four

The French Sports Crisis, 1958-72

The 1960s (1958-73) were a period of lackluster athletic results for France in the most prestigious international competitions: the Olympics (overall medal count), the football World Cup, and the basketball World Championship.[200] When Gen. Charles de Gaulle returned to power in 1958 with a promise to lead the nation out of its postwar difficulties, he pledged a resurgent, rejuvenated France that would carve out a niche in the Cold War world. France's inability to gain athletic acclaim at any of the major elite international sports events from 1960 through 1973 was perceived as portraying the nation's decay, its oldness, and its stagnation. It was considered a veritable sports crisis. When taken within the larger context of the dismantlement of the Empire, the Indochinese and Algerian Wars, the armistice of 1940, the integration of the baby-boom generation into the strained national education systems, workforce, and social fabric, and France's reduced international role in the postwar world, the sports crisis became important to the national psyche and it its self-perception. Moreover, with the growing role of television and its ability to transmit a nation's athletic victories and defeats to a growing global audience, the major sports competitions took on heightened meaning.

The government's perceived sports crisis, also reflected in the press, was one way that the anxieties cultivated during the 1960s and by the new Cold War world order played out. An examination of how the French tried to solve these dilemmas through

[200] Although the French swimmers and skiers of the mid- to late-1960s began to reclaim medals in international competitions, these sports did not compensate for the failure to produce stellar teams for football or basketball.

sport is an important indicator of how they grappled with such difficulties. The focus of this chapter detailing the sports debacle of the 1960s is the Olympic Games, as it was the 1960 Olympic Games that convinced the French of the need to revolutionize how the nation perceived sport. In my discussion I make use of the ample government and press documentation of decision-making and policies regarding the French Olympic efforts found at the government's Center of Contemporary Archives (CAC). Due to the fact that the FFF and the FFBB are private enterprises and have not made their archives from this period available, I will focus less upon the World Cup and World Championship results, although press coverage sheds light on these events.

As previously discussed, sport was an important international political tool during the Cold War. The athletic prowess of a nation's athletes or national teams kindled a certain wave of pride for citizens and governments alike. This helps to explain the French pride in two French sports pioneers, Pierre de Coubertin and Jules Rimet, who implemented the two largest international sporting competitions, the Olympics (1896) and the World Cup (1930), respectively. After 1945, with nations less likely to strike each other physically for fear of nuclear retaliation, national rivalries moved from the battlefield to the sports arena for consumption on television by global audiences.

The French did not turn to sports as an easy means to obtain grandeur or honor, as the international sports field was increasingly competitive. In the 1950s and 1960s there were three dominant sports structures in the world that sought to train elite athletes for international competition. The first was the American model, in which athletes were identified, trained, and groomed through the national university system, perfecting their

performances through intercollegiate competition. Individual universities financed this system, hoping that athletic glory would keep student and alumni populations happy, money flowing in, and result in greater prestige for the school with every national title or big game won.

The second system was exemplified by the Soviet Union and its satellite states in Eastern Europe, in which elite athletes were identified and trained by the state. As sport was the elite athlete's full-time occupation in this set-up, the state provided the funds for training, equipment, travel, competitions, and a paycheck in the hopes that athletes would prove the nation's vigor through matches and races. Despite appearances to the contrary, the Eastern European Bloc insisted that their elite athletes were amateurs, a point of contention in the West. By the mid-1950s the Eastern Bloc was a dominant sports force. In comparison, Western European athletes held regular full-time jobs and trained athletically on their own time and will, without the support of a powerful university athletic system or full state support as in the previous two models. The third system was one followed by many Western European countries, including France, in which the elite athlete had few advantages.

De Gaulle recognized the merits of the new focus upon sport and wanted France to rise to the challenge, rebuilding the mythic glory of the state through the sporting successes of its athletes. Jean-Emile Mazer, Coordinator of Performance within the Department of Elite Sport at France's National Institute of Sport and Physical Education (INSEP) writes that by the early 1960s, sport became for France "a symbol of a dynamic image, which had the power to play an integrative and strengthening role in the social

tissue."[201] The nation's reputation in the global community was closely tied to the achievements of its athletes. It was now necessary to portray a newer, more dynamic France, one that was not defeatist and one that did not succumb to German invaders or to colonial uprisings.

The 1960s began triumphantly for French sport, especially football, with the 1958 World Cup in Sweden. That June, the French team lost the semi-final match against Brazil but played West Germany for the consolation match on Saturday, June 29, 1958, in Gothenburg to decide third and fourth place. Despite the loss, the French were not down in spirits for, as *Le Monde* journalist Raymond Marcillac noted, it was "the first time that our country [has] reached this stage of the competition, and found itself classed amongst the four best teams of the tournament."[202] This was important in that at the time, football was the world's most popular sport and the World Cup was second only to the Olympics in terms of claiming international reputation and bragging rights.[203] It was also significant in that the World Cup was an arena not dominated by the United States. At a time in which Americanization swept through Western Europe, especially amongst

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[201] Jean-Emile Mazer, *Mémoire du Diplôme de l'Institut National du Sport et de l'Éducation Physique*, (Paris: Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Associative Life, 2003), 8.

[202] Raymond Marcillac, "Le Brésil jouera en finale contre la Suède," *Le Monde*, June 26, 1958, 12.

[203] Even the United States, a country in which football paled in comparison to the national games of baseball, basketball, and American football, recognized the importance of the World Cup by 1958. In a memo dated June 30, 1958, a U.S. Department of State official advised Secretary of State John Foster Dulles of the significance of Brazil's World Cup win. It was recommended to Dulles that the U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower should send a telegram of congratulations to the Brazilian president. The text of the note that was sent and signed by Dulles reads, "Congratulations to Brazil and the Brazilian team on bringing the soccer football world championship to the Americas." From "Memo, June 30, 1958 from ARA Mr. Rubottom to Secretary of State RE: Having the President Send Congratulations to Brazil Upon Winning the World Cup," U.S. National Archives and Record Administration (NARA), College Park, Maryland. Central Decimal File 1955-59, File 800.453, Box 4061.

European youth culture, the World Cup took on greater symbolism and importance for these countries.[204]

That Saturday in Gothenburg, France beat West Germany, 6-3, in only their third confrontation since the end of World War II.[205] The match was not placid, foreshadowing future France-West German football matches in which the games were marked by aggressiveness and foul play.[206] The French daily *Le Figaro*'s coverage of the duel reported that, "our German colleagues made us fear that on the other side of the Rhine [River], they have lost a sense of what is permitted and what is not."[207] Despite the intimidations of an overly aggressive and physical West German side, the French prevailed and garnered third place in the tournament.

Athletically, the French were a talented team. One of the star players, Just Fontaine, was the team's and the tournament's leading scorer. Fontaine scored a total of thirteen goals during the World Cup, a record that has not yet been broken.[208] If Fontaine

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[204] By the 1960s and 1970s, the increased influence of televised broadcast coverage of the World Cup started to change the degree of importance that many countries, especially those in Western Europe and Latin America, conferred upon the Olympics. Instead, from this point forward, the World Cup began to overtake the Olympics as the premier international sports event prestige-wise, an indication of the limitations of athletic resources, population, and money for most countries.

[205] The French team won the previous two matches against West Germany, a 3-1 friendly match played at Colombes, France, on October 5, 1952, and a 3-1 friendly held in Hanover, West Germany, on October 16, 1954. French Football Federation, "L'Équipe de France: tous les matches," www.fff.fr/cgi-bin/historique/hist_recherche.pl.

[206] The most widely known example of West German aggressions against the French in football was during the playoffs of the 1982 FIFA World Cup in Spain.

[207] "Kopa, grand organisateur de la victoire de la France sur l'Allemagne, 6-3," *Le Figaro*, June 30, 1958, 9.

[208] U.S. National Football Hall of Fame. "1958 World Cup," http://www.footballhall.org/history/WorldCup_1958.htm.

was the athletic heart of the team, then Raymond Kopa, one of France's other premier players, was its spirit and one of France's few international football stars of the era.[209]

Throughout the 1958 World Cup, the French press depicted *les Tricolores* as valiant and noble, crowning them with glorious achievements.[210] One of the headlines in the sports sections on June 17, 1958, following the French defeat of Scotland, 2-1, read "Our Eleven Brilliantly Defeated Scotland (2-1)."[211] The 1958 team was one composed of first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants, mostly of Italian or Polish descent, all playing proudly for France. This was significant in that the team represented the nation, and the team's achievements validated the changing nature of a French society that grappled with increased immigration. The press reference to "our eleven" clearly showed that, despite a roster top-heavy with players of immigrant extraction, the press considered them a body that completely represented France.

France's third place finish in 1958 was a hallmark as it was their best finish ever and was thus deemed a success by the press, government, and French public alike. The nation looked forward to sustained sporting triumphs as the 1960s opened, despite government concern over its ability to sustain continued athletic success. Yet, the press ignored this smudge on the horizon, believing that de Gaulle's new government bureau, the High Commission for Youth and Sport, could aid in the renewal of France. Created in 1958 under the budgetary governance and oversight of the Ministry of National

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[209] Football in France was the domain of immigrants, dating to the 1920s and 1930s. The aspect of integrating France's immigrants into society through sport is examined in Chapter Seven.
[210] The French press of the 1950s referred to the national football team as *les Tricolores*, reflecting the team's symbolization of the nation and the French flag. By the 1980s the term used to identify the national team was *les Bleus*, a term which continues to be used today. There is no indication of exactly why the terminology changed, or exactly when *les Bleus* began to replace *les Tricolores.*
[211] Raymond Marcillac, "Notre "Onze" a Brillamment Vaincu Celui d'Ecosse, (2-1)," *Le Monde*, June 17, 1958.

Education, the High Commission for Youth and Sport was charged with the task of reworking the national physical education model within the school system to encourage greater youth participation in sports. De Gaulle appointed Maurice Herzog as the first High Commissioner of Youth and Sport, with the hopes of generating a more dynamic and athletic youth.

Herzog was no stranger to the limelight. Born in 1919, he won international acclaim as the leader of the 1950 French Himalayan expedition and was the first person to reach the summit of Mount Anapurna. He published the tale of this expedition, the first to reach a summit of over 26,000 feet, thus furthering his fame. Although many Frenchman recognized Herzog as a great leader and athlete, there was initially a bit of distrust by the public of the High Commission for Youth and Sport. Jean-Luc Martin, a historian of French physical education, argues that a strong governmental role in the lives of the nation's youth, specifically within the realm of sports, was closely associated with fascism or the taint of the Vichy period.[212] It would take mortification of epic proportions to convince the French of the need for a government organ to closely integrate and co-opt the nation's youth to sport.

The French Olympic delegation, including Herzog, arrived in Rome in August 1960 to prepare for the opening of that year's Summer Games. The French press was giddy with anticipation and French television clubs and the small number of homeowners with individual television sets in their living rooms geared up to watch their athletes

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[212] Jean-Luc Martin, *Histoire de l'éducation physique sous la Vème République: L'élan gaullien, 1958-1969*, (Paris: Vuibert, 2004), 7.

compete on the small screen. Rome 1960 was the chance to prove to the world that France was resurgent, that it still mattered.

The 1960 Rome Summer Games

The Rome Summer Games of 1960 changed how the world, especially Europeans, viewed sports. That summer, over 7,000 athletes competed in the XVII Olympiad, and it was estimated that the worldwide television viewership reached more than 300,000 spectators.[213] To facilitate coverage, the press corps in Rome numbered over 1,200.[214] More athletes meant both the need for more housing and training facilities, and an increase in the numbers of spectators and the international press corps. The Italians were very proud of their hosting efforts. It was reported that Rome spent over $30,000,000 [in 1960 value] in constructing first-rate athletic facilities, stadiums, housing, and infrastructure to support the venture.[215] Rome 1960 thus began the phenomenon of each subsequent Olympiad requiring greater sums of money to stage, with states seeking ways to defray the costs incurred from building new infrastructure and stadia. Monies received from television broadcast rights were a good source of revenue to help foot the bill.[216]

The XVII Olympiad opened on August 25, 1960. It inaugurated one of the darkest periods of French sport, one filled with failure, despair, and humiliation that lasted into the 1970s. The sports crisis was responsible for reshaping the French attitude toward athletics and with it, society's outlook towards sport, the youth, and itself.

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[213] Allison Danzig, "7,000 to Compete From 85 Nations," *New York Times*, August 20, 1960, p.S3.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] The trajectory and impact of television sports broadcasting will be examined in the following chapter.

France began the Summer Games optimistically. Coming off of the 1958 World Cup success, this was the nation's chance to demonstrate to the world that despite the turmoil of the previous twenty years, France was invigorated with a new sense of dynamism. High expectations were stoked by the press. Print and broadcast media induced the French public into expecting athletic valor and glory at Rome in 1960. From predicting French wins in cycling, basketball, and fencing, there was also speculation about French swimmers, particularly Alain Gottvalles. One of the headlines of the August 26, 1960 edition of *Le Figaro* read "The Frenchman Gottvalles can possibly be the finalist tonight in the 100 meter freestyle swim," in anticipation of the absence of the night's favored swimmer, Australian John Henricks.[217]

Yet, these lofty prospects failed to materialize. By August 28, 1960, the French men's basketball team, the nation's closest hope to winning a major gold medal, was eliminated from the Olympic basketball tournament after suffering defeats at the hands of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.[218] It was ironic that earlier in the century the French were responsible for introducing basketball to the Yugoslavs. The Italians took gold medals in cycling, a sport in which the French fared well in 1956 and were expecting to win in 1960. In terms of the overall medal count, France finished 25th out of eighty-three nations, garnering a paltry two silver and three bronze medals.[219] The nation and de Gaulle were stunned and humiliated that Pakistan, Norway, Ethiopia, Japan, Turkey, and New Zealand finished higher in the overall medal count than France.

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[217] Louis Vincent, "Le Français Gottvalles sera peut-être ce soir finaliste du 100 m. nage libre," *Le Figaro*, August 26, 1960, 5.
[218] Gérard de Peloux, "Battus par les Tchéchoslovaques et les Yugoslaves les basketteurs français sont pratiquement éliminés," *Le Figaro,* August 29, 1960, 5.
[219] The French athletes won their medals in Equestrian and Rowing events.

It was not just the French who were reading or viewing these disappointments, it was the entire world. More mortifying than the lack of French athletic prowess was the fact that the 1960 Games were the first to be broadcast live to a global audience of significant size. French decay and decline as expressed through its inability to garner many medals and its 25th place finish in the final medal count was showcased to the world on television. Although the first major sporting events to be televised were baseball (United States in the late 1930s), horseracing (Britain 1937), and the Olympics (Berlin 1936), television coverage of these events did not have much resonance until the late 1950s in the United States and the early 1960s in Europe, mostly because few people had television sets at home.

Although not the first set of Olympic matches to be televised live, this was the first Summer Games to be watched by a large global audience. As such, their impact was significant. The difference between the American and French mentalities vis-à-vis international sports competition was duly noted. Robert Daley, the *New York Times*'s correspondent in France, wrote

> In the United States, defeat on the arena floor does not shake faith in the nation. Sport in America is a private thing. But in France, where sport is organized, subsidized, and controlled by the Government, failure by sports heroes can rock national prestige to its foundations. Abroad, the nation tends to appear decadent. At home, people look around for winners, don't find any and then ask themselves bitterly where all the money is going. Into somebody's pocket?[220]

This was why the French Olympic team's failure to take home more than five medals was such a mammoth event in the national psyche. It was the disastrous results of 1960 that

[220] Robert Daley, "Renaissance in France," *New York Times*, December 31, 1961, S6.

provoked the French government to formulate a new sports policy that would mobilize the nation's youth to obtain better athletic results.

The fallout from the 1960 Games was immediate within France. "President de Gaulle was reported to be enraged," wrote Daley. "The image of a young, vigorous France that he was working so hard to forge had been dimmed, if not destroyed."[221] Mazer, who trained with the national sailing team in the 1970s before taking a post controlling finance and performance at INSEP in 2000, highlighted the significance of the Rome Games in that "this was, for the first time, a flagrant contradiction between the discourse of General de Gaulle and the objective results that the world saw on television."[222] The glory of France as espoused by de Gaulle was punctured as the French Olympic team staged one of their worst Games in history.

"A grand melancholy clenches us," wrote Gaston Meyer at the close of the 1960 Games. "Alas! We know it, there will be discussions, reports, and all responsibility [for this calamity] rejected."[223] Reports, surveys, and opinions were all quickly undertaken as the French tried to assess why they failed so spectacularly in front of a global audience, and what could be done to remedy the situation. "The great lesson drawn from these Olympic Games of Rome," wrote Raymond Marcillac in *Le Monde*, "where our sporting prestige has suffered a heavy blow, is that we have sinned by excesses of goodwill… and by demagogy."[224] Daley reported that "when the French Olympic team, nearly three

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[221] Ibid.
[222] Jean-Emile Mazer, interview with the author, April 13, 2006.
[223] Gaston Meyer, "L'Allemagne a menace les deux 'grands' mais la France n'est nulle part!" *Sport et Vie*, October 1960, 6. Center of Contemporary Archives, Installment 19780586, Article 100 "Rome Olympic Games1960."
[224] Raymond Marcillac, "Il fallait limiter notre représentation à Rome," *Le Monde*, September 15, 1960, 10.

hundred strong, failed to win a gold medal in Rome in 1960, shame and irate investigations resulted."[225]

Pointing the Finger: Analyzing the French Defeat in 1960

True to Meyer's predictions, there were many studies and discussions that sought to analyze the French inability to obtain greater athletic glory than smaller, less powerful nations such as Pakistan, Norway, Ethiopia, Japan, Turkey, and New Zealand. In the public and governmental discourse that broke in September 1960, the French identified four areas that explained the French defeat: the lack of a national sports culture, a youth uninterested in sport, the absence of a state structure to support sports, and the press.

These concerns were identified in survey results published on September 15, 1960, by the national weekly *L'Express*, sister publication of *L'Équipe,* France's leading (and oldest) daily sports newspaper, on the question "Is Maurice Herzog to blame?" The survey results, conducted within the department of the Seine by the Cambassèdès Institute of Plans and Studies, were also published in *L'Équipe*. When asked if they were satisfied by the way in which the French athletes performed, 37% of respondents said yes, 47% said no, and 16% had no opinion. Upon further questioning, 35% stated that they believed the poor French results at Rome were a result of bad training, and 40% placed the blame with the French education system for not placing enough of an emphasis upon sports in the education of the young. Only 10% said that it was because French athletes were not physically fit enough for the competition. When asked if they felt that it was important for France to have Olympic successes, 76% said that it was, with 18% stating it

[225] Daley, "Renaissance in France," p.S6.

was of no importance and 6% having no opinion.[226] The opinions expressed in this poll were mild compared to those that followed throughout the decade.

One explanation of the 1960 Olympic embarrassment was that France lacked a sports culture that fostered achievement and success. This argument centered upon the idea that the French were not athletic, that the nation's culture was more cerebral than physically orientated. One *L'Équipe* reader, J-C Père from Paris, wrote that, "France is a country of liberty and of intellectual anarchy… [We are] all snobs of the brain, false sages, philosophers who stupidly [believe] thinking is the secret of life…"[227] Sports reporters agreed. Michel Clare wrote in *L'Équipe* that, "sport on its own does not have a chance to be accepted by us for reasons of our absence of sporting mentality."[228] Clare elaborated that,

> At this level, one forgets blocks, nations, the systems, and the techniques: it is always an athlete by himself that fights in the stadium, buoyed up by his pride, by his passion. And to attain these summits, it is necessary of course to have a lot of love... It seems that this is always that which is missing in France.[229]

This absence of a passion or love for sport that Clare noted was part of the failed culture of sports mentality in France.

He also pointed out that since Herzog took the post of High Commissioner of Sport in 1958, the focus of sport within France was upon physical education in the schools. This was not enough to win at the international power game. He wrote,

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[226] "Les Français et les Jeux Olympiques," *L'Express*, September 15, 1960, 20.
[227] "Il faut taper sur un clou pour l'enfoncer: tapez! Tapez! Tapez!" *L'Équipe,* September 28, 1960, 10.
[228] Michel Clare, "Le sport est le parent pauvre du haut-commissariat aux sports," *L'Équipe,* September 22, 1960, 11.
[229] Michel Clare, "Le conformism 'petit-bourgeois' a tué, en France, l'idéal sportif…," *L'Équipe*, September 20, 1960, 1.

> If Mr. Herzog ignores the world of sport, he will not remain insensitive to the results: he must imagine all of that – Championships and Olympic Games – as an immense mountain that he dreams of climbing to the top, a flag in his hand."[230]

Victories at high-profile events had to be the focus as they brought greater returns in terms of global public opinion, admiration, and influence.

Part of the absence of an emphasis on sport was blamed upon the government and the inefficiency of French bureaucrats. Y. Noel of Lyon wrote to *L'Équipe* to "blame Mr. Herzog for having made the euphoric and ridiculous prognosis [of athletic valor]."[231] Even Raymond Marcillac, then-Director of Sports Broadcasting for French television, blamed the organization and state of sport in France for its lack of athletic victory.[232]

Responsibility for the 1960 Olympic debacle was also assigned to the nation's youth. There were several arguments that fingered the baby-boomers as the reason for the poor French results at Rome. The overarching basis was that French youths were not sports-orientated due to the lack of a French sporting culture. Other factors included: the wars of the twentieth century and the military service demanded of all young Frenchmen; the new youth culture that emphasized leisure activities such as hanging out with friends, watching movies, and listening to rock 'n roll; and the failure of the national education system to foster a true sports culture and instead focused solely on academics.

The issue of being at continual war was important. Since 1914, France's young men were constantly engaged in active military endeavors, which translated into a lack of motivation or, some argued, deficiency of desire to invest in and excel at athletic

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[230] Clare, "Le sport est le parent pauvre du haut-commissariat aux sports," 11.
[231] "Il faut taper sur un clou pour l'enfoncer: tapez! Tapez! Tapez!" 10.
[232] Raymond Marcillac, "Les raisons de nos défaites," *Le Monde*, September 6, 1960, 7.

endeavors. Economist Alfred Sauvy noted that, "France has been beaten since the eighteenth century… the French population had the hemorrhage of Verdun; she was forced in this war like an athlete that 'rested' in a race."[233] *L'Équipe* editorialized that:

> The handicaps are evident and they are that: France has been at war for more than fifty years… More than a million French youths serve in the military and a good portion in Algeria… The directors of the clubs tell us: Our juniors [athletes] are 18 or 19 years old; they are at the point of becoming seniors [elite or professional athletes]; but they know that they will leave for their military service in a year or two… And then? And then they tell us: Sport it is very fun… but we quickly cease practicing so that we can profit from those months of [military] respite to live. They abandon sport prematurely. And we never see them return.[234]

In an era when military service was mandatory for all Frenchmen, the matter of military service as responsible for interrupting and suspending athletic training, especially for elite and professional "senior" athletes, was legitimate. Clare pointed out that the continual fighting, especially in Algeria, lowered the morale of the younger generations. "We belong to a nation that for the past twenty years has not had anything to give to its youth but one thing: despair," he wrote, in reference to the continual colonial wars that France was involved in after 1945.[235] One of his *L'Équipe* readers articulated, "it is necessary to accept that the sporting spirit is very weak amongst the youth."[236]

Many French felt that the education system was also at fault for failing to produce young elite athletes. Marcillac pointed out that the place for forming athletes was in school, but that the French school system and daily schedule were so thoroughly

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[233] Clare, "Le sport est le parent pauvre du haut-commissariat aux sports," 11.
[234] "Pourquoi ne pas le dire?" *L'Équipe*, September 20, 1960, 1.
[235] Clare, "Le conformisme 'petit-bourgeois' a tué, en France l'idéal sportif…," 1.
[236] "Il faut taper sur un clou pour l'enfoncer: tapez! Tapez! Tapez!" 10.

packed, it left little time for outdoor activity and exercise. He informed his readers about the Soviet and American models of sports training. "If we want to go uphill," he wrote, "it is necessary to radically change our out-of-date methods, methods of an old country."[237]

A third area of concern was the lack of state financial support for athletics. Most French elite athletes did not have the luxury of training full-time. As there was a stigma against amateur athletes receiving financial compensation for their training, most French athletes held regular jobs. Consequently, many, including the editors at *L'Équipe*, argued that athletic development and formation in France came secondary to daily breadwinning tasks. "We are aware," a front-page editorial in *L'Équipe* noted, "that French sport is handicapped in several ways."[238] François Mauriac wrote in *L'Express* that, "in truth, because our athletes have another career, they wed, live as free men, they are always beaten by the selected products of total countries…"[239]

On September 15, 1960, *Le Monde* ran an interview with Jules Ladoumègue, a former French track and field runner who obtained glory at the Amsterdam Games of 1928. Ladoumègue preached on ways to improve French athletic prowess. "The failure of Rome was taken hard by public opinion. Our sporting prestige was sacrificed," he said. "What I ask is: who goes to the Olympic Games without a trained Olympic youth?"[240] Ladoumègue's suggestion was to separate the training of elite athletes from mass sport,

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[237] Marcillac, "Les raisons de nos défaites," 7.
[238] "Pourquoi ne pas le dire?" 1.
[239] Clare, "Le conformisme 'petit-bourgeois' a tué, en France l'idéal sportif…," 1.
[240] "Dans une declaration au <<Monde>> M. Jules Ladoumègue présente quelques suggestions en vue des prochaines competitions," *Le Monde*, September 15, 1960, 10.

so as to provide a more effective training program for those athletes.[241] Although this separation was suggested as early as September 1960, it took over a decade to fully implement.

In addition to a lack of government support for elite athletes, the dearth of athletic facilities and stadia in which to prepare for competitions was decried. The absence of sports equipment, stadiums, and swimming pools was an indication of how French society viewed sport: as an area of little investment. Combined with this was the prevailing attitude towards and training of elite athletes: a focus upon amateurism that prohibited elite athletes from receiving money for any aspect of athletic training. This was a concept that echoed Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic ideals set forth at the dawn of the century and admired greatly by the French. By the 1960s, however, it was increasingly evident that the French sports training model was in need of revision in light of the changes instilled in elite and Olympic preparations by other countries.

The French government was only too well aware of these predicaments. After assessing its performance at the 1956 Melbourne Games, the government expressed concerns about the absence of a national sports culture, the continual battlefield mentality that demoralized the youth, the interruption of athletic training for military service, the leisure time activities of the baby-boomers, the absence of much state support for athletes and a lack of sports facilities.[242] In summing up the best ways to improve for Rome 1960, the government believed that the intensification of identifying and training "prime material" [elite athletes] must occur, that the general organization of sport in France

[241] Ibid.
[242] "Notes for the Director General of Youth and Sport on the Preparation for the 1960 Olympic Games." Center of Contemporary Archives, Installment 19780586, Article 100 "Rome Olympic Games of 1960."

should be reconsidered, as well as the management and managers of French sport.[243] It also acknowledged the two sports that the government felt were its best chances of obtaining "favorable" results: fencing and basketball. Not only were there good athletes in both of these sports, but "fencing is the most intelligent individual sport," just as "basketball is the most intelligent team sport."[244] The French could excel at "intelligent" sports because "we produce intelligent athletes," the government reported.[245]

The French government prior to 1960 highlighted the fact that France was middle-of-the-road in other pursuits at this point in time, in finance, science, economy, commerce, industry, aeronautics, and the military, and points out that the 1956 Olympic finish (eleventh place) was in accordance to the effectiveness of France in these other areas.[246] Yet, this was not an excuse for mediocrity. France was now obligated to raise French sport up the ladder of world values. "The best [youths] must be taken in hand to prove the continuity of the French vigor and its rebirth in international competitions."[247]

There was not enough time between the aftermath of 1956 and the start of the Rome Games in 1960 to completely overhaul the French sports system to produce better results, so the government set itself upon another strategy, one which focused on the assets that it felt it already had. "Give absolute priority to fencing and basketball," the report noted, "with a secondary [emphasis] on rowing. Also, for the principle of honor, give emphasis to the two major Olympic sports: track and field and swimming." The

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[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.

government issued an ominous warning: "do not spread around more than necessary our modest means on sports that will not bring us quick global success."[248]

One last attempt at placing the blame for the 1960 Rome humiliation was to hold the French press responsible for its over-realistic pre-Olympic hype that led to inflated expectations for Olympic gold. Recall the earlier example of the French newspapers anticipating a win in a swimming competition. It is important to keep in mind that it was not solely the print media, but also broadcast media that was blamed for France's high Olympic prospects, especially television, run solely by the government. The French press was also responsible for heightening the feeling of despair when those expectations failed to materialize into bronze, silver, or gold medals. Former fencer Adrien Rommel, in *Le Monde*, asked, "who is responsible for the defeat of our fencers?"[249] He wrote, "the French public that followed the Rome Games is consternated by the deceiving results of our athletes…I have assisted for a little more than thirty years [in Olympic preparations] to electrify the sword: this was a catastrophe!"[250] The power of the media to inflame passions cannot be underestimated.

Yet, for those who followed the press, France's athletic decline should not have come as a shock. As early as 1956 the national sports press was concerned over the perceived decline in French Olympic efforts. In 1956, France placed eleventh overall at

[248] Ibid.
[249] Adrien Rommel, "Qui est responsable de la défaite de nos escrimeurs?" *Le Monde*, September 11-12, 1960, 13.
[250] Ibid.

the Summer Games, behind countries such as Japan, Germany, Romania, Hungary, the United States, and the Soviet Union.[251]

Results of the 1956 Melbourne Summer Games[252]

Country	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1. USSR	37	30	32	99
2. USA	32	25	17	74
3. Australia	13	8	14	35
4. Hungary	9	10	7	26
5. Italy	8	6	8	22
6. Britain	5	7	9	21
7. Sweden	5	5	6	16
8. Romania	5	3	5	13
9. Germany	4	10	6	20
10. Japan	4	10	5	19
11. France	4	4	6	14

L'Équipe wrote in 1956 that French sport, at least at the elite level, was in decline. In demonstrating the continual decline in the number of Olympic medals garnered by the French at the three previous Summer Games, *L'Équipe* noted that these results outline "our decline as a long-term development."[253]

Olympic Games	Overall French Results	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total
1948 London	3rd	11	8	14	33
1952 Helsinki	8th	6	6	7	19
1956 Melbourne	11th	4	4	6	14

Meyer wrote that one needed to be mindful of the fact that the third place French finish in 1948 may have been higher than ordinary due to the fact that the Soviet Union and

[251] "Notes for the Director General of Youth and Sport on the Preparation for the 1960 Olympic Games." Center of Contemporary Archives, Installment 19780586, Article 100 "Rome Olympic Games of 1960."
[252] "1956 Melbourne Summer Games," International Olympic Committee, http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/past/index_uk.asp?OLGT=1&OLGY=1956.
[253] Gaston Meyer, "L'Idée olympique a triomphé… mais il faut songer à moderniser l'olympisme," *L'Équipe* 1956. Center of Contemporary Archives, Installment 19780586 Article 99, "Melbourne Olympic Games of 1956."

Germany did not participate.[254] These were the same concerns evident and reported by journalists and spectators alike in 1960.

Unfortunately, discretion against building up false expectations went unheeded and as demonstrated, the Rome 1960 Olympic Games proved anathema to the French soul. The fallout after Rome was rapid. This calamity was responsible for the government's change in attitude towards state-sponsored sports training. As Mazer noted, "de Gaulle was charged with displaying a system that permitted the production of strong performances so as to have less international ridicule."[255] The creation of the post-war French system of youth sports training to produce elite athletes was the legacy of this event. As the French no longer had the ability to project power through their military, it was crucial to now do so through the highest levels of international exposure at the Olympics, the World Championships, and the World Cup. The confluence of events and movements begun after Rome 1960 gave further impetus and shape to the emerging state policy toward youth sports training, of preparing elite state athletes.

Building Towards the Future: Steps in Fixing the Sports Crisis

The aftermath of Rome 1960 produced an avalanche of discussion that tried to pinpoint what went wrong for the French, and also generated ideas about how to fix the state of sport. The press was in the middle of the debate, especially *L'Équipe*, which published a series of proposals submitted by its readers, among them government and sports officials, on how to remedy French sport. In the end, the government settled on a

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[254] Ibid.
[255] Mazer, interview with author, April 13, 2006.

series of four- and five-year sports plans designed to promote awareness of and participation in sports across the country.

The High Commission for Youth and Sport, under Maurice Herzog, played a large role in reshaping French sport policy during the 1960s and trying to alter French attitudes towards athletics. When the commission became its own stand-alone ministry in 1966, it was at the forefront of the state's sports preparation and recruitment policy, especially vis-à-vis the youth. Herzog is often credited as the father of the modern French youth sports training system and under his guidance the first four-year sports plan was enacted in the months after September 1960.

The establishment of a stronger national sports culture to encourage greater athletic participation was a main goal for Herzog. "There is an old prejudice against sports in this country," he said, "a prejudice that goes back to the intellectual man who was pale, a poor physical specimen, a Rimbaud, a Verlaine, a Proust. Sport was for the man who was not clever."[256] It was one of the primary problems that Herzog and his successors encountered and explains why the government was so worried about the state of sport within France. This anxiety was heightened in the face of an increasing choice of leisure activities that actively competed for the time, attention, and francs of the nation. Michel Goussot, a 16-year old student and a cyclist in Gentilly, noted that "the youth dream of electric guitars, made popular by Johnny Hallyday and Claude François."[257]

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[256] Robert Lipsyte, "Sports Chief Finds French Apathetic," *New York Times*, June 15, 1965, 51.
[257] Michel Thierry, "Nos champions nous donnent le moral," *L'Équipe*, October 29, 1964, 9.

Herzog sought to change this attitude.[258] One way that France sought to promote the cause of the state athlete was to make him (or her) a symbol of the state via induction into the Legion of Honor. The induction of six athletic 'knights' as Chevaliers of the Legion of Honor in 1966 included Michel Jazy (track and field), Jacques Anquetil (cycling), Michel Crauste (rugby), Guy Perillat (skiing), Alain Calmat (figure skating), and Jocelyn Delecour (track and field).

Another way that the government sought to improve the nation's attitude toward sports was to revamp the youth's image of and involvement in sports. It was hoped that by incorporating sport into the youth culture, France could create an environment that encouraged athletic competition. Furthermore, sport could help reduce the number of juvenile delinquent cases. A 1968 government study of juvenile delinquency in state facilities reported that sports, especially team sports, were beneficial in creating morals, filling leisure time, and forming character, all seen as ways to avoid future delinquency.[259] Efforts to make sport an integral part of French youth culture did not take firm root until the 1970s and 1980s when television created a new generation of sports heroes who compete with musicians for the attention and worship of the French youth.

The government recognized that in order to create a sports culture it needed to encourage greater athletic participation, and that for some this was financially prohibitive. Many sports, such as sailing, skiing, and horseback riding, were costly to practice, so the

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[258] "M. Herzog: L'État doit avoir la charge de l'éducation sportive des jeunes," ("Mr. Herzog: The state has the right to take charge of sports education of the youth") *Le Monde*, February 26, 1965, 6.
[259] *Le Role de l'Éducation Physique et Sportive dans le Traitement des Delinquents,* (Paris: Ministry of Justice, 1968), xii.

High Commission (later, Ministry) of Youth and Sport provided financial assistance and equipment to make training for competitions more accessible. The initiatives to increase the numbers of youths participating in sport looked to models established during the Fourth Republic as guidelines for how to proceed. As early as 1953 the state funded national ski lessons and vacations for youths ages nine through sixteen. Although there were originally only 35 adolescents, by 1965 over 35,000 French youth participated in this program annually.[260] The arrangement worked along the following lines: for one month (January or February) selected students would go to the Alps or Pyrenees mountains to learn how to ski, pursuing their academic studies in the mornings and reserving the afternoons to hit the slopes.[261]

By 1965 the costs involved for attending such programs were minimal for the average French family. "A family who lives in Paris or the immediate suburbs may pay $18 a child," reported Gloria Emerson in the *New York Times*. "If they cannot afford it, the municipality or a local group may foot the bill."[262] For this program in particular, average costs for equipping the children were around $300 (in 1965 values); however, for those who could not afford it, ski resorts, the government, and the National Ski Federation provided ski equipment.[263] This policy of the state subsidized access to athletic terrains and equipment was the eventual blueprint for retooling the system in the early 1970s, though aspects of the ski programs were increasingly adapted by other sports and served to augment participation levels throughout the 1960s.

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[260] Gloria Emerson, "French Mix Schoolwork with Skiing," *New York Times*, March 23, 1965, 32.
[261] "Joyful School for City Kids," *Sports Illustrated*, 18 (March 25, 1963), 33.
[262] Emerson, 32.
[263] Ibid.

Another area blamed for the dismal results of Rome 1960 was the lack of elite athletes who could dedicate significant time to preparing for international competition on behalf of the nation. To remedy this, the government created financial subsidies to assist athletic training. The goal was to never again place outside of the top-tier (top five) at the Olympics and to build upon the 1958 national football team's success at the World Cup.[264] The French sought to make a marked difference in their results at the 1964 and 1968 Olympic Games, especially as Grenoble would host the 1968 Winter Games. The government turned to the national sports federations in France for help in this matter. It was hoped that with combined efforts and finances, French athletes could be groomed using the most modern materials and methods available.

The issue of state financial support for athletes was contentious in the 1960s because, it was argued, monetary payment to elite athletes would cripple the notion of amateurism enshrined in de Coubertin's Olympic concept. Herzog supported the idea that the state should subsidize the athlete, especially the elite athlete, "just as it gives money to the scholar. I don't believe the athlete should be wholly supported, as in the Soviet Union," he commented, "but he should get some stipend that would supplement his regular income so he might train properly and purchase whatever special equipment he might need."[265]

Investment in elite athletes and the politicization of sport was a global phenomenon by the 1960s and France was not the only country to experience a demise of its athletic abilities in international competition. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG,

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[264] Mazer, April 13, 2006.
[265] Lipsyte, 51.

West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany) also experienced fluctuation in international sports competitions throughout the decade. For much of the 1950s, German elite athletes had competed as part of the Unified Team of Germany (in 1956, 1960, and 1964) at the Olympics. For the football World Cup of the 1960s, West German athletes represented the FRG at FIFA's premier competition.[266]

One consequence of splitting away from a unified German team was that the West German elite sports programs suffered a decline in results during the 1960s. Subsequently, the FRG during the 1960s adopted a categorization of elite athletes very similar to that of East Germany, and the West German state began to subsidize the top-tier of athletes in each sport.[267] The GDR, on the other hand, built up an elite athletic training system in the 1960s to prevent the decline in international athletic results through having to field a team separate from the FRG. In East Germany, athletic 'scouts' were sent into kindergardens and primary schools to identify young children with potential for talent. These youths would be grouped into specialized intensive sports program to develop their athletic abilities with the main goal of producing an elite cadre of athletes that would enable the GDR to obtain power and influence through athletic competitions for generations to come.

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[266] In fact, the 1974 Germany World Cup was the first and only time that both the FRG and GDR fielded teams in the tournament. See FIFA, "Previous FIFA World Cups," http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/index.html.

[267] There were three "tiers" of elite athletes in this system: Cadre A, which were the top elite eight athletes in a discipline at the previous Olympic or World games; Cadre B were an additional number of the country's elite athletes, a number which varied from discipline to discipline, but which ensured that at any time there would be twice the number of athletes for a given sport that could be entered into the Olympic Games; and Cadre C was twice the size of Cadres A and B combined. James Riordan and Arnd Krüger, eds., *European Cultures in Sport: Examining the Nations and Regions*, (Portland, Ore.: Intellect Books, 2003), 78.

Indeed, most countries attempted to build power and prestige abroad through athletics at any price. For much of the Cold War period, sports served as a means of smoothing, or at times ruffling, the East-West divide. Robert Daley observed that, "sports have led a charmed life since the war… The Communist Bloc nations are committed to sports – both to build up their own youth and to manifest the strength of their nation abroad."[268]

Throughout the 1960s French recognition that it had to build a national sports program to portray power abroad remained constant, or even increased in terms of overall importance and concern. *Le Monde* ran a story by Michel Legris on its front page on August 8, 1967, which noted, "the State has good reason to take a close interest in sport: it has become, for some time already, an integrated element of the so-called 'international prestige.' In other words, [sport] is political. The phenomenon is not unique to France."[269] Legris praised the Gaullist state for elevating sport, originally under a high commission under the Fourth Republic, to a secretary of state and finally, to its own ministry. He underlined the growing importance of sport not only in the international power game, but also as a means of exercising influence in Third World countries, an attractive aspect for a country that recently decolonized.

> The triumphs and the prestige that accompanies [sport] lead to concrete results. France is victorious? The countries of the Third World will appeal to French coaches, providing an advantage in the area of cooperation… When athletes are promoted to the rank of ambassador or play the role of warriors on these substitute battlegrounds, it is pointless to ask whether they are amateurs or professionals.[270]

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[268] Robert Daley, "Politics: A Threat to World Sports," *New York Times*, February 13, 1962, 42.
[269] Michel Legris, "Le sport peut-il être un métier? Competitions sportives et competition politique," *Le Monde*, August 8, 1967, 1.
[270] Ibid.

As Legris observed, the push for building a national sports program that could relay power and prestige abroad also enveloped the newly decolonized areas of Asia and Africa. Many governments, especially the new African governments, started to adopt European sports training programs and modeled their sports ministries and plans after those found in Europe. "For the nations of the world, the supreme consecration resides in participation in the Olympics and in the garnering of the medals of gold or silver."[271] For France, to be viewed as an athletically victorious nation could enable it to keep a certain degree of influence and respect from its former African colonies.[272]

Jean Borotra, the former tennis champion and General Commissioner of Sports under the Vichy regime, wrote in 1965 that the full-time employment of elite French athletes was a major problem. "One must have time to train and to take part in competition, and should thus be helped financially... The elite athlete should be allowed the same capacity to receive money."[273] The debate within France became one as to whether sport could become a career or whether it should remain within the domain of amateurism. In a series of three articles that sought to address whether sport could be considered an actual profession, *Le Monde* opined that amateurism meant that one should not receive stipends from anyone.[274] The question of amateurism versus a trend toward professionalism through stipends was put to rest by mid-decade. As the French

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[271] Ibid.
[272] At the National Institute for Physical Education and Sport (INSEP), even in 2007 there were African sports ministers who attend annual meetings to learn about athletic developments and improvements in France.
[273] Raymond Marcillac, "Un entretien avec M. Jean Borotra sur une nouvelle doctrine du sport," *Le Monde*, January 19, 1965, 9.
[274] Legris, 1.

continually failed to bring home accolades and sank deeper into the sports crisis, the government and the public consented to increased financial assistance for elite athletes in the belief that this would help to foster a new mentality toward sport that would produce victorious elite athletes.

Yet, the sports plan and the controversy it created around the debate of amateur and state athletes did not produce immediate changes in the way that the French perceived sport. In 1964 there still remained a lack of an athletic culture amongst the youth. Seventeen year old Patrick Detrain from Tourcoing wrote to *L'Équipe* that year that:

> Sport [in France] lacks popularity. The English youth, the American youth are initiated very early in sport, which accords it a primary place. Our retard is considerable. It is necessary to make France a veritable sporting nation with a tidal wave of sports conceptions in the schools, in the universities; however, one would need a gigantic program [to construct] equipment…We, the youth of the moment, regret not being able to evolve in a truly sporting climate.[275]

An important component of state funding for athletics in the 1960s to create a national sports culture was the commitment of the French government to building new facilities and fields to encourage greater athletic participation and competition. Funds allotted to the High Commission of Youth and Sports' budget increased with each subsequent year. This trend originated in the late 1950s following the government's forewarning about the nature of French sport after the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games. In 1957, the High Commission of Youth and Sport received 317,250,000 old francs in government subsidies and although this sum increased in 1958 to 342,250,000, this represented only a 7.9% increase from 1957's budget. The 1959 budget for the High

[275] Thierry, 9.

Commission of Youth and Sport, however, was significantly more: 505,250,000 old francs, or an increase of 47.6% from the previous year. Moreover, the monies requested for the 1960 budget, 755,250,000 old francs, a 49.5% increase over the 1959 budget, and an overall increase of 138% between 1957 and 1960.[276]

Government Subsidies to the High Commission of Youth and Sports

Budget	Sum Requested in old francs	Equiv. in Euros (2006)[277]	% Increase Over Previous Year
1957	317,250,000	€ 5,675,602.50	
1958	342,250,000	€ 5,321,987.50	7.9%
1959	505,250,000	€ 7,401,912.50	47.6%
1960	755,250,000	€ 10,675,308.00	49.5%

This was only the beginning. On April 6, 1961, the government adopted a program to increase spending on sports equipment, which would entail 140 billion old francs over four years (approximately 1,915,578,000€ in 2006 values).[278] The government was responsible for 63 billion of the 140 billion pledged for the 1961 program, the differential to be made up by the nation's communes (local government).[279] Herzog said that 60% of the funding would go to the construction of sports equipment and facilities (roughly 359,500.00 new francs or 491,893€).[280] Herzog planned that these funds would build approximately 25 sports centers, 100 omni-sports stadiums, 120 competitive terrains, 1,000 training terrains, 600 basketball or volley-ball courts, 200

[276] "Note pour Monsieur le Sous-Directeur de la Jeunesse et de l'Éducation Populaire," Center for Contemporary Archives Installation 19810176 Article 1 "Budget 1959-64."
[277] "Purchasing Power of the Euro and the French Franc." Institut National des Statistiques et des Études Eeconomiques (INSEE). http://www.insee.fr/en/indicateur/achatfranc.htm.
[278] "Press Release from the High Commission of Youth and Sport April 6, 1961." Center for Contemporary Archives Installation 19810176 Article 1 "Budget 1959-64."
[279] "Interview given by M. Maurice Herzog, High Commissioner of Youth and Sport, to the weekly *Entreprise* for the June 2, 1961 publication on the project of the sports and socio-educative equipment program." Center for Contemporary Archives Installation 19810176 Article 1 "Budget 1959-64."
[280] The breakdown of the rest of the monies was as follows: 20% to youth houses and centers (91,850.00 new francs or 125,650.80€), 20% for vacation colonies (107,200.00 new francs or 146,649.60€), and 8% for state installations (71,450.00 new francs or 97,743.60€). Ibid.

tennis courts, 50 sports rooms, 1,000 gymnasiums, 250 swimming pools, and 500 learning basins.[281]

In reality, this first four-year sports program (1961-65) funneled $130 million into rebuilding France's sports structures. By 1965, 2,200 athletic fields, 1100 gymnasiums, 580 swimming pools, 645 youth centers, 250 youth hostels, and 835 cam buildings were constructed.[282] For the second phase of this program (1966-70), France was to build an additional 2,850 sports fields, 1,480 gyms, 710 pools, 750 youth centers, 300 hostels, and 1,050 camp buildings.[283]

Nearly two months after the announcement of the new sports financing program, Herzog gave an interview with the weekly *Enterprise* in which he discussed the radical measures. In the interview's transcript, Herzog noted that there needed to be a "veritable revolution in people's minds as in manners" with regard to sport.

> Our goal, our only goal is to make available to our young people the means to express themselves more fully. We want millions of young French to go to the stadium, to go to the pool, to meet in youth activity centers. The mass practicing of elite sport will naturally enable France to shine in international competitions. We must therefore aim for the elevation of the level of national sports and the training of elite athletes [to increase their] ability to compete abroad.[284]

When questioned as to whether this construction program would allow France to "catch-up" to other European countries, Herzog demurred, saying that it was very difficult to compare. He projected that after 1962 France would most likely be the European country

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[281] Ibid.
[282] French Embassy Press and Information Service, *France and the Rising Generation*, (New York: 1964), 24.
[283] Ibid.
[284] "Interview given by M. Maurice Herzog, High Commissioner of Youth and Sport, to the weekly *Entreprise* for the June 2, 1961 publication on the project of the sports and socio-educative equipment program." Center for Contemporary Archives Installation 19810176 Article 1 "Budget 1959-64."

spending the most money on sports equipment.[285] The influx of money and resources to construct new sports facilities throughout the country forced local municipalities to become much more heavily involved in sports than they had previously been.[286]

In addition, the infusion of government funding to construct sports equipment and start new athletic programs began produce some results. By 1962 the press, both French and American, were writing about the changing of winds for French sport. "Today one can speak of the French energy," wrote Raymond Marcillac in *Le Monde*, pointing to appointment of men who knew how to get the job done and the elimination of bureaucracy within the federations. "Football even feels the benefits of this new wind. After having touched the bottom, it seems to have started uphill."[287]

The sports policies enacted after 1960 began to increase athletic participation by mid-decade. The national sports federations were able to increase the number of participants (requiring a license issued by the federation in order to participate). Yet, the French still did not have as many athletes recruited into the nation's sporting systems, as did countries such as the USSR or the U.S. Robert Lipsyte reported in 1965 that for France, "a major problem is the lack of a large, ready pool of university athletes: only 10 percent of France's national team members are students."[288]

When François Missoffe took over power from Herzog in 1966 he continued the policies of seeking to increase the esteem and awareness of sport amongst the French, to

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[285] Ibid.
[286] Riordan and Krüger, 117. The role of local municipalities in funding and providing athletic facilities remained a strong partnership with the French state until the late 1980s and early 1990s.
[287] Raymond Marcillac, "1962: Année d'espoir," ("1962: Year of hope") *Le Monde*, January 2, 1963, 8.
[288] Robert Lipsyte, "Sports Chief Finds French Apathetic," *New York Times*, June 15, 1965, 51.

engage the French youth in greater athletic pursuits. Missoffe also tried to rebuild the nation's international prestige through Olympic, World Cup, and World Championship results. On May 20, 1967, he reported to *Le Monde* on the improvements made in French sport, specifically in recruiting able coaches to train young players. "The department is also concerned with the development of sport: 200 sports advisors are employed in 1967, with 800 in training." He noted that there were provisions in place to create three new national training centers to turnout larger numbers of qualified coaches and trainers. "The main effort should focus on the training of coaches. A grid of coaches and advisers must cover the territory. The 880,000 we had licensed in 1953 surpassed 1,570,000 by 1966."[289] It was hoped that better coaches would result in better athletes.

Internationally Tested Results: Olympics

1964 was the first Summer Games after the 1960 debacle, and the French were eager to demonstrate to the world their improvements. The Summer Games traditionally held greater importance than the Winter Games as they showcased many more athletes, events, and captured the world's attention. *L'Équipe* noted at the outset of the events,

> Aside from the USSR, a country has never prepared its representatives like us…The fifteen medals we hoped for in Rome, will we win them in Tokyo? All was done, in any case, for it to be so… But it would really be devilish should Tokyo not bring us what we wanted in Rome.[290]

[289] "M. Missoffe: les jeunes seront davantage associés à l'administration des organizations sportives," *Le Monde*, May 21-22, 1967, 9.
[290] "100 millions de japonais attendent avec ferveur l'ouverture solennelle," *L'Équipe*, October 10, 1964, 14.

The events that the French hoped would bring results were swimming (with the men's swimmer Gottvalles, and the women's Christine Caron, who garnered a lot of acclaim throughout her career in the 1960s), and track and field, with the runner Michel Jazy. It is interesting that for the Olympics, it was in these two sports, swimming and track and field, in addition to skiing, that the French excelled by the mid-1960s. Yet, as the shift toward team sport, especially football, continued throughout the decade, the French started to invest more efforts and funds in winning team competitions in football and basketball at the Olympic and international level.

The 1964 Tokyo Olympics demonstrated that the French press again bore some responsibility for building up false expectations as to the abilities of French athletes. Alain Pattein, an 18-year old student at the University of Paris and an archer, wrote, "for many months radio, television, and journalists spoke of how much our athletes prepared and the medals that they would win."[291] These aspirations were not fulfilled. France finished in 21st place with only 15 medals.[292]

Prime Minister Georges Pompidou decided to take the press to task for inflating expectations. In November 1964, he spoke to France's Olympic athletes to reassure them of the government's continued faith and investment in their sporting abilities, regardless of what the press might write.

> Things have been said in the press or on the radio that are not always appropriate. Before the Games, some tried to create a kind of aura, as if you were unquestionable supermen, certain of victory who owed us victory. And then, because we had some malcontents, because in competition nothing is perfect…

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[291] Thierry, 9.

[292] France won one gold, eight silver, and six bronze medals at the 1964 Summer Games. International Olympic Committee, "Tokyo Games 1964," International Olympic Committee, http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/past/index_uk.asp?OLGT=1&OLGY=1964.

> that one gets nervous... Immediately, the entire world says, 'it is appalling!' 'What deception!' 'What a disaster!' 'What a collapse!'... I find that scandalous and I would like to tell you that.[293]

The 1964 Tokyo Olympics was the last time that such a spectacle and expectations were built up ahead of time by the French press for the remainder of the decade. The public criticism chastised both print and broadcast media, but perhaps the press was also reined in by the fact that there was little positive news about French sport, especially football and basketball, to publicize.

Internationally Tested Results: Basketball Results

If 1960 was the beginning of the French athletic albatross, then 1964 was the start of the decline of certain sports, such as basketball, a sport the French traditionally excelled at. According to basketball historians Thibaut Brossard and Julien Guérineau, the French national team "was one of the most feared in the world in the years immediately following the end of the war through the late 1950s."[294] In the post-1945 era, the French men's basketball team won the silver at the London Olympics in 1948, the silver at the 1949 European Championships (EC), three bronze medals at the EC tournaments in Paris (1951), Moscow (1953), and Istanbul (1959), and fourth place at the 1961 EC. The French national women's basketball team had an equally successful pedigree, taking the bronze medal at the FIBA Women's World Championships in 1953,

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[293] "M. Pompidou, la presse et la place du sport," *L'Équipe*, November 6, 1964, 5.
[294] Thibaut Brossard, Julien Guérineau, Didier Le Corre and Pierre Matigot, *Le basket français*, (Paris: Editions du Stade, 1999), 10.

and fourth place in the women's European Championship tournaments in 1938 and 1950.[295]

These highlights only masked the decline of French basketball at the world level during the 1950s as evidenced by France's finish at the FIBA World Championship. This decline culminated with the World Championship of 1963 in which the French placed fifth and did not qualify for the tournament again for the next twenty-three years.[296] The table below indicates the deterioration of French dominance in the sport.

French Results – Men's FIBA World Championship[297]

Year	Place Overall
1950	6th
1954	4th
1959	Absent
1963	5th
1986	13th

Journalist Joë Jaunay sought to define why French youth no longer excelled at basketball. He identified two reasons for the downturn in France's basketball fortunes: small clubs did not have the means to obtain qualified instructors and coaches, and the big clubs did not cultivate their younger players, preferring instead to stick with older players.[298] But basketball officials believed the decline of French international performance in the sport rested elsewhere. Former French National Technical Director

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[295] Although women's basketball would not become an official Olympic sport until 1976, by the early 1970s the women's national team was once again placing fourth in the yearly European Championship tournaments (1972, 1976, and 1978).

[296] The next time that France qualified for the FIBA World Championships was the 1986 tournament, in which they placed 13th overall behind Israel, Greece, Italy, and Argentina, which were international basketball powerhouses by the 1980s.

[297] International Basketball Federation, "FIBA World Championship History," http://www.fiba.com/pages/eng/fc/FIBA/fibaHist/p/openNodeIDs/987/selNodeID/987/fibaHist.html.

[298] "Joe Jaunay a découvert l'oiseau rare du basket," Center for Contemporary Archives Installation 19780586 Article 103 "Preparation for the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games." This is an article that appeared in the print press, but the archives do not tell which publication or the publication date.

(DTN) of Basketball Gérard Bosc cited the inability of French youth to grow as tall as their international counterparts as one reason for the decline in French basketball's fortunes. Another was the inability to retain such tall players.[299] Indeed, as the field of sports medicine began to develop in the 1960s in conjunction with the desired push for greater athletic accolades, the French Basketball Federation increasingly was convinced that the lack of tall players was a significant handicap. After 1967, the FFBB tried to find tall youths (those over 2 meters in height) who could be trained in the technical aspects of the game. The hope was to qualify for the 1972 Olympic basketball tournament.[300]

Internationally Tested Results: Football

Despite the success of 1958, the French national football team failed to qualify for the 1962 World Cup. Yet, 1964 was a year of great expectations. That year, the French national team played a series of matches in the hopes of qualifying for the 1966 London World Cup. On October 4, 1964, before a qualifying match against Luxembourg, *L'Équipe* ran a cartoon that reinforced the idea that the French *Tricolores* were going to make a good show this time around. Under a team banner stating, "With Nestor we are the strongest," the French players Nestor Combin, Angel Rambert, André Guy, Robert Herbin, and Marcel Aubour, and their coach, Henri Guerin, are depicted making their way through the obstacles that stand between them and London: Luxembourg and Yugoslavia.[301] The French rallied around Combin, an attacker who won acclaim during the 1960s playing for Olympique Lyonnais (1960-64) and then in the Italian professional

[299] Gérard Bosc, interview with the author, April 2006.
[300] Pierre Laroque, "Robert Busnel espère en trois ans reconstitute une grande équipe de France," *Le Monde*, January 12, 1967, 14.
[301] "En route pour la tournée des grands ducs!" *L'Équipe*, October 4, 1964, 12.

football league for Juventus of Turin, FC Varese, AC Torino, and Milan AC. The cartoon was a good illustration of the renewed hopes of the French in terms of resurrecting the glory of 1958. The French team won the October 1964 match, 2-0, and qualified for the London 1966 World Cup. Unfortunately, its run at the 1966 tournament did not last very long. France was eliminated on July 21, 1966, after an "honorable defeat," to England, 2-0.[302]

By 1966, the French recognized the significance of success at the World Cup, an event that began to outweigh the Olympic Games in terms of prestige, power, and money. Three days after the French exit from the London 1966 World Cup, *Le Monde* ran an article by Robert Escarpit on its front page. As *Le Monde* very rarely wasted front-page space on the issue of sport, regardless of victory or defeat, this indicated the degree of importance to which it accorded Escarpit's sentiments. Escarpit noted that

[302] "La France est éliminée de la Coupe du monde après une défaite honorable," *Le Monde*, July 22, 1966, 8.

> One commits suicide in Brazil because the national team lost the football World Cup, it is an act to condemn and an example not to be followed. But one comprehends the gesture to the extent that the cult of sports glory is the modern opium of the people.[303]

From the late 1960s forward, football began to dominate the French athletic landscape in terms of the number of players. Yet, the crisis of French football in the 1960s was heightened by the fact that the national team failed to qualify for the 1970 and 1974 World Cups. Additionally, coaching turnover for the national team was swift. Between the end of the Guerin reign in 1966 and the end of the 1960s, there were five coaches.[304]

National Team Coach	**Duration**
José Arribas	September 1966-November 1966
Jean Snella	September 1966-November 1966
Just Fontaine	March 1967- June 1967
Luis Dugauguez	September 1967-November 1968
Georges Boulogne	March 1969-May 1973

The rapid turnover in coaching compounded the team's and thus the nation's inability to achieve success at the international level. As football was one of the highest-level international team sports, these setbacks added concretely to the government's notion of being in the midst of a sport crisis. These failures prompted the FFF into action, independently establishing youth centers of formation in 1973 that are examined in Chapter Six. The centers of formation, affiliated with professional football teams, were designed to reverse the failures of French football. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, the Ministry of Youth and Sport looked to the centers of formation for ideas of

[303] Robert Escarpit, "De la gloire," *Le Monde*, July 24, 1966, 1.
[304] French Football Federation, "National Team Coaches." http://www.fff.fr/servfff/historique/accueil.php.

how to improve national youth sports training. Significantly, the centers of formation successfully produced winning players and teams by the early 1980s.

Culmination – Events of 1968

One could argue that the continued lack of success at the Olympic, World Championship, and World Cup levels spurred on the French government to a greater degree than the Rome 1960 Games. The pressure mounted as the 1968 Olympics neared, but the *événements* of May 1968 redirected national attention so that the Summer Olympics were nearly forgotten.

Sport did not go untouched during the events of 1968. Most matches and games were suspended. At FFF headquarters on the Avenue d'Iéna in Paris, the tensions between French football players and the federation that festered throughout the 1960s culminated during May 1968. For a long time, there were complaints by professional football players of unfair labor limitations enforced by their contracts. The inability to be transferred and play for another team curbed a player's capacity to earn a living. As François-René Simon, Alain Leiblang, and Faouzi Mahjoub note, although the football players of the 1960s were greatly admired by most young French boys, the players "are all under contract 'for life,'" in what was considered a harsh labor system.[305] Despite attracting greater attention to the labor complaints of the players in the early 1960s, progress was not evident by 1968.[306]

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[305] François-René Simon, Alain Leiblang, and Faouzi Mahjoub, *Les enragés du football: l'autre Mai 68*, (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2008), 16.

[306] There were two important developments that helped to gain greater public attention and sympathy to the plight of the players, who were severely crippled in their ability to play for other teams. One was the publication of an essay entitled "Statute of the Professional Player or Slavery in 1961," in *Miroir du*

Thus, on May 22, 1968, the FFF headquarters were occupied. For five days the building was taken over by football players and their sympathizers in an attempt to gain attention and publicity for their cause. The striking footballers had an outpouring of support from many of the sport's great players of the past, including Kopa and Rachid Mekhloufi, in addition to the wider French public.[307]

With the exception of the FFF, much of the official sports world declared their solidarity with the student protestors and striking workers. *L'Équipe* suspended publication during the general strike from May 23rd until June 10th. Upon resuming publication, the editors were chagrined to note that the leaders of the 1968 movement viewed sport with relative indifference and did not push for reform within that arena as they did for the institution of education.

> It seemed that the spirits of the 'generation of May '68' view sport as a suspicious diversion. Many of them ignore sport or distrust it… that undoubtedly explains why one did not see high-school pupils and students protesting vigorously against the deficiencies, however obvious and scandalous, of sports in France. Other claims appeared a thousand times more important to them and more urgent.[308]

The case for an increased emphasis on a need for a reform of sport and of greater mass participation of sport was still a part of the public rhetoric in 1968 just as it was in 1960 and 1964.

Football in August that year. The statute, written by Jean Norval, brought public attention to the contract plight. The second event was the formation of the first labor union to represent professional football players, the *Union nationale des footballeurs professionnels* (The National Union of Professional Football Players, UNFP) in November 1961. Through greater public awareness and the advocacy of the UNFP, footballers were eventually able to gain greater concessions in their contracts by the late 1960s. See Simon, Leiblang and Mahjoub.

[307] Simon, Leiblang and Mahjoub, 73. The players obtained a new, slightly more lenient contract in 1969, but this did not fully fix the problem, which remained an issue well into the 1990s.

[308] "L'Inexplicable Carence," *L'Équipe*, June 11, 1968, 1.

By the end of June 1968, the new Minister of Youth and Sport, Roland Nungesser, announced that he wanted to open the doors of all stadia within the country, while at the same time work on adding to the nation's stock of sports equipment and practice places. This was a big effort because, as *L'Équipe* pointed out, "in France, if one is not part of a sports organization, it is impossible to enter a stadium to practice sport."[309] This was a move to strengthen and liberalize French sport, but as with earlier attempts at reform, few concrete improvements resulted.

In June 1968, *L'Équipe* published a series of articles that sought to address the difficulties of the time, linking the "youth problem" to the "sports problem." René Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, told *L'Équipe* in late June 1968 that the French still did not take sport seriously.[310] "In short, in order that sport ceases to exist in a "ghetto"… then, those who advise on sport must make the effort to present it more generally."[311] He made it very clear that the French needed to revamp and change their attitude towards sports before their sports programs would show progress and success in the international realm.

Maheu felt that French education stressed academics rather than sport, an issue that had not been remedied by 1968.[312] The French needed to retool their national education system, he felt, so that sport was an integrated part of education, not an accompaniment.[313] This was a new idea that the French government began to germinate

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[309] Guy Lagorce, "M. Nungesser Entre en Scène," *L'Équipe*, June 20, 1968, 2.
[310] René Maheu, "Le moment où le sport doit être integer dans l'homme," *L'Équipe*, June 25, 1968, 5.
[311] Ibid.
[312] René Maheu, "Retrouver, comme à la Renaissance le gout de l'homme complet," *L'Équipe*, June 26, 1968, 4.
[313] Ibid.

on and tinker with at the National Institute of Sport (INS). The INS was created in 1945 to promote and perfect sport and to facilitate policy and programs at the national level and amongst the various sports federations. By May 1971, the government was trying to create an education model in congruence with INS that was committed to the long-term development of athletic formation to train the nation's youth at special national sports centers."[314] This was a turning point of the government's thought processes in terms of how to create an elite tier of elite athletes. The idea was to focus upon creating elite athletes to win international honors for the nation while at the same time cultivating a network of national coaches to develop these athletes.[315]

The problem was implementation. INS was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Youth and Sport, while physical education within the schools traditionally was the domain of the Ministry of National Education. There were clashes between the two organizations, mainly over budgets and the role of the Physical Education and Sports syndicate (EPS), the union of physical education coaches. As the era wound to a close, the French were still trying to formulate a lasting, successful sports policy that would harness the nation's youth and produce stellar elite athletes. The real impetus came in the 1973-74 academic year when the government implemented the nation's first state-sponsored youth sports training program, the sport-study section. The sport-study sections were created for all Olympic sports practiced throughout the country, with the exception of football, which by this time had its own independent youth development centers. Under the joint direction of the Ministry of Youth and Sport and the Ministry of

[314] "Conseil d'Administration de l'Institut National des Sports, Proces-Verbal de la séance du 6 mai 1971," Center for Contemporary Archives Installation 19770257, Article 1.
[315] Ibid.

National Education, these programs were the foundations of a new generation of state-sponsored youth sport, one that led France out of the sports crisis of the 1960s.

Chapter Five

Trends and Movements 1973-92: Legislation, Sports, and Television

By the early 1970s it was clear to French government and sports officials that neither the youth nor the sports crises of the 1960s were solved. The growing discontent mounted as programs launched in the 1960s to integrate French youth into the social fabric and workforce, such as youth centers (*maisons jeunes*) and foreign exchange programs, did not produce immediate results. Likewise, attempts to reverse the related sports crisis, such as increased funding for municipal sports facilities and equipment, had, by the end of 1972, proved futile in the production of gold-medal-caliber performances for France's main team sports at global and European competitions. The French took seventeenth place in the overall medal count of the Munich 1972 Summer Games, and sixteenth at the 1972 Winter Games in Sapporo. Its football team did not qualify for the 1970 or 1974 World Cups. The men's basketball team failed to qualify for the basketball World Championships of 1967 and 1970.[316]

The postwar boom came to a close and French prosperity and modernization seemingly stagnated. By 1973, government and sports officials thus redoubled their efforts to better integrate the youth into society through sport. In turning their attention to fixing the lack of athletic successes, they hoped to inadvertently alleviate or solve the problem posed by the youth. At the time, there remained the same obstacles in the path to achieving a victorious, athletic France that produced the sports crisis of the 1960s: lack of legitimacy for sport within France and a subsequent absence of a national sports

[316] The French men's national basketball team did not qualify again for the World Championship until 1986 when they placed 13th overall.

culture, a youth culture that did not entirely embrace the practice of sports at the highest levels, and lack of time and motivation to draw youth to sport.

Moreover, the pressure to fix the sports crisis mounted as sport took on heightened importance as a tool of international power and diplomacy. In an era during which China's use of ping-pong diplomacy began to alter international attitudes and policy, and East Germany rose to the forefront of sports (such as swimming) through its sports schools and doping programs, the incentive to attain athletic victory grew. Now, more than ever, countries wished to use sport to augment their soft power abroad, a vital outlet if one was not one of the two established superpowers. New initiatives were needed in order to produce elite French athletes to regain the nation's honor at major athletic events. Something more was needed to rectify the dilemmas of French sport and re-launch it as an athletic and social tool.

The first part of the answer was government legislation to grant legitimacy to sports. In this regard, the Mazeaud Law of 1975 provided the foundations for the government's commitment to end the sports crisis. It was also the first of a series of ongoing legislative acts in France that over the years were responsible for stimulating a national sports culture.

Legitimacy fed a second trend, the establishment of a national sports culture that helped increase the popularity of sport. A third trend was the changed way sport was transmitted to the public on television, which transformed sport in France from a leisure activity to an entertainment spectacle. Lastly, television cultivated a new generation of

sports heroes, such as Michel Platini, whom the youth looked up to and sought to emulate and translated into more youths playing football.

All four trends grew out of the 1960s and came into fruition during the 1970s and 1980s. They combined to create larger numbers of educated, well-integrated young athletes. The 1970s marked a fundamental shift in the French support for sport, one that changed how the nation participated in athletics, while the 1980s altered how sport was viewed and consumed within the country, particularly amongst the youth. The repositioning of French sports laid the foundation for future athletic successes. Crucially, the youth sports training programs launched in 1973 were reliant upon these foundational movements.

Government Legislation – The Mazeaud Law

By the early 1970s, it was readily acknowledged that the issues of youth and sports were interwoven. The FFF editorialized in its official publication, *France Football*, in 1970 that, "to safeguard the future of the youth, it is necessary now more than ever to orient them towards the practice of sport."[317]

Sport was a means to elevate national honor and prestige. Though France established itself as an example of an alternative to the two superpowers during the 1960s by its development of nuclear power and withdrawal from NATO's military structure, the truth remained that the only way a country could establish influence during the Cold War was through soft power, or cultural influence. Sports were a viable way to do so. This was what drove the GDR to establish dominant sports training programs in the late 1960s that, by the 1970s, were widely acknowledged as successful. France was no different in

[317] "Les concours de pronostics," *France Football*, April 29, 1970, 2.

its desire to utilize sport to gain influence, especially amongst Third World countries. The attempt to establish French youth sports programs was one way to remedy the malaise of French sport and power.

Sport was also a way to encourage greater respect for authority and rules. Team sport promoted fair play, democracy, and meritocracy. Encouraging youths to participate in sports could also deter them from juvenile delinquency and drug use, two of the sources of anxiety regarding the youth of the 1960s. One of the lingering long-term impacts of the May 1968 events was the blow to blind obedience by the youth. Sport was therefore viewed by the 1970s as a means to re-instill the concept of playing by the rules and obeying authority, a way to heal the ruptures of 1968.

Moreover, there was a new desire within government circles to produce sports heroes to win titles and medals for the country. If France could finally produce a new generation of sports heroes, athletes to whom the youth could look up to, then perhaps these role models would also help the youth to integrate into society. Former Minister of Youth and Sport Pierre Mazeaud noted "when a country does not have any champions, it suffers a real disaffection for sport."[318]

The main initiative in the new push towards sport came from Minister of Youth and Sport Pierre Mazeaud.[319] Like his predecessor Maurice Herzog, Mazeaud was a

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[318] Pierre Mazeaud, *Sport et Liberté*, (Paris: Denoël, 1980), 93.

[319] When the Fifth Republic was created in 1958, President de Gaulle established a High Commission for Youth and Sport, to which he appointed Maurice Herzog as the High Commissioner. In 1963 this position became a Secretary of State for Youth and Sport, of which Herzog was the Secretary from 1963-66. In 1966 the position (and the entity that it was responsible for) was transformed yet again to become the Ministry of Youth and Sport, for which François Missoffe was the Minister of Youth and Sport. Joseph Comiti took over the position of Minister of Youth and Sport from 1968-73, and from 1973-76 Pierre Mazeaud headed the Ministry. Under Mazeaud's tenure the ministry was attached to the Prime Minister, followed by the Ministry of National Education, and then finally the Ministry of Quality of Life. Jean-

former alpinist who was called into service to lead the nation's youth and sports ministry. From the start, Mazeaud advocated for a new rhetoric to support youth sport and a formal piece of legislation as the main foundation to rectify the national sports crisis. After months of lobbying government lawmakers, he obtained his wish. Known as the Mazeaud Law, the October 29, 1975 legislative act gave an official voice and national backing to the preparation of elite athletes. The Mazeaud Law provided social and financial assistance to elite athletes during their training period, on the basis that, "the development of the practice of sport and physical activities is a fundamental element of culture, which constitutes a national obligation."[320] The first lines of the law stipulated:

> The state is responsible for the teaching of sport and physical education… In liaison with the sports movement, the state and the public favor the practice of sport and physical activities by all and at all levels, as it helps build teams and the necessary developments [to improve sport].[321]

This was a revolutionary step for it was the first time that the French state acknowledged that sport, not just physical education, was an integral part of French culture. Furthermore, in the promise of state support for sports development, the government pledged itself to a remarkable new route, one previously only undertaken by the Eastern European communist regimes in making sport a crucial element of national policy and funding.

The Mazeaud Law echoed the Rousseauian idea that sport was a fundamental part of the formation of children by stipulating that sports and physical education were now to

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François Nys, *Les subventions municipales aux clubs de football: une analyse économique*, (Limoges: A. Bonpoint, 1984), 3.

[320] "Relative au Développement de l'Éducation Physique et du Sport," French Government, Law Number 75-988 of October 29, 1975.

[321] Ibid.

be treated like any other academic discipline within the educational institutions of the nation.[322] In the ongoing struggle as to whether physical education was better than a sportive one, as examined in Chapter Two, the commitment of the French state through the Mazeaud Law to sports was a crucial argument towards a sportive education model.

The law created the National Institute of Sport and Physical Education (*Institut National d'Éducation Physique et du Sport*, INSEP). The main mission of INSEP was to conduct scientific research that could be applied to pedagogical, medical, and technical material. This translated into the introduction of medical science to state-sponsored athletic development, a trend of the era that is more closely examined in Chapter Eight. Additionally, INSEP was to form elite youth athletes to serve the state in international competitions through a cadre of professional coaches, teachers, and other personnel. Located on the outskirts of Paris in the Bois de Vincennes, INSEP was where the top youth prospects in all the Olympic sports except football were to live and train to form the nation's elite tier of athletes.[323] It was an elite athletic boarding school of sorts.

Aside from the creation of INSEP, the Mazeaud Law reaffirmed that the sports federations were to retain their independence, although they were placed under the auspices of the Ministry of Youth and Sport. According to the Mazeaud Law, the sports federations were to identify youth athletes with potential through each sport's technical detection system and to train them. Technical detection was the terminology assigned to ferreting out talented, athletic youths (or those who showed promise) based upon their

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[322] Article 2, Mazeaud Law, Law Number 75-988 of October 29, 1975.

[323] Elite youth footballers were corralled into the FFF's National Institute of Football (*Institut National de Football*, INF). The INF opened in 1972 and, despite being run by the FFF rather than the government, strived for the same goals as INSEP. Originally located in Vichy, the INF moved to Clairefontaine in 1986 where today it remains the center of French football.

technical skills: their ability to perform the mechanics of the sport, their agility and speed, and any inclinations of athletic flair. The term that Americans use for this, youth detection, was not used much by the French of the 1970s or 1980s. This perhaps indicated the French focus: instilling the mechanics of the game into the youth.

The Mazeaud Law also stipulated that the state was charged with guaranteeing the socialization of elite athletes, which included athletic development and reduced work hours so that sportsmen and women could focus more time upon athletic preparation. This move, one that had caused much debate during the 1960s, was deemed "imperative for competition, and also for professional insertion or reinsertion."[324] The French continuously use the terms "insertion" or "reinsertion" in reference to athletes. Although these are not terms typically used in the same way in English, for the French they refer to an athlete's ability to integrate into civilian (i.e. non-athletic) life, and to assimilate into the social fabric. The terms also indicate that the French believed their elite athletes were separate from the rest of society, thus underscored the need to rejoin it at the end of one's athletic career. This distinction articulates and demonstrates the use of sport as a way to fight the Cold War and to gain international influence.

Mazeaud traveled extensively throughout France in 1974 and 1975 to drum up support for his law, gaining allies in high places. Future president Valery Giscard d'Estaing, who in the 1960s strongly advocated for increased sports funding, spoke to the press about the nature of sports. He told *L'Équipe* in June 1974 that, "our policy of sports development is situated midway between private initiative and *dirigisme*… I am therefore

[324] Article 17, Mazeaud Law, Law Number 75-988 of October 29, 1975.

in support of the idea of a foundation" which would increase the level of physical education and sports participation within the educational system.[325]

The introduction of "time for athletics" within the French school day was one of the answers to the youth and sport crises. In his memoir, *Sport et Liberté,* Mazeaud recalled that in France, there was no part of the day reserved for sports practice and that this had to change.

> France is one of the rare countries where students work all day long. It is necessary to reach a better equilibrium within the schools: the morning should be reserved for intellectual disciplines, the afternoon for sport and culture. Many countries have this division, such as the Anglo-Saxons, and today they are just as smart as we are.[326]

It was hoped that inducing students to practice sport during the school day would instill them with a love of sport and perhaps influence them to pursue sport. Through mass participation in sport at school, it was anticipated that talented young athletes could be spotted and directed toward more formal training programs. It was also hoped that these measures would help cultivate a sports culture for the nation and the youth.

Of his efforts to legitimize sport in the national consciousness, Mazeaud wrote, "the law of 1975 defined elite sport as a lively, specific problem, a part of the politic of the masses."[327] Mazeaud asserted that France had to embrace a fundamental change in its attitude toward elite sport: that high-level competition was one to which the athletes must

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[325] The term *dirigisme* refers to the system of state planning for the economy. "Douze questions au future Preesident," *L'Équipe*, June 10, 1974, 5. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19780587 Article 2 Ministerial Politics of the 1975 Law.
[326] Mazeaud, 81.
[327] Ibid, 101.

devote everything in order to obtain results.[328] From parents to students, evidence confirms that this way of thinking was finally embraced within France by the mid-1970s.

The Senate adopted the Mazeaud Law on October 3, 1975, by a vote of 301 to 182.[329] The law was not without its detractors. Many advocates of physical education, such as the Federation of National Education and the National Union of Physical Educators, opposed the Mazeaud Law, fearing that physical education would be subverted by sports.[330] The communists decried the law as insufficient, that it did not do enough to correct the situation, that more was needed. The socialists believed that it would cultivate a cult of champions, thus "asphyxiating sport of the masses."[331] Representative Bernard Marie (UDR) felt that the law contained the best and the worst, but he noted that with a budget of 150-200 million francs, the new law would finally make it "possible to solve the problem of sport in France.[332]

Part of the problem was the lack of formal programs to identify young athletes with athletic potential. To aid the detection and training of such athletes, the National Committee for Elite Sport (*Comité National du Sport de Haut Niveau*, CNSHN), was created on October 10, 1978.[333] The CNSHN was responsible for drawing up lists of the nation's premier athletes according to their levels of play: Youths, Seniors, Elite, and Reconversion. The ages that corresponded to these four athletic levels varied for each sport, a reflection of the fact that some sports (such as gymnastics and swimming) began

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[328] Ibid, 112.
[329] Maurice Maurel, "301 à 182: loi Mazeaud adoptee," *L'Équipe*, October 4-5, 1975, 5.
[330] Previous chapters examine the historic role of physical education in French sport and how team sport was considered something very different. Ibid, 2.
[331] Ibid, 5.
[332] Ibid.
[333] "Le sport de haut niveau," document given to the author by the Ministry of Youth and Sport, June 2007, 1.

training youths at much earlier ages than others (such as basketball and football). In general, for team sports such as basketball and football, Youth athletes were typically 14-18 years old, Seniors were those between 19 and 22, Elite players were those over 22, and those classified as Reconversion were those who, having served for several years as an elite athlete, were in the final phases of their careers. These lists were created in conjunction with each sport federation's National Technical Director (DTN) and were modified each year so that the government could keep track of various athletes, sports disciplines, major competitions, and results.

The Mazeaud Law, the creation of INSEP, and that of the CNSHN were part of Mazeaud's long-term plan for elite athletic preparation. It would result, he hoped, in forming future athletes who would obtain much-desired medals and trophies. The focus was on the 1980 Games, in addition to World Cup appearances and titles. The plan worked. By the end of the 1970s the Mazeaud Law succeeded in ensuring that sport was an affair of the state, albeit indirectly. A March 1979 government report commented that, "the role of the state is to stimulate, to aid, to coordinate [sports] without having to take charge directly. Action must be undertaken with the local communities" for sports development.[334]

Not everyone supported such initiatives. In the late 1970s some within the government questioned the need for France to cultivate elite athletes. They were met with terse responses from the Secretary of Youth and Sport who retorted that,

> France must be present in international sports competitions. The reasons for this are simple: sport has become an element of international life, amplified by mass

[334] "The Practice of Sport and Physical Activities Outside of School," March 22, 1979. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.

> communication, and is a factor in establishing the influence of a country… sports competitions have finally become part of a global cultural phenomenon.[335]

This was why Mazeaud felt it important to assure elite athletes of having a professional future, while also providing them with the best possible training and preparations.[336]

The Mazeaud Law of 1975 was important in that it put forth, for the first time, a national sports policy. As noted by Benjamin Louche of the Ministry of Youth and Sport, "the Mazeaud Law was the first to lay down the basic essence of elite sport and how to fund it."[337] This was a significant development in a country that during the 1960s felt it was in the throes of a sports crisis. That the French enacted national legislation to train young athletes spoke volumes to how sensitive they were to the continued lack of athletic success and their desire to regain influence through the soft power of sports.

The establishment of a strong state-sport relationship made France unique amongst the Western European powers of the time. While the West German regime had state-funded elite athletic programs, it only financed the nation's top tier (Cadre A) in an effort to shy away from what some considered the totalitarian nature of state-sponsored elite athletics. In Italy, elite sport was run by the *Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano* (National Italian Olympic Committee, CONI), an organ of the state, but financed through the national sports lottery, *Totocalcio*. For the Italian case, CONI's ability to finance sport independently of the government enabled elite Italian sport to evade any ties or

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[335] J.P. Soisson replaced Mazeaud as head of Youth and Sports in 1976. "Letter of December 13, 1977" from the Secretary of State for Youth and Sport to Monsieur le Ministre (unclear who the recipient is) on the objective of: Elements for the communication of sport in the Council of Ministers. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Benjamin Louche, "Le sport de haut niveau," email to the author, June 2007.

obligations to politics. In Britain, there was an increased push for greater government involvement in elite sports since the 1960s, as the state recognized that the government of sport was a responsibility of the state.[338] Yet, despite the creation of a British Sports Minister in the 1960s, by the 1973-92 period the relationship between state and sport in Britain remained far behind that in France. The French were uniquely committed to elite sport. In early 1979, the new Secretary of State for Youth and Sport, Paul Dijoud, said that the main objective for French sport was "to make France a grand sports nation that will permit it to take one of the premier places in international competitions."[339]

Taken within the larger narrative of the 1970s, the Mazeaud Law was responsible for jump-starting French sports and athletic training. Ludovic DeBru of the FFF's National Technical Direction bureau noted that "the law of 1975 had a big, big impact," upon the trajectory of French sport.[340] The law stoked the popularity of sport and fostered a culture of youth athletics that, by the early 1980s began to produce talented players who started to win international athletic honor for the country. Moreover, it began to allocate greater funding for the youth and sports initiatives; if the national budget for Youth and sport was 244.4 million francs in 1960, then by 1970 it had increased to 1,067 million, and to 3,515 million by 1980.[341] With subsequent increases in the funding allocated for sport, France became one of the Western European nations to spend the most upon athletics.

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[338] Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain,* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 154.
[339] "Measures taken by M. Dijoud, Secretary of State for Youth and Sport" March 22, 1978. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.
[340] Ludovic DeBru, interview with the author, Paris, France, June 2007.
[341] Nys, 1.

Government Legislation – Avice Law

Pierre Mazeaud was responsible for launching the first French law governing sport and dictating how it was financed. In 1984, his successor as Minister of Youth and Sport, Edwige Avice, reinforced the Mazeaud Law.[342] She also expanded upon it to focus specifically upon elite sport. Her main goal was to liberalize the athletic system, to make it more like the American one in which youth athletic development was an integral part of education.[343]

Avice was no former athlete, as Mazeaud had been. Rather, she came to head the division of Youth and Sports through her political career within the Socialist Party. As her father-in-law was American, Avice and her husband had traveled extensively throughout the United States prior to her appointment by President François Mitterand in 1984.[344] During her travels, she observed American-style sports development within the secondary school and university systems. This program impressed Avice, and one of her goals as Minister of Youth and Sport was to bring the French system closer to its American counterpart.[345]

On July 16, 1984 the French legislature passed Law Number 84-610, otherwise known as the Avice Law, which further codified athletic development within France. Unlike the Mazeaud Law, which stipulated that sport was an integral part of French culture, the Avice Law emphasized that sport and physical activity "are important factors

[342] Edwige Avice, interview with the author, Paris, France, June 2007.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid.

in equilibrium and health of each person's well-being."[346] Also included in the new law's opening article was the specification that athletics "are a fundamental element of education, culture, and social life. Their development is of general interest and everyone has the right to practice [athletics], regardless of gender, age, capacity, or social condition."[347] The Avice Law served to ensure that the practice and promotion of sport was grounded in the attempt to ensure a healthy population. This push reflected the growing health trend that emerged within Western society during the 1980s.

The Avice Law established a national commission of elite sport, which was made up of representatives from the state, the National Committee of French Olympics, and of French sport, with additional advice provided by interested sports federations. This body, which became the Bureau of Elite Sport, was responsible for overseeing development of the nation's elite athletes firmly situated within the educational system.[348] In order to ensure that the training of the nation's top athletes would not suffer during National Service, the Avice Law mandated that elite athletes would be assigned to a unit that had the equipment and coaching available so as to allow elite athletic training to continue.[349] On the whole, the provisions of the Avice Law were remarkable in that they served to create an elite cadre within France, a country that prided itself on egalitarianism.

The Avice Law sought to transfer more power from the sports federations to the government, which according to Avice, was highly desirable.[350] It also tried to switch to a more American-style of financing sport. Previously, French athletics relied nearly

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[346] Avice Law, Law Number 84-610 of July 16, 1984, Article 1.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Avice Law, Law Number 84-610 of July 16, 1984, Article 27.
[349] Avice Law, Law Number 84-610 of July 16, 1984, Article 30.
[350] Avice, June 2007.

exclusively upon public funding. In creating the new law, Avice said that she tried to bring the funding of French sport more in line with the American system, to incorporate a greater involvement of private enterprise to sponsor the nation's athletic initiatives.[351] In this regard, she pointed to the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics as being "very influential."[352]

The shift towards a more Americanized system may have been reflective of the increased emphasis upon winning international sports competitions during the 1980s at the height of the Cold War's sports diplomacy. Through liberalizing some of the state's control of sport, perhaps it was felt that better results could be obtained.

The establishment of a national sports lotto in 1983 helped to fund sport, providing roughly one-third of the official sports budget.[353] The lotto, a form of gambling based upon who won a particular professional game, was at odds with the original French attitude towards sport, that it should remain the domain of amateurism. Yet, it reflected the achievement of the Italian sports lottery, which as previously noted, was so successful that it funded Italian elite athletics. Again, as with the Mazeaud Law, the Avice Law was important in shoring up support for, and in particular, funding sports training policies within France. Both pieces of legislation aided in acculturating the French youth with an avenue for pursuing sport in conjunction with their academic studies.

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[351] Ibid.
[352] The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics were the first financed by a combination of public and private funding. Ibid.
[353] Ibid.

Sports Trends

Government legislation helped establish a sports culture within France. Sports became part of the greater youth culture, especially for boys, and was aided in the government's push towards a Sports For All program that by the 1970s encouraged greater physical activity. For parents of the 1970s and 1980s, sports promoted the health of their children. The overall acceptance of sport as an integral part of life grew not only from its legitimization and reinforcement through national laws, but also due to several other factors: desire by more youths to practice a sport within the context of the school day and support for this from their parents.

A shift in outlook, that athletics were an integral part of education, occurred in the late 1960s, due to the sustained sports crisis.[354] At the same time, the rigors and pressures of the traditional French school day and the competition to succeed and earn a degree in order to have a future were substantial. By the early 1970s sport began to be seen as a constructive outlet for this stress.

This view fostered greater excitement amongst French youth for sport. *L'Équipe* found in 1975 that most youths viewed sport as a necessity. For 16 year old Rémy Tropee in Vitré, "Sport is a means of allowing me to let off steam… For my part, the sport that I practice, football, helped me grow."[355] Moreover, sport provided an identity and a sense of flourishing within a community. Frédéric Joseph, a 17-year old boy from Arcueil, wrote to *L'Équipe* that,

> For me, my sport is football. It represents above all a hobby, but nevertheless, it brings a lot of things to its practitioners. In particular, the taste of effort, self-

[354] Yvon le Vaillant, "Les Français derniers en gym!" *Nouvel Observateur*, November 5, 1973, 45.
[355] "Enquete en trois questions," *L'Équipe*, November 5, 1975, 5.

> knowledge, and life in a community. This is perhaps why I play the most popular sport in the world.[356]

Under the French Fifth Republic, one had to hold a license in order to play sport at a competitive level or to practice with a club. Sports licenses were obtained from the national sports federations and were renewed annually. The sports license certified that the holder was officially registered and designated the level of competency. Licenses were the standard measure of a given sport's popularity and were often the barometer for the amount of government subsidies were given to a particular club or sports association.

In 1958 there were a mere 2,500,000 licensed athletes in France (adult and youth).[357] In 1966 there were 1,598,157 athletic licenses in France but by 1978 there were 3,567,163.[358] Football naturally had a significant increase in the number of licenses that were conferred each year, with 1,437,091 licenses for 1978 (out of 3,567,163) and 1,456,215 for 1981.[359] Constant figures on the number of youth players registered are difficult obtain; however, the FFF reported that for the 1981-82 season, there were 176,915 players registered (both male and female) at the poussins/benjamines 1 level (aged 6-10), 1,70,576 players registered as pupilles/benjamines 2 (aged 10-12), 162,335 players registered as minims/cadettes 1 (aged 12-14), and 146,135 registered as cadets/cadettes 2 (aged 14-16).[360]

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[356] Ibid.
[357] "Du développement du sport en France et de ses structures" March 1977. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.
[358] Nys, 62.
[359] Ibid, 11-12.
[360] Ibid, 14.

Male players made up the majority of registered football players in France, as the sport was traditionally considered a sport for men. By the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a substantial increase in the numbers of girls with registered licenses from the FFF. For the 1988-89 season, the FFF counted a total of 20,902 female licenses of which 9,753 were youth players; for the 1989-90 season there were 21,747 female licenses, of which 10,936 were given to youths.[361]

FFF-licensed Football Players, 1981-82 Season[362]

Category (boys)	(girls)	Female Licenses	Percentage of Total	Male Licenses	Percentage of Total	Total Licenses
Poussins	Benjamines 1	1,843	1%	175,072	99%	176,915
Pupilles	Benjamines 2	2,335	1%	168,241	99%	170,576
Minimes	Cadettes 1	2,877	2%	159,458	98%	162,335
Cadets	Cadettes 2	4,240	3%	141,895	97%	146,135

Basketball, too, saw its enrollment increase. If in 1967 there were 124,512 licensed basketball players in France (93,046 males and 31,466 females), by 1975 there were 235,178 licensed players, by 1983 there were 322,569 players, and in 1990 there were 352,353 licensed players for both men and women.[363] By 1990 there was a total 350,000 licensed basketball players within the country at all age levels.[364]

Basketball was different from football in that, since the beginning of the sport in the late 1890s, it was played by women and never suffered from the image, as did football, of being a men's sport. Thus, there was always an equal emphasis given by the

[361] FFF, "1989-90 Season: Recapulative and Comparative State of Female Players in the Métropole and Outre-Mer." (Clairefontaine: FFF, undated), 1.
[362] Nys, 14.
[363] Gérard Bosc, *Une histoire du basket français, Tome II: 1966-1990*, (Paris: Presses du Louvre, 2002), 3-193.
[364] Gérard Bosc and Thierry Poulain, *Des clés pour le basket*, (Paris: Éditions Vigot, 1990), 9.

FFBB to training both boys *and* girls, as demonstrated by the FFBB's launching of youth basketball training programs in the late 1970s: one was for boys, one was for girls. Of note was the fact that by the 1970s there were several high-profile female French basketball players, such as Jackye Chazalon, who influenced not only the game's popularity for girls, but also promoted the sport as a whole by opening American-style basketball camps to encourage greater youth participation.[365]

Regardless of the specific discipline, the popularity of the sport during the 1970s and 1980s was not lost upon parents. In 1968, 64% of parents felt that sport was a very important component of their child's education; five years later a *L'Équipe* survey found that 82% of parents believed practicing sport was a necessary element. Moreover, in 1973, 75% of parents were not satisfied with the athletic programs available to their children.[366] *Nouvel Observateur* journalist Yvon le Vaillant observed that:

> There is a flagrant shift between the expressed needs or anxieties [toward sport] and the means implemented to meet them. In fact, there has been an almost total resignation of the government... Today, competitive sport is in the hands of patrons who are often incompetent and merchants who are often effective. Money is [the] all-encompassing [motivation].[367]

This 1973 attitude on the gap between sports needs and provisions was an important consideration and was the basis of the first youth sports programs detailed in the following chapter.

As the youth programs took hold, parents noted that there were certain sports to which their children were drawn. A study undertaken in August of 1980 showed that of

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[365] Bosc, 80.
[366] Yvon le Vaillant, "Les Français derniers en gym!" *Nouvel Observateur*, November 5, 1973, 45.
[367] Ibid.

all the team sports practiced at school, parents felt that their children were most likely to play football (26% of parents who responded), while 15% responded that basketball was their child's sport of choice.[368] It could be argued that these results were the reflection of the unique positions of these two sports within French society by 1980 as the most popular team sports. Many parents believed that practice of any sport was beneficial to the wellbeing and health of their child and thus supported whichever sport their offspring wished to pursue. Parental support of youth sports was a critical component for legitimization and growth of sports throughout France. It was also vital in ensuring the success of the youth sports training programs begun in the 1970s.

The successes of the youth sports training programs and sports legislation took hold and by the late 1970s and early 1980s they began to produce results. Within the realm of football, a generation of young players emerged to take France to the 1978 World Cup in Argentina. This group, often referred to as the Platini generation, matured and won fourth place at the 1982 World Cup in Spain. Two years later, the French national team won the European Championship while the Olympic team celebrated their first-ever gold medal at the Los Angeles Summer Games. A third-place finish at the 1986 Mexico World Cup followed these triumphs.

While football enjoyed victory, basketball did not experience the same achievements. For much of the late 1960s through the 1970s and 1980s, the quest of the FFBB in terms of both player recruitment and formation was to identify tall players and teach them technique so that France could be competitive at the international level, where

[368] The first sport that parents felt that their children prioritized at schools remained swimming (35%), perhaps reflecting the entrenched systems of the French Swimming Federation (FFN). "Le sport à l'école," August 29, 1980. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.

increasingly, tall players were the norm. This singular focus may have sidetracked the FFBB from training of players that it could enroll, and perhaps explains why French basketball continued to flounder even as football thrived. The summer of 1976 was notable in that it was the first time in recent history that the French basketball teams (both men and women) failed to qualify for participation in any international competitions. According to former basketball DTN Gérard Bosc, part of this was due to the fact that the women's team was "inept athletically, technically, and psychologically for the elite level practice of … basketball."[369]

Clearly there was a need for a more rigorous training system to prepare French basketball players for the duress of international competition. With some refocusing, the FFBB began to concentrate their efforts. There was finally a whiff of success when the men's team qualified for and took third place at the 1984 Summer Olympic basketball tournament. Of this success, Bosc writes that "after 24 years of absence, the French team participated in the Olympic Games."[370]

The inability of basketball to produce winning teams reinforced perceptions that it was outdated and not as modern as football. Such sentiments were compounded by the fact that teenagers of mid-1980s thought of basketball as a sport of the elderly or the elites.[371] This was one reason why basketball was not as popular amongst French youth as football. Youth attitudes began to change in the 1980s as professional basketball clubs launched centers of formation (copying those of football) and promoted the sport.

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[369] Bosc, 66.
[370] Ibid, 129.
[371] "Adolescence et Basket," *Basket-Ball*, 492, February-March 1984, 6.

The critical turning point for French basketball was the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona in which the United States' Dream Team, composed of professional basketball players from the NBA, took the gold medal. Dream Team athletes such as Magic Johnson, Michael Jordan, and Larry Bird were familiar fixtures to the French thanks to the broadcast of NBA games on French television and the products that these athletes endorsed, such as Nike sneakers. The athletic prowess and star power of the Dream Team ensured that the Olympic basketball tournament received plenty of press. The result was that many French youths thereafter aspired to be basketball stars. Following the 1992 Summer Olympics, basketball in France grew in popularity and the FFBB had an easier time recruiting youths to the sport.[372] This generation of basketball players were taken into the youth development system and emerged by the late 1990s as the new face of French basketball, one that revived the nation's basketball credentials. Thus, the turnaround of French basketball was reliant upon the power and influence of television, much in the way that the medium helped alter football a decade earlier.

Television, Business, Sports, and Spectators

Television had one of the greatest impacts on sport in France. Its growth accelerated throughout the 1970s, but it was the 1980s that revolutionized French television and, subsequently, sport. These changes reverberated from the elite to the recreational levels, from adult athletes to the youth. Television and its evolution during the 1973-92 period ensured that French sport was firmly entrenched in society, aided in cultivating a national sports culture, infused money into the sports system, and made athletics a component of youth culture. Moreover, it created a generation of sports-goers

[372] Marianne Béhar, "La drague des fédérations," *Sport et Vie: L'Enfant et le Sport*, Number 5, 1996, 36.

who took fan culture to new levels (hooliganism) that in turn influenced part of the youth culture. Lastly, television helped to lay the foundations for the phenomenon of the celebrity athlete that many youths viewed as a sports hero.

Football was the primary beneficiary of television during the 1980s, and broadcast coverage transformed the sport completely. This section examines the case of football as most studies conducted on television and French sports are football-centric. The experience of the FFF in negotiating greater exposure of their sport through television and dealing with the byproduct of corporate sponsorship provided a blueprint that the FFBB followed in some ways in later years.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the history of French television was one of growth and stagnation. Although France was the first European country to launch daily television broadcasts in 1936, this advance was offset by stagnation during the period 1939-45.[373] The growth of television throughout the 1960s stagnated again in the mid-1970s. In 1974, *Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision Française* (ORTF) was split into seven components, with the country's three television networks taking their own names: Télévision Française 1 (TF1), Antenne 2 (A2), and France Régions 3.

French television programming continued its effort to educate the masses through an abundance of cultural programming. The decision to allow French television to accept paid advertisements in 1968 helped to bring money into the system, but still did not offset the significant costs associated with filling broadcast hours with cultural content.

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[373] In 1936 France began to transmit thirty minutes' worth of television content, starting around 4p.m., which consisted primarily of the day's news. The following year these broadcasts were moved to 8p.m. Jerome Bourdun, "Les techniques: une complexité sans cesse croissant," in *La grande aventure du petit écran: la television française 1935-75*, (Paris: Muséé d'histoire contemporaine, 1997).

Increasingly, the French networks sought to fill weekend airtime with sports broadcasts, though few were live transmissions.

Broadcasting sports was not cheap. As the technology used to broadcast sports events grew more sophisticated and required more equipment, technicians, and sportscasters, the costs for televising sports competitions began to escalate. Additionally, the amount charged by a sports federation or governing body for the rights to broadcast its events grew, reflecting the reluctance of some to allow transmission of their sports events to non-paying spectators at home. A look at the costs associated with purchasing the rights to broadcast the Olympic Games provides an illustration of just how quickly these costs escalated for major athletic competitions. The 1960 Rome Summer Games sold for $1.2 million dollars (in 2007 figures), where as the 1968 Mexico Summer Games sold for $9.8 million, the 1976 Montreal Games for $34.8 million, and the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Games for $287.0 million.[374]

Broadcast Rights of the Summer Olympic Games (in millions of dollars today)[375]

Year	Games	Total
1960	Rome	$1.2
1964	Tokyo	$1.5
1969	Mexico	$9.8
1972	Munich	$11.8
1976	Montreal	$34.8
1980	Moscow	$101.0
1984	LA	$287.0
1988	Seoul	$403.0
1992	Barcelona	$636.0

The sums paid to broadcast the Summer Olympics were relatively stagnant for most of the 1960s. Starting in the 1970s the sums increased, but the substantial rise in

[374] Jean-François Bourg and Jean-Jacques Gouguet, *Economie Politique du Sport Professionnel: l'éthique à l'épreuve du marché*, (Paris: Vuibert, 2007), 231.
[375] Ibid.

broadcast fees came with the 1980s. This coincided with public-private funding partnerships to produce the Olympics that began after the 1976 Summer Games nearly bankrupted the city of Montreal. The 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics was one of the first examples of corporate sponsorship of a major international sporting event, and as such, bolstered the fees associated with televised broadcasting.

Television broadcasts of major sports events such as the Olympics and the World Cup did not adversely impact stadium attendance. Instead, television spectatorship skyrocketed and created new fans. An estimated 400 million tuned in worldwide to watch the final match of the 1966 World Cup, which pitted the host country England against Germany. The 1978 World Cup final of Argentina versus Holland drew 1.5 billion viewers, and the 1982 final between Italy and Germany tallied an estimated 1.8 billion.[376] The French national team's infamous match against West Germany in the 1982 World Cup semi-final drew an impressive 30 million viewers around the world to their television sets.[377]

Yet, such major international competitions were unique. Despite creating a new or expanded fan base, increased television spectatorship resulted in a decline of the number of fans who paid to attend a game in person for many French football clubs. A reduction in attendance resulted in less money earned from ticket sales, sometimes known as gate receipts. Thus, some clubs were faced with difficult financial challenges.

By the mid-1980s, the average number of spectators in attendance at professional football games in France (10,082 for the 1984-85 season) lagged behind those in Italy

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[376] Jean-François Bourg, *Football Business*, (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1986), 127.
[377] Ibid.

(36,658), Spain (30,647), West Germany (19,660), and England (18,883) for the 1983-84 season.[378] The French clubs with the greatest average number of fans for each home game for the 1984-85 season were Bordeaux (19,621), Nantes (17,443), Paris Saint-Germain (16,255), Olympique de Marseille (15,784), and Lens (13,031).[379] Meanwhile, the average ticket price for attending a D1 game in France increased significantly during the 1970s and 1980s, from 12,60 francs for the 1973-74 season to 46,89 francs for the 1984-85 season.[380] The result was fewer spectators and less revenue for the teams. Selling the rights to broadcast matches on television was one way to shift the fortunes of French football.

Up until the mid-1980s, the government owned and ran the country's three television channels. Although they each broadcast sports, the channels were limited by the reluctance of some federations to allow extensive television coverage of their matches. The FFF was one such example. In 1975, it ruled to protect football from television, in the belief that limiting live transmission was in the sport's best interest. They believed that showing too much football on television would hurt gate receipts.[381] In an era in which ticket sales were the main way of financing a team, this was an important consideration.

In 1984, Canal Plus launched France's first private television network, a paid subscription channel, thus ending the government's monopoly of television broadcasting. Canal Plus forever changed how the French public viewed, interacted with, and

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[378] Ibid, 90.
[379] Ibid, 92.
[380] Ibid, 95.
[381] Jacques Ferran, "Les conflits TV-football," *L'Équipe*, October 28, 1975, 1.

consumed sports. To contextualize the situation, the British government monopoly over television broadcasting ended in 1955. By the 1970s, Australian-born media owner Rupert Murdoch began to realign British television broadcasting. Murdoch's television company, News Corporation, merged with or took over several British television channels so that, by the 1980s, News Corporation was one of the leading broadcasters in Britain. At the end of the decade, Murdoch presided over BSkyB, the largest British satellite broadcasting entity. Murdoch's companies were known for their sportscasts, especially for football, and paid handsomely for the broadcast rights. Meanwhile, the Italian government's television monopoly ended in the 1970s. By 1983-84, consolidation of several private television channels under Mediaset, a company created by Silvio Berlusconi, started to dominate Italian television. Berlusconi's purchase of a stake in the ownership of famed club AC Milan was a pioneering move that created a new relationship between football clubs and the media.

Thus, the appearance of Canal Plus finally brought France into congruence with similar developments in Western Europe. The relative tardiness of the growth of private French television meant that throughout the 1980s, the monies offered and obtained for transmitting sports events on television did not match that of other nations. Nonetheless, Canal Plus was a highly successful French model, one that transformed how sport was consumed and conceived of within the country.

From its inception, Canal Plus worked toward ensuring that football matches were one of its core components. Alain de Greef, part of the original team at the station, noted

that, "all the world was convinced that football was important."[382] Significantly for Canal Plus, the majority of their paying public wanted sportscasts. For each football match of the European Cup, between 35-50% of Canal Plus subscribers watched the games, a statistic that de Greef pointed out was unmatched by the network's broadcast of films.[383]

The company broadcast its first live football match on November 9, 1984, a game that pitted FC Nantes against AS Monaco. While Canal Plus quickly broadened the scope of sports that it broadcast to include boxing, basketball (both French and the American NBA), and American football (NFL), football remained at the core of the sports department.[384] To ensure that it broadcast as much of the action, spirit, and excitement as possible, Canal Plus developed new techniques and technologies to add to its broadcast arsenal, such as using an isolated camera as well as a spinner camera.[385] This was a trend that affected all sports, including the Olympic Games.

In order to offset the increased costs associated with televising and hosting sports, French companies began to play an integral role in helping to pay for such events through advertising and team or event sponsorship. Also, the television networks turned to corporate sponsors to help produce the events, while teams also turned to corporations to finance new playing fields or equipment in exchange for prominent advertising space that would be seen by stadium-goers and television audiences alike. Pfizer Mecadox sponsored Stade Rennais (1,500,000 francs) during the 1985-86 season, while Olympique

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[382] Bernard Poisuil. *Canal +: l'aventure du sport*. Paris : Éditoria, 1996, 20.
[383] Ibid, 21.
[384] Ibid, 439.
[385] Ibid.

de Marseille had Mas-d'Auge (an egg company) and RMC (a radio station) as their sponsors, totaling 1,500,000 francs of revenue for the club.[386]

The key to Canal Plus's success was its ability to pay large sums to sports federations to secure the exclusive rights to broadcast entire matches live. This forced the nation's other three channels to also ante up larger and larger sums to obtain the same game broadcast rights as Canal Plus. Other French television stations were forced to compete. TF1 and A2 also increased the number of hours' worth of sports programming broadcast, especially on the weekends.[387] In the 1970s, French television showed sportscasts on the weekends, normally for no longer than four or five hours, but by 1986, the average amount of weekend airtime given to sports events in France had multiplied to nearly 15 hours worth.[388] This produced an explosion in the number of broadcast hours dedicated to sports. If in 1968 there were only 230 hours worth of sports broadcasting (comprising 4% of the total programming), by 1978 this had increased to 624 hours between TF1 and A2 alone (a total of 8% of overall programming), and close to 1,400 hours in 1985 (nearly 10% of total programming time).[389]

For much of the 1980s, Canal Plus, TF1, and A2 were the channels that competed to broadcast live games, especially football matches. Each station sought to broker deals that would give it exclusive rights for certain teams or leagues. In 1984, TF1 negotiated one of its first contracts with the FFF and the Ligue de Football Professional (LFP). This contract gave TF1 exclusive television broadcast rights of football matches for a price of

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[386] Bourg, 107.
[387] By the mid-1980s, the most popular sports on television were football, rugby, cycling, and tennis.
[388] Wladimir Andreff and Jean-François Bourg, *Relations Économiques: le sport et la télévision,* (Paris: Dalloz, 1987), 44.
[389] Ibid, 38.

3,500,000 francs. On October 7, 1985, three stations (TF1, A2, and Canal Plus) signed accords with the FFF and LNF concerning television broadcasting rights for football. This set the tariffs for broadcasting one game to between 400 and 700,000 francs for a match of the championship and 1.1 million francs for a semi-final of the European Cup. If TF1 paid 150,000 francs for the rights to broadcast the European Cup match between PSG and Sofia in 1982, Canal Plus paid 1,250,000 francs in March 1985 to broadcast the match between Bordeaux and Dniepr (a quarter-finals game), and A2 paid 2,000,000 francs in April 1985 to broadcast the semi-final between Bordeaux and Juventus.[390] Television broadcast fees provided the FFF with 16.7 million francs for the 1985-86 season, 17.5 million for the 1986-87 season, and 20 million francs for the 1987-88 season.[391]

The growth of television networks in France was astonishing. At the start of the 1980s there were three networks; by 1992 there were over 30, with an increase of 10,000 hours of broadcasting to nearly 100,000 yearly.[392] The bidding for television rights increased and the income for professional football clubs coming from broadcasting rights quadrupled by the early 1990s, thus cementing the bond between television and football.[393] The staggering sums of money that infused the system as the result of televised broadcasts and corporate sponsorship deals had deep ramifications. First, the influx of money produced clubs and federations with deep coffers. This manifested itself,

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[390] Bourg, 130.
[391] Andreff and Bourg, no page #.
[392] "Sports et Télévision: un marriage d'amour et de raison," in Pierre Gabaston et Bernard Leconte, *Sports et télévision: Regards croisés*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), 8.
[393] Geoff Hare, "Television and Football in France: A symbiotic relationship?" www.ncl.ac.uk/sml/NMRG/sport_TV/sport_TV.htm.

in the case of the FFF, in the federation's having greater leverage in its negotiations and dealings with the government's Ministry of Youth and Sport, which was supposed to act as an oversight body. Second, the clubs then invested this money into the players, substantially increasing the salaries of professional players. By 1985 the salaries of football's top 12 players were estimated at more than 2,000,000 francs annually (excluding revenue from product endorsement or other advertising deals).[394] The flood of capital demonstrated that being a professional footballer could be profitable for the first time in French history.

The higher salaries ascribed to being a professional (and elite) footballer in France by the 1980s ensured that a player could focus full-time upon sport, whereas most of his predecessors played football in addition to working full-time in another occupation. For example, members of the 1958 national team held jobs within the sports world whose salaries allowed them to also play football. Raymond Kopa was the Commercial Director of the Trévois sports company, Wisnieski was a representative for Le Coq Sportif, Fontaine was an agent for sports stores, and Piatoni was an inspector for sales with Adidas.[395] Despite higher wages in the 1980s, football players in France did not earn as much money as those in England or Italy, a reflection of the relatively late arrival of private television channels. This led to some players going abroad to play. Some, like Platini, went to Italy. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, an exodus of French players and coaches to play and coach abroad was underway.

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[394] Bourg, 57.
[395] Bourg, 206.

The allure of large salaries and fame of the 1980s attracted more French youths to the game and inspired many to desire to become footballers. Notably, this was the case amongst boys of the working-class and immigrant communities, a very different socio-economic group from the pioneers of French football nearly a century earlier. Professional football in France was always the domain of these social milieus, a trend shared with other European neighbors, especially Great Britain. Although men of all social classes played football and followed their particular teams, those of the upper- and middle-classes were expected to make their careers in the white-collar professions. This trend, first established with the professionalization of French football in the 1930s, was still in effect in the 1980s, as demonstrated by a 1984 survey of the family backgrounds of 129 professional footballers. The overwhelming majority of players responded that their parents were workers (37.2%), employees (20%), artisans or small businessmen (14%), or agricultural workers (7.8%), though some were from middle-class (7.8%) or upper class (7%) backgrounds.[396]

Socio-Professional Categories of the Parents of Professional Footballers[397]

Socio-Professional Category	**Number**	**Percentage**
1. Agricultural workers	10	7.8
2. Patrons of industry and commerce; artisans and small businessmen	20; 18	15.6; 14
3. Liberal professions	9	7
4. Middle class	10	7.8
5. Employees	26	20
6. Workers	48	37.2
7. Service Staff	2.	1.5
8. Other	4	3.1
TOTAL	129	100

[396] Jean-François Bourg, *Salaire, travail et emploi dans le football professionnel*, (Limoges: A. Bontemps, 1984), 13.
[397] Ibid.

More recent statistics are unavailable as to whether these socio-professional groups remained the mainstay of French football, but it is fairly safe to assume that the trend demonstrated by the 1984 survey was still manifest in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Revenues from television also enabled the FFF to invest heavily in their youth training programs, which by the 1980s produced elite footballers that won major competitions. The sums invested into the centers of formation or the government's sport-study sections were not made available for this study, but it is safe to say that these were substantial sums. Chapter Six, which looks in greater detail at the example of the football center of formation, gives a hint at the types of financial resources that were sunk into the programs starting in the 1970s and 1980s, sums that increased continuously. The football training programs helped foster a sports culture that gained recognition and respect abroad: by the late 1980s and early 1990s, France was known for training the best footballers in the world.

The influx of money from television broadcasts changed football fundamentally in other ways. As Jean-François Bourg and Jean-Jacques Gouguet articulated, it was the influx of money during the 1980s that caused French sport, especially football, to become an economic activity. The spectators became consumers.[398] "The athlete became a worker, the club became a brand and sport became a product."[399]

Television also transformed football from a leisure time activity into an entertainment spectacle. This in turn served to stoke the lines of identification with a certain club or team, producing ardent supporters. There were at-home fans and those

[398] Bourg and Gouguet, 36-37.
[399] Ibid, 37.

who went to games. While the majority of fans in the stadiums were peaceful, by the late 1970s and 1980s there was a new phenomenon of violent fan groups. Such crowds were known as hooligans or *ultras,* and were notorious for starting fights in and around the stands, taunting the opposing team and their fans, and in general for intimidating other spectators. Sometimes violent acts instigated by the hooligans ended in tragedy.[400]

Hooliganism was, like football itself, a British creation that gained momentum in and around English and Scottish football matches in the 1960s. Some blamed the phenomenon on the general exposure experienced by European society as a result of the horrific events of World War II. Others attribute the rise of hooliganism at football games to the changing demographics of the post-war stadium-going fan. In Britain, the age of football fans in stadiums was significantly younger by the 1960s than ever before. James Walvin notes that the average age of the fan at British football matches was 20 or younger.[401] It should be noted that the emergence of football hooligans coincided with the rise of the Teddy Boys, the British emblem of juvenile delinquency. For Anthony King, such early hooligans defended masculine honor through their violent actions in the stands.[402]

The ongoing post-war immigration patterns in Britain coincided with the economic slump of the 1970s, at which point British hooliganism grew tinged with an

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[400] One of the more high profile mortal hooligan incidents occurred in 1985 at Heysel Stadium in Brussels, Belgium. In this instance, fans of the Liverpool football club instigated events that led to the deaths of several Juventus fans. See James Walvin, *Football and the Decline of Britain*, (London: MacMillan, 1986); Mark Perryman, *Hooligan Wars: Causes and Effects of Football Violence*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2001); and Patrick Murphy, John Williams, and Eric Dunning, eds., *Football on Trial: Spectator Violence and Development in the Football World*, (New York: Routledge, 1990).
[401] James Walvin, *Football and the Decline of Britain*, (London: MacMIllan, 1986), 9.
[402] Anthony King, *European Ritual: Football in the New Europe*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), 56.

extreme right wing xenophobic rhetoric. Thus was the state of British hooliganism when it was imported to football stadiums in northern France in the late 1970s by young men returning from travel, study, or work in Britain.

Around the same time, the phenomenon of the *ultras* entered the football terrains of French clubs in the south of the country. The spectacle of the *ultras* fan groups originated in postwar Italy and spread around the northern basin of the Mediterranean during the 1970s and 1980s. Though still tinged with occasional violence, the *ultras* focused more on producing a spectacle of fandom to support their team, one that was consumed by other stadium spectators as well as those watching at home on their television sets. Such displays designed by the *ultras* often included signs, chants, and pyrotechnics, and were well coordinated in advance of a game.

Both forms of ardent fandom began to construct strong identities around individual French clubs. Television fed into this phenomenon and spread it throughout the country. Watching sports on television also served to strengthen identities as espoused through the athletic fortunes (or pitfalls) of one's local, regional, or national team. Thus, sports broadcasting reinforced identity, particularly national identity.

This helped to infuse greater interest in and spectatorship of football into French society. As Gérard Precheur, a former football player and now a coach at the national football training center for girls at Clairefontaine, noted "more and more of society was interested [in sport] thanks to television."[403]

Television spectators the world over viewed France's reemergence into serious football contention at the 1982 World Cup in Spain and the successes in 1984. These

[403] Gérard Precheur, interview with the author, Clairefontaine, France, June 2007.

hallmarks helped to cultivate a new affinity for the national team. The newly found success of *les Bleus* aided in re-establishing French pride and reinforced French national identity just as televised sportscasts began to globalize athletics.

The increased role of television created more sports heroes whom French youths admired. While there were always professional footballers, including the elite of this group who played for the national team, during the 1980s the image of the victorious Platini generation was transmitted into the living rooms of the French youth. Images broadcast or printed of footballers sporting different hairstyles or flair both on and off of the field may have begun to influence French youth's conception of masculinity as portrayed by such football heroes. Television allowed, more than ever before, the youths to cultivate a form of hero-worship for these athletes. As previously stated, the creation of national sports heroes is an important aspect in solidifying a national sports culture and, consequently, a winning athletic tradition.

The majority of the sports heroes of the 1980s were footballers, though there was an occasional basketball player who generated acclaim and attention. There is little literature that addresses how television changed French basketball and its popularity. Yet, basketball began to follow a similar trajectory to football by the late 1980s, albeit without quite as much success or money. One indication was that television viewership for sports such as basketball increased as the sport gained more airtime throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. The FFBB garnered 2.7 million francs in television broadcast revenue for the 1990-91 season while for the 1994-95 season it generated 5.6 million francs.[404] This trend coincided with the growth in popularity of the sport. The FFBB launched its first

[404] Bosc, 260.

basketball centers of formation in the 1980s and invested increased sums in identifying and training youth elite players.

For French basketball, television was a blessing. Gérard Bosc points out that the televising of NBA basketball matches in France on Canal Plus had "a considerable impact."[405] It is significant that the sport's popularity surged following the televising of the 1992 Summer Olympic basketball tournament in which USA Basketball's Dream Team drew a new generation to the sport in France. Though television changed basketball, the FFBB did not benefit in the same way from high television broadcasting fees as did the FFF.

Conclusion

All told, the major sport trends of the 1973-92 period served to fundamentally change how sport was perceived within France, how it functioned, how it was consumed, and how it was regarded. When one considered that the percentage of the French population under the age of 25 remained relatively constant from the late 1960s (40.9% of the 1968 population, 41.4% of the 1971 population, and 40.2% of the 1975 population), the need to use the sports training programs as a way to socialize the youth and teach them admirable traits became all the more important.[406]

While these trends manifested themselves in France, the French were also proactive. In 1973 they launched youth sports training programs that specifically targeted the identification and training of athletes. The evolution of the three-pronged

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[405] Ibid, 136.
[406] Secretariat d'état aupres du minister de la qualite de la vie, jeunesse, et sports, *Jeunesse et Sports: Dossier Statistique 1977*, (Paris: Ministère de la Jeunesse et Sports, 1977), 13.

French approach, which emphasized academics, athletics, and medical supervision, occurred over the same 20-year time-span that we have just looked at. What follows is a look at two examples of the new French approach towards youth athletics.

Chapter Six

Examples of Youth Sports Training, 1973-92:

The Sport-Study Section and the Football Center of Formation

In 1973 the French launched two new youth sports programs designed to produce better youth athletes. It was hoped that such initiatives could serve as a solution to the youth and sports crises of the 1960s. One of these programs was the sport-study section (*section sport-étude*, SSE), the other was the football center of formation. Although the SSE and the center of formation shared the same goal, to allow young athletes to improve and refine their athletic skills under the supervision of specialized coaches, they were originally quite different. Run within the national education system, the SSE focused primarily upon academics. The center of formation, on the other hand, initially focused on athletics. As the 1970s and 1980s progressed, the SSE and center of formation structures evolved. The SSE increasingly emphasized athletics and, by 1984 fed elite youth athletes into the regional and national sports programs. By the same point in time, the centers of formation adopted a greater emphasis on academics.

Eventually, the center of formation transformed itself into a mini boarding school for elite youth football players while the SSE programs also evolved into similar entities for elite youth athletes of other sports. Both structures sought to school, socialize, and train gifted athletes, and to imprint upon their young charges the importance of community and citizenship. By the late 1980s and early 1990s the center of formation had become the preferred model for combining youth sports training and scholastic education to produce socialized young citizens who won major athletic honors for France.

Although these structures were successful in terms of producing better athletic results and seemingly integrating the youth into society, the question emerged as to who were the winners in such structures. This was particularly the case when contemplating the position of the youth players of the centers of formation, who oftentimes found themselves signing contracts nearly as draconian in terms of labor restrictions as those that the professional players protested in May 1968.

The SSEs and centers of formation reflected the close association of youth and sport, the first such effort since the Vichy Regime. The October 1975 Mazeaud Law claimed sport was a valuable cultural element, one that the state was responsible to teach and develop, and helped distance youth sports programs from the taint of Vichy.[407] It was also responsible for helping to foster a national sports culture that valued athletics as an integral part of education.

The two youth programs investigated in this chapter were revolutionary for the attempt to integrate the youth into society. In this regard, sports were used to instill an appreciation not only for democracy, but also the tendencies to obey authority, to follow the rules, and the belief that one can advance through hard work and one's merits. Moreover, team sports such as football and basketball reinforced the concepts of citizenship (community) and teamwork.

These sports programs were also revolutionary in that they were a marked departure from the traditional French school day schedule with their emphases on sport. The SSE and center of formation sought to create elite athletes, and consequently created

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[407] Mazeaud Law, October 29, 1975. *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, October 30, 1975, 11180.

an elite youth that had special education privileges. This was significant for a country that prided itself on egalitarianism. Though there were longstanding exceptions to equality, such as the elite schools and universities that cultivated the nation's brightest minds, sport was never an area in which the French applied such elite privileges. That the French were willing to launch such novel youth sports programs was reflective of the urgent desire to produce athletes to regain the nation's honor through sports.

Finding documentation to provide full details of each program's evolution is difficult for a number of reasons. First, the Ministry of Youth and Sport archives have a 30-year moratorium, so that the latest year available is 1978. Second, the football and basketball federations did not keep internal archives on the evolution of these programs. The records of individual SSEs were not readily available, and the centers of formation at Lens, Marseille, and Rennes claimed that they had no archival material that they could release to the public. Third, although there was initial press coverage, especially in *L'Équipe*, of these programs in the 1970s, once the novelty wore off around 1984, press coverage of the SSEs and centers of formation died out. Thus, aside from the occasional article in the later 1980s and early 1990s, there is little press documentation of the changes made within the SSE and center of formation structures after 1984. Lastly, only a few former athletes were able to speak to me during the time I was in France and provide a more intimate portrait of their experiences in the youth development programs. Greater funding would have resulted in more interviews with a greater diversity of former players. Despite these setbacks, the available government and federation papers, press accounts, and published memoirs provide glimpses of what the SSEs and centers of

formation looked like in their early years. Moreover, thanks to information provided by directors of two centers of formation, officials, coaches, and doctors from the FFF, FFBB, INSEP, and the Ministry of Youth and Sport, there is some evidence of how and why these programs changed over time. What follows are two examples of how the French addressed the youth and sports crises of the 1960s.

Sport-Study Sections

Speaking in February 1975 to *L'Équipe*, former track and field Olympian Robert Bobin said, "we have known for a long time that in our country, the sociological context for the practice of elite sport is not very favorable."[408] When asked how to detect new talent for elite-level sports competitions, he stated that, "in this regard, the multiplication of sport-study sections is greatly desirable."[409]

The sport-study section was the government's endeavor to allow talented young athletes to have greater time for sports practice, while ensuring that the academic life of the student was not sacrificed. The goal of the SSE was to:

> Give [the students] the best chance possible to obtain their diplomas, while also allowing for the organization of physical training adapted to the practice of sport at the elite level and participation in competitions.[410]

The program was designed to do so through an emphasis upon academics, athletics, and overall health within the structure of the public high schools, funded by the state, and overseen by the Ministry of Youth and Sport's Elite Sport Bureau.

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[408] At the time, Bobin was also part of the Olympic preparation committee for France. Robert Pariente, "Inventaire immediate et horizon 80," *L'Équipe*, February 11, 1975, 2.
[409] Ibid.
[410] "Letter from the Secretariat of State Responsible to the Ministry of National Education charged with Youth and Sport to academy rectors, etc, dated May 8, 1974," 2. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installation 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.

The creation of the sport-study sections was the initiative of the Ministry of Youth and Sport. It was conceived of after studying the youth sports models of other countries, particularly that of East Germany (GDR). East German youth sports programs were run by the state and specialized in training promising youths to become experts in their area of athletic specialty. The GDR format began athletic preparations at an early age so as to ingrain and perfect the skills and techniques needed for each sport. These youth sports schools were entirely subsidized by the state, which provided the technical coaching, athletic equipment, and medical supervision required to produce the highest caliber athlete.[411] By the 1970s this system produced athletes who gained fame and honors for East Germany at the Olympics and other major international competitions. While the French admired the East German system, the Ministry of Youth and Sport shied away from a total-sports mentality.

The Ministry also examined the youth training model run by the French ski federation, which as early as the 1950s established programs to encourage greater youth participation.[412] From these models, a solution emerged: to create time in the school day during which students could receive needed practice and coaching in their given sport, to compete in competitions, and to use state and federation funding to offset any prohibitive costs. As originally conceived, the SSE was a hybrid of the GDR system and the American sports model, which relied upon high schools and institutions of higher

[411] It is now common knowledge that the East German sports machine included a program of doping for most of its elite athletes, especially swimmers.
[412] The ski programs were successful by the 1960s as the French ski team began to win the top medals and competitions in international skiing.

education to mold and train athletes. While the first SSEs were opened at the start of the 1973-74 school year, it was not until 1974-75 that they started to develop.

The Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Youth and Sport had ultimate control over the SSEs, but the sports federations played significant roles in deciding where to open sport-study sections, what athletic regimen would be followed, and who coached each SSE section. A sport federation's National Technical Director (DTN) compiled a list of schools, towns, or areas that were desirable for an SSE in their sport. This list was influenced by such factors as where each sport's elite youth players were located, and the availability of coaching personnel to staff SSEs.[413] Thus, from the start the SSEs were intimate cooperative relationships between the government and the private sports federations. As Col. Marceau Crespin, a longtime presence in sport direction in France, wrote in 1974, "the sports federations are the only ones with the power to judge the desirable grid of national territory and the local function of their elite."[414]

A town that wanted an SSE had to submit a dossier application to the Ministry of Youth and Sport. The regional and departmental outposts of the Ministry of Youth and Sport reviewed each dossier and decided which towns were to receive SSEs based upon the town environment, communication and administrative infrastructure, and sports equipment and terrains available for use and their condition. Another consideration was

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[413] "Letter of December 18, 1974 to Academy rectors, regional directors of youth and sport, departmental directors of youth and sport, inspectors of pedagogy, regional and national directors of establishments, and the presidents of the federations from Marceau Crespin, Secretary of State responsible to the Ministry of the Quality of Life (Youth and Sport)," 2. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[414] Ibid, 3.

whether school administrators were fully supportive of the project, and if their schools were suited to supporting an SSE. Ministry officials particularly preferred schools with space to dedicate a private study room for exclusive use by the students of the sport-study section.[415] A group of representatives from the Ministry of National Education, the Secretariat of State for Youth and Sport, and the National Committee of French Olympic Sport made the final decision as to which schools would receive a sport-study section and in which sport, although they were greatly swayed by input from the individual sports federations.[416]

In 1974, the sport-study sections were divided into different categories: regional, inter-regional, and national. At the regional level, there were to be numerous sport-study sections, with the objective that they serve as a "detection of talent" to feed into the rest of the system.[417] The inter-regional sections were for players labeled "*espoirs*" (hopefuls), with a maximum of six sections for each sport. Finally, there was one national sport-study section per sport to bring together the best possible youth talent to make up the youth national team. There was one national section for boys and one for girls in most sports, although sports that were traditionally more male-orientated, such as football, did not have female sport-study sections until much later. In total, for the 1973-74 school year (first year of the SSE programs), 56 sport-study sections were created, enrolling 1,000 boys and girls.[418]

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[415] Ibid.
[416] Ibid.
[417] "Letter from the Secretariat of State Responsible to the Ministry of National Education charged with Youth and Sport to academy rectors, etc, dated May 8, 1974," 3. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installation 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[418] "Grenoble et Annecy: ça tourne," *L'Équipe*, November 19, 1975, 5.

Recruitment of students into a regional SSE was local as each school had to enroll students for the program. Oftentimes this occurred by the school placing ads in local or sports-centered newspapers and magazines. The lack of a universal or consistent recruitment program held back the development of the SSE structure in its early years. The programs did not attract as many students as they could have with a more comprehensive enrollment campaign.

Once students expressed interest, they had to meet certain criteria to be accepted into the SSE programs. The "General Convention Regarding the Sport-Study Sections," a memorandum from the Ministry of Youth and Sport in April 1974 stipulated that each SSE student be a good student and athlete in addition to passing medical tests. The athletic criteria qualifications were up to the national sports federations to determine.[419] Students who did not fit these criteria were dropped from the program. Thus, retention of SSE students was a problem that hindered the initial development of these programs. For the 1974-75 academic year, there were 54 sport-study sections.[420] This slight decrease reflected the difficulties of student retention, mostly relating to academic reasons.[421]

Football, the country's most popular team sport, had 5.5% of the overall SSE enrollment for 1974-75, whereas alpine skiing had the highest (21.2%) followed by swimming (14.2%).[422] By this time, football had three SSEs with a total of 56 boys aged

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[419] "General Convention Regarding the Sport-Study Sections," April 16, 1974, 2. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[420] Most of the sport-study sections active during this year were tennis SSEs (10), followed by skiing (8), track and field (7), and swimming (6). BO No-27 (10-7-75), 2161-2169. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[421] BO No-27 (10-7-75), 2161-2169. CAC Archives, Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[422] "General Convention Regarding the Sport-Study Sections," dated April 16, 1974, 2. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.

14 to 18, older than most sports.[423] Some sports, such as gymnastics and swimming, enrolled students as young as 10 years old. Although football had few problems recruiting students to its SSEs, it had great difficulties in retaining them. Football had the second-highest dropout rates amongst all SSE programs, with 27 students who dropped out after the first year, due to a combination of scholastic and athletic reasons.[424]

Regional SSE students lived at home, attended their local school, and took classes with their non-athletic peers. The majority of SSEs in the 1970s were associated with classic high schools (liberal-arts curriculum) rather than with technical high schools (those that strove to teach their pupils a *métier*).[425] Thus, most SSE students prepared for the *bac* exam, the point of entry into a well-paying job or university.

Academics were vital components of the program. Many parents were originally wary of allowing their children increased time for sports, out of fear for their child's scholastic career and future.[426] To this group, the SSE was a good option. For Pierre Mazeaud, academics first then athletics was the purpose of the SSE program. In a talk with *Le Monde* in March 1977, Mazeaud noted how sport could complement academics:

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[423] Typically, football players began training later than other sports so as to have greater maturity on the field. Ibid.

[424] Four dropped out for scholastic insufficiency, 16 for athletic insufficiency, five because they stopped their studies all together, and two for unknown reasons. Alpine skiing was the only other sport with higher drop-out rates that year, tallying a loss 29 students, although it started with significantly more students (217). Ibid.

[425] "Letter from M. Ardisson, under-director of Physical Education and Sports to the Director of Physical Education and Sports, dated June 1975," 1. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.

[426] "Man and champion: for a statut of the athlete of elite level" undated but in a folder of 1977 materials. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.

> Sport is increasingly considered part of a privileged education in the world. This education is, of course, focused on developing the body, but mainly on control, the sense of the team, and loyalty.[427]

Students who earned admission were not to be given any special consideration by their teachers. They were to take normal classes with the rest of the students and were not to have a modified scholastic curriculum. The SSE structure sought to avert disturbances, such as SSE student-athletes interrupting their studies for sport or being treated differently by their peers (seen as an elite cadre). Yet, from the start the SSE students were treated differently from the others.

For example, the composition of the school day was different for SSE students. While non-SSE students took music or art classes, the SSE students had specialized athletic training. Practices were run several times a week by a licensed EPS teacher, usually designated by that sport's federation or from one of the local clubs. At the outset, government regulations stipulated that between eleven and thirteen hours each week should be devoted to practice.[428] This did not include additional time spent practicing or playing in matches for the youth's after school club team, as most SSE students did. Additionally, as noted earlier, many SSEs had special rooms that were used as study halls for their student-athletes, often times with a teacher available to help tutor them, a privilege that set them apart.[429]

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[427] "Question Ecrite: Letter Against Violence: Development of Sport" December 13, 1977 – notes that M. Jean Francou demanded of Mazeaud to clarify and elaborate as to why he felt that sport could help deter violence. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.
[428] "General Convention Regarding the Sport-Study Sections," dated April 16, 1974, 2. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[429] "Letter of December 18, 1974 to Academy rectors, regional directors of youth and sport, departmental directors of youth and sport, inspectors of pedagogy, regional and national directors of establishments, and the presidents of the federations from Marceau Crespin, Secretary of State responsible to the Ministry of

SSE students also had greater medical supervision than their peers. One of the provisions of the SSE's mission was to ensure that student-athletes had the proper medical certification to attest that they were in good physical condition and able to play without any risk to their health. Physicians were assigned by the Ministry of Youth and Sport to monitor the SSE students. According to a recruitment notice placed by the school in Lievin in the February-March 1979 edition of *Basket-Ball*, the official publication of the FFBB, medical supervision consisted of a thrice-a-year physical examination at a sports-medical center so as to monitor health and allow for "the rapid detection of physiological reactions or physical abnormalities."[430] Medical supervision was important given the amount of time devoted to sport and coincided with the early growth of sports medicine within France, examined in greater detail in Chapter Eight. Thus, despite the assurances that the SSE students were treated just the same as everyone else at school, from the beginning they were granted special status.

Some sports received greater attention and importance in the creation of their SSEs than others, such as the more popular sports. Yet, in the early years all SSEs had difficulties in establishing themselves. Football struggled to retain students, but basketball also had problems. In planning for the 1974-75 school year, the FFBB felt that it was not yet ready for an SSE as their target towns, Poitiers, Antibes, and Clermont-Ferrand, already had SSEs in other disciplines. The FFBB realized that it would have to compete for students in these towns with other, more popular sports and felt that it was at

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the Quality of Life (Youth and Sport)," 3. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.

[430] "Les sections sport-études," *Basket-Ball*, 468, February-March 1979, 24.

a natural disadvantage.[431] It took another year for the FFBB to be convinced of its ability to enroll enough students to open a basketball SSE. For the 1975-76 academic year two basketball SSEs were inaugurated: an inter-regional one for girls in Clermont-Ferrand, and a regional one for boys in Ambois, with 20 students each. [432]

By 1979 there were three basketball SSEs within France, two boy's sections (Lievin and Castres) and the Clermont-Ferrand section for girls. In each of these SSEs, the students attended regular classes while training for two hours a day, five days a week.[433] Athletic training was provided by an EPS teacher licensed by the FFBB. Scholastically, most students of the basketball sport-study sections prepared for the *bac*. The number of basketball SSEs increased and by February 1982 there were four SSEs devoted to boys (69 students) and three for girls (49), a tremendous increase.[434] This trend continued into the early 1980s and was a reflection of the growing popularity of the SSE program.

Despite its early hesitations, the FFBB became a full participant in the sport-study program for several reasons. The FFBB was not as large or as powerful as other federations, notably the FFF, in terms of clout within the government, money available for the development of its own training programs, and in its ability to attract players. Thus, by embracing the government's SSE program the FFBB could reach out to larger numbers of youths. By the start of the 1970s, the FFBB acknowledged that the failure to

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[431] "Sections Sport-Études, Reunion de February 11, 1974," 2. Center for Contemporary Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[432] BO No-27 (10-7-75), 2161-2169. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[433] "Les sections sport-études," *Basket-Ball*, 468, February-March 1979, 23.
[434] "Les sections sport-études," *Basket-Ball*, January-February 1982, 23.

recruit enough tall youths to the sport was a problem and perhaps a factor in the national teams' inability to win titles at international competitions.[435] The FFBB felt that the SSE structure was in basketball's best interests and thus it was more receptive to the SSEs.

If the FFBB was originally hesitant and then warmed significantly towards the sport-study structure, the FFF adopted the opposite tactic. The FFF was at the outset very supportive of opening football SSEs. In January 1974, FFF President Fernand Sastre wrote to the Secretariat of State for Youth and Sport that,

> The importance of our discipline (15,000 clubs), 1,000,000 licenses, and 1,000 athletes of the elite level, gives us the vision of a grand effort of formation. The sport-study sections give us the best possible way to organize this formation without disturbing the studies of our best youths. We envision and demand the creation of sport-study sections in our large football centers. We are ready to furnish or to reinforce the sports supervision staff and to authorize the utilization of our installations and materials if that simplifies certain problems.[436]

Despite this initial enthusiasm, the French government was aware that SSEs were not "miracle solutions," and that much more would be needed to turn around the sports situation within the country.[437] As far as the government was concerned, the SSEs would serve as a middle ground for detecting and training talent, below the elite athletes of the highest level yet above the general base level of recruitment into sports clubs. The success of the SSE from the very beginning, was closely intertwined with cooperation

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[435] Gérard Bosc, interview with the author, Paris, France, April 2006.
[436] "Letter from Fernand Sastre to the Secretariat of State for Youth and Sport, dated January 23, 1974." Center for Contemporary Archives, Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.
[437] "Report of the Synthesis of the Reunion for December 1st" undated document. Center for Contemporary Archives, Installment 19850550 Article 10 Sport Study Sections 1973.

from not only the national government, but also the sports federations and the local governments and districts.

The importance of football in France cannot be underestimated. Throughout this formative period of youth sports training, football played an important role. Although in 1975 there were only three football SSEs to train 56 boys, by the following academic year, 1975-76, there were seven football sport-study sections that trained 157 boys within the major football-playing regions of France: Rennes, Lens, Mérignac, Nîmes, Rouen, Strasbourg, and Troyes.[438] Despite government support, the FFF felt that it had better ways to train the next generation. Football was not only the most popular sport in France by the 1970s, but also the most powerful. As such, the FFF turned the bulk of its efforts, energy, and money to focus upon its own internal system for grooming future elite footballers.

The FFF and the Need for a Different Youth Structure

The state of French football by the early 1970s left much to be desired. It was a source of embarrassment that the French national team failed to qualify for the 1962 and 1970 World Cups after placing third at the 1958 competition.[439] In 1973 the FFF appointed Stéfan Kovacs as the national team manager. Originally from Romania, Kovacs studied the state of French football and determined that French players lacked

[438] This was perhaps a reflection of the fact that football was traditionally a male-orientated sport; it is only since the 1990s that it has grown in popularity amongst female spectators and players and thus obtained SSEs more recently. Rennes was an interregional sport-study section, originally opened in 1974 with 27 places.

[439] The national team also failed to qualify for the 1974 Germany World Cup, adding fuel to the fire.

technical expertise, that they "were not trained to the idea of sport and the taste of effort."[440]

Kovacs believed that French players were trained to complete sophisticated passes at the expense of speed. This style of play was the hallmark of French football and, since the 1920s, was known as *football-champagne*. The French style was so termed due to its characterization of being light, effervescent, and spontaneous, often with complicated maneuvering. Greater emphasis, Kovacs argued, upon perfecting technique and simplifying moves would increase the tempo of the game and thus competitiveness.[441] At the time, the average age of entry into professional/elite football was 20-25, an age deemed too late to begin a thorough training program. Thus, Kovacs advocated for development of players at an earlier age.[442] The FFF agreed but wanted firm control over the training and frequency of practices of its young players. Although the FFF continued to support the football SSE programs, it wanted to implement its own youth training program.

The main obstacle to this was the French academic system: long days of academics, notable for the absence of dedicated time for sports. As former director of the football youth center in Sochaux Pierre Tournier noted, "the absence in the school day [of sport] was a handicap, especially in comparison with what was occurring with some of our European neighbors."[443]

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[440] Pierre Tournier and J-Ph. Réthacker, *La formation du footballeur: comment devenir joueur professionnel*, (Paris: Éditions Amphora, 1999), 18.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Ibid.
[443] Ibid, 21.

According to Roland Gransart, the director of the center of formation at Olympique de Marseille (OM) since 1980, the FFF's centers of formation were inspired by the training programs of East Germany.[444] The French and East German configurations had similar elements in common: the congregation of prospective youth athletes in one area with a dedicated team of professionals to support them; housing provided free of charge to the players; sports equipment at minimal or no cost to the players; and the time and means to devote themselves entirely to sport. Yet, the French systems remained different from those of East Germany in that they were not totalitarian in nature, taught democracy and democratic attributes, and emphasized community and citizenship.

The center of formation was more like an apprentice training ground rather than a factory to produce elite caliber athletes, such as in the GDR. Although private, the French centers of formation were partially funded (at least in the beginning) by federal or municipal monies, thus breaking the full idea of "amateurism" that was a large part of the debate over the role of sport in France of the 1960s.

The first football centers of formation were launched in 1973, the brainchild of football DTN Georges Boulogne. A man who had spent his life in the game of football as a player and a coach, Boulogne is known as the father of modern French football for the revolution in youth formation that he created.[445] His centers of formation took into account Kovacs's suggestions and were conceived of as a solution to the lack of football glory.

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[444] Roland Gransart, interview with the author, Marseille, France, June 2007.
[445] Pierre Rochcongar, M.D., interview with the author, Rennes, France, June 2007.

It took time for the center of formation structure to evolve. In their infancy, the centers focused less upon academics and traditional learning and more upon athletics and teaching mechanical skills to their young players. During this formative period, teenaged boys were recruited and signed to a contract of apprenticeship with a professional football team. Throughout their time at the center, a collection of professionally licensed coaches, physicians, and trainers were on hand to ensure that their players developed physically and psychologically to the game. From the beginning, general social integration was a concern. The centers of formation, it was hoped, would teach their pupils the craft of football and also provide them with the ability to reintegrate themselves into French society after their sports careers ended. Academics were not a priority.

In France, the school-leaving age was 16, so the FFF in the 1970s did not recruit younger players. Thus, the early centers of formation did not have to, nor did they, focus upon academic support and preparation. This changed during the late 1970s and 1980s as football training evolved. Once the centers of formation started to produce successful players, professional teams began to recruit players as young as 14 or 15 years old into the training programs so that they could have a competitive edge in mastering the skills of the game. This necessitated the incorporation of academics into the training of elite young footballers and during the 1980s academics grew to be an integral component in the centers of formation.

The centers of formation were not the first attempt at a structured youth football development. As early as 1945 there were football centers of apprenticeship in which

young teenagers could train to become better football players. Nonetheless, these centers of apprenticeship were never as ambitious as Boulogne's centers, nor were they as widespread. What began as a bare-bones program in 1973 grew increasingly sophisticated with time.

In the late 1970s it was clear that the FFF centers of formation were a revolutionary way to train youth athletes, and by the early 1980s other sports, including basketball and the government's SSEs, sought to incorporate some of the center of formation elements into their own youth sports programs. Most importantly, the centers of formation appeared to have solved the twin dilemmas that confounded France at the start of the 1970s: the youth and sports crises. By the early 1980s the centers of formation began to produce high quality players who made France a formidable force in international football competitions.

Football Centers of Formation

Despite a slow start, the centers of formation grew in numbers throughout the 1970s. The first center of formation was inaugurated in 1973 at Nancy.[446] By 1975 several other clubs launched their own centers of formation, including Nîmes, Monaco, Marseille, Dunkerque, Red Star, St. Etienne, Nantes, Valenciennes, Nice, Lens, Lyon, Paris Saint-German, Bordeaux, Sochaux, Metz, Strasbourg, and Troyes. The number swelled to 38 by 1986, as after 1976 the FFF required that all Division 1 teams have a

[446] Ibid.

youth formation center.[447] According to Roland Gransart, the director of the football youth formation center at Olympique de Marseille since 1980, 1976 was the time when the concept of the center of formation began to evolve to reinforce "performance and team talent."[448]

Some clubs, such as Sochaux and Nantes, invested heavily in their youth centers during the 1970s and thus gained an early reputation for producing quality players. Yet, for many clubs, the early centers of formation existed on paper but not in practice.[449] For these clubs, another decade would pass before they began to build their youth formation centers into entities that could supply talent for the senior professional and national teams.

The young men who had enough talent and desire to become football players tried out for the center of formation and, if lucky, were selected to sign a contract. During the 1970s, clubs were allowed to sign youths aged 16 to 23 although, starting with the 1979-80 season, players as young as 15 or older than 23 could also be signed.[450] The players were considered amateurs and were treated much like apprentice technicians as they learned the ropes of their craft. The contractual restrictions placed upon players ensured that young talent was not poached by another team. This was reminiscent of the professional football players' campaign during the 1960s to earn a more liberal contract that would ease restrictions on transfers and ability to play for other teams. The occupation of the FFF's headquarters in May 1968 alerted French football authorities to

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[447] In 1976 the FFF stipulated that every Division 1 team was required to have its own center of formation; however, teams who were promoted to D1 that year had up to two years from the date of their ascent to establish their center of formation. Division 1 was the top division of play within the French professional leagues.
[448] Gransart, June 2007.
[449] Tournier and Réthacker, 117.
[450] *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF, 1979-80 Season, 121-122.

this labor issue and in 1969 a new professional contract was awarded to players. After the 1972 footballer's strike, the FFF also drew up a new set of statures to govern professional football. Yet, few of these gains were absorbed by the youth formation system, thus causing a generation of youth development players to yearn for more liberal apprentice contracts. According to Ludovic DeBru, a former professional player who entered the center of formation at Cannes in 1980, "at the time we were prisoners of the system."[451]

As the reputation of the centers of formation grew, so, too did the number of players signed. In the late 1970s, each youth formation center had to sign at least 10 but no more than 18 players.[452] In 1986 the average number of players at each center was 18, while the following year it was closer to 22.[453] As Tournier recalled, "the first players engaged in the centers of formation were regarded as curious beasts by all the players of the club."[454] They occupied a peculiar place in that they were better than most youth players but still apprentices.

The centers of formation were paternalistic in that they watched over the boys in their care and tried to protect them from the sport's harsher aspects, such as lack of success or physical injury due to long practices or games. Each August, the FFF published the sport's guidelines in *Statute of the Professional Player* (*Statute du Joueur Pro*), which, starting in 1978, included lengthy descriptions of the functions, structure,

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[451] Ludovic DeBru, interview with the author, Paris, France, June 2007.
[452] *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF. 1978-79 Season, 4.
[453] Tournier and Réthacker, 129-131. In 2008, the average number of players who are signed and housed by a center of formation within the D1 level fell between 30 and 40; Stade Rennais had 34 boys for the 2006-07 season who lived at the center and 21 additional "day" players who lived at home. Estelle Gicquel, interview with the author, Rennes, France, June 2007.
[454] According to Pierre Tournier, there was not excessive interaction between the center of formation players and members of the clubs' senior team. Tournier and Réthacker, 36.

and goal of all football centers of formation.[455] In examining these directives, it is clear that the FFF tried to produce socialized young men in addition to talented athletes. The players were taught to respect authority, to play and live by the prescribed center rules, to work together in team harmony and cooperation, and to work for their rewards and promotion.

The rule that set the tone was Article 17, which stipulated that each club act like "a good family father to the aspiring player, to monitor his conduct and his mores, either in the club or outside of it, and to notify his parents or legal representatives should he commit any misconduct."[456] This supervision was to be at every level and the center of formation director was firmly in control.[457] The FFF ensured that the centers molded young players athletically and trained them to be good citizens within the wider community, one solution to the "youth crisis" of the 1960s.

The young men who were signed to the center of formation came from different parts of France, though there was a natural affinity towards clubs that were close to a player's familial home. For DeBru, who was 16 when he began his center of formation training, 30-40% of the 20-30 players in his center were not from the immediate region around Cannes.[458] Some of the young players were from abroad. For example, in 1987, there were youths from as far away as Yugoslavia and Cote d'Ivoire at the center of formation at Stade Rennais Football Club, the professional club in Rennes.[459] Thus, there

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[455] In France, the professional football season runs from August through May the following year, often times with a break around the Christmas and New Year's holidays. In the 1970s and early 1980s this mid-season break lasted until February.
[456] *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF, 1978-79 Season, 7.
[457] Ibid, 7.
[458] DeBru, June 2007.
[459] Patrick Rampillon, interview with the author, Rennes, France, June 2007.

was need to house the boys who did not live close enough to return home to their families every night.

Some of the early solutions were boarding players in town at youth hostels or in houses purchased by the team, but the more practical solution was for the team to construct a building to house the players at the club's complex. In the 1970s many of these structures were erected quickly and were not the most comfortable of environments. Joël Bats, a former player, entered the Sochaux center of formation in 1974 when he was 17 years old. He recalled that "the decoration was depressing. It was an ensemble of three buildings, elevated barracks… The buildings in which we were to be housed had the allure of recycled concentration camps."[460] During the 1980s most clubs, flush with the influx of cash brought by television broadcasting rights, were able to construct larger, more elaborate housing centers for their youth players. In 1981 the Sochaux center of formation moved its youths to more comfortable conditions: two houses built next to the stadium.[461] Stade Rennais constructed a new center in 1987 to house its youth players, directly adjacent to the club's stadium and training complex, and funded by the club and the municipal authorities.[462] Over the next decade, most clubs followed suit. Not all players lived at the designated quarters; players who lived nearby reported each morning to the center of formation. But, by encouraging the young men to live and train together, it was hoped that the center of formation would become more than a team, that it would become a family and a community in which every person, no matter how young, learned the concepts of citizenship.

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[460] "La formation, une nécessité," *L'Équipe*, January 11, 1989, 5.
[461] Ibid, 5.
[462] Rampillon, June 2007.

The center director was responsible for supervising the boys, and there was always an authoritative adult on site at all hours to monitor the players. Some, such as Estelle Gicquel, the on-site guardian at the Stade Rennais center of formation since 1990, became a den mother to the boys in her care.[463] She ensured that they were up on time, that their homework was completed, and that they ate enough and obtained rest to fuel their grueling schedules. As the FFF starting in the 1980s allowed the recruitment of boys as young as 13 or 14, these adult figures became more integral and necessary.

The boys in the early centers of formation were at least 16 and thus released from education obligations so the FFF in the 1970s focused upon providing the players with a strong athletic foundation, not an academic one. [464] This began to change by the late 1970s as the FFF grappled with the question of how to provide young players with the tools needed to earn a living if they were not signed to a professional contract, if injury prematurely ended their athletic career, or for when they eventually retired from the game. To this end, the FFF created the *CAP Métiers du Football* in 1978, which was a degree track that taught the subjects needed for a career in football, such as English and anatomy. It also included subjects such as economics and administration to help players enter the world of business upon termination of their athletic careers.

The establishment of this CAP program allowed for greater academics by the end of the 1970s and paved the way for greater emphasis upon academics.[465] When the system began to recruit younger players in the 1980s, it was acknowledged that a

[463] Gicquel, June 2007.
[464] The age at which students could abandon their studies in France was 16.
[465] Tournier and Rethacker, 100.

scholastic education could benefit players both on and off the field.[466] This reflected parental sentiment of the 1960s concerning the debate over more time devoted to athletics in school. In the 1980s, parental pressure forced clubs to embrace a greater emphases upon academics.[467]

The trend towards a greater inclusion of scholarity within the centers of formation was solidified by the 1989 Sastre Mission, a study undertaken by former FFF president Fernand Sastre on the state and strengths of the centers of formation. Sastre's findings dictated that, "the happy marriage of sporting activity and intellectual training is likely to better equip a youth mentally for the various confrontations to come, and eventually, in case he fails [to become a professional footballer], for his employability."[468]

In the early years, it was typical for the younger players to attend classes at the local high school in town. This changed with time. So that young players could meet both their training and academic demands, teachers were brought from town to the centers of formation to instruct the young men. Thus, much in the same way that the SSE programs in avertedly created an elite group of athletic teenagers who received specialized scholastic, athletic, and medical provisions, so too did the FFF's centers of formation.

As the focus turned towards an academic education in the 1980s, the clubs adapted even more. FC Nantes established a private school for their center of formation in 1986 in order to meet the challenges of providing a better scholastic solution. The school allowed students to spend 16 hours on academics each week and up to 20 on

[466] Rampillon, June 2007.
[467] Tournier and Rethacker, 100.
[468] Ibid, 101.

athletic training.[469] The personalized attention provided by the academic staff allowed students to prepare and sit for the *bac* exam if they desired. In September 1989, five of Nantes' center of formation students sat for the *bac* exam and three passed.[470] Other clubs followed suit, and by the late 1990s and early 2000s it was common for all centers of formation to have their own on-site school with a permanent staff of educators.[471] As Sébastian Crete, director of the private school at Stade Rennais, noted, "there have been many, many advances in this regards over the past 20 years."[472] In the 1970s the centers of formation emphasized football and then citizenship; however, by the 1980s the emphasis shifted to academics, citizenship, and then football.[473] Clubs without a private school sent their players to the local high schools to complete their education (often past the age of 16). Such players returned to the center of formation around 4pm each day for their daily training sessions.[474]

As the shift towards academic formation demonstrated, the FFF and the clubs were increasingly concerned with the question of what the center of formation players would do after leaving the center. It was accepted that not all of them would become professional players. During the 1980s, the question of what a footballer does after his career (or training) ends continuously occupied football authorities. To this end, part of the contract that the FFF signed was the promise to aid in the re-conversion of

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[469] Patrick Dessault, "Nantes, le cinq étoiles de la formation," *L'Équipe*, October 25, 1989, 25.
[470] The students were allowed to take their BAC in September rather than June so that they could play for the national youth team in the summer international tournaments. Ibid, 25.
[471] The school at Stade Rennais, ETP Odorico, was established in 1996 and since that time, Rennes' center of formation is consistently ranked by the FFF as being the best in terms of players who sign professional contracts *and* the numbers of players who sit for and pass the BAC exam. Rampillon, June 2007.
[472] Sébastien Crete, interview with the author, Rennes, France, June 2007.
[473] Ibid.
[474] Tournier and Réthacker, 101.

professional players at the termination of their careers. The FFF was committed to aiding former players find a career after football. In many cases, this translated into a life-long career in football, if not as a player, then moving into positions of administration, coaching, detection, or equipment sales. Increasingly former players were recruited by sports equipment manufacturing companies to sell products, an indication of the growth of athletics within the broader French public over the 1970s and 1980s.

Resources of the Center of Formation

The resources of the center of formation were numerous. A center of formation had to have at least two training fields at its disposal, one of which had to be grass. Other requirements for each center of formation included owning mobile goals with which the young players could practice, having a surface for circuit training and a trench for training the goalies. Also, there were to be heated locker rooms that contained showers, a weight room, a communal shower area with a sauna, a fully equipped medical cabinet, a cabin for massages, a club house or foyer for the center's youth players, and at least 30 footballs in good condition.[475] Each season the FFF's national technical division examined and evaluated each center of formation to ensure that they were up to par and on regulation.

The "family" of young players cultivated by the center of formation was overseen by a cast of professionals. The young players lived and trained together under the surveillance of the center's director and were supervised by a doctor who was certified in sports medicine. According to the *Statute of Professional Players*, each center of

[475] *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF, 1978-79 Season, 15.

formation was to have a minimum of three technicians (coaches), a personal trainer dedicated to the center of formation players (and not shared with the professional club), and the availability of one or two masseuses.[476]

Life at a Center of Formation

The daily life of a center of formation player was tightly regimented, with little free time. It was not easy to balance all of the activities of a center of formation around training and game time, and so the center of formation schedule was rigid. Even the FFF acknowledged that the required hours of practice "excludes the possibility for a player to normally follow his studies in a scholarly establishment," which was initially why academic pursuits were not an important factor.[477] For example, at F.C. Sochaux in the late 1970s the day began with breakfast at 7am and was followed by two hours' worth of morning courses in accountancy, math, economics, anatomy, English, and administrative education, topics that were considered useful to a football player in his career. From 9:45am until noontime, there was athletic training prior to the lunch hour and a post-lunch "rest" period, which lasted until 1:30pm. The afternoon was a combination of French class and more practice time before dinner at 7pm.[478]

[476] Ibid.
[477] *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF. 1978-79 Season, 7.
[478] Tournier and Rethacker, 72.

Sample Center of Formation Schedule, F.C. Sochaux.[1]

	Monday	**Tuesday**	**Wednesday**	**Thursday**	**Friday**	**Saturday**
7-7:45am	Breakfast and Washing Up					
7:45-9:45am	Accountancy	Administrative Organization	Resistance Training	Maths/Economics	Anatomy and Physiology	English
9:45am-12pm	Endurance/Stretching	Technique and Tactics	Minimes: Training Others: French or Maths	Technique and Tactics	9am-11am: Speed, Master Displacements; 11am-12pm: Law and Civic Institutions	9am-11am: Foot exercises; 11am-12pm: cleanup of the center
12-1:30pm	Lunch and Rest					
1:30-2:30pm	French	French	Football School (until 4:30)	2-3pm: Football Technique		Rest or match
2:30-4:30pm	3pm-4:30: technical perfection or scrimmages	Weight Training or working on motor abilities			Supervised homework	
5:45-7pm	English	English	Rest	5-5:45pm French	Rest	
7pm	Dinner					

[1] Tournier and Rethacker, 72.

DeBru completed high school while at the center of formation in Cannes. For his first year (when he was 16) in 1980, he had practice at the center of formation five times a week after school; by age 17 or 18, practices increased to seven sessions weekly, Monday through Friday.[479] The club organized this schedule and, although DeBru stated that he had "a normal scholastic experience" without privileges, he acknowledged that "we did not have the same type of free time as normal teenagers," due to the heavy scheduling.[480]

When the young players were not studying or practicing, they engaged in leisure-time activities just like "normal" teenagers.[481] Patrick Rampillon, the center director at Stade Rennais since 1987, recalled that the boys in his care during the late 1980s were fond of going to concerts and listening to music in their rooms.[482] Other pursuits were watching television on the set provided by the club in the communal recreation room, going to movies, and "hanging out."[483]

Portrait of a Center of Formation Player

One of the most celebrated footballers in the world today, Lilian Thuram is a good example of how the sport-study section and center of formation provided options for youth athletes. Thuram was born in Guadeloupe in January 1973, and moved to mainland France during his childhood to join his mother. It was while at school in Melun

[479] DeBru, June 2007.
[480] Ibid.
[481] Rampillon, June 2007.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.

that he began his football career in the school's football sport-study section. "To my great delight," he wrote of the program, "I could train every day after classes."[484] For players like Thuram, who originally did not foresee a career as a professional footballer, the sport-study sections had merit. "At the time," he wrote, "I imagined that I would exercise another profession and practice football as a hobby."[485]

Thuram's football talent developed and he was signed to the youth formation center of AS Monaco. For Thuram, family pressure made him focus on earning his *bac*. While he was at AS Monaco, Thuram was one of seven students who prepared for the *bac*, a processes that entailed "exceptional conditions" as he and the others took classes at the center of formation to avoid any displacement, a process he related akin to home tutoring.[486] Like many immigrant families, Thuram and his family saw the *bac* as the gateway to a good paying job, one that could realize the family dream of owning a house and entering a different social universe.[487]

In this specific example, the evolution of the French youth systems of sports training came together to produce their desired result: the identification of a young player who was aided in devoting attention to sport; one who continued to pursue his studies and obtained the *bac*; and a young player who developed into one of the country's best footballers, helping the national team win the 1998 World Cup and the 2000 European Championship. Perhaps Thuram is an exceptional case in that he is an immigrant with French citizenship who was driven to succeed scholastically and athletically. He is noted

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[484] Lilian Thuram with James Burnet, *8 Juillet 1998*, (Paris: Éditions Anne Carrière, 2004), 44.
[485] Ibid, 47.
[486] Ibid, 63.
[487] Ibid, 65.

for making the most appearances on the French national team (142), the most European Championship appearances with his team (16), and for his active political engagement in trying to end racism within sport and society.[488]

Monetary Issues in the Centers of Formation

Part of what made the centers of formation unique was that the clubs paid small stipends to the youths under contract. Within Division 1, for the 1977-78 year, an *aspirant* player in his first contract year received 610 francs per month and a first year *stagiaire* received 1,525 francs.[489] Players who obtained their CAP Métiers du Football degree received an extra five points to their monthly point-salary in acknowledgement of their achievements, while additional points could be earned by players who participated in high level competitions or played for the national youth teams.[490] These sums added up, especially as the value of a point increased each season, by an average of 4-7%. If one point was worth 30.5 francs for the 1977-78 season, by the 1983-84 season it was worth 48 francs; by the 1991-92 season one point was worth 65.50 francs.[491]

These sums enabled young players have funds while training. If they were "internal" players who lived at the center, the club paid for and provided food and

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[488] Thuram retired from his football career at age 36 on August 1, 2008 due to a heart defect that was detected over Summer 2008. "Legend Thuram Calls it Quits," FIFA Website, http://www.fifa.com/worldfootball/clubfootball/news/newsid=836935.html?cid=rssfeed&att=.

[489] *Aspirant* players were signed for two years before being promoted to the *stagiaire* level. *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF, 1977-78 Season.

[490] Ibid, 122.

[491] *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF, 1977-78 Season; *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF, 1983-84 Season, 122-123; *Statut du Joueur Pro*, FFF, 1991-92 Season, 115-116.

lodging, while "external" players received monthly supplements.[492] The club covered all costs related to coaching and training, in addition to those associated with competitions, such as travel to and from matches. The club also provided all equipment, such as cleats, shin guards, and uniforms.[493] Thus, the costs associated with running a center of formation were high for the clubs.

Realities

Starting around 1980 many of the clubs, though their centers of formation began to produce results, encountered fiscal problems, which acted as a brake upon the system.[494] Jean Sadoul, president of the Groupement du Football Professionnel since 1967, noted that in 1978, the average cost of training one player in a center of formation fell between 35,000 francs and 50,000 francs a year.[495] Another expert, Claude Cuny, put the average sum of training a center of formation player for one year at 54,000 francs.[496] According to Cuny, it took three players in a center of formation to produce one professional player, and that on average, one professional player would spend four to five years in a center of formation. Thus, Cuny figured that in 1978 it cost 270,000 francs to form one youth player within a center of formation over a five year period. If it took three players in formation to produce one professional player, then that amounted to a

[492] If a player did not live at the center of formation (if he lived at home) then he received a supplemental sum per month to offset the cost of food and lodging. This was generally worth an extra 350-458 francs per month for the 1977-78 season.
[493] DeBru, June 2007.
[494] Tournier and Rethacker, 122.
[495] *Le Football professionnel et son avenir: session organisée par le Centre de perfectionnement des journalistes (CPJ) et l'Union syndicale des journalistes sportifs de France (USJSF),* (Paris: Imprimerie Quotidienne, 1979), 14.
[496] Ibid, 36.

club cost of 810,000 for every pro player signed.[497] Cuny continued to calculate that if a professional team had 16 players then the average cost of putting that team together was 12,960,000 francs, a very expensive undertaking and thus in part why clubs were struggling to stay out of debt by 1980.[498] "This calculation is honest," he said, "and, I believe, irrefutable. It shows that training is costly and it inevitably leads clubs to bankruptcy. "[499]

The influx of money into the system of professional football in France after 1984 resulted from the introduction of the first private television network, Canal Plus, a business that was prepared to pay top dollar for the rights to transmit live football games to its customers at home. This money was vital in saving the center of formation structure and allowing youth training to proceed, to flourish, and expand.

Results

Costs aside, the reality of the centers of formation was that they were successful in producing better footballers. The first well-known players to emerge from this training system were Patrick Battiston from Metz (1975), and Joël Bats, Eric Benoit, and Bernard Genghini from Sochaux (1977). In looking at the French national team that placed fourth at the 1982 World Cup in Spain, most were products of the centers of formation, including Maxime Bossis (Nantes), Luis Fernandez (Paris Saint-Germain), Didier Six (Valenciennes), Alain Girard (Nîmes), and Michel Platini (Nancy).

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[497] Ibid.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid.

That this Platini generation was cultivated and trained within the center of formation system and attained glory by the grace of football throughout the mid-1980s should speak for the quality of the French program: fourth place at the 1982 World Cup, champions of the 1984 European Championship, gold medalists in the 1984 Summer Olympic football tournament, and third place at the 1986 World Cup in Mexico. The 1982 French World Cup appearance was important not only in announcing the re-emergence of French football, but also in terms of legitimizing it within Europe. Journalists from Germany and Britain noted that 1982 marked the arrival of French football as a dominant force, and this was significant in validating French formation.[500] This was the golden era of French football, and one could argue, of French sport, until the 1998 World Cup win.

It was not just athletic accolades that spoke of the success to the FFF in their youth training structures, but also in the sheer numbers of youths who played the sport. Another result of the youth sports training system in France over the course of the 1970s and 1980s was the significant increase in the growth of sports participation. If in 1960 there were only 417,846 licensed football players within France (youth and adult), by 1970 there were 698,020, by 1980 there were 1,412,718, and by 1990 there were nearly two million licensed players (1,830,000).[501] Although these statistics account for youths and adults with registered football licenses, for the 1981-82 season, out of the 1,456,215

[500] Patrick Urbini, "Le Mundial '82 a tout changé," *L'Équipe*, January 11, 987, 3.
[501] Jean-Pierre Augustin, *Géographie du sport: spatialités contemporaines et mondialisation*, (Paris: Armand Colin, 2007), 50.

licenses granted by the FFF, 655,961 (45%) were given to youths under the age of 17.[502] It is therefore reasonable to conclude that as time progressed, this percentage remained relatively constant, and that the increase in football licenses meant that roughly 800,000 youths were licensed football players by 1990. Within the smaller subset of the football centers of formation, after ten years of operation, the system had trained 702 players and had a total of 217 center of formation players sign professional football contracts with D1 teams, and 110 sign with D2 teams.[503]

Yet, new problems surfaced in training French youth footballers. The decline of French football after the successes of the mid-1980s led many to scapegoat the centers of formation as the reason for this fall from grace. In October 1985 Jean-Claude Suaudeau, the long-time director of the center of formation of Nantes, told *L'Équipe* that one of the problems with the youths in the centers of formation was that they had an individually-inclined mentality and that they did not value team spirit. "Their first ambition is to make money," he said.[504] Pierre Tournier at Sochaux also noticed this shift.

> The first youths who I had in 1974-75 had an admirable spirit with very precise objectives… they hoped to advance together. Today, it is a social phenomenon. The players arrive at the center of formation and think that they have what it takes, that success will come naturally without individual work.[505]

Tournier found that the youths who filled the centers of formation of the mid-1980s lacked personality and were very egotistical. "To be successful," he said, "it is necessary

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[502] Jean-François Nys, *Les subventions municipales aux clubs de football*, (Limoges: A. Bontemps, 1984), 14.
[503] Tournier and Rethacker, 128.
[504] Eric Maitrot, "Suaudeau: 'Des jeunes pressees et compresses,'" *L'Équipe*, October 9, 1985, 3.
[505] Eric Maitrot, "Tourneier: 'Ils n'ont plus faim,'" *L'Équipe*, October 8, 1985, 3.

to be hungry! The youth today are not hungry. Easy money is what motivates them."[506] Similar complaints multiplied. By the late 1980s another complaint was that the centers of formation produced one standardized type of player: good in technique but lacking in imagination and spontaneity, the very qualities that were attributed to Platini and his successes. Tournier noted, "our players lacked an actual character and they felt themselves crushed by the responsibilities that we put upon them."[507]

The FFF made two integral changes. First, the approach taken towards training within the centers of formation was revised and refocused to emphasize technique, formation, and academics. The second major modification was to identify and train players ages 12-15 in the technicalities of the game, a process known as pre-formation. Thus, by the time they could sign a contract, they had already developed the technical skills of the game. Georges Boulogne felt that pre-formation was necessary.[508] For François Blaquart, former coach of the national team, pre-formation was the way to get players to internalize technique at earlier ages, even if their bodies were not yet fully developed.[509]

The re-direction of the football centers of formation was implemented in the late 1980s and early 1990s, coinciding with the push for greater emphasis upon scholastic education. The result was the generation of players who were trained under this revamped system and came of age in the 1990s. This was the generation that won the

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[506] Ibid.
[507] Pierre Tournier, *Le formation du footballeur: comment devenir jeueur pro*, (Paris: Editions Amphora, 1999), 134.
[508] Max Urbini, "Boulogne: 'Un nouveau virage,'" *L'Équipe*, February 18, 1986, 5.
[509] Raphael Pagano, "Interview with François Blaquart," So Foot.com, August 10, 2006, www.sofoot.com/article_entretien-avec-fran-ois-blaquart-sofoot.html.

World Cup in 1998: Thierry Henry (AS Monaco), Zinédine Zidane (AS Cannes), David Trézéguet (AS Monaco), and Lilian Thuram (AS Monaco). Ultimately, the FFF centers of formation succeeded in socializing the youth players, creating a deep trough of talented players who finally won the sport's major international titles. Effectively, the center of formation reestablished the vigor, honor, and prestige of France and made the country not only a dominant football powerhouse, but also one of the world's premier hunting grounds for young talent.

Just like football, basketball also began to show the successes of the youth training developments. The national sport-study section of basketball, renamed Pôle Espoir and Pôle France in 1995, began to produce elite basketball players who continue to be drafted by the world's elite basketball league, the National Basketball Association (NBA) in the United States. Moreover, the premier basketball league in France adopted the FFF's center of formation. By the early 1980s the FFBB encouraged its professional clubs, both male and female, to cultivate basketball centers of formation.

The center of formation format launched by the FFF in 1973 also proved influential on the Ministry of Youth and Sport's sport-study sections. In 1984 the elite SSEs were reconfigured: the regional SSEs remained within the schools and were put into custodianship of the Ministry of National Education; the inter-regional SSEs were taken out of local high schools and placed within the Regional Centers of Physical Education and Sport (CREPS), which were centralized places for elite athletes to live, train, and finish their academic studies; and the national SSE sections were concentrated

together at the National Institute of Physical Education and Sport (INSEP) in Bois de Vincennes in Paris.

This transformation sought to group the best of the best together to concentrate their athletic and academic preparations. The CREPS located throughout France, as well as the national sections at INSEP, all provided academic tutors to help students with their studies and eventually began to hire teachers to come into the centers to teach classes so that practice and game schedules of the student-athletes could be accommodated. Oftentimes the players lived together in dormitories provided by the state, and they took their meals at these centers. There was an on-site team of physicians and medical experts to monitor their health and respond to injuries, as well as a dedicated and licensed athletic staff to coach, train, and mold the young players. Thus, the original SSEs borrowed from the lessons learned from the FFF's center of formation format. It was from this revamped system that notable French basketball players such as Tony Parker and Borris Diaw emerged in the late 1990s, players who were drafted into the sport's premier professional league, the NBA.

Conclusion

As Pierre Tournier noted, a nation's sports power is judged by the number of medals earned at the Olympic Games, or the number of European Championship and World Championship titles it garners.[510] This mentality was what propelled France to undertake two revolutionary programs in the early 1970s. The story of the SSEs and centers of formation document a nation that grappled with the changes of the post-war

[510] Tournier and Réthacker, 11.

world and the society produced by the unprecedented post-war economic and population boom.

By the late 1970s it was clear that these programs were revolutionary for several reasons. First, this was the first time since the Vichy era that youth and sport were so intimately tied together. Second, the sports programs attacked the traditional French school day schedule with their emphases on sport. Third, in creating elite athletes (or attempting to), the centers of formation also created an elite youth, one which was allowed to have special education privileges. This was a radical departure for a country that prided itself on egalitarianism and had traditionally eschewed a sportive education. Yet, it spoke to the French desire to win international sports competitions. Most importantly, the programs appeared to have solved the twin dilemmas that confounded France at the start of the 1970s: the youth and sports crises.

Ultimately, the programs succeeded in the creation of socialized, educated, talented young players who won the sport's major international titles. These initiatives reestablished the vigor, honor, and prestige of France and made the country not only a dominant football and basketball powerhouse, but also one of the world's premier hunting grounds for young talent. By the 2000s, the formation of youth players *à la française* was responsible for producing "the most structured, complete, and mature" players of the world.[511]

Yet, were these programs beneficial for the youths themselves? Were their educations impaired by such devotion to sport, or did the SSEs and the centers of formation provide them with unique opportunities that made them "winners"? It would

[511] Raphael Pagano, "Formation l'autre exception culturelle," *So Foot*, Number 35, August 2006.

be interesting to conduct an oral history project with former football and basketball SSE and center of formation players to obtain data that could better address these and other such questions.

From the available information, it is clear that there were downsides to the system, such as strict contractual obligations, possible exploitation by the clubs, failure to more heavily promote academics earlier on, or the amount of time that an elite player had to devote to athletics. In reviewing the materials amassed for this study, the prevailing attitude amongst former players, coaches, and administrators of the formation systems was that the elite youths were willing to give up a "normal life" and submit themselves to the system in the pursuit of their dream to be a professional (or elite) athlete. To have the opportunity to pursue one's passion, regardless of whether a player is signed to a professional contract or attains a certain level of athletic celebrity, was a winning scenario for most young players.

The Evolution Of Sport-Study Sections

Evolution in the Number of Sport-Study Sections[512]

Year	**Number of Open SSEs**	**Students**	**Number of Specialties**
1974-75	55	1,180 (70% boys)	14
1975-76	101	2,204 (66% boys)	22
1976-77	124	2,437 (73% boys)	22
1977-78	127	2,726 (73% boys)	22
1979-80[513]	145	3,400	
1981-82[514]	161	3,500 (75% boys)	25

[512] *Statistiques Jeunesse, Sports et Loisirs.* (Paris: Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs, 1978), 145.
[513] "Projet de loi de finances pour 1980: Budget Jeunesse et Sports" October 1979. Center for Contemporary Archives Installment 19840019 Article 9 Studies on Sport.
[514] "161 sections et 25 sports concernés" *L'Équipe*, November 18, 1981, 7.

Living Situations of Early Football Center of Formation Players

The following is a list of the original centers of formation's living arrangements for the first year of operation:[515]

Club	**Type of Living Conditions**	**Number of Players**
Nimes	Youth hostel	4 *aspirant*, 8 *stagiaire*
Monaco	Lived at home	7 *aspirant*, 9 *stagiaire*
Marseille	In a villa	6 *aspirant*
Dunkerque	At the stadium	2 *aspirant*, 5 *stagiaire*
Red Star	At the stadium	2 *aspirant*, 3 *stagiaire*
St. Etienne	At the stadium	3 *aspirant*, 5 *stagiaire*
Nantes	House in town	9 *aspirant*, 9 *stagiaire*
Valenciennes	At the stadium	4 *aspirant*, 6 *stagiaire*
Nice	At the stadium	9 *aspirant*, 6 *stagiaire*
Lens	Center of formation	4 *aspirant*, 10 *stagiaire*
Lyon	In a villa	8 *aspirant*
PSG	Hotel in town	5 *aspirant*, 6 *stagiaire*
Bordeaux	Hotel in town	10 *aspirant*
Sochaux	Center of formation	15 *aspirant*
Metz	Apartments near the stadium	8 *aspirant*
Nancy	Housing in town	3 *aspirant*, 5 *stagiaire*
Strasbourg	At the stadium	10 *stagiaire*
Troyes	In two villas	6 *aspirant*, 6 *stagiaire*

[515] Tournier and Rethacker, 118.

Chapter Seven

Immigration, Race, and Identity in French Sport, 1958-92

The 1998 World Cup victory by an ethnically diverse French team brought to the forefront an international dialogue about race and identity in France. Countless media accounts appeared in France, Europe, and abroad scrutinizing the French model of immigrant assimilation exhibited by the successful team. Assimilation, the incorporation of cultural values and language of a society into one's public identity, was hailed a success as the *blanc-black-beur* team enjoyed widespread support from most corners of French society. Naturally, questions pertaining to race and identity in French sport, particularly football, rise to the forefront when one reads about the history of the youth development programs that were responsible for such success.

In conducting interviews with former youth players, coaches, and sports administrators, all state that there was and remains no racism in French sport, even at the youth level.[516] This is not to say that racism did not exist in French society. On the contrary, the historical record indicates that racism was and remains very much an issue in modern France. While there was racism amongst the fans (surrounding sport), according to the available data there was no racism on the playing field or in the locker rooms (in sport). These are two different issues. This chapter tries to explain why there was no documented racism in the two sports under investigation. The answer, I suggest, lies in the fact that for France, racism was a byproduct of immigration. Immigrants, in turn, have always played a role in French sport, notably in football. Thus, perhaps another part of the answer lies in this long-standing tradition of integration on the field.

[516] Ludovic Debru, Patrick Rampillon, and Pierre Rochcongar, interviews with the author, June 2007.

The following pages trace the post-1945 history of immigration in France and the role of sport in the assimilation process. A successful team must be one that plays together as one. There is no room on the playing field for individuality or an identity separate from the unit. Thus, in order to field a winning football or basketball team, all teammates must recognize each other as equals. This helps to explain why former players insist that there was no room for racism in French sport.

The close connection between immigration and identity is also examined. Sports helped to confer French identity and legitimacy upon immigrants. The rise of racism in French society in the 1970s and 1980s was due to the perceived threat that immigration posed to French identity. Sport served to contradict this image, drawing upon the long lineage of players of immigrant extraction playing in the sports arenas and for the national teams. Immigrant participation in sport reminded the nation that French identity could be conferred on the field, and helped to reinforce nationalism in an era of continued globalization. Yet, as Jacco van Sterkenburg, Jan Janssens, and Bas Rijnen have pointed out, in the 1980s one could hear discriminatory "jungle noises" at the football stadiums throughout Western Europe and France.[517] The youth sports programs fostered this new sense of self as part of the athletic development process. In this way, the center of formation and sport-study section reversed the trend of transnationalism that was a characteristic of the generation of 1968.

[517] In France, anti-racism groups phased out this phenomenon during the 1990s thanks to awareness campaigns. Jacco van Sterkenburg, Jan Janssens, and Bas Rijnen, *Football and Racism: an inventory of the problems and solutions of eight West European countries in the framework of the Stand Up Speak Up Campaign* (Nieuwegein: Arko Sports Media, 2005), 53.

My task is difficult given the limited historic data available for examination. As the government archives have a 30-year moratorium, the latest year available for consultation was 1978-79. The archives do not contain any memos, letters, or press clippings concerning racism in French sport. Media accounts of the 1960-92 period do not mention racism in French sport or at the youth level. The coverage pertaining to racism and French sport of the 1980s concerns racism around sports and consists of spectators shouting racist or discriminatory slogans at athletic competitions.

Immigration, Sport, and Assimilation

French football and basketball democratized during the 1910s and 1920s. Immigrants in France have used team sports ever since as a way to assimilate into society. The experience of playing on a team reinforced republican traits of democracy, playing by the rules, obeying authority, meritocracy, and fostered a sense of community, teamwork, and citizenship. Historically, immigrants in France have used sport in two other ways. For those who excelled at sport, one's athletic success playing for a football team led to a certain degree of respect within the community and served as a means of social elevation. After 1984, football was also a way to achieve economic elevation. Sought-after footballers could garner larger salaries than they might have otherwise in the more traditional industries to which immigrants tended to gravitate: low-paying wage jobs, usually in the industrial or agricultural sectors.

Additionally, for those talented enough to play for the national team, winning titles and trying to regain the nation's honor could make them legitimate Frenchmen. In

this way, those of immigrant extraction could serve their new country, gain acceptance, and attain a French identity. Athletic success was one of the easiest ways to gain entry into French society.

France absorbed a large number of Poles who rebuilt the country's northern areas after the Great War. Other immigrant groups moved to France during the Interwar period, primarily Italians and Spaniards, though there were also a growing number of North Africans. During the first decade of World Cup play in the 1930s, the French national team fielded a number of naturalized players, including an Austrian and a Swiss. There were also players from French North Africa, both those of European ancestry as well as native Algerians, who played for the national team during this time. Thus, even prior to the generation who took the French national team to the World Cup in 1958, French football served as a multicultural representation of the empire.[518]

Although countries such as the Netherlands fielded black players on their national teams after 1945, it was only much later that other European nations did. The first black member of the English national team played in the late 1970s, while it was not until 1993 that England's first black captain, Paul Ince, wore the captain's armband.[519] The West German team of the 1970s included two black players, but they were the children of African-American fathers stationed in Germany.[520] Thus, for most of the twentieth century, France was unique in using the national football team to include those of immigrant extraction or who were naturalized Frenchmen. The exploits and successes of

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[518] See Laurent Dubois, *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010. (Author's manuscript).
[519] "Sports People: Soccer; A Historic Captain," *New York Times*, June 8, 1993.
[520] Paul Zielbauer, "A Different Germany Takes to The Soccer Field," *New York Times*, October 26, 2001.

such teams served to legitimize those who helped to consecrate the French sporting myth. This was especially so of the 1958 national football team and their epic run to third place.

The 1958 team was heavily populated with first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants, mostly of Polish or Italian descent, reflecting the immigration trends of the era. Raymond Kopa was the son of Polish immigrant parents, as was Maryan Wisnieski. Other second-generation immigrants on that year's team were Casimir Hnatow, Celestin Oliver, Roger Piantoni, Claude Abbès, and one of the team coaches, Jean Snella. Though he did not play on the 1958 World Cup team, it should be noted that Rachid Mekhloufi, an Algerian, played for Saint-Etienne and the French national team during the 1950s.[521]

Kopa's story illuminates how football enabled those of immigrant extraction to blend into French society. Born in 1932 as Raymond Kopaszewski, Kopa was the product of a large coalmining district. One day he had an accident that left him without part of one finger. Unable to return to work in the coal mine, Kopa turned his attention to developing his football skills. His hard work paid off and he was signed at age 17 to the professional team SCO d'Angers. In October 1952 at age 21 he obtained French citizenship so that he could play for the national team.

To play on the national team was, according to Kopa, one of the primary goals of a young footballer. It allowed him to join his fellow Frenchmen in all ways, to enter the elite, and to serve France.[522] Though Kopa never experienced ostracism due to his Polish

[521] Mekhloufi fled France in 1957 in order to play for the FLN's football team, as did four other Algerian players. This constituted a shock to the French public at the time and represented the growing cleavages that the Algerian War created.
[522] Raymond Kopa, *Mes Matches et ma Vie* (Paris: P. Horay, 1958), 124.

background, he did admit that he was exposed to "racial" remarks through international play.[523]

Kopa delighted that his last name lost its Polish origin and was shortened to sound more French. "In transforming Kopaszewski into the very short Kopa," he wrote

> They consecrated my sporting success, certainly, but also they made me French, more than all the papers and naturalization….This shortening, it gave me the letters of nobility….In becoming Kopa, I had won my match. The match of my life….In the spirit of the French athletes, it gave me valor.[524]

Amongst the players on the national team of the 1950s, Kopa pointed out that only one, Joseph Ujlaki, was a naturalized Frenchman. Everyone else was born in France and had opted for French nationality upon reaching the age of 21. Kopa had a strong desire to be considered French, not Polish or an immigrant. "I had the fear of remaining a Polish subject," Kopa wrote in October 1958. "Poland was nothing but a foreign country for me, any more or any less than all of the others. I had only one country: France."[525]

Kopa was the epitome of how immigrants could assimilate into the state through sport, and he proved that success could come through work hard. "My name was Kopaszewski," he wrote, "and to get out I had nothing but football."[526] His story was repeated by others of immigrant extraction who sought to use football as a way of assimilation, acceptance, and a path to a better life.

After 1945, France continued its role as the premier immigration destination in Europe. The thirty years following the Second World War marked an economic boom

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[523] Ibid, 129.
[524] Ibid.
[525] Ibid, 21.
[526] Pierre Lanfranchi and Alfred Wahl, *Les Footballeurs Professionnels : des Années Trente à Nos Jours* (Paris: Hachette, 1995), 118.

brought about by industrialization, consumption, and modernization. In order to sustain this economic miracle, the French obtained much-needed manpower by recruiting foreign migrant laborers.

Until the 1960s, the majority of French immigrants were from other European countries with the Italians and Spanish comprising the largest percentages. This trend changed by the late 1960s and early 1970s as the percentage of immigrants in France whose country of origin was within Europe decreased and those from Africa increased. Between 1968 and 1975 the immigrant groups who moved and settled in France in increasing numbers were the Portuguese (16.9%) and Algerians (14.3%).[527]

Distribution of Immigrants by Country (in percentages)[528]

	1962	**1968**	**1975**
Europe	**78.7**	**76.4**	**67.2**
Spain	18.0	21.0	15.2
Italy	31.8	23.9	17.2
Portugal	2.0	8.8	16.9
Poland	9.5	6.7	4.8
Other European Countries	17.5	16.1	13.1
Africa	**14.9**	**19.9**	**28.0**
Algeria	11.6	11.7	14.3
Morocco	1.1	3.3	6.6
Tunisia	1.5	3.5	4.7
Other African Countries	0.7	1.4	2.4
Asia	**2.4**	**2.5**	**3.6**
Turkey	1.4	1.3	1.9
Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam	0.4	0.6	0.7
Other Asian Countries	0.6	0.6	1.0
America, or Oceanic	**3.2**	**1.1**	**1.3**
Undeclared	**0.8**	**0.1**	///
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Numbers	**2,861,280**	**3,281,060**	**3,887,460**

[527] INSEE, "Immigrés selon le pays d'origine," http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=0&ref_id=NATCCI02124.
[528] Ibid.

The flow of migration from Algeria into France throughout the 1960s was notable. In 1962 the number of Algerians who immigrated into the *métropole* was 350,000, but by 1968 the number more than doubled to 800,000, a reflection of the exodus after the Algerian War.[529]

While this arrangement worked well at first, by the end of the Thirty Glorious Years it started to pose its own special set of problems in terms of how to assimilate the immigrant population. This conversation was exacerbated by the fact that the immigrant groups looked different from the more "traditional" immigrant in France. The shift towards a larger influx of people from Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean meant that the previously Caucasian immigrant base in France was now replaced with people of different skin colors, and religious and cultural beliefs.

The pan-European Judeo-Christian background of earlier immigrant groups in France was easier to visibly blend into the national social fabric in comparison to those from North and Sub-Sahara Africa, the Caribbean, or Asia. Yet, in the immediate aftermath of Liberation and economic rejuvenation of the 1950s, Algerian immigrants were well received by the French and experienced relatively little discrimination. Neil MacMaster states that this was because the memories of the occupation and Resistance were still recent for most French. Moreover, he argues that the general optimism of the

[529] Neil MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism: Algerians in France, 1900-62* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 189.

1945-54 period also accounted for the relative lack of racism towards these newer immigrants.[530]

Despite the new immigration trends of the 1968-75 period altering the French demographic, the national conversation about immigration, assimilation, and racism did not occur on a wide basis. Perhaps this was because immigration was a vital component to the economic recovery and reconstruction of France.[531] MacMaster argues that racism began to enter the national dialogue in the 1960s as a product of the escalation and aftermath of the Algerian War and the FLN's actions in mainland France. Yet, he notes that the French political left, which was supportive of Algerian independence and eschewed French colonialism, originally countered this introduction of racism.[532]

French Opinions Towards Immigrants 1974: "What is your opinion of each of the following nationalities?"[533]

Nationality	Good	Rather Good	Rather Bad	Bad	No Answer	Total
Italian	53	30	6	2	9	100
Spanish	55	30	4	1	10	100
Portuguese	43	33	10	3	11	100
Yugoslav	30	31	8	2	39	100
Turkish	15	13	9	6	56	100
Black African	28	29	15	8	20	100
North African	17	16	34	21	12	100

[530] Ibid, 190.
[531] Gary P. Freeman, *Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies: The French and British Experience 1945-75* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 3.
[532] MacMaster, 190.
[533] Girard et al., "Attitudes des Français à l'égard de l'immigration étrangère – Nouvelle enquête d'opinion," *Population* 29 (July-October 1974) in Gary P. Freeman, *Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies: The French and British Experience 1945-75* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 272.

When the Thirty Glorious Years ended and economic difficulties continued throughout the 1970s, racism rose to the forefront. The sheer numbers and differences of culture between the native Europeans and the new waves of immigrants were perceived as threatening in terms of job loss and cultural non-conformity. That this occurred in conjunction with a downturn of monetary fortune is unsurprising; many Western societies have experienced increased levels of xenophobia and racism during periods of economic duress. What made the late 1970s and early 1980s different was that this was also the period when the second-generation of the post-war immigrants started to come of age.[534]

While many newer immigrants assimilated, as they felt they must in order to gain entry to French society, many also retained cultural, linguistic, and religious ties to their homelands and thus stood out more than their predecessors. This was true particularly amongst the Algerians who, as Algeria was so close to France, were able to easily maintain ties, communications, and roots with their homeland.[535] Algeria's proximity also meant that it was relatively easy to return home for visits. Many of the first immigrants from North Africa were migrant workers who sent money home to their families, helping to explain why they may not have assimilated as quickly upon arrival as other, earlier groups had done. It was only later in the 1960s and 1970s that these first-generation North African immigrants started to settle in France, to put down roots, and send for their families to join them.

The lack of assimilation by the newer immigrants encouraged the growth of the xenophobic ultra-right wing party, the National Front. Established in the early 1970s by

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[534] Claude Liauzu, *La Société française face au racisme* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1999), 148.
[535] MacMaster, 215.

its outspoken leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, the National Front gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s as a response to increased fears over immigration, immigrants, and the security of French culture. The rise of the National Front brought an increased awareness of racism.

Claude Liauzu outlines two types of racism. The first is one based on the notion of unequal relations between humans based upon physical differences, a justification for slavery. The second is found not in biological difference, but in the rejection of cultural difference, a separateness that would upset the idea of a uniform identity.[536] He argues that with the emergence of the second-generation of immigrants from the former Empire by the late 1970s, the second conception of racism rose to the forefront.[537] This idea conforms to the notion put forth by Herrick Chapman and Laura Frader, that the post-war idea of racism in France is one of cultural rather than scientific racism.[538] In this way, French racism in the late twentieth century was more a reflection of identity and the debate over what a modern French identity was and should be.

French immigrants continued to constitute the national football team roster during the 1980s, just as they had in previous eras. Due to the changing nature of immigration trends, this immigrant base looked different and was reflected in the makeup of the French football team. The 1982 team roster boasted players such as Marius Trésor (born in Guadeloupe), Gérard Janvion (born in Martinique), Christian Lopez (born in Algeria), Patrick Battiston (grandson of an Italian immigrant), Alain Giresse (Spanish mother),

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[536] Liauzu, 11.
[537] Ibid, 148.
[538] Herrick Chapman and Laura L. Frader, *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 5.

Bernard Genghini (Italian descent), and Jean Tigana (born in Mali), in addition to Michel Platini (son of Italian parents) who were all of immigrant extraction. In addition to players from the 1982 roster (Platini, Battiston, Giresse, Tigana), the 1985 team incorporated Manuel Amoros, son of a Spaniard, William Ayache, a *pied-noir* from Algeria, Luis Fernandez, an immigrant from Spain, José Touré, the son of a Malian immigrant, Yannick Stopyra, the grandson of Poles, and Bruno Bellone and Jean-Marc Ferreri, both with Italian roots.

That the teams by the 1980s were composed of those of immigrant extraction was nothing new for French football. Yet, as the issue of racism gained greater attention during the 1980s thanks to groups such as SOS-Racisme, which sought to counter racist incidents and discrimination, journalists began to take note of the combination of immigration and sport.

In January 1986 *L'Équipe* published a series of articles on football and immigration. One article noted that participation in football was seen as one way to amend relations with the locals.[539] In another article, journalist Didier Braun posed the question: why has this new wave of immigrants (Africans and Portuguese) not produced the same type quality of football player as previous ones, such as the Poles and Italians?[540] He found that "the recent migrants do not like football any less than others."[541] He notes that it would take time for the second generation of these more recent immigrants to work their way up in football and produce elite players.[542] Braun

[539] Didier Braun, "Nous, Marocains de Dreux," *L'Équipe*, January 31, 1986, 5.
[540] Ibid, 8.
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.

overlooked the earlier examples of North Africans who were part of French football history. Yet, in his declaration, he prophesized the emergence of more French players of Caribbean and African descent in the 1990s, in particular the North Africans. This neo-colonization of French football grew significantly throughout the 1990s and began to provoke controversy from far right-wing politicians by 1996-98.

Sport and Racism

Until the 1980s, there was little mention of racism in France and the lack of reportage on it was not atypical. Chapman and Frader note that the absence of dialogue about race and racism was a reflection of the French myth of assimilation: that to single out any one group over the national body was contradictory to the revolutionary emphasis of one unified national group.[543]

There were occasional mentions of racism surrounding French sport prior to this time, which reinforced the notion that French racism was a function of cultural difference. For instance, the racism mentioned by members of the French national team of 1958 was a reflection of not being native Frenchmen. Kopa wrote in his memoir of a match he played against Ireland in November 1953 where he was subjected to what he termed racism. He tells of a leaflet that was passed out amongst Irish spectators the morning of the game that read:

> Attention! Attention! The French team that you see is not the real team of France, but a formation of naturalized peoples and foreigners who consist of Poles, Hungarians or Italians, like Ruminski, Giaessi, Ujlaki, Kopa, Ferry, Curyl,

[543] Chapman and Frader, 1.

> Piantoni, etc. Do not hesitate, then, to whistle at them. They are not the real footballers of France that our players will face. Whistle at them![544]

This example demonstrates how members of the French national team were subjected to criticisms and racism on the part of fans. Here, it was by foreign fans, but racism in the sense of discrimination or harassment manifested itself amongst the French fans by the 1980s.

It is notable that the rise in racism as expressed by sports fans in the stadiums coincided with the growth of hooliganism and the supporters groups of the era. As noted in Chapter Five, the hooliganism imported to France from Britain was closely linked with an extreme right-wing xenophobia. Racist taunts were also heard from the Italian-inspired *ultras* groups. It became common to hear monkey noises or other such racially tainted taunts chanted at black players in France and throughout the football fields of Europe during the 1980s. Such abuse propagated by supporters groups was not limited to blacks or North Africans. Simon Kuper reports how anti-Semitic remarks were routinely hurled towards the Dutch team Ajax and Jewish players in the Dutch football leagues after the Holocaust, including hissing noises to replicate the sounds of the gas chambers.[545] Such groups, the Muslims, the Africans, the Jews, were singled out in a form of cultural racial discrimination in the post-war period. Unfortunately, they were not unique in suffering the verbal abuses of others.

Michel Platini pointed out that while French discourse of the 1980s blamed society's ills upon the Maghrebs, the Italians were the designated targets two or three

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[544] Kopa, 129.
[545] See Simon Kuper, *Ajax, the Dutch, and the War: Football in Europe During the Second World War,* (London: Orion, 2003).

generations earlier.[546] This statement furthers the argument that racism was a function of immigration within French sport. Some youths of immigrant extraction used sport as a way to combat racism, feeling that if they excelled athletically then they could gain legitimacy. Platini did not experience racism, but the story of his teammate Jean Tigana, a football player who gained fame as part of the Platini generation of the 1980s, documents a very different immigrant experience.

Born in Bamako, Mali, on May 23, 1956, Tigana moved to Marseille with his family in 1959, the same year that Mali gained its independence. In France, he experienced racism from his earliest days at school. "At this time I was already confronted with the insoluble problem of racism," he wrote.

> I was often attacked and insulted. I was called a dirty Negro or a rotten Arab, without regard for the immense pain that these injuries provoked within myself – those that I could not oppose with the force of my tiny fists.[547]

In order to combat this pain, Tigana turned to football. "For me," he wrote, "as young as I was, the only means of escaping destiny… was to work."[548] Tigana worked hard and was selected to join the national team in 1980.[549]

While Tigana felt the full force of racism and ostracism as an immigrant, he never mentioned that there was racism on the playing field. Platini reinforced this notion. "There is racism from time to time in the public, but not among the footballers," he

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[546] Michel Platini with Christine Ockrent, *Michel Platini, Qu'avez-vous Fait de vos 20 ans?* (Paris: Éditions Jean-Claude Lattès, 1990), 80.
[547] Jean Tigana with Rodolphe Hassold, *Jean Tigana: l'enfant de la balle* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1982), 12.
[548] Ibid, 15.
[549] At 35-years old, Tigana retired as a player. He then sought his training as a football coach, and coached for Lyon before going on to coach Monaco to a national French championship at the end of the 1996-97 season. In 2000 Tigana went to Fullam, England, where he was manager until 2003.

said.[550] The lack of racism was because "in sport, you live together, you suffer together, you have intense joys together."[551]

When one asks sports officials and former players about racism in French sport during the 1970s and 1980s, they deny that it existed.[552] All admit that there was (and remains) racism within the larger French public, which manifests itself through some fans and sometimes amongst sports officials, but not amongst the players themselves. These sources explain that the sports field is colorblind as acceptance and equality are necessary components of teamwork. According to Ludovic DeBru, who played football for AS Cannes, "racism was impossible amongst the players," as they played together as a team.[553] If anything, he noted, "it was there amongst some of the coaches or trainers who determined who played on the team."[554] He insists that there was and remains no racism within youth sport.[555]

It should be kept in mind that these officials know that they represent the official face of French sport to the public, especially to an American researcher. Of all the subjects interviewed for this study, only Dr. Joel Costes spoke on record about racism and sport. A longtime doctor for the football center of formation of Olympique de Marseille (OM), Dr. Costes noted that sport was an essential element of assimilation for the newer immigrants from Africa. One of the critical services provided to youths of immigrant extraction who entered youth sports program at OM was that they were taught

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[550] Platini and Ockrent., 80.
[551] Ibid, 82.
[552] Pierre Rochcongar and Patrick Rampillon, interviews with the author, Rennes, France, June 2007; Michel Godard, interview with the author, Paris, France, April 2006.
[553] DeBru, June 2007.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Ibid.

the basics of hygiene and sanitation, as well as the meaning of citizenship and belonging to a team.[556]

Yet, as the available data suggest, racism in French sport did not exist, due to the fact that equality on the playing field was a key component to athletic success. It is likely that if a youth had any preconceived ideas about race, such notions quickly dissipated as the young player's athletic development progressed. The characteristics reinforced by team sports of meritocracy, community, and teamwork were perhaps the main reasons as to why there was a lack of racism in French sport.

Increasingly throughout the 1980s, youths of immigrant extraction were drawn to the idea of becoming elite athletes, perhaps more so than previously. Televised broadcasts and the new financial incentives of sports were enticing to such youths, who could now aspire to emulate their sports heroes while climbing the socio-economic ladder. As athletes, especially footballers, were increasingly culled from this immigrant population, their televised performances conferred their "Frenchness" within popular conception. Although most sportsmen of the era (and even still today) claimed that sports was a unifier, that the athletic field was blind to skin color or religion, the sports arena became a setting for the public dialogue on immigration, race, and French identity that rose to the forefront in France during the 1990s.

Identity and Sport

Race was a function of immigration within the context of French sport. The increased racism in French society stemmed from the cultural differences between French

[556] Joel Costes, interview with the author, Marseille, France, June 2007.

society and the newer immigrants who did not or were unable to assimilate as seamlessly as previous immigrant groups. This cultural difference manifested itself in racism and at its base was the threatening idea that the new immigrants would fundamentally alter the traditional idea of who was French. Yet, while immigration into France after 1945 started to retool French identity, the ability of sport to assimilate French minorities demonstrated the discipline's continued use in constructing a French identity built around the national football team, especially once French football regained international honor in the mid-1980s.

As discussed in Chapter Two, through the symbols of the nation surrounding the team and the shared history of its successes and failures as portrayed in the press, football was able to create a sense of community. Sociologist Gérard Noiriel has noted that for many French immigrants "it [football] represented their only hope to "make it" socially, to become integrated within the French community, and to satisfy a desire for social revenge."[557] Perhaps this is why since the early twentieth century so many members of the national teams were of immigrant extraction.[558]

The public discourse in the press aids in the consecration of a nation's identity. Media coverage of a national team reinforces stereotypes in terms of styles of play and national characteristics. Such accounts help to solidify a sense of a collective identity, according to Liz Crolley and David Hand.[559] Moreover, the way in which the media

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[557] Gerard Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 247.
[558] As basketball grew in popularity and started to garner greater money through televised broadcast rights in the late 1980s, it began to draw from the ranks of France's immigrant minorities. Still, for reasons previously mentioned, it is only since the early 1990s that one could examine the national basketball team regarding immigration, racism, and sport, and thus why it is not examined in this chapter.
[559] Liz Crolley and David Hand, *Football, Europe, and the Press* (Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 2002).

reports on and relates to the national team and its players demonstrates the public's perception of what it means to be French.

Since the 1930s, football has been part of the debate over French identity in an intercultural France.[560] The press reportage of the 1950s never questioned whether the image created by the national team was anything but representative of France, for there were no players from North Africa, West Africa, or the Caribbean on the team. It is clear that in the 1950s the demographic makeup of the national team did not signify that immigration impacted national identity. There was one public culture, one language, and one shared history of the team's triumphs in the 1950s, especially the legacy of 1958, which grew into mythic lore. Through the twin constructs of the team's symbolism and the sanctification of a national sporting myth, the team helped to reinforce modern French identity. The team demographic did not rankle the French press, and not much mention was made at the time that most of the players were not originally "French."

In the 1980s, even in light of the ongoing debate on immigrants, media coverage of the national team did not question whether the mixture of players was representative of France. The slew of French football successes in the 1980s called attention to the fact that the national team was celebrated by all of France. *Les Bleus* were referred to as "ours" in *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, and *France Football*.

There are several reasons for this. The first reason is the history of a diverse football tradition. Second, with the exception of Tigana and Janvion, the others had ancestral origins within Europe. The second-generation of the post-1945 immigrants had

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[560] Yvan Gastaut, *Le Métissage par le foot: l'intégration mais jusqu'ou?* (Paris: Éditions Autrement Frontières, 2008), 20.

not yet worked their way up into the ranks of national football in large numbers. Although North Africans were fixtures in French football from the early twentieth century, they were not well represented in the national team makeup of the 1980s.[561] Thus, the customs, religions, styles of dress, and skin colors of the 1980s team were not too different from previous ones.

As sport grew as an industry, generated greater sums of revenue, and gained greater popularity in the late 1970s and 1980s, press coverage of sports exploded. The media made conferring a French identity upon sports figures easier, especially once television increased the quantity of sports broadcasts in the 1980s. This was important at a time in which the influx of immigrants translated into a fear of how the new immigrants would alter French identity and society. A national survey taken by the weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* in November 1984 as part of a series on North African (referred to as Arabs) immigrants entitled "The Arabs and You" found that in order to fill jobs that many Frenchmen considered beneath them, roughly half of those polled considered immigrants as crucial to the economy, even though nearly two-thirds were in favor of placing restrictions upon this very immigration.[562]

Sixty-four percent of those surveyed thought that the children of immigrants should completely adapt French values and dress, to assimilate, while 28% were in favor of allowing them to keep the traditions of their homelands.[563] This reflected French

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[561] There is no clear indication of why there was an absence of North African players on the French national team of this era. Perhaps part of the answer was that the wounds created by the Algerian War were still raw. Clearly, by the 1980s, there were youths of all ethnicities and backgrounds in the FFF's centers of formation, including Lillian Thuram and Zinédane Zidane.

[562] Anne Fohr with Jacques Julliard, Patricia Serraf, and Christine Eyzat, "Les Arabs et Vous," *Le Nouvel Observateur,* November 30, 1984, 62-71.

[563] Ibid.

attitudes on immigration in general. The Minister of Social Affairs and National Solidarity in 1985, Georgina Dufoix, stated that it was necessary for immigrants to adapt to their new country that they needed to conform and assimilate. "There are rules of the game," she told journalist Robert Solé of *Le Monde*. "It is necessary to respect our laws but also our customs."[564]

The issue of assimilation was viewed as critical to the collective national identity: if everyone ceased to assimilate into the larger body, what would become of French identity? "French culture is evolutionary," Dufoix said.

> The model has evolved very much and will continue to evolve with the fluctuations of immigration. Before and after the last war, the Italians, for example, brought us not only culinary habits, but also the new words and other ways to see life. The French River is strong enough to be able to sustain diverse tributaries. Maghrebian [sic] immigration, a little different from its predecessors because it is more turned towards Islam and North Africa, will transform the river a little, but it will not alter it. France is not fixed, she moves.[565]

Television was a crucial component in legitimizing a French identity for athletes of immigrant extraction. It was also one of the strongest elements in forging national identity in the late twentieth century.[566] Though racism surrounded French sport through the spectators, as noted earlier, television helped to fight such racism. Some scholars and experts attribute such a turnaround by spectators to the fact that the French have gotten

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[564] Robert Solé, "Nous Voulons Que l'Immigration Devienne Une Chance Pour La France," *Le Monde,* June 6, 1985, 9.
[565] Ibid.
[566] Pierre Gabaston and Bernard Leconte, *Sports et television: regards croisés* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), 22.

used to seeing players of immigrant extraction on the television playing for French teams.[567]

In an interesting juxtaposition, as television coverage of sports in the 1970s and 1980s helped to grant French identity to athletes of immigrant extraction, the medium also served to globalize sports. By the 1980s, athletes, teams, and sports events appealed to a transnational audience of consumers and fans. French footballers began to play in foreign leagues. While this may have raised the question of identity loyalty (was Michel Platini playing in the Italian Serie A in the late 1980s really still "French"?) the greater visibility of international tournaments such as the World Cup reinforced nationalism (yes, Platini was still an integral part of *les Bleus*). Images of teams and athletes competing for the nation had a more powerful impact than ever before and reinforced French identity.

Conclusion

Race is a difficult topic of conversation within France, and the blanket response to the author's questions about race and sport was the standard answer that there was and continues to be no racism within French sport. Some sports officials dissented but were only willing to give their observations off the record, perhaps an indication that there may have been some greater degree of racism in sport than available sources indicated.

Despite this, sport has served France's immigrant communities well over the course of time. It has allowed them to gain acceptance, credibility, and become part of

[567] van Sterkenburg, et. al., 53. These scholars also note that two pieces of government legislation passed in the mid-1990s has also helped to diminish racist remarks by fans at French football competitions. One, the Gaissot Act of 1993, punishes discrimination on the basis of skin color in wider French society, while the second, the 1995 Aliot-Marie Act, reinforces the Gaissot Act within the realm of sport.

the nation. This is true at the youth levels as well. Eric Lagneau, a sports journalist for *Agence France Presse*, observed in 2002 that, "the youth of modest backgrounds, notably in the suburbs where there is little along the lines of social ascension, all these youths think to obtain success by the grace of football."[568] The promise attached to sport of a better life, of greater legitimacy, remains a strong incentive for youths of immigrant extraction to become elite athletes.

The generation of 1968 was an international one and the French youth sports programs of the 1970s and 1980s served to counteract part of the legacy of this generation. The French youth sports programs helped to reassert French identity amongst its young players. Thus, the center of formation and sport-study sections, in creating a new generation of elite athletes, served to reverse the trend of an international youth. This was illustrated by the Platini generation of footballers, developed in the centers of formation, which regained French prestige and honor by making French football a major contender on the international arena during the 1980s. Televised images of their campaign from 1982-86 reinforced and helped to reinvent French identity: that of an athletic, victorious nation. Televised images of athletes, many of who were of immigrant extraction, helped bring the image of the French immigrant into the public eye during this period. Sport helped assimilate French immigrants, continued to serve as a way to legitimize their Frenchness, and started to reinvent French identity. Such success would have been nearly impossible had the players exhibited racism towards their teammates.

[568] Eric Lagneau, email with author, February-March 2002.

Chapter Eight

The Role of Sports Medicine, 1958-92

A study of modern sport would be incomplete without consideration of the role played by medicine in the development of elite athletes. Writing in 2009, it is natural to closely associate elite (and professional) sport with medicine, science, and pharmaceuticals. Yet, given the 160-year history of modern athletics, medicine has only recently taken an important role in athletic development. Although medical knowledge of the human body began to assist in the creation of elite athletes in the 1920s, it was the post-1945 emphasis upon sport as a tool of international power and diplomacy that propelled medicine to the forefront of athletics.

The Cold War, fought by the Soviet Union and the United States through the proxy arena of the Olympics, is one reason why sports medicine began to play an larger role as of the 1960s. Any competitive edge that doctors could provide to athletes was seized upon as part of the arsenal of Cold War weaponry. Additionally, the desire of East Germany to assert itself independently of the Soviet Union through sports demonstrated the turn to science, specifically pharmaceuticals, to produce winning athletes. The GDR was successful in gaining international acclaim and influence in sports through the extensive doping programs that were integral components of its totalitarian sports training programs. The hormonal treatments that comprised the daily routines of many East German athletes were sanctioned by the state in an effort to win.

Beginning in the 1960s, many countries invested in sports medicine programs in order to increase the opportunities for their elite athletes to set new records, win Olympic

medals, or take home world championship titles. France, in its quest to rectify the sports crisis and present a rejuvenated image abroad, was not left behind. The French turned to medical knowledge of the human body as a way to help produce elite athletes.

The French focused on three intersections of sport and medicine: general medical supervision as a form of preventative medicine; diet and nutrition; and anti-doping legislation, education, and controls. The French stood out in an era when doping, the use of substances by athletes to augment athletic performance, was embraced by some as a way to ensure victory. Medical surveillance served to safeguard the health of young French athletes while helping them to become better naturally through more scientific training practices and diet. The French emphasis upon health and the large role of the anti-doping movement may have come at the expense of obtaining the "best" results from athletes. One can only speculate as to why this contradiction existed. Perhaps it was because the French state long held a patriarchal role in society, safeguarding the people and guarding their well-being. Or perhaps the emphasis upon anti-doping legislation was part of the amateur tradition in athletics perpetuated by Pierre de Coubertin. One last suggestion would be that France, in trying to buck the doping trend, was trying to forge its own way in the realm of international athletics. That, much in the way that the French implemented youth sports development structures that were unique (and trailblazing), the emphasis of anti-doping controls and medical surveillance of French athletes was the French way.

The Growth of Sports Medicine in Historical Perspective

Medical supervision of athletic training by doctors dates to the pre-World War I period when, as John M. Hoberman argues, sports medicine was pursued by German physicians propelled by their proclivity towards science.[569] Prior to the 1910s, most athletes relied upon their coaches, often former athletes themselves, to assist in perfecting training regiments. The first laboratory devoted to the study of sports medicine was established at Dresden, Germany, in 1913 and staffed with the first doctor specializing in sport.[570] The role of medicine in athletics developed during the 1920s as sports medicine started to evolve into a specific discipline.[571] In 1920 the first sports college was founded in Berlin, and by 1924 the first scholarly publication dedicated to sports medicine was published by the German Association of Physicians for the Promotion of Physical Culture.[572]

The 1928 Winter Olympics held in St. Moritz, Switzerland, launched modern efforts to integrate medicine with sport. At St. Moritz, several European doctors formed the International Association of Sports Medicine (*Association Internationale Medico-Sportive*, AIMS), the first group dedicated to studying athletes and their performance using medical and scientific data. AIMS held the first International Congress on Sports Medicine a few months later during the 1928 Summer Olympics, when doctors gathered

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[569] John M. Hoberman, "The Early Development of Sports Medicine in Germany," in Jack W. Berryman and Robert J. Park, eds, *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 233-282.
[570] "History and Purpose." International Federation of Sports Medicine. http://www.fims.org/default.asp?PageID=483889893.
[571] Ibid.
[572] Hoberman, 240.

scientific data on athletes.[573] By 1933 the name of the group was changed to the International Federation of Sports Medicine (FIMS), which survives today.

From this point forward, sports medicine was increasingly international in scope and scale. International athletic competitions were suspended during World War II, but resumed in the late 1940s. When they did, team physicians were prominent figures in the training of elite athletes. The growth and exchange of information within the sports medicine community about athletic formation and the physical mechanics of the human body reinforced their roles. Medical knowledge was shared in international medical and sports medicine journals such as the *British Journal of Sports Medicine* (Britain), the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (United States), and *Sport & Science* (France). Information was disseminated not only in print publications, but also at various international sports medicine conferences hosted by FIMS and other bodies. French doctors read and relied upon studies conducted and written by their international colleagues, while also contributing to the growing body of literature on sports medicine.

Despite the history of international exchange of information within the sports medicine community, the field has developed more fully in France only recently. In 1962, the president of the Paris University Club, Professor Chailley-Bert, noted that sports medicine in general was ignored in France, although he prophesized that one day it would be fully recognized.[574] It was not that the French athletic community was ignorant, nor that it was not knowledgeable. Rather, the tardy arrival of a French specialty of sports

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[573] According to the International Federation of Sports Medicine, there were 280 physicians on hand for the First International Congress on Sports Medicine, representing over 20 countries. "History and Purpose."
[574] Prof. Chailley-Bert, "A propos de la medicine sportive," *Le Sport à l'Université*, December 1962, 1. Center of Contemporary Archives Installment 19780586, Article 100 "Olympic Games of Rome 1960."

medicine was indicative of the influence, or lack thereof, of a sports culture within France at the time. As previously mentioned, it was only after 1975 that a sports culture developed in France, resulting from the Mazeaud Law, the new youth sports programs, and the exposure to and increased popularity of sports through television. Once such a culture was established and the sports crisis began to be reversed, then sports medicine began to assume a more important role in France. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that most French legislation on medical surveillance of youth athletes began in 1987, coinciding with international French athletic successes and the rise of youth training *à la française*. That said, the French began to tinker with sports medicine in the 1960s, a trend throughout the industrialized world. Although efforts to improve athletic performances were investigated and discussed in the 1960s, nothing concrete was enacted at the time.

In France, mandatory medical supervision of athletes dates to the 1975 Mazeaud Law, which stipulated that anyone who held a license to practice sport needed to obtain a medical certificate. This documentation, renewed annually, attested that the athlete was in good physical condition and could participate athletically.[575] To this end, doctors in France needed to obtain certificates in biology and sports medicine in order to provide medical certificates. In 1976, *L'Équipe* noted that medical controls for the sport-study sections were necessary:

> Medical intervention must be a complete medico-educative monitoring shared jointly by the athletic coach, the school doctor responsible for the sport-study section, and the medical specialist from the Ministry of Youth and Sport.[576]

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[575] Dr. Pierre Rochcongar, interview with author, Rennes, France, June 20, 2007.
[576] "Sport-Études: la surveillance médicale du élèves," *L'Équipe*, October 6, 1976, 5.

Statistics for the 1978-92 period are unavailable, but a cursory look through the numbers of sports medicine centers and volume of athletes examined from 1965-77 underlines the fact that medicine was an increasingly important component of sport. For example, in 1965, there were just 118 sports medicine centers in France, which conducted medical exams on 213,841 athletes (youth and adult), rejecting 5,604 as physically unfit to play. In 1970, the nation's 180 sports medicine centers examined 399,094 athletes and refused to issue medical certificates to 7,664 of them. By 1977 there were 287 sports medicine centers, which examined 475,021 athletes and refused certificates to 8,878 of them.[577] One can break down the 1977 figures to reflect the attention given to young athletes by the medical authorities that year: there were 39 doctors in youth-sport establishments, 136 doctors who were assigned as inspectors for youth sports programs, and 36 federal medical commissions. Together they examined 2,700 youth athletes who were enrolled in the country's sport-study sections.[578]

After a 1984 rule change, it was no longer necessary for a physician to specialize in sports medicine in order to issue medical certificates to athletes. This helps to explain why sports medicine was not a prevalent field in France outside of elite athletics until the early 1990s.[579] Even today, France has a small body of doctors dedicated solely to sports medicine. This renewed specialization after 1990 was attributable to continued

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[577] *Statistiques Jeunesse, Sports, et Loisirs* (Paris: Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports, et des Loisirs, 1978), 179.

[578] No statistics are available as to the number of center of formation players that were examined during this period. Ibid, 180.

[579] Dr. Denys Barrault, "Exercise actuel de la médecine du sport," *Actes de la 3eme Conférence Nationale Médicale Interfédérale et du 1er Symposium de l'IRMES*, November 28-29, 2006 (Paris: Mission Médicale et sport santé du CNOSF), 135.

government legislation and increased desire to use medicine promote healthy sportsmen and women.

French medical regulation of youth sports participation sought to protect the young. The perceived dangers of the youth sports programs were many. An adolescent could practice or play in games when they were not in good health and thus risk injury, which was of special concern as the time devoted to competitions and practices increased continuously. There were fears that a youth athlete who lived away from home might not consume enough nutritious calories or get enough sleep to fuel his daily athletic performance. Such an under-nourished or fatigued athlete was consequently more prone to injury. Additionally, there were anxieties that the youth could succumb to the pressure to succeed and turn to doping to combat fatigue or improve performance.

The influx of money into French sports, and subsequently the youth sports system, in the early 1980s added new pressures to youth athletics. By 1984 it was possible for some to make a living by playing professional football. The motivation to be the best meant one could sign a lucrative professional contract, and further down the road, an endorsement deal through which one could garner even more money. To be sure, for many players the main motivation to be an elite athlete remained love of the game, and the desire to and the honor in playing for the national team. Yet, for some young players, the monetary rewards represented a chance to pull their families out of poor economic positions. Given these new pressures, fears grew that young athletes could be exploited or pushed beyond their limits. Medicine seemed to serve as a way to minimize risks.

The emphasis upon medical supervision in youth sports was present starting in the 1970s, but studies or recommendations that specifically targeted adolescent athletes did not begin to appear until the 1980s and 1990s. What emerges from available sources is a snapshot of a nation that sought to regain international prestige from athletic success by harnessing medicine to fine-tune athletic performance, yet desired above all to create healthy athletes.

Medical Supervision and Preventative Training

French sports medicine under the Fifth Republic developed preventative training for elite athletes. This concept was defined by Jacques Sapin, a professor of Physical Education and Sport, as "the confrontation between theory and practice, between the laboratory and the playing field," and incorporated into athletic formation.[580] By 1975 the FFBB created teams of specialists to support its elite athletes, composed not only of coaches, but also of physicians, researchers, teachers, and psychologists. The FFBB believed that body building (i.e. weight lifting) could develop performances in basketball and could help prevent injury. Some of the training techniques suggested in late 1975 were isotonic weight lifting, work with the fingers (for ball pressure), work with medicine balls (those weighing between two and five kg), abdominal exercises, and work with the legs and knees.[581] Such work helped to prevent knee injuries, the most common affliction suffered by basketball players past and present.[582]

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[580] Jacques Sapin, "Approche d'un entraînement scientifique," *Basket/Ball*, No. 450, (November-December 1975), 23.
[581] FFBB, "La musculation," *Basket/Ball*, No. 450, (November-December 1975), 28.
[582] Dr. Jean-Yves Guincestre, interview with the author July 16, 2008, Paris, France.

French football authorities also used medical knowledge to develop more rational athletic training programs to produce better athletes. As early as 1965 the National Football League (*Ligue National de Football*, LNF) began consulting doctors to determine how they could decrease the number and severity of injuries incurred by professional players. The LNF commissioned a study that found that most injuries were due to hard and long practices, the use of Duralumin cleats[583], the abandonment of protective measures for the individual, and players running into goalposts.[584] To counter these dangers, the study recommended a general reorganization within French football teams to emphasize greater roles for medical supervision, medical care, and other precautions.[585] Subsequently, medical supervision and injury prevention were identified as increasingly important aspects of elite athletic development, and by 1967 it was believed that this area should be improved upon.[586]

Historically, the injuries that most often plagued football players, according to Dr. Pierre Rochcongar, head doctor of the center of formation for Stade Rennais Football Club in Rennes, were knee problems and a host of secondary injuries, many relating to the tendons.[587] By 1986 tendonitis was on the rise because young athletes were training for greater durations of time each day and week at an age when their bodies were not

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[583] Duralumin is the main alloy of aluminum and is very lightweight. Many cleats at the time were made using duralumin spikes.
[584] "Etude de M. Bacharzina sur les measures à prendre pour obtenir une diminution du nombre des accidents et de leurs conséquences," Center of Contemporary Archives Installation 19770189, Article 1 "Statut du Joueur Pro Football 1965," 1.
[585] Ibid, 2.
[586] A study released that October found that the two sports in which the greatest number of participants sustained injury were rugby (14.2%) and football (6.12%). Jean-Claude Guillebaud, "La prevention des accidents," *Le Monde*, October 11, 1967, 19.
[587] Dr. Rochcongar is also Professor of Sports Medicine at the University of Rennes, and former doctor of the national football team. Rochcongar, June 2007.

fully developed.[588] Other causes of tendonitis were improper training grounds and techniques, which caused tendonitis in the Achilles heel and knee.[589] Young football players, especially the defensive players and goalies, were found to suffer the higher rates of injury, predominately impacting the lower body: sprains in the ankle, quadriceps, hamstring, and groin, although problems with the knees and the Achilles tendon were also prevalent.[590] Injuries were the same for both young boys and girls, though it was admitted that girls tended to have higher frequencies of inflammatory reactions.[591] Most of these injuries were the result of training regiments. Thus, it was felt that building muscle (lifting weights) should be an integral part of any athletic regimen.[592]

Studies concerning youth sports medicine were not conducted until the 1990s, and even then most of them pertained to football. Though these studies are so recent, they are useful for historians of youth sport as they reflect trends that began during the late 1970s and 1980s. One study headed by Dr. Frank Le Gall, the head of medicine at the FFF's Clairefontaine training center, documented the rates and types of injuries amongst French elite youth football players from August 1993-June 2003. Le Gall found that younger players were more likely to sustain injuries during training as they had not yet learned injury prevention drills and techniques, while older players were more likely to injure

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[588] P. Beliveau, "Tendonitis in children's sports," in Christian Benezis, Jacques Simeray, and Lucien Simon (eds), *L'enfant, l'adolescent, et le sport* (Paris: Masson, 1986), 143.
[589] Ibid, 144-45.
[590] Frank Le Gall, Christopher Carling, Thomas Reilly, Henry Vandewalle, Julia Church, and Pierre Rochcongar, "Incidence of injuries in elite French youth soccer players: a 10-season study," *The American Journal of Sports Medicine*, (June 2006) Vol. 34, Issue 6, 933.
[591] Beliveau, 143.
[592] Alain Durey and André Boeda, *Médecine du football* (Paris: Masson, 1982), 4.

themselves during games. Overall, most injuries occurred in September, the beginning of the football season.[593]

In recognition of the fact that the anatomical development of a 13 or 16 year old was different from that of an adult, coaches and doctors worked together to develop practice regimes with the youth player in mind, while improved training facilities were built, all in an effort to reduce risk for injury. In addition to greater emphasis upon weight lifting and learning better technique, there was increased awareness of the need for athletic regimens that emphasized aerobic training. This was to prepare the young athlete for games in which, for footballers, they would run approximately five or eight kilometers up and down the field.[594]

Lastly, medical supervision could ensure that young players did not push themselves too hard: to guarantee that they did not reach the point where they were burned out, or turned off from sport by the burdens of constant practices, games, and pressures of the system. "Burn out for us is very rare," said Dr. Rochcongar, citing the system's medical controls as a major factor that prevented this phenomenon. He also pointed to the psychological aspect of the hope that most young players had of being selected to the national team. "If you are in a center of formation for years, psychologically there is a certain structure that keeps you going," he said.[595] General medical surveillance to supervise young athletes while also developing safer athletic

[593] Le Gall *et al.*, 928.
[594] This is the equivalent of three- to five miles. Undated and untitled document, Center of Contemporary Archives Installment 19810172, Article 2 Football Medicine.
[595] Rochcongar, June 2007.

training regimens was one way to ensure that youth development programs did not have adverse impacts upon the health of young athletes.

Diet and Nutrition

Another focal point of French sport medicine was diet and nutrition. The French wanted to ensure that young athletes ate enough food to sustain an active lifestyle. Sports and government authorities also wanted to ascertain that the food consumed contained enough nutrients to allow young bodies to complete development. Although the Ministry of Youth and Sport did not formally legislate medical supervision in youth sports until the 1980s, efforts to improve athletic performances were investigated and discussed as early as the 1960s.[596]

The FFBB took the lead in identifying diet and nutrition as an important aspect of youth training. A nutritious diet could help produce healthy players, but could also help in a player's physical development. Gérard Bosc, former National Technical Director of Basketball in France, noted that by the 1960s, one of the primary concerns of basketball trainers and doctors in France was the need to identify taller players.[597]

In 1967, FFBB president Robert Busnel noted that, "the nations we once fought against are now superior. We lack at least two players who are over two meters."[598] The FFBB's Dr. Jacques Huguet noted that at the 1967 European Basketball Championship, held in Helsinki, Finland, out of sixteen teams in the competition, there were 48 players

[596] Drs. Véronique Meyer and Gilles Einsargueix, interviews with the author, Paris, France, June 26, 2007.
[597] Gérard Bosc, interview with the author, Paris, France, April 2006.
[598] Two meters is roughly 6' 6.7". "Pas d'équipe de France sans 'géants,'" *Le Monde*, September 27, 1967, 10.

who were at least two meters.[599] The twelve tallest players hailed from the Soviet Union, Greece, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Finland, and Italy, and ranged from 2.15 meters (7' 0.6") to 2.05 meters (6' 7").[600] "The giant [basketball player] is like an atomic armament," Dr. Huguet said. "If a nation does not possess one, it is an unbalanced struggle."[601]

The FFBB recognized in 1968 that diet could help to produce taller players, and by 1974 it was recognized that diet could also help improve an athlete's overall performance.[602] At the FFBB's Tenth Medical Day, held on March 9, 1974, specialists addressed the difficulties that many athletes had with diet, noting that the two most frequent problems were eating enough calories a day and the environment in which meals were consumed.[603] At the conference, the results of a study conducted after the Munich 1972 Summer Games were examined. This study advocated that footballers should consume a total of 2,792 calories per day, while basketball players should eat 5,000 (male) and 2,700 (female) calories per day.[604] Specialists noted that many athletes had difficulty eating the requisite number of calories recommended per day because of the high cost of food, especially fresh vegetables and meats.[605] Additionally, it was

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[599] Dr. Jacques Huguet, "Operation Grande Taille: Aspect Médical," *Fourth Medical Day*, *FFBB*, March 24, 1968, 25. Center of Contemporary Archives , Installation 19810172, Article 1 Basketball Medicine.
[600] Ibid.
[601] Ibid.
[602] In 2008, Dr. Guincestre noted that height was much more a function of genetics rather than diet. In 2008, the FFBB sought to recruit boys who were 2.10 meters (6' 9") and girls who were at least 2.0 meters (6' 5") tall. Guincestre, July 16, 2008.
[603] Dr. Pequignot, untitled document, Tenth Medical Day Report, FFBB, Paris, March 9, 1974, 25. Center of Contemporary Archives Installation 19810172, Article 1 Basketball Medicine.
[604] Madam Darius, untitled document, Tenth Medical Day Report, FFBB, Paris, March 9, 1974, 30. Center of Contemporary Archives Installation 19810172, Article 1 Basketball Medicine.
[605] Ibid.

reported that most athletes lacked calcium.[606] Yet, there were few recommendations about how to make food more affordable to elite athletes.

If the FFBB was concerned about the diet of basketball players and attempting to use diet to augment youths' weight and height for optimal athletic performance, the FFF was not concerned about diet at this juncture. Dr. Rochcongar said that dietary concerns for young elite football players in France did not rise to the forefront of the sports development system until approximately ten years ago when professional dieticians were added to the staffs of all the FFF's centers of formation.[607] "Because of the nature of the sport [of football], we do not have the problem of height in selecting optimal footballers," Dr. Rochcongar said. He noted that selection into the development system and national teams was and remains a function of one's ability, not height. Indeed, the average height of French footballers falls within the 1.75 or 1.76 meter range (5' 8.8" and 5' 9.2" respectively).[608]

By the 1980s there was noticeable increase in information pertaining to sport and nutrition. It was acknowledged that dietary prescriptions differed from sport to sport, reflecting the variance in exertion levels. The two sports under investigation in this study fall into the general category of team sport. In 1980, it was recommended that on game days, to maximize energy levels for optimal performance, athletes participating in team sports such as football or basketball should observe the three-hour rule: to eat their main pre-match meal three- to four-hours prior to game time. Breakfast was to be eaten between 7 and 8am, followed by lunch around 11am, a pre-game snack, and another

[606] Ibid.
[607] Rochcongar, June 2007.
[608] Ibid.

snack at half time in order to help boost energy levels which could flag.[609] Diet was found to play a significant role in helping to prevent injury to muscles and tendons, while also boosting energy levels.[610] Therefore, it was recommended that young players should eat a breakfast that contained high levels of protein, such as eggs, cheese, or cold meat, drink plenty of fluids, and get sufficient sleep.[611]

Despite the early attention given to diet and its role in athletic performance, dietary concerns were not regulated until 1987, and even then there were no specific requirements as to how much and what young elite athletes should eat to achieve optimal performance and nutrition. According to Dr. Gilles Einsargaux, a doctor at the Ministry of Youth and Sport, "the 1987 law states that doctors decide [dietary guidelines]. There is an assessment of diet that the federations organize."[612] Yet there were no overarching dictates or dietary prescriptions on a sport-by-sport basis. Even today, basketball and football sports doctors and nutritionists are free to prescribe a dietary regimen as they see fit without any national or federation dictates. Nevertheless, increased attention to the diet and nutritional content of young athletes' meals sought to protect the athlete from injury, to keep energy levels up, to avoid exhaustion, and to create healthy athletes.

The Fight Against Doping

A third component of the French prescription for creating better, healthier athletes was the effort to avoid doping. Starting in the 1960s when sport became an important

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[609] Albert-François Creff and Léone Bérard, *Manuel Practique de l'Alimentation du Sportif* (Paris: Masson, 1980), 347.
[610] Durey and Boeda, 35.
[611] Ibid.
[612] Einsargueix, June 2007.

tool in the Cold War, doping regimens grew in numbers and level of prominence. The period 1968-92 is typically recognized of being the height of doping in international sport, perpetrated by the East Germans, but certainly by other countries as well. Perhaps this was why anti-doping controls and education were so important and integral for the French. The anti-doping campaign attached to the medical supervision of French youth athletes was an effort to protect them from the dangers of doping. This was accomplished through a program that sought to educate young players as to the physical and legal risks of using doping agents.

Doping is as old as modern sport itself. Examples of athletes using doping agents such as alcohol, cocaine, or strychnine date to the late nineteenth century. As the pharmaceutical field developed in the early twentieth century, the doping agents used in sports grew more sophisticated. Until the 1960s the dominant doping agent was amphetamine, a stimulant first developed in 1930. Specific sports turned to certain substances, but for basketball and football, the most useful type of doping agent was a stimulant, whether that was in the form of alcohol, cocaine, or amphetamines. Although many sport disciplines, such as weight lifting and track and field, turned more and more to anabolic steroids to build muscle mass and aid muscle recovery, football and basketball by and large eschewed this trend during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

The rise of doping within professional, amateur, and even recreational sports was a global phenomenon of the Cold War period, largely fueled by nationalism (the desire to be the country to win the most medals) and by the infusion of substantial sums of money into professional sport (the successful athlete obtained the best endorsement deals or

other monetary rewards). Within France, government archives and press accounts were not too concerned by the use of doping agents by elite football or basketball players; the rhetoric was focused more exclusively upon cyclists, thus there was little attention paid to doping in team sports. One reason for this was that France, up until the 1960s, still maintained a vigorous idealism toward sport. There endured the belief that sports should remain within the confines of amateurism first triumphed by Pierre de Coubertin in the 1890s, as evidenced by the national conversation about the French sport crisis of the 1960s. Because of this attitude, it was believed that there was a national disinclination to use doping substances in many sport disciplines, especially those that were collaborative. Another reason was that cycling was the sport most tied to professionalism and financial rewards by the start of the 1960s and 1970s, encouraging cyclists to attempt victory at any cost. This was not the case for football or basketball. Monetary incentive was not an option in these two sports in France until the early 1980s. At the level of youth sports, especially elite youth athletics, there was little competition or incentive to warrant the use of doping agents until the youth training programs grew more sophisticated, specialized, and could ensure entry into the nation's premier athletic leagues and teams.

For France, the issue of doping and the measures taken against it are interesting in that they contradict the nation's desire to project power abroad through athletic triumphs. One might think that France would not have undertaken such an ardent, anti-doping position so that they could harness the power of pharmaceuticals to gain gold medals and other titles. Certainly, the nation that influenced the French youth training programs,

East Germany, did not adopt such attitudes about doping. The GDR, in its quest to out-influence the Soviet Union and to gain recognition and honor abroad, cultivated a pro-doping culture so that East German athletes would achieve assured victory. The most well-known example of the GDR's doping initiative was within its famed swimming schools.[613]

Doping arguably provided a way to obtain better athletic results and help one's athletes remain competitive in the global marketplace. At a time when France was mired in its sport crisis it acted against the pharmaceutical industry. In 1965 France was the first country, alongside Belgium, to enact national legislation penalizing athletes who doped, a move that penalized sportsmen and women who doped.

Law 65-412 of June 1, 1965 stated that "anyone who previous to or during a sporting competition knowingly uses any substances which are intended to artificially raise his physical abilities for a short time and is likely to harm his health," would be subjected to fines ranging from 500 to 5,000 francs, and even jail time of up to one year for the offense.[614] It was supplemented by the decree of June 10, 1966 (Decree 66-373), which banned specific substances from athletic competitions, mostly amphetamines.[615] Enforcement of these new requirements rested with the Minister of Youth and Sport, the Minister of Social Affairs, and the Minister of Justice.

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[613] There are many works that examine the use of doping agents by GDR authorities. One that deals specifically with swimming is Steven Ungerleider, *Faust's Gold: Inside the East German Doping Machine*, (New York: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press, 2001).

[614] Loi 65-412 du 1er juin 1965 tendant a la repression de l'usage des stimulants à l'occasion des competitions sportives. *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, June 2, 1965, 4531.

[615] "Décret N 66-373 du 10 juin 1966 pourtant règlement d'administration publique pour l'application de la loi no 65-412 du 1 juin 1965 tendant à la repression de l'usage des stimulants à l'occasion des competitions sportives, *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, June 14, 1966, 4753.

France helped to influence and craft the global anti-doping movement. FIFA began its anti-doping campaign in earnest with the 1966 England World Cup, and the IOC Medical Commission published a banned list of substances in 1967, finally implementing drug testing at the Olympics in 1968. Yet, within France there was a general blanket of silence over the issue of doping by football and basketball players; amongst the youth athletes, even more so. There were, however, some exceptions.

In October 1968 France was shocked when an 18-year old French football player, Jean-Louis Quadri, collapsed on the football pitch. He died en route to the hospital, but the autopsy revealed that Quadri had taken amphetamines, the suspected cause for his death.[616] The story of Quadri and another French youth, Yves Mottin, a 23-year old cyclist who died that fall after taking amphetamines, brought global attention to the fact that doping was a phenomenon that extended to the youth. The American weekly sports newsmagazine, *Sports Illustrated*, believed the deaths of the two French youths important enough to warrant coverage in a June 23, 1969 article on doping in sports.[617]

There may very well be connections between increased doping and the rise within general society of recreational drug use. By 1969 French authorities were worried not only about illegal doping in sport, but also drug use amongst French youth. The increased usage of marijuana and heroin caused anxiety for the French. In 1971, then-Minister of Youth and Sport Joseph Comiti told Radio Monte-Carlo that the youth drug

[616] "Une enquête est ouverte à Grenoble après la mort de deux jeunes sportifs dopés," *Le Monde*, November 26, 1968, 23.
[617] Bill Gilbert, "Drugs in Sport," *Sports Illustrated*, June 23, 1969, 42-73.

culture was "a social phenomenon, a particular psychological phenomenon that is produced by and is probably a reflection of life today."[618]

As the years progressed, the anxiety over youths taking drugs, whether recreational or doping, translated into the fear that it would become a life-long habit, no longer one of experimental nature or an act of rebellion. One of the dominant fears amongst physicians by the 1980s was that adolescent athletes who used drugs, even steroids, would continue this habit beyond their formative years.[619] *Le Monde* noted that French doctors believed that doping gave a psychological boost, not a physical one, and thus they were opposed to doping. Such physicians preferred that instead athletes use medical supervision to achieve naturally, without cheating or incurring any danger to themselves, the lofty records of top sporting form.[620] This desire to protect athletes and emphasis upon health ensured that medicine evolved hand in hand with the youth sports systems.

The anti-doping approach adopted by the centers of formation and the sport-study sections was to embrace medical knowledge of the body and teach youths how to best perform. Thus medical supervision included education about doping agents, their impact upon the body, and how using them could end one's stay at the youth training centers. Many centers of formation, such as the ones at Stade Rennais and Olympique de Marseille, adopted a no-tolerance policy in which a center of formation player who tested positive for a banned substance without a doctor's note was automatically dropped from

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[618] "Extraits de l'interview de M. Comiti à Radio-Montecarlo," August 26, 1971, Center of Contemporary Archives Installment 19770224, Article 2 Youth and Drugs.
[619] W.V. Moore, "Anabolic steroid use in adolescence," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, (December 1988), 3484.
[620] Une automédication dangereuse," *Le Monde*, August 5, 1967, 9.

the program. Although education and prevention were the catechisms of the day, they did not eliminate the problem for youth athletes.

Although there was a lack of documentation of youth use of doping agents for much of the 1970s and 1980s, there was an emergence of documented doping for their heroes, professional and elite athletes, which may have been a negative influence. By 1986 there was an up tick in doping in football. That year, Toulouse players Jean-François Domergue and Alberto Tarantini were involved in a doping scandal. They refused to submit to drug tests after a game against Bordeaux.[621] Their tests would have been compromised because one had taken cortisones to treat an injury and the other had consumed cold medication to ease his suffering prior to the match. Both substances were on the list of banned medicines, unless one had a doctor's note, which neither one did. This incident caused a debate within the French press as to the ambiguity of the doping controls.[622] The following year, Bernard Tapie, president of Olympique de Marseille, one of the most storied football clubs in Europe, spoke out about the subject of French football and doping. "When I arrived, there was a code of silence on doping," he told *Le Monde*. "Everyone, including journalists, was informed. Nobody spoke. I, myself, saw runner-types circulate around with briefcases and syringes. I reported [them], some of whom are now in prison."[623] Doping had materialized within French football.

In 1989, one of the doctors at the National Institute for Sport and Physical Education (INSEP), the institution that housed the country's premier elite youth sport

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[621] Patrick Dessault, "Dopage et vice de forme," *L'Equipe*, January 30, 1986, 4.
[622] Ibid.
[623] Jean-Jacuqes Bozonnet, "La gestion du club marseillais. Un coup de pied de Bernard Tapie," *Le Monde*, February 7, 1987, 9.

sections, died amidst rumors that he was providing doping agents to elite athletes.[624] Although INSEP officials denied that the doctor was involved in a doping ring, his death raised a debate about doping and young elite athletes. The director of INSEP at the time, Claude Bouquin, said that recreational drugs, not doping agents, were the problem among elite youth athletes. "Some kids feel badly about themselves," he said, "they were looking for substitutes," in explanation for the increase in recreational youth drug use since 1980.[625]

Still, a general code of silence surrounding doping and young athletes remained. Some argued that there was silence surrounding the issue as it was a non-issue. Football legend Jean Tigana, argued that doping for footballers was a disadvantage because "for us footballers, lucidity is indispensable for the game and it is too important to deprive oneself of voluntarily."[626] This was a sentiment echoed decades previously by *L'Équipe* which, in 1973, wrote that "the effects of doping are perhaps spectacular in certain sports; they are less so in sports such as football."[627] Joël Bats, another former professional player, also noted that for football, doping did not pose any advantage to the player. "I do not see the advantages to be obtained by a player who dopes in a sport as collective as football," he said.[628] These sentiments were still reflected in 2008 when Dr. Rochcongar said that "at the center of formation, one has anti-doping controls in place for the youth.

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[624] Stéfan L'Hermitte, "L'INSEP n'est pas au dope-niveau," *L'Équipe*, January 6, 1989, 2.
[625] Ibid.
[626] J.P. de Mondenard and P. Laure, "Football et substances erogéniques," in *Entretiens de Médecine du Sport 1994* (Paris: Expansion Scientifique Française, 1994), 22.
[627] de Mondenard and Laure, 72.
[628] Ibid.

There hasn't been a problem with drugs," he said, because "in France, there is not a culture of taking forbidden products. It is an attitude that isn't here in France."[629]

Dr. Gilles Einsargueix of the Ministry of Youth and Sport disagreed. "Everyone says that there is no doping in their sport… but it is in all professional sports, even if there is less money involved than in football and tennis," the sports that traditionally have had the most money in France.[630] Dr. Véronique Meyer, also of the Ministry of Youth and Sport, adds that "before the late 1980s, nobody spoke of doping in football. Until this time, nobody was very concerned with doping but it was there in the sports where there is a lot of money."[631] The odds of doping not trickling down to a sport's up-and-coming generation are slim if it is a problem in the adult version of the game.

In May 1987 the Ministry of Youth and Sport launched an anti-doping campaign ("Doping, Get Lost!") to try to combat the growing problem. Part of the motivation was the increased number of positive test results that were returned after 1985. Roughly 1,656 tests were undertaken for athletes (youth and adult) across 17 sports, with only 13 positive cases, under 1%. This number doubled in 1986.[632] That year, out of 2,453 tests taken, there were 56 cases that were positively identified for doping substances.[633]

In the first nine months of 1987, 2,684 drugs tests were taken from French athletes, with 95 testing positively for doping agents.[634] The following year, the French government published an annex that listed the updated list of banned performance

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[629] Rochcongar, June 2007.
[630] Einsargueix, June 2007.
[631] Meyer, June 2007.
[632] Alain Giraudo, "Insaisissable dopage," *Le Monde*, May 8, 1987, 20.
[633] Alain Giraudo, "Le dopage en procès," *Le Monde*, October 13, 1987, 12.
[634] Alain Giraudo, "Le charge de la prévue," *Le Monde*, October 19, 1987, 8.

enhancing drugs. The five categories listed were stimulants, narcotics, anabolic steroids, beta-blockers, and diuretics. There were three groups that were listed as having certain restrictions placed upon their use during competition: alcohol, local anesthetics, and corticosteroids (cortisone).[635]

Doping increased during the 1980s for many reasons. First, as part of the Cold War, athletes were pushed continuously to win and to set new records. To finish second to the enemy-competition was undesirable. Second, the infusion of money into professional sports thanks to television and advertising upped the ante. The most lucrative contracts went to the athletes who won, broke records, and established themselves as the "best" in their discipline. Third, within Western society, the increased acceptance of pharmaceuticals to treat pain or to improve everyday performance perhaps made the use of doping agents seem less exotic and dangerous.

By 1989 the French government codified its updated regulations concerning doping in sport. Through Law 89-432 of June 28, 1989, for the first time the French government called for a mandatory information campaign to educate all athletes, especially adolescents and youths, about the ills of doping. This program was to be undertaken not only by teachers and coaches, but also by sports doctors.[636] Other measures called for by this law were the institution of medical studies to learn about the immediate and long-term effects of doping agents, the establishment of a medical bureau for elite athletes to monitor their developments, the creation of a National Commission

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[635] "Annex: Doping substances prohibited by the Medical Commission of the International Olympic Committee," *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, September 7, 1988, 11470.
[636] Loi 89-432 du 28 juin 1989 relative à la prévention et à la repression de l'usage des produits dopants à l'occasion des compétitions et manifestations sportives. Titre Ier, Article 2, *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, July 1, 1989, 8147.

Against Doping, charged with dispersing information on the anti-doping campaign, and the elaboration of doping controls and tests.

Part of the impact of the tightened controls for doping agents was that athletes were more rigorously screened for using performance-enhancing drugs. Surprisingly, the first positive drug test for French football came in November 1989 when a 28-year old footballer Philippe Anziani, a former attacker for the national team, tested positive for Di-Antalvic during a Metz-Toulon match that was conducted on September 30, 1989.[637] Di-Antalvic contained a product derived from morphine (dextropropoxyphene), which was on the French government and IOC's lists of banned products.[638] Although Anziani pled not guilty, claiming that he took the drug to calm his nerves nearly a week prior to the match in question, the FFF's Disciplinary Commission still penalized him.

At the time of the scandal, *Le Monde*'s football reporter Philippe Broussard reported that "doping is without doubt less widespread in football than in other sports even though the players are sometimes quite aggressive on the terrain."[639] The FFF even went so far as to cooperate with the Ministry of Youth and Sport in the Sastre Mission, an effort to clean up French football, quite probably in advance of the national bid to host the 1998 World Cup.

The greater attention paid to doping in sports after 1989 is reflected in the increase in testing of athletes. Within football, by 1990 there were 244 tests given for a

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[637] Philippe Broussard, "Philippe Anziani suspendu. Premier cas de dopage dans le football français," *Le Monde*, November 25, 1989, 28.
[638] Ibid.
[639] Ibid.

sport that year had 1,860,949 licensed players and 22,088 clubs. By 1993 this number increased to 397 tests given amongst 1,915,836 licensed players in 21,186 clubs.[640]

It is difficult to unearth information pertaining to medical controls of young athletes in France prior to the late 1970s and 1980s, mostly because sports medicine is still a fairly new field within France. This is coupled with the fact that mandatory medical supervision and doping controls for young athletes was only reflected into the government's regulations of the late 1980s. Thus there are very few public records of regulations and rules concerning youth athletic medical controls.

Yet, by the late 1980s and early 1990s there was the perception that doping was spreading to young elite athletes. A study conducted under the direction of Patrick Laure in the late 1990s and early 2000s found that many general practitioners had limited knowledge of doping in sports, despite encountering the issue on a day-to-day basis.[641] This lack of concrete knowledge led to general practitioners unwittingly prescribing doping agents to athletes for performance-enhancing purposes. "In our previous studies of French general practitioners," wrote Laure

> Thirty percent of respondents stated that they had been asked to prescribe banned drugs to athletes, or to explain how to use them… 87% of French GPs considered that doping is a public health problem, and 92% thought that they have a leading role to play in doping prevention, even if most (83%) considered themselves poorly trained in this domain.[642]

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[640] de Mondenard and Laure, 74.
[641] Patrick Laure, "General practitioners and doping in sport: attitudes and experience," *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 2003:37, 335.
[642] Ibid.

To combat doping, the FFF has instituted a strong program of education about drugs, both recreational and doping-related. Dr. Jacques Lienard, an anti-doping expert and head of the FFF's Anti-Doping division, stated that technically the FFF's anti-doping program started in 1970, but that it was not until the early 1990s that it became more full-fledged.[643] Starting in 1994 the FFF began to test not only for amphetamines but also for steroids. The FFF also started to work more closely with the World Anti-Doping Agency at this time.[644]

The French program of education on and controls over doping agents is the result of the desire to produce healthy athletes who are protected from sport's harsher aspects. The variety of doping agents, from amphetamines to steroids to hGH, all pose risks to the health of an athlete. In some cases, they can cause death or permanent injury as the athlete does not recognize if he has passed beyond the point of exhaustion or his own physical limitations. In order to induce players away from doping, French medicine evolved to provide not only greater surveillance of doping substances, but came full circle to advocate for improved training techniques. According to Dr. Lienard, as a result of the efforts to fight doping at the youth level, "they [federations and coaches] have greatly improved training. Now, one does more physical preparations at the youth level… the period of development and medical supervision, combined with athleticism and academics all combine," to form the products of the youth athletic training centers.[645]

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[643] Dr. Jacques Lienard, interview with the author, Paris, France, June 2007.
[644] Ibid.
[645] Ibid.

Conclusion

The program of medical controls that was established within the French youth training system in the first thirty years of its existence (1973-92) was instituted first and foremost to produce healthy athletes. This dovetailed with the desire to help protect young players from the rigors and potential dangers of elite athletic training. When young athletes started to endure longer and more frequent practices, there were concerns about how this might impact their health. Although there was general medical supervision in place after the 1975 Mazeaud Law, actual legislative controls for elite athletes were not instituted until 1987, with stringent anti-doping legislation enacted in 1999.

"Medical control is a public service," said Dr. Meyer.[646] This is one of the leading sentiments that led to the greater medical supervision and legislation concerning young athletes. Today, there are very rigid controls that regulate youth participation in the centers of formation and the descendants of the old sport-study sections, a product of these initiatives. The integration of medicine as a vital core component of the youth athletic programs is a major reason why today, after a generation of maturity, these systems produce some of the world's best football and basketball players.

[646] Meyer, June 2007.

Average Height of Basketball Players at the 1967 European Championship

	Height (meters)	**Height (feet)**	**Weight (kg)**	**Weight (pounds)**
General Average	**1.92m**	**6'4"**	**83.4kg**	**183.5lbs**
East German Average	1.98m	6'6"	89kg	195.8lbs
USSR Average	1.96m	6'5"	90.7kg	199.5lbs
Czechoslovakian Average	1.92m	6'4"	90.5kg	199.1lbs
French Average	1.92m	6'4"	82kg	180.77lbs

Source: Dr. Jacques Huguet. "Operation Grande Taille: Aspect Médical" Fourth Medical Day, FFBB, March 24, 1968, 26. CENTER OF CONTEMPORARY Archives, Installation 19810172 Article 1 Basketball Medicine.

Conclusion

During the first several decades of the Fifth Republic, France successfully used youth sports in a variety of ways. The youth and sports crises of the 1960s (1958-73) helped to shape public and government support for the youth sports programs examined in this study. The problem of the large youth demographic, the way it challenged the traditional social and institutional norms of the nation, and the popular culture that developed during the period helped to compound the sense of a youth crisis. To ease these domestic pressures, French officials used sports as a tool to shape the youth, instill republican ideals, and reinforce meritocracy and democracy. In the 1960s the state promoted greater athleticism for the youth to combat the growing youth culture that increasingly embraced drug use, and also to act as a deterrent to juvenile delinquency. The enlarged role of team sports was a definitive break from the past.

The French also turned their attention to sport in order to establish a new image of France, one that was youthful, victorious, and influential. In the aftermath of World War II, France faced many challenges that transformed how it viewed itself and how it was perceived around the world. Sport was a way to improve its image abroad and a way to reassert its sense of self-worth domestically.

With the expansion of television during the 1960s, international impressions of a nation's athletic victories or defeats had new resonance. The Cold War sports rivalry between the United States, the Soviet Union, and East Germany at the Olympic Games precluded countries with smaller populations and resources. Thus, for countries such as

France, football and basketball events became as prized, if not more so than, the ability to win Olympic gold medals.

Set against the backdrop of other transformative trends of the 1960s, both the youth and sports crises acted as catalysts that spurred the Fifth Republic to invest in youth sports. Sport, specifically at the youth level, was one of the ways in which the French tried to address and adapt to these changes, especially during the 1960s. The merging of youth and sport was the first such effort since the Vichy Regime. The shift was vital as it laid the foundation for the two revolutionary youth sports training programs investigated in this work.

After 1973, youth sport was a tool to integrate youths into society and to ensure that the youth would not rebel again in the future. It was an antidote to the legacy of 1968: a way to reinforce authority and nationalism in an era of increasing globalization during which the youth tested the limits of the rules. Youth sports were a way to heal the ruptures caused by 1968.

The sport-study section and the center of formation were successful ways in which the French solved the youth and sports crises of the 1960s. Both were novel ways to integrate youth, sports, and education in the shared goal of producing elite young athletes to win acclaim for the nation in international athletic competitions. As they evolved, the center of formation and sport-study section reflected the shifting attitudes of French society and the state of the 1970s and 1980s. For a country that prided itself on its egalitarianism, the creation of an elite cadre of athletic youths who received specialized assistance as part of their training program was a marked departure from previous eras

and attested to the French desire to win. The increased emphasis upon sports medicine to protect the health of athletes was a reflection of the growing rationalization and medicalization of athletic training.

The turn to sports medicine resulted in a new era of doping. While many countries embarked upon doping programs to provide their athletes with competitive "edge," France did not. The role of the French government to safeguard society and the large role of the anti-doping movement resulted in the shunning of doping programs. This may have cost France athletically, but ultimately, the French were victorious, winning international titles and medals. The successes of the 1980s and afterwards were perhaps a demonstration that perseverance combined with the technical and medical oversight that are prominent features of the French sports models eventually paid off.

As television broadcasts became integral athletic components during the 1970s and 1980s, images of teams and athletes competing for the nation had a powerful impact and reinforced national identity. In a globalizing world, the French youth sports programs helped to reassert French identity amongst its young players, trying to counteract the trend of a transnational youth that was produced during the 1960s. As France began to produce winning teams and internationally recognized athletes such as Michel Platini, televised images reinforced and helped to reinvent French identity: that of an athletic, victorious nation. Additionally, youth sports programs also served to assimilate immigrant youth into the wider social fabric and served as a way to legitimize their Frenchness.

To what degree were the sport-study sections and the centers of formation successful, and how does one measure success? One way is to look at the results produced by the French system. Since the 1973 implementation of the two programs, France has won the football World Cup (1998) and placed in the top four (second place, 2008; third place 1986; fourth place 1984). It has won the Olympic football tournament (1984 Los Angeles) and won the European football championships twice (1984, 2000). These teams consisted of players mostly developed in the center of formation system, athletes who since the 1980s have played in the world's elite football leagues in increasing numbers.

For basketball, a sport that experienced renewed interest and rebirth during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the results have been less impressive, but encouraging nonetheless. France won the silver medal at the 2000 Olympic tournament (Atlanta) and took fifth place at the 2006 World Championship. French basketball players trained in the French system began to play in the world's elite basketball league, the NBA, in 2001 with Tony Parker's recruitment to the San Antonio Spurs. Today in 2009, other French basketball players actively play for a number of U.S. teams: Boris Diaw (Charlotte Bobcats), Yakhouba Diawara (Miami Heat), Ian Mahinmi (San Antonio Spurs), Mickaël Piétrus (Miami Heat), and Ronny Turiaf (Golden State Warriors). In addition, there are some French players who played in the NBA during the 2000s and are no longer active, and those who were drafted by NBA teams but are still in the minor leagues.

Another way to measure success is to view the influences that the French system has had internationally. Many countries have implemented systems very similar to the

French in the past thirty years, attesting to the viability of the French model. A group of sports ministers from Africa meet annually at INSEP to talk about and learn new developments in the French system. Other countries have adopted the center of formation system within professional clubs. As of early 2009, teams from the English Premiership, England's elite professional league and regarded as one of the best in the world, were in the processes of implementing systems similar to the FFF's centers of formation. In 2008, USA Basketball started to investigate a variety of models to create a youth league to identify and cultivate young players at an early age, very reminiscent of the French system. That an increasing number of NBA players were trained at and recruited from INSEP does not escape American basketball officials and agents.[647]

A third way to measure success is to hear players, parents, and coaches talk about the present-day systems. Such first-hand accounts demonstrate the continuity of many of the issues raised and tackled by the sport-study section or the center of formation, ranging from importance of academics to stereotypes and ideas of elitism and race. Moreover, these descriptions also explain present-day problems of the systems such as burn-out, overbearing parents, and the embedded love for the game, all issues that most likely were around 20 or 30 years ago. Such sentiments may be found in Annex I, which contains three articles written by the author in 2002 on French youth football as part of a master's project at New York University. Due to the differences in conducting research as an historian and as a journalist, consent forms were not used in the 2002 study. Therefore, names and identifiers have been removed from those who could not be contacted in 2009

[647] The national sport-study section for each sport with the exception of football was located at INSEP in the 1970s. Since then the sport-study section has undergone a change of terminology. Today, the equivalent to this national sport-study section is called the Pôle France and remains centered at INSEP.

to grant permission for attribution. Yet, these articles help to paint a portrait of what the programs look like in the 2000s. Based upon how the sport-study section and the center of formation originally functioned, such articles demonstrate the progress, growing sophistication, and daily rhythm of the youth sports programs in France.

As this study demonstrates, France used youth sports as an agent of modernization, to re-launch itself as a rejuvenated nation that relied upon rationalized athletic development to produce elite athletes, ideal citizens who would win international sporting events and titles. The sport-study section and the center of formation programs were important ways for the French to integrate national values and ideals into the youth and to teach democratic attributes considered essential to the nation, such as merit, playing by the rules, teamwork, and a sense of community. The degrees of success of these programs at the international level enabled France to regain honor and prestige abroad. At a time in which soft power was (and remains) an important tool of diplomacy, such athletic successes helped to demonstrate a rejuvenated, revived France in a way that Charles de Gaulle was unable to accomplish during the 1960s.

Epilogue

When this study was begun in the early 2000s, the 1990s were still too recent in memory to offer in-depth historical perspective, which is why my examination of the history and evolution of French youth sports structures for football and basketball stops in 1992. Now that the first decade of the new millennium is near its close, there is perhaps greater distance to now offer a more historic viewpoint. Many transformations occurred in French football and basketball during the 1990s, ranging from an increase in sports participation and spectatorship, to labor issues, greater testing (and debate) of athletes who dope, the ways in which sport acted as a prism to think about French identity and assimilation, and a changing relationship between the state, the sports federations, and local municipalities. Such alterations fundamentally modified how the French partook in and consumed sports. The foundations of these changes are found in the 1958-92 period, and came into fruition during the 1990s. They culminated with the 1998 World Cup and 2000 European Championship wins for football, and the silver medal for the French basketball team at the 2000 Sydney Olympic Summer Games. What follows is a short narration of the transformations in these two sports in the 1990s and the tensions that such changes exacerbated or produced.

As with much of this study, the majority of information available for the period pertains to French football. Yet, when researching mainstream daily French press coverage of the 1990s, basketball appears with greater frequency than it did during previous decades, an indication that the story of French basketball during this period merits greater study. Similarly, this narrative focuses upon the changes undergone by

adult professional and elite sport. In understanding the revolution of adult football and basketball, the areas where further study on youth formation are needed emerge.

The Revolution of French Football

The 1990s revolutionized French (and European) football in a multitude of ways. This section speaks of European football but the same trends manifested themselves within France. Often the foundations of these developments were already in place by the 1970s and 1980s as examined in Chapter Five. The growing football-television nexus was responsible for unleashing the forces of change after 1992.

The issue of labor in professional European football has significantly impacted the sport. In December 1995 the European Court of Justice passed what is known as the Bosman ruling, which allowed professional football players to move clubs within the European Union when their contracts expired. Players were allowed to do so without the involvement of a transfer fee paid by their new club to their former club. It also stipulated that clubs could sign any number of European Union players, without having to abide by the previous restrictions on the number of foreign players fielded in a game. European Union players were no longer considered foreign.

The Bosman ruling released players from restrictive contracts and deregulated the football market in Europe. It enabled greater fluidity and more competition of the labor market, which improved the overall quality of play. This was an important ruling that changed not only European football but also European sport irrecoverably. Until this time, most leagues restricted the number of foreign players on a professional team. Beginning in 1979, the UEFA allowed European Union players to play on club sides

throughout the union, though they were still considered foreigners. The clubs were restricted to fielding two foreign players each in a game. In 1992 the UEFA allowed that three foreign and two naturalized players could play on each club side. After the Bosman ruling, this resulted in a greater flow of European Union players into different country's football leagues. They followed the money. As such, Anthony King writes that the Bosman ruling eliminated the concept of national sovereignty in European football.[648]

A second transformative measure was the media. Television continued to infuse money into the sport via fees for broadcasting rights. In 1992 the English Premier League (EPL, often referred to as the Premiership) was formed out of the top clubs in England with a strong media backing. The strengthening football-television nexus translated into deeper financial coffers for the major clubs of Europe, primarily in England but also in Spain and Italy. Such clubs were willing to pay handsomely to sign the best players in the world, and they did, regardless of a player's nationality.

Chapter Five examined how the end of the French government's monopoly on television ushered in a new era of paid-subscription television channels, led by Canal Plus. A more liberal market for broadcast television in France flushed money into the world of French football during the 1980s. Yet, as previously noted, the football-television nexus in France did not match the higher financial stakes of other Western European countries such as Britain (primarily, England) and Italy. During the 1990s the French began to close the gap, highlighted by Canal Plus' 1994 purchase of Paris Saint-Germain, the main professional team of the Parisian area.

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[648] Anthony King, *European Ritual: Football in the New Europe*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), 77.

Digital television arrived by the mid-1990s and media coverage of football, both broadcast and print, increased as the decade progressed. In France, Britain, Italy, and Germany the major media conglomerates (respectively, Canal Plus, News Corporation, Mediaset, and Bertelsmann) began to have vested interests in football. This meant that the financial inequality between clubs increased in the 1990s. In France this posed new questions of financing, forcing a realignment of state and municipal contributions to football clubs. Eventually, the financing of territorial collectives of professional sports stopped at the end of 1999.[649]

There were several offshoots of such trends in football. The global market of football players had the potential to create a transnational identity. It was hoped by European Union legislators that sport could foster a greater sense of belonging to the European Community.[650] Yet, despite growing European integration and globalization, football helped to reinforce local identity and pride.[651] As more non-Caucasian players were signed to play for the big clubs in Europe, the issue of race and immigration were tossed into the identity stewpot. This was especially true as national teams began to include more minority players on their rosters.

Such changes forced a dialogue on the changing nature of national and local identity across Europe. Within France, the question of identity was inextricably linked to the issue of race and immigration. As previously noted in Chapter Seven, immigration and race were not new issues in French football. In fact, France was unique in Europe

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[649] Philippe Le Coeur, "La fin des subventions publiques menace des clubs professionnels," *Le Monde*, April 16, 1999.
[650] King, 70.
[651] Patrick Mignon, "Le Français Fell-Good Factor," in Mark Perryman (ed.), *Hooligan Wars: Causes and Effects of Football Violence*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Ltd., 2001), 174.

throughout the twentieth century for incorporating players of immigrant extraction into football teams, both at the club and national team level.

Despite this, the increase of racism in French and European societies throughout the 1990s was noticeable. For the French example, this racism was that of a cultural difference, and targeted those who had an "other" identity: Africans, Muslims, and Jews, amongst others. The rise of the extreme right-wing in national politics continued and fed off of a growing xenophobia stirred up by the changing demographics of France.

In the mid-1990s this dialogue erupted more loudly in the national media. Beginning with the 1996 European Championship, the far right-wing politician Jean-Marie Le Pen loudly questioned whether the national football team, composed of a veritable blend of skin colors, backgrounds, and ethnicities, truly represented France. This discourse grew as the 1990s drew to a close. Yet, many, including the French press, forgot that the equation of immigrants, football, and French identity dated to the 1930s. As Yvan Gastaut points out, football has been part of the debate of an intercultural France since that time.[652] Gastaut also notes that the more recent talk of immigration, football, and identity in France can be linked to the beginning of the social crises of the 1970s.[653]

Recall, France fielded a player of non-European extraction on the national football team as early as 1938, the first European country to do so.[654] In contrast, the first black player on the England national football team was Viv Anderson in 1978, while the

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[652] Yvan Gastaut, *Le Métissage par le foot: l'intégration mais jusqu'ou?* (Pairs: Éditions Autrement Frontières, 2008), 10.
[653] Gastaut, 11.
[654] Some of the early examples originally hailed from French North Africa, such as Larbi Ben Barek, born in Casablanca (French national team 1938-39; 1953-55), Abdelaziz Ben Tifour, born in Hussein-Dey, Algeria (French national team 1952-55; 1957), and Rachid Mekhloufi, born in Sétif, Algeria (French national team 1956-57).

first black captain to helm the national English side was Paul Ince in 1993.[655] The first non-Caucasian players to be fielded on a German national football team were Erwin Kostedde (1974) and Jimmy Hartwig (1979), both of who were sons of African-American servicemen stationed abroad in Germany, while the first African-born German player on the national side was Gerald Asamoah in May 2001.[656]

In this way, France was unique for its long history of assimilating players of all backgrounds, races, and ethnicities into its national football team. This history helped the country lead the anti-racism movement in Western Europe. During the 1990s, Britain began to have greater numbers of players of color on its professional league and on the English national team. In many of the clubs, such players were French athletes and represented the "best talent" purchased by English clubs with deep pockets.[657] This added a new component to the dialogue of national and local identity in France and England. It also forced the French to rethink some of the repercussions of the successes of their youth formation system. Of the 22 players who were named to the national football team in France in the 1998 World Cup, just nine of them played domestically in France.[658]

The French win in 1998 triumphed the *black-blanc-beur* multiculturism of the national football team, but there still remained racism within the larger context of French society. A French government survey conducted in1998 noted that 58% of respondents

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[655] Paul Ince was named to the captainship of the England national team on June 7, 1993, and was the first black captain of that team. George Vescey, "England Battles the Racism Infesting Soccer," *New York Times*, February 2, 2003, and "A Historic Captain," *New York Times*, June 8, 1993.
[656] Paul Zielbauer, "A Different Germany Takes to the Soccer Field," *New York Times*, October 26, 2001.
[657] By the early 1990s the French youth formation system was known for producing quality players. As such, many clubs across Europe sought to purchase this talent.
[658] David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer*, (New York: Riverhead Books, 2006), 740.

responded that they considered themselves racist or somewhat racist, while 56% reported that they felt there were too many Arabs in France, 27% gave the same response for blacks, and nearly half of all respondents stated that they no longer felt at home in France.[659]

Racism and how it manifests itself in the sports arena has improved slightly since then, attributable to greater publicity of the phenomenon. After 1998, several French football players have actively embarked upon a campaign to raise public awareness of racism. One of the more high-profile French players in the fight against racism is Thierry Henry, who founded the One 4 All Foundation in 2005 to combat racism and social inequality both at home and abroad. That same year, Henry was also appointed by FIFA to serve as an Ambassador against Racism.

Since then, the amount of French news space devoted to racism in sport, and within the context of football in particular, has increased. Notably, while racism in the sports arena has become a bit less pronounced in France and Great Britain since the early 2000s, it has increased significantly in the countries more recently embraced into the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe.

Even the American press has given greater coverage to racism in European sport since the 1998 World Cup, perhaps as a reflection of the United States' own checkered past with race relations and sports, or because it remembered Europe's constant (and justified) criticism of U.S. race relations and didn't mind showing that Europe wasn't perfect in that area. For example, the production of U.S. football players who are skilled

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[659] Marlise Simons, "The Mystery of Racism As a Tale for the Young," *New York Times*, July 27, 1998, A4.

enough to be recruited and signed by European clubs in the past 15 years has resulted in several Americans playing football in Europe. For such players, European racism on the pitch is remarkable; nobody can fathom an American fan base that would make monkey noises or throw banana peels at Kobe Bryant, Paul Pierce, or even Tony Parker, all of whom play in the NBA.

In June 2009 the U.S. football player Oguchi Onyewu, a child of Nigerian immigrants, filed suit in Belgian court against Belgian football player Jelle Van Damme. Oneyewu claimed that Van Damme lathered him with racial remarks during a game between their two clubs, Standard Liege (Onyewu) and Anderlacht (Van Damme). After spending the past eight years playing football in Europe, Oneyewu reportedly grew tired of the racial chants and epithets directed at him as a player of African descent, and thus filed suit seeking moral compensation from Van Damme.[660] It will be interesting to see if such players might be able to make an impact in the fight against racism in European – and French – football over the next several years.

Given the way that football was able to influence the concept of identity, it is not surprising that it also helped to shape the idea of masculinity in the 1990s. The flare expressed in the hair styles, clothing, and actions of star football players on and off the field, captured by a growing paparazzi press, also began to change the concept of male identity. As Frederico Boni writes, sport has a major role in the construction of masculinity.[661] For the Italians, the "body of the nation is a youthful body, beautiful,

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[660] Jeré Longman, "Alleging Racial Remarks, Soccer Player Seeks 'Moral Compensation,'" *New York Times*, June 12, 2009.
[661] Frederico Boni, "Sport, mascolinità e media," in Elena dell'Agnese and Elisabetta Ruspini (eds.), *Mascolinità all'Italiana: Construzioni, narrazioni, mutamenti*, (Milan: UTET, 2007), 79.

healthy, athletic, respectably, and above all, masculine."[662] In an integrating and globalizing Europe, this was equally true for France as well. As Pierre Bourdieu notes, sexual identity is one that is "a state of the body."[663]

Football players have gained greater public exposure in the media over time for their off-pitch exploits and advertising campaigns. In the 1980s the merger of athletes as product spokesmen was fully implemented, with perhaps Michel Platini and Adidas being one of the strongest examples of the French footballer and his product. What changed during the 1990s was that athletes began to model non-athletic goods.

As David Coad notes, this trend began in the United States in the late 1970s and 1980s, when Major League Baseball (MLB) players and American National Football League (NFL) players modeled underwear for the Jockey and Hanes underwear companies. Such trends transcended the Atlantic Ocean in the 1990s. The most famous example of this was the use of European football players by Giorgio Armani during the mid-1990s in advertisements for his men's clothing line, including underwear. Armani also began to use these footballers as models in his fashion shows. Footballers playing in the Italian leagues were more readily available for Armani's needs due to geographic proximity. Yet, players from as far away as the English Premiership League were also used. The merger of football and fashion in Europe began to alter the conception of

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[662] Ibid, 81.
[663] Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6.

masculinity, notes Coad, so that the word "metrosexual" became increasingly tied to the world of football.[664]

In addition to the questions surrounding identity, the football-television nexus of the 1990s dredged up other transformations of how football was consumed, played, and conceived of. In order to support the escalating costs associated with televising and operating a big-name and winning club, teams courted corporate sponsors. Companies paid to sponsor tournaments, to have their names on team shirts, in stadiums, on television commercials surrounding games, and in print media's football coverage. They also paid star footballers large sums to advertise and endorse their products. This led to greater degrees of exposure of athletes and contributed to the cult of celebrity that began to surround the sport's stars in the 1980s. Football and its athletes became more commercialized than ever before.

Another changing trend was fan spectatorship. Originally, the growth of televised broadcast of sports, especially football, ate away at stadium attendance by paying fans. This began to reverse itself by the 1990s,when fan culture, even in France, grew significantly.[665] The numbers of football fans that attend games proliferated during the 1990s. For the French example, Patrick Mignon attributes the significant increase in football spectatorship and fan culture to the fact that France by the 1990s was a fully urbanized society. As such, Mignon writes that such urbanization prompted a new search to rediscover a local or regional identity.[666]

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[664] David Coad, *The Metrosexual: Gender, Sexuality, and Sport*, (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2008), 63-75.
[665] Mignon, 174.
[666] Ibid.

The type of football spectator also changed and became more passive as more affluent spectators purchased the increasingly expensive tickets. This resulted in a general consumerized nature of the football fan.[667]

Such trends reshaped the nature of hooliganism in French football. The trend of hooliganism that emerged in France in the late 1970s and early 1980s began to subside. Today it is found only at the club level and not at the national team (unlike some other European national sides).[668] Yet, even so, football has remained the major domain of hooliganism incidents in France.

French basketball has not been subject to the same hooliganism as football. Moreover, European basketball in general has not witnessed the hooliganism of European football. As of 2004, there was not a singly documented hooliganism-related incident in European basketball.[669] Within France, one reason for the lack of hooliganism in basketball is that the nature of relations between the professional players and fans differs from that in football. While the basketball players are involved in their supporter fan groups, football players are not.[670] Another explanation is that the average basketball fan in France is older than the football fan: 28% of basketball fans are under the age of 25, and therefore considered youths, whereas 61% of football fans fall within the same age category.[671]

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[667] See Anthony King, *European Ritual: Football in the New Europe*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), and David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer*, (New York: Riverhead Books, 2006).
[668] Mignon, 174.
[669] D. Bodin, S. Héas and L. Robène, "Hooliganism: on social anomie and determinism (March 2004)", *Champ pénal*, http://champpenal.revues.org/document71.html.
[670] Ibid.
[671] Ibid.

Lastly, all of these changes added to the ever-increasing appeal in football's popularity. By the end of the 1990s there was a footballisation of European society to the point that the sport became a powerful image and prism through which to view European societies. This was true in France especially.

The after-effects of the World Cup of 1998 provided a surge in the number of sports licenses for football that were given, an increase of 12% for the 1998-99 season over the previous year.[672] After the French victory that July, there were an additional 240,000 licenses given, "a number equivalent to the total number of licenses of the Fédération Française de Handball (FFH)."[673] In the years since 1998 the footballisation of French society has only augmented.

French Basketball During the 1990s

In December 1998, Fréderic Potet of *Le Monde* noted that female football was the poor relative of the sport.[674] French basketball was an even poorer cousin in comparison. Yet, the surge in basketball's popularity and the issues of a changing demographic and identity that it fostered, in addition to the labor issues encountered by professional basketball clubs, warrants further study of the sport.

As mentioned previously, basketball's popularity in France grew after the 1992 Barcelona Summer Olympics, the first Olympic basketball tournament to allow professional players to compete for their national team. This was the summer of USA Basketball's Dream Team, composed of Michael Jordan and Larry Bird, amongst others.

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[672] Fréderic Potet, "La Coupe du monde 1998 a donné à 240,000 nouveaux licenciés l'envie de taper dans un ballon," *Le Monde*, December 22, 1998.
[673] Ibid.
[674] Ibid.

The French were well acquainted with U.S. players, thanks to NBA telecasts on channels such as Canal Plus in addition to the commercial exposure of such athletes. The dynamism of Team USA in 1992 helped to draw greater numbers of youths to basketball. If in 1991 there were 350,000 basketball licenses in France, by the 1992-93 season there were 420,000 licenses, representing a 20% increase.[675]

Le Monde noted the importance of remembering that such figures represented the growth of registered basketball players, and did not account for those who played the games spontaneously in playgrounds or in the street. This "basketball of the streets" was strongly promoted by the *Basket en liberté* program launched in the early 1990s by the FFBB to construct more basketball terrains, hoops, and nets across the country. The motivation of the FFBB in constructing such playgrounds was to encourage the growth of the sport and get more youths to enter the basketball club system.

Yet, a different phenomenon resulted: an upsurge of youths in the *banlieues* who played this ad hoc form of basketball. The games of the "hot suburbs" had more dynamism than the licensed players in the nation's basketball clubs. It was flashier, had more flare, and more closely resembled the American style of basketball of the 1990s than the French. This thus created a new tension within French basketball.

Traditionally, basketball in France was the domain of the rural and southwestern areas, as noted in Chapter Two. Even after French basketball professionalized in 1984, teams from Cholet, Pau, and Limoges were dominant powerhouses. This began to change with the shift in basketball away from licensed participation and towards the

[675] Benedicte Mathieu, "La multiplication des 'playgrounds' en France," *Le Monde*, December 29, 1992.

games of the street. Most notably, the *banlieues* of the major urban areas of France began to cultivate a new generation of basketball players.

Despite such shifts, the FFBB still recruited elite basketball players from the traditional club-detection system put into place by the centers of formation and the old sport-study sections of the 1970s and 1980s. By the late 1990s, the only elite French basketball player to be scouted off of the *banlieue* playgrounds was Mustapha Sonko.[676]

There were two other issues that posed challenges to French basketball as administered by the FFBB during the 1990s, both of which involved Americans. The first was the proliferation and dominance of the NBA in France.[677] During the 1990s NBA telecasts grew ever more popular amongst the French public. Starting in 1991 the NBA sent one of its teams over to play in the annual McDonald's Championship held in Paris each fall. This stimulated interest in basketball and at the outset the FFBB was very supportive of such international exhibitions. Yet, as the 1990s progressed and the popularity and support of American NBA teams and players increased, *Le Monde* reported that the FFBB began to feel like a second partner in the in-country basketball ventures.[678] That the NBA Europe offices relocated to Paris from Geneva in 1997 did not help to ease the growing tensions between the two governing organizations, especially as the NBA Europe quickly expanded. Moreover, the French had concerns as to the overtly commercialized nature of the NBA's basketball. FFBB president Yvan Mainini, reported

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[676] Sonko played in the French Pro B and then Pro A (top professional division) in the 1990s before playing in the Spanish professional league, one of the top ones in Europe, from 2000-03. He played for the French national team in 1995, 1999, 2000, and 2003.

[677] The division of the NBA organization devoted to cultivating and managing American basketball in Europe is known as NBA Europe.

[678] Fréderic Potet, "La NBA vient faire la demonstration de sa puissance à Paris," *Le Monde*, October 16, 1997.

Le Monde, was concerned that the NBA Europe venture might lead to the exploitation of the image of basketball.[679]

The second American-led difficulty that presented itself to French basketball during the 1990s was the issue of labor. Specifically, it was the issue of naturalized Frenchmen playing in the French professional basketball leagues that started to cause problems in the 1990s. Just as French and European professional football clubs were very limited in fielding foreign players on a team until the Bosman ruling, professional basketball clubs were equally hampered. Until the mid-1990s, European basketball clubs could only have two foreign players on each team per season. Thus many foreign players, particularly Americans who desired to play in Europe at the twilight of their careers, became naturalized citizens and held dual passports.

In 1995, French basketball wanted to limit the number of naturalized Frenchmen fielded on each basketball team.[680] Since 1988, naturalized players could not be considered "French" until three years after their naturalization.[681] By the 1990s, Americans constituted the largest number of naturalized Frenchmen playing in the top professional league. *Le Monde* noted "the retired NBA player has become an indispensable trump card for a club," in the quest to win championships.[682] Between the 1992-93 and 1994-95 seasons, the number of naturalized basketball players in the French professional leagues increased by 22.5%.[683] By the mid-1990s there were approximately

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[679] Ibid.
[680] Benedicte Mathiew, "Le basket français veut limiter le nombre de joueurs naturalisés," *Le Monde*, May 11, 1995.
[681] Ibid.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.

400 American basketball players playing in the European professional leagues.[684] With teams selecting naturalized Frenchmen, oftentimes American NBA veterans, over youths trained in the French basketball centers of formation, this posed a problem for the cultivation of youth talent and the opportunities afforded them in French basketball.

A ruling in 2000 by the European Court did for basketball what Bosman did for football. The 2000 case, known as the Lehtonen case, stipulated that European basketball clubs were free to hire any number of European Union players, without them counting towards the "foreign" player restriction.[685] This forced the liberalization of the European basketball labor market.

If France failed to take home a major world title in basketball during the 1990s, it began to produce elite basketball players who entered the world's premier league, the American NBA. In 1997, Olivier Saint-Jean became the first Frenchman to be drafted by the NBA (Sacramento Kings) since Jean-Claude Lefebvre in 1960.[686] Saint-Jean originally played for the French club Evreux before going to university in the United States.[687] Other notable Frenchmen who were drafted and played in the NBA include Jérôme Moïso (Boston Celtics, 2000), Tony Parker (San Antonio Spurs, 2001), Mickaël Piétrus (Golden State Warriors, 2003), and Boris Diaw (Atlanta Hawks, 2003). The majority of such players were trained through the French youth sports programs of the late 1980s and 1990s; many finessed their skills at the *Pôle France* at the National

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[684] Joseph A. Maguire, *Sport Worlds*: *A Sociological Perspective*, (Leeds: Human Kinetics Publishers, 2002), 27.
[685]"Judgment of the Court (Sixth Chamber) of 13 April 2000," European Court Reports, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:61996J0176:EN:HTML#SM
[686] Jean-Claude Lefebvre was drafted by the LA Lakers in 1960 but decided to pass on an NBA career in favor of preparing for the 1960 Olympics. Alain Mercier, "Olivier Saint-Jean, un Français aux portes de la NBA," *Le Monde*, June 25, 1997.
[687] Ibid.

Institute for Sport and Physical Education (*Institut Nationale de Sport et d'Éducation Physique*, INSEP) before entering the NBA.

French Football and Basketball and Sports Medicine

There were several ongoing trends in France vis-à-vis sports and medicine during the 1990s. One, the increased attention given to medical studies on the effects of youth participation in sport, is covered in greater detail in Chapter Eight on the history of French sports medicine. Others, including the lingering concern over the lack of height of French basketball players and the issue of doping, remain to be considered.

Recall that Chapter Eight noted how since the 1960s, the FFBB lamented that France lacked tall "giants" to field on its national basketball teams. Tall players for basketball were akin to "atomic weapons" in the quest to win tournaments. Although the French youth training systems emphasized that better diet and nutrition could help produce taller players, as could better scouting methods to entice taller players to devote themselves to the sport, by the 1990s France still lacked tall players.

In 1995, the French national basketball team suffered from not having enough "giant" players on the team. *Le Monde* reported that "when, in the countries of the East, one thinks naturally of the young giants of basketball, in France they are regarded first of all as pathological cases." Michel Gomez, the trainer of the national team of France, reaffirmed that even in the 1990s the FFBB had difficulties attracting tall players to the

sport.[688] The media of the 1990s speculated that perhaps the French absence at major international basketball tournaments was still attributable to the height deficit.[689]

Yet, such concerns over height paled in comparison to the question and suspicion of doping. Doping became a more public issue in the 1990s than ever before for French sport, perhaps as a result of greater awareness, new anti-doping laws, and an increase in the numbers of tests conducted, as well as the general refinement of doping-testing technology.

The drug law passed by the French Government of 1989 specifically listed cannabis as a prohibited substance. By the early 1990s there was an upsurge in the number of athletes, especially footballers, who tested positive for cannabis. There were no reports in the media of French basketball players who tested positive for cannabis. Of interest is the fact that there was an increase in the numbers of youths who smoked cannabis in the early 1990s, which perhaps helped to fuel the numbers of positive drug tests amongst all athletes.

The 1990s also ushered in a new era of publicity over doping in team sports such as football and basketball: that of steroids. From the mid-1990s through 1998, there were several French footballers who tested positive for anabolic steroids. For French football, this was unnerving. The first French footballer to test positive for anabolic steroids was David Garcion, who played for Lille. Within the months leading up to the World Cup, several other D1 footballers tested positive for anabolic steroids. Part of the ongoing issue of doping in football was that by the late 1990s, anabolic steroids were a problem in

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[688] Laurent Coadic, "L'équipe de France de basket-ball manqué de centimeters pour se hisser au niveau des Grands d'Europe à Athènes," *Le Monde*, June 27, 1995.
[689] Ibid.

Italian football, one of the best, most influential, and richest football leagues on the planet. The fact that so many French footballers played in Italy naturally led to suspicions. Even Zinédine Zidane found himself caught in the crosshairs of the Italian football doping scandal, though as a commentator and never an accused user.[690] That French doping cases were made known to the public was, though detrimental to the overall image of sport, a commitment to transparency.

Conclusion

This narrative only scratches the surface of the many changes that French and European sport underwent during the 1990s. Further study is needed in order to do justice to the forces unleashed during the era. As alluded to, there were many tensions that rose to the surface as a result of the transformations endured: the question of labor and exploitation; the role of television and the media and whether such close relationships were healthy for sport; the changing nature of financing sports and the re-examination of municipal and state involvement in athletics; the concept of national and local identity in a multicultural Europe; the issue of immigration and race in a rapidly changing European demographic; the image of modern European masculinity; the consumption of sport and the ritualization of sports spectatorship; the footballisation of society and the encroachment of a total sports mentality; and the motivations for and consequences of doping.

Naturally, one wonders how all of these factors fit into the youth formation equation. The changes endured during the 1990s beg the question of whether such

[690] Alain Constant, "Qutre joueurs de l'équipe de France de football ont subi un controle anti-dopage à Clairefontaine," *Le Monde*, October 8, 1998.

revolutions in French sport and society reconfigured the determinants of success of the youth sports training systems. By the early 2000s, were the winners and losers of such systems the same as a decade earlier? Were expectations raised or lowered as a result? Did the increasing role of government in legislating youth sports formation programs come about as a result of anxieties over youth exploitation? By the early 2000s, France finally fulfilled Charles de Gaulle's desire to project the image of a renewed, rejuvenated, victorious France through sports, but at what costs?

It is clear that the greater incorporation of and attention to team sports such as football and basketball were influential. A study to incorporate the changes and challenges of French sport on society, the state, and the youth is needed in order to demonstrate the continued use of sport to examine society. The politicization of sport in France continues to this day and documents the changing nature of French society and attitudes.

Annex I

Articles on French Youth Football

"The Center of Formation," April 30, 2002.

The entryway to the training complex of Racing Club de Lens (RC Lens), the professional football team of Lens, in northern France, is a high-ceilinged modern architectural marvel with bright golden yellow walls. Pass through entryway into the inner depths of a white-walled maze of corridors, and one finds the office of one of the men in charge of the Centre de Formation for RC Lens, Mr. X.[691]

He is a tall, athletically built man with a shaved head and vibrant blue eyes. Mr. X gracefully strode through the center's corridors and rooms, alternating between taking calls on his mobile phone and explaining how he runs his center.

"A center of formation is like all of the elite schools," he said. "We are a school that uniquely trains athletes of the highest level. It's an experience!"

To be selected to train with the center of formation of a professional football team is, for many, a bit of a fantasy. Sometimes they are disillusioned with exactly what the centers are for: training, not a guaranteed route to a professional team.

"For each kid who comes here, we do not tell them, 'you will be a professional football player,'" Mr. X said. "One tells him, 'you have been given the possibility to pursue an athletic engagement of the highest level,' and that is all. We do not tell them more, and do not speak much of the future."

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[691] Due to IRB constraints, information obtained from journalistic interviews conducted with French authorities, teachers, parents, coaches, and former players in 2002 (pre-existing data) can only be used in this study if the original interview subject has granted permission to use their words in 2009. For the many interviewees who were unable to be recontacted, all identifiers have been eliminated at the IRB's insistence.

There is a relation between academics and athletics. "All of the kids here are schooled," said Mr. X. "They all have an ordinary scholastic life. The main idea of Racing Club of Lens is really put in that context because a kid who comes here cannot achieve anything without academic results. It's impossible. They come here and they work hard."

There is pressure both on and off the field for these young players. "The kids never forget that there are 59 others here who want to be professional players too," he said. "That's a lot."

There are 60 youths at the center of formation in Lens, ranging in ages from 13 to 19. They range in scholastic levels from the Fifth cycle through the Terminal year. Players take classes at local institutions. "At the scholastic level, we function with two collèges, one technical lycée, and also the Lycée Condorcet," he said.

In the evenings there are two teachers on hand to help the students with their homework, according to Mr. X. This is the time set aside for studies within the walls of the complex, which contain three classrooms for studying, and an Internet room where kids have full access to information on the World Wide Web. "A kid who comes here, if they have the desire to work and to follow with their studies, they have the full possibilities of doing so," Mr. X said.

Training with a center of formation is rigorous. For the younger players practices occur four times each week, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. Games are held on Saturdays. "On Wednesdays, they have the day completely free," Tonin said. "They never have school on these days, so they return to their families and stay the night at their houses until Thursday morning." Sundays are another day of rest.

Mr. Y, a professor of history and geography at a high school in northern France, a referee for the local teams, and an avid fan explained the sport's dizzying popularity in

the region in terms of the area's background. "Football here is a culture," he said. "It is historic. It never lost popularity." Ghislaine Cicolella, a professor of history and geography at the Lycée Condorcet, agreed. With a history of ethnic influx, from Poles to Germans, Italians to Mahgrebs (North Africans), she said that "football helps to facilitate," the ethnic relations and to integrate people into a small community.

Intense training on top of school is difficult, and there is a price to pay for being chosen to play football with the elite youth. Sometimes the price is exclusion by the other children at school. Cicolella, who teaches several of Mr. X's players, said that the kids from the football sections "get the impression that the other students think negatively towards them."

Mr. X agreed. "Yes," he said, "that tendency has existed for a long time, and it is typical. If one has a very positive attitude then things go smoothly and they get along well at school. They [the youth players] play football after four o'clock each day, and they play well. But what do they have more of than the other students? Nothing. And that's the difficulty," he said. "They forget from time to time that they are ordinary students."

There is a common consensus that the footballers, whether enrolled with the centers of formation or the sportive sections, are seen as different by their peers at school.[692] Mr. X said that there are tensions between the footballers and the non-footballers, for the players "represent an image and all that goes along with it."

The image of a football is one of privilege. There is the misconception that footballers are given preferential treatment in school, that they will make a lot of money,

[692] After 1984, the old sport-study sections were renamed sportive sections.

and that they are part of a privileged elite. This often leads to jealousy on behalf of the non-footballers.

Mr. Y, also responsible for integrating the football students into life at his high school, agreed this was true. "They have the impression that all of the players are privileged," he said of the student body. "That's not the case," he said, pointing out that the notion of privilege is a stereotype of a footballer. Another stereotype, according to Mr. Y, is that footballers will make a lot of money, a stereotype based upon the large salaries garnered by professional players. "There is also the stereotype that they will win the girls, the most beautiful girls," he said. "Then again, it is the same stereotype for all athletes!"

Mr. Z, a physical educator of a sportive section in northern France, said that there was an unjust stereotype associated with the footballers and their scholastic performance. "The rest of the kids think that these players [footballers] do the minimum amount of work to stay at their level of football," he said, "that they do nothing." Not the case, he argued.

The intelligence reflected in schoolwork is, in Mr. X's opinion, intellect reflected and used on the football field. "For me," he said, "in a young player, the quality of intelligence is the most important thing in recruitment.

"One says that France is the nation the most developed in the sport for the past ten years, and will continue to be so for the next fifteen years in the future," he said. "Why? Because, we take our players and integrate them with their scholastic studies. That's why."

"The Sportive Section," April 30, 2002.

The mid-March afternoon sun glared over the grassy expanse of playing fields tangling with the sharp cries of a coach's whistle. "More explosive, more explosive," cried Mr. P as he kicked footballs that had meandered astray back onto the practice field.

One of the modern-day successors to the sport-study section of the 1970s is situated in a *collège* in a northern suburb of Paris under the jurisdiction of long-time physical education Mr. P.

The students of the football section are integrated with their peers at the collège, taking the same classes. Classes are held from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m., and commence again in the afternoons. Wednesdays are the exception where, in France, there are no afternoon classes.

Mr. P said that scouts recruit the players, following the boys before they are selected. He said that the FFF recognizes his boys as "an elite class of formation of footballers." For his players, football "is a passion."

Each year Mr. P receives around 80 candidates. "The recruitment is in two steps," he said. "First, the athletic examination which lasts over two days, with physical tests of speed, technical tests of the mastery of the ball, and the observations of the game both as a whole and reduced to a miniscule level. They are selected for their football qualities. The second part is the committee of professors and trainers who analyze the academic records" after the athletic evaluations.

"We look at where the players live, and the time it takes them to get to the school because we have limited places for boarding students," Mr. P said. "This year we only have two places."

In the academic selection, "we refuse a negative attitude and a lack of work," he said. "The objective is to take the best, but the best are not always the best of students." Due to the intensity of the program, boys with aspiration and dedication are chosen. In order to be able to balance academics and athletics, "they need to be calm and serious," Mr. P said.

Mr. P said he has 24 or 25 students each year in his football section out of a total student body of 650. The last time that Mr. P had a girl in one of his sections was two years ago. All of his players this year are boys.

At Lycée Condorcet in Lens, the sportive section for football operates in the same manner with regards to academic and athletic selection. Operating within the parameters of the educational system, the football sections adhere to the same academic schedule as every other collège and lycée. The rigorous training that the student-athletes receive matches their passion for the game.

According to one of the players in the football section in Colombes, this means training with Mr. P from September through the end of June in congruence with the school calendar. "It's exactly parallel," he said. It is common for these students to also play with a club outside of school, usually one closest to the family home.

Another of Mr. P's football players added that the game structure for these youth clubs is similar to that of the adult clubs. "We have four games per month," he said, "on Saturdays or Sundays."

To play in a youth club costs nothing. To play as part of a sportive section requires minimal monetary funding. Mr. P said, "we depend upon the Fédération Française de Football and the families only pay half-board, the lunchtime meal, and for transportation between home and school." Assistance is possible if needed, he added. "The equipment is lent each year to be worn equally at each session."

In France, cities typically house the upper and middle classes, leaving the suburbs to the working classes. Although they play in the Parisian suburbs, Mr. P's boys come from a mixture of family backgrounds, constituting the comfortable middle and working classes.

While the costs of playing football are minimal, sometimes the cost of equipment can be a deterrent. Mr. Z mused that the only real costs involved in the sport were the costs of personal equipment. "Cleats, shin guards, shorts, gloves, and a shirt, that would probably run between 2,000 to 3,000 francs per year," he said, roughly $300-$460 USD.

Before the start of each practice, Mr. P's boys enter the cement-lined hallway of the stadium complex and greet Mr. P with handshakes. "One demand of the Fédération is that the child becomes a footballer but also a man with the principles of education, of respect, and of living a life based on teamwork," he said in explanation of the handshakes and pleasantries that his boys are programmed to recite every time they encounter an adult. The boys who are injured are responsible for pumping air into the footballs. They

do so with loud, rumbling noises, as the air pump inflates each football to its maximum diameter.

While his charges inflate the balls, Mr. P extracts *constres* from his equipment closet. *Constres* are tall plastic orange poles set in a black plastic base that rise four feet high. They are used in agility training on the field.

The boys bring the equipment onto the field, either synthetic grass or natural, depending upon the weather. For one exercise the students will dart between the *constres*, set up closely together, taking two running steps between each one. In another exercise that focuses on agility and ball technique, the boys dribble the ball between *coupelles*.

Coupelles are small, squat plastic objects that faintly resemble orange plastic cones, and appear in bright colors of blue, white, red and yellow. They force the boys to concentrate on dribbling the ball on the insides of their feet, improving their coordination and agility skills. "We practice the technique of speed," Mr. P said. "Practices are obligatory, there are no absences. We start with a little game between the students to warm up so that they don't get hurt."

One physical educator who has been coaching youth football for 40 years nodded towards Mr. P's boys as he watched their practice. "This group here," he said, "it is a group who in theory are very well grounded because there is a parallel between football and their studies. It is one of the best methods for football to have the sections sport-études. [They] are an excellent way to keep the students occupied and to have them do their studies – and for all of the boys who are talented, it is convenient for the recruiters."

Over the course of his long coaching career, this coach has seen many boys progress through his football clubs, but has a special fondness for the sportive sections. He said that the integration of studies and athletics is good for it provides an element of hope for the student-athletes that one day their hard work will pay off and they will join the ranks of professional footballers.

"All of the boys say 'it is all for this,'" he said, referring to this aspiration. "In this group, the boys are very hopeful."

"Youth Football in France Today," April 30, 2002.

The 1998 World Cup victory brought the centers of formation to the forefront. However, many people believe that in playing in these specialized sections, French youth compromise their studies. According to a former official within the Social Commission of the Ligue Nationale de Football (LNF), a group responsible for the professional football clubs of France, "there are certain footballers who carry out their studies brilliantly, notably the *bac*." This was not the case for the greater majority, he said, for football consumes a lot of time.

Players, on the other hand, argue that academics are a priority, just as important as football. One of the players in Colombes said that the *bac* is very important to pass in order to have a job.

Mr. Z provided statistics from his football section in northern France to show how the academic standard of footballers has fluctuated in recent years. According to him, in June 1997 30% of his players passed their *bac*. "A bad year," he said, unable to give any further explanation for the poor results. In June 1998 that number significantly increased.

Seventy percent passed their *bac* that year, and in June of 1999 and 2000, 66% passed. In June 2001 Prévost had 100% of his players pass their *bac*.

Parents agree upon the importance of the *bac*. One father, who is also a physical educator, said that today it is a must. "There are a lot of players who pass the *bac*," he said. "In the past seven or eight years you have seen the level of academic performance rise. The young who pass the *bac* do not have any baggage with them, and they are able to find jobs after football."

Parents have an important role assisting their children to strike a balance between academics and athletics. According to another coach, "the parents have an obligation to raise their children well educated." Referring to the group of boys in Mr. P's football section, he said, "in this group, the parents are very much supporters. Supportive? Not necessarily."

In France, there is a distinction between supportive parents and parents who are supporters. The supportive parent will be actively involved in the athletic lives of their children. They will volunteer to help the club, go to games and practices, and support their children emotionally as they balance athletics with academics. The parent-supporter is one who attends games but is less involved.

The players in Mr. P's group are drawn from a mixture of classes from the well-off areas of Paris: the stable middle classes of Paris and the working classes of the suburbs. One coach noted that the parents of Mr. P's boys "are socially comfortable and want these boys to continue to be in the middle of society," he said. "Their parents tell them, 'football, OK, but your studies at the same time.'"

Patrick Mignon, a professor of sociology at the Institut National des Sport et d'Éducation Physique (INSEP) in Paris, has studied the effects of sports, most notably football, upon society. According to Mignon, "one sees parents who consider the cult of

football just as ordinary as another sport that is a spectacle for their children. Football is a place to leave the children every Wednesday" for practices. "You also have parents for whom the cult of football is a form of social participation. One will find some parents who will benevolently accompany their children to matches and practices.

"The big problem today," he said, "is to find parents in the second category, who agree to participate in the life of the club and who help out with organizational aspects of the club, assisting in the stands, etc. It is a problem to find volunteers."

One of Mr. P's students said that his parents were supportive. "They are always on the sidelines for me," he said. Many of his teammates echoed the same sentiments, and practically all of the boys said that their fathers played football as well.

One coach believes that it is the fathers who "transfer football to their sons, because it is something they can do together." It is a way of solidifying family ties. However, "the mothers are blind supporters," he said. "In general, they do not even know the rules of the game!"

Another coach said that for his son, football is a passion. "I left the choice up to him, to choose a sport if he wanted to," he said. "By chance, he chose football. It has been an obsession; at the house he always has a ball in his hands. Time and time again, it is the football. For the moment, it is his life. Much later, who knows? Perhaps it will be the girls, but for the moment it is football."

He said that the passion is derived from pleasure. "When one starts very young to play and to see results and experience the pleasure, yes, it can be a problem because it takes up an enormous amount of time."

To specialize in a sport at such a young age requires sacrifices from the family. This coach said that there are many sacrifices in order to accommodate a child who wishes to pursue football. "Each morning I get up at six o'clock to take my son to the métro," he said, "because it is a 50-minute walk from our house to transportation. Every morning I get up and on Wednesdays, when I am free, I drive for an hour and a quarter to come here and pick him up from practice. In the evenings I always come to pick him up. Yes, there are sacrifices on the parental level, but they are pleasures…It is a pleasure to watch my son," he said, "His little brother has the same passion for football, and his sister has it for swimming. So, I have to divide my time up. One night it is football, the next it is swimming, another night it is football, and so forth. For me, it is a pleasure."

The role of parents in the athletic lives of their children in France does not always favor academics. Mignon said that there are also parents who are both supportive and supporters. "They are very supportive because they see football as a means for social mobility," he said, particularly for France's minority communities.

The example of the French national team is one of racial integration and equality, as was highlighted in the 1998 World Cup. French society has had troubles with racism and football is often seen as a means of social integration. Eric Lagneau, a sports journalist for Agence France Presse, said "there are difficulties with the French model of integration. Before, there was the republican model, the model of merit where social ascension was through school and diplomas.

"The youth of modest backgrounds, notably in the suburbs where there is little along the lines of social ascension, all these youths think to obtain success by the grace of

football." That is to say, they think that they can elevate their social and economic standings through football.

The national team, known as "black-blanc-beur" in reference to its multiracial composition, serves as an example of integration of French society's different ethnic and racial factions. The 1998 victory gave proof to the notion of integration of all ethnicities.

One offshoot of this was the creation of the ultimate hero. Most of the young players said that their hero is Zinédine Zindane, one of the stars of the national team. According to some, Zidane is the hero of the French, in addition to being the best footballer in the world and that he possesses great artistry for the sport. "He is the model for how to completely integrate the races in France," one government official said. "He is the best known Frenchman in the world, better known than our president, Jacques Chirac."

Given this mixing of social segments in football, is there racism in French sport? One youth football coach said that racism is not a problem in the sports world. "At the sports level in France," especially at the youth level, "we have been integrated for a long time," he said. "I do not think that there is racism in sports."

Mr. P agreed. "No, no," he said. "Racism amongst the kids does not exist." The youth see the national team as an example of integration and the overcoming of ethnic tensions. "The French team is 'black-blanc-beur,'" he said. The young players emulate this example on and off the field, according to Mr. P, thus the lack or racism in French sport.

The 1998 victory also brought new popularity and interest in the sport among French females. Traditionally, French women are not enthusiastic about football, whether at the spectator or the player levels. The World Cup changed this, showing a greater interest in football amongst the French female population, both as spectators and players. Ali Moucer, a youth football scout for the FFF, remembered that the player's wives would wear the jersey of the French team in order to support their husbands. "Football was always reserved for men," he said. "The practice of football permitted them to socialize amongst themselves. A girl who was interested in football was considered a tomboy."

In 1999 the sociology laboratory at INSEP conducted a study of young footballers. Some of the results of this study were provided by Mignon in his chapter entitled "Football: Sport Populaire" in the 2001 INSEP publication "Les Practiques et Sportives en France."

According to Mignon, the number of females who play football is estimated to be around 350,000. Sixty-nine percent of those who play are aged 15 to 19, showing that female footballers are mostly girls. Interestingly enough, 34% of these are children of the middle or high classes, and 37% are from the working classes, near parity in a sport that is traditionally for the male working classes.

One 13-year old male player said that female football "is a sport just like ours." His teammate said, "female football is evolving." Nonetheless, female football faces the stereotype of being a male sport. The 13-year old player said "physically, the levels are not the same."

Mr. Z said that in Lens, “one year I had two girls, but the organization with them was very difficult.” This year he has only boys. “I think that female football was formed too late,” he said. “I think that it is necessary to have parity at all levels, this goes for football as well. However,” he said, “for our practices we focus upon technique and physique.” According to Mr. Z, it became difficult to train the girls with the boys when the focus of the practices were upon such physical aspects of the game.

One youth coach points out that the traditional notion of gender in sports still inhibits young women from embracing athletics. “I think that parents do not think of football as a sport for their daughters,” he said. “I do not know where this mentality comes from, but it is created very young. Girls play sports, but it is things such as dance or tennis. There is the notion that they are not physical enough for some sports.”

Mignon sees the lack of popularity of female footballers as a product of society. “In France, football constitutes the boy’s world,” he said. “It is masculine socialization. The place for women in football is very, very marginal. If this is changing a little bit in France in the last few years, it is that women and young girls are interested in football, not for playing, but for watching. It is an effect of the World Cup,” he said. “When the country who organized the cup and won, that created a shock in the world movement. Football became a conversation topic for the girls. They discussed it with the boys. It is changes like this that one sees.”

A female student in Brest who wished to remain anonymous said that the 1998 victory attracted the female public to the sport. “Since then,” she said, “lots of girls like

football. The physique of the players is one of the reasons that they like watching it. But female football is beginning to develop."

A 15-year old player on Mr. P's team said "the girls like to watch, but not to play." Another 15-year old boy said that since 1998 girls play a much larger role as supporters of the sport. "But," he cautioned "it is a style. In effect, they are not interested really in football but watch the players and say, 'Oh he is beautiful;' they do not even know the technique of the game."

Marion Fontaine, who has studied the role of football in the Lens area, said that all of the female students to whom she spoke said that football is a largely masculine sport. "It is really the area of boys," she said. "Certain girls have told me that a girl who plays football is considered ugly. The girls prefer to watch the boys' games rather than female games."

Ali Moucer said that the FFF has put into place more important means for aiding the development of football feminine.

Regardless of gender, early specialization can effect the motivation of some players. According to one coach, "when one is in love with football, from the first moment of pleasure at five or six years old, I do not think that one can lose the taste for football when one adores it. It is just like that. When the kids decide to join a club to play three, four times per week for years and years, that is a passion, and I do not think that it is possible to lose the flavor for one's passion."

Mr. X agreed that one does not lose the taste for football. "Of course there are problems with losing one's motivation," he said. "If one does not progress with the others, if one has a bad practice, these constitute loss of motivation."

The young people do not lose their passion, Mr. X said, but can become discouraged. If one decides not to play at a high level of competition, there are honorable exits. "If a kid who has spent several years with us has good relations with us," Mr. X said of those who loose their motivation, "then we feel obliged to place him with another team." Usually this team is one of a much lower level of competition, but at least that way there is still an outlet to exercise one's love for the game.

Regardless, football remains the favorite sport for young French boys, both to watch and to play. Mr. Y believes that the system in France is one of the best models. "At this moment," he said, "all of the national youth teams, the 16-year olds, the 18-year olds, the 21-year olds, it is these teams who are winning everything, both on the European and international levels. "We are the World Champions with our 17-year old team, with our 19-year old team. These kids, they are trained in the centers of formation to attain this achievement. The reputation of the system is in these results," he said. "The French are first in this sense, and there are others who have started to copy our system, such as the English and the Italians."

Mr. X agreed wholeheartedly. "I think that the French training system is the best in the world," he said. "It is unique because the Fédération Française de Football has the means to lobby for political support and create structures such as the centers of formation."

As an integral agent for facilitating this mélange of academics and athletics, Mr. P loves his role as physical educator of his young protégés. "It is a fabulous profession," he said. "It is a very, very interesting job, and when the youth have the desire to pursue their passion for the sport, it's the best solution."

Whether the French youth system is the best in the world is debatable. Still, the results since the implementation of the programs in the 1970s, such as winning the World Cup and the European Championships, certainly cannot be disputed.

Annex II

Selected Biographies of Interview Subjects and Informational Contacts

AVICE, Edwige. A member of the Socialist Party, Avice was the former Minister of Youth and Sport (1981-83) and was responsible for shaping the 1984 sports legislation named after her, the Avice Law. She went on to serve in various cabinet positions in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Today she is chairwoman of Conseil National des Activités Physiques et Sportives (CNAPS).

BOSC, Gérard. Former basketball coach and National Technical Director, today Bosc is the President of the Musée du Basket. He is also France's leading author on the history of French basketball.

CASADO, Céline. Casado is the director of the private school at the center of formation at Olympique de Marseille.

CICOLELLA, Ghislaine. Mrs. Cicolella is a long-time history and geography professor at the Lycée Condorect in Lens, a classical high school that has a football sportive section (formerly known as the sport-study section). The Lycée Condorect is also responsible for schooling boys who are enrolled at the center of formation of the city's professional football team, Racing Club de Lens (RC Lens). Over the years, many of Mrs. Cicolella's students have participated in the football programs.

COSTE, Joël, M.D. Dr. Coste began his sports medicine career treating and supervising rugby players (for Rugby 13). He joined the center of formation at Olympique de Marseille in 1986 and is today the head of medical supervision for the center.

CRETE, Sébastien. Crete is the Head of Academics at the private school, ODORICO, which serves the center of formation at Stade Rennais Football Club. He also serves as Head of Center Life for the boys enrolled in the center's live-in program. ODORICO was established in 1996.

DeBRU, Ludovic. DeBru was a former professional football player who entered the center of formation at AC Cannes when he was 16-years old in 1980. He played professionally during the 1980s, and is today the Project Director for Formation and Pre-Formation under the National Technical Direction division of the Fédération Française de Football.

EINSARGUEIX, Gilles, M.D. Dr. Einsargueix is an expert on French anti-doping programs and serves in the Bureau for the Protection of the Public, the Promotion of Health, and the Fight Against Doping at the Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports, et de la Santé.

GICQUEL, Estelle. Since 1990, Gicquel has served as the *de facto* "den mother" to the boys who live at the center of formation at Stade Rennais Football Club. Gicquel and Rampillon serve as the mother and father figures, respectively, for the boys who reside at the club.

GODARD, Michel. Godard trained in the youth program as a handball player. He played at the elite level before entering the administrative side of elite sport at the Institut National des Sports et d'Éducation Physique (INSEP), where he is Chief of the Formation Department.

GRANSART, Roland. The son of a professional football player, Gransart entered the sport in 1967 and signed with Olympique de Marseille as a *stagiaire* (intern) in 1974. He signed his first professional contract with the team in 1975 and played until 1980, when he became the team coach and manager. Gransart left OM in 1984 and coached for a succession of teams until returning to OM in 2005 to direct the center of formation.

GUINCESTRE, Jean-Yves, M.D. Dr. Guincestre is the Director of the Fédération Française de Basket-Ball's Medical Commission as well as serving as the federal doctor assigned to the sport. He is also a general practitioner at the Centre Hospitalier Régional Universitaire in Caen.

LAGNEAU, Eric. A reporter for Agence France Presse, Lagneau is an avid observer and fan of football. He is writing his doctoral dissertation on journalism for a PhD in Political Science at Sciences Po Paris.

Le GALL, Frank, M.D. Dr. Le Gall is the Head Doctor of the Medical Center at the Fernand Sastre National Technical Center, the national football training center located in Clairefontaine, France.

LIENARD, Jacques, M.D. Dr. Lienard holds multiple positions within the medical community in France. In addition to his duties as the Head of Anti-Doping and Medical Matters for the Fédération Française de Football, he also practices sports medicine and cardiology at a hospital in Amiens.

MAININI, Yvan. During the 1980s, Mainini was one of the best-known basketball referees in both France and Europe. Today, he is the President of the Fédération Française de Basket-Ball.

MAZER, Jean-Emile. Prior to entering the world of French sports at the Institut National des Sports et d'Éducation Physique (INSEP), Mazer trained in the national youth sailing program and competed as an elite sailor in the 1970s.

MEYER, Véronique, M.D. Dr. Meyer is an expert on French anti-doping programs and serves in the Bureau for the Protection of the Public, the Promotion of Health, and the Fight Against Doping at the Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports, et de la Santé.

MIGNON, Patrick. Dr. Mignon is a sociologist who specializes in professional sport. He is the head of the sociology sports laboratory at INSEP.

MOUCER, Ali. Moucer has served as a scout of youth talent for the FFF in the Ile-de-France region for many years. He is presently the regional technical advisor for the Ile de France football league and specializes on the formation of coaches.

PRÊCHEUR, Gérard. A former professional player, today Prêcheur is a trainer and coach at the Centre Technique National Fernand Sastre (Institut National du Football) in Clairefontaine, where he has served as one of the center's three official coaches since 2004. Previously, from 1998-2004 he ran the FFF's Centre National de Formation et d'entrainement de Football Feminin (CNFE), which is a training program for elite female youths based at the FFF's training headquarters in Clairefontaine.

RAMPILLON, Patrick. Prior to taking over as director of the center of formation at Stade Rennais Football Club in 1987, Rampillon spent his life in football. As early as eight years old, he played football, playing on his local village team until age 16. Rampillon played with Michel Platini while the two served their military service at Joinville, the national military school known for its sports center. For most of his career as a professional football player, Rampillon played for Stade Rennais (1979-87).

ROCHCONGAR, Pierre, M.D. Although he professes that his favorite sport is football, and he used to play, Dr. Rochcongar admits that he was never very good as a player. Instead, he has made a life in the sport through his medical expertise, attested to by the multiple positions and titles that he holds. Dr. Rochcongar is the head of medicine for the center of formation of Stade Rennais Football Club and President of the Society of Sports Medicine (France). He is one of the few professors of sports medicine in France and continues to work with the formation of the national football team selection.

Annex III

Glossary of Abbreviations

Bac	*Baccalauréat*
CAC	*Centre des Archives Contemporaines* Center of Contemporary Archives, Fontainebleau
CNSHN	*La Commission Nationale du Sport de Haut Niveau* National Committee of Elite Sport
CREPS	*Centre Régional d'Éducation Physique et des Sports* Regional Center of Physical Education and Sports
DTN	*Directeur Technique Nationale* National Technical Director
FFBB	*Fédération Française de Basket-Ball* French Basketball Federation www.basketfrance.com
FFF	*Fédération Française de Football* French Football Federation www.fff.fr
FIFA	*Fédération Internationale de Football Association* International Federation of Association Football www.fifa.com
FIBA	*Fédération Internationale de Basket-Ball* International Federation of Basketball www.fiba.com
INF	*Institut National de Football* National Football Institute
INSEP	*Institut National des Sports et d'Éducation Physique* National Institute of Physical Education and Sport www.insep.fr
OM	*Olympique de Marseille* Professional football team of Marseille www.om.net
ORTF	*Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision Française* Office of French Radio and Television
SSE	*Section Sport-Étude* Sport-Study-Section

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France Football
France Foot 2
L'Équipe
L'Éxpress
Le Figaro
L'Humanité
Le Monde
Le Nouvel Observateur
Libération
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Sport et Vie

Periodicals – American

The Chicago Tribune
The New York Times
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The Washington Post
Times Herald

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