

Sports, Cultural Identities and Development in Space Francophone: France, Benin, Congo, Niger and Senegal

Gouda Lompo Souaïbou

Human and Social Sciences Laboratory (HSSL), Porto-Novo-Benin, National Institute of Youth, Physical Education and Sport, University of Abomey-Calavi, (INJEPS/UAC)

Abstract: *The universalization of modern sports has led, especially in black Africa, to the partial loss of traditional physical practices. They are an integral part of the social and cultural heritage; it is also an important part of the identity of the African peoples. Because of their educational, social and moral values, they undoubtedly constitute a refuge from the attacks of contemporary societies. Under these conditions, the adoption of modern sport as the only value for progress can be considered as a dead-end alternative, or even as the manifestation of a cultural hegemony, the consequences of which can be measured by scientific analysis. The problem which thus appears seeks to ensure that endogenous physical activities and modern sport complement each other and are harmoniously integrated into the development process of young African States.*

Keywords: Sport- identity- culture- development

1. Introduction

African countries in general are faced with problems in the development of physical activities and sports. Despite the means implemented by governments to get them out of this delay, since independence, the results seem to be long overdue. The cases of Beninese, Congolese, Nigerien and Senegalese sport (studied) show that there are many problems to be resolved: relations between the state and sports organizations, funding, infrastructure and equipment, training of executives, definition of a coherent sports policy and management of the sports and physical education system.

Generally, it is the French model which serves as a reference and which turns out to be unsuitable, because it mimics and uses "clothes made for others". The context of each African country is not taken into account in order to define the orientations to be given to the development of sport which cannot be dissociated from overall development: "It is to the extent that the missions assigned to physical and sporting activities in young African states will integrate Negro moral, social and cultural values, to the extent that sporting choices will take into account the goals of development, that is to say a better well-being and a significant increase in the standard of living of the peoples Africans, that, through their specific contributions, physical and sporting activities will contribute to the promotion of African men and, if one prefers to the development of Africa itself." (Gouda, 1986, 398).

2. Theoretical Framework of the Research

The theoretical framework of the analysis is based on some key ideas put forward by da Costa (2001):

- The vision of the world and the current relationship to sport are a Greek cultural invention which presents a historical continuity that can be observed at the level of current globalization;

- Ancient Greece, Athens, Ancient Olympia, sport and the Olympic Games have close historical links between them which can represent a vision of the world emanating from a single place and with universal meanings;
- The form of this vision should be a narration based on philosophical, historical and scientific knowledge and centered on men, women and their insertion in the world, from the pre-Socratic era to today's globalized society. However, we know that a planetary society does not exist but what does exist are increasingly globalized societies which can only be understood through an intercultural approach.

Indeed, the development of performance sport is based on a hegemonic ideology which makes the Olympic system the only reference, including for countries built on other traditions. This top-down development strategy is opposed to the projects of African nationalists who, at the same time as they adhered to the idea of a "new and universal" state, also made the bet of combating humiliation, political arbitrariness and fear, social hunger, ignorance and slums, legal discrimination and inequality (Ait-Ahmed, 1980). The movements and currents of thought born from this context in Africa were protesters of the established order and above all accusers of the "Western order" and advocated an identity approach (negritude, non-alignment, Third Worldism, Pan-Africanism, etc.) ; even in international sport, which is very attractive to the new states, Africans remained wary because they feared this globalization which is defined as the rejection of the right to be different, "the constitution of an international system which tends towards the unification of its rules, its values, its objectives, while claiming to integrate all of humanity within it "(Badié, 1992, 10). Africans were obviously not prepared to enter such a system, especially after the wars of liberation and the emergence of a socialist eastern bloc opposed to the traditional liberal world.

From this theoretical framework follows the following model:

Table I: Theoretical model of analysis

Segmentation (diversification of the sports offer)	
References	Dominant strategies
Financial reference Club / City / National League Mixed economy company Sports company (1984)	<i>Market strategy</i> <i>National legislation</i> <i>European legislation</i> <i>Professionalism</i> <i>Sport-industry</i>
Economic benchmark Club / Municipality / National League Mixed economycompany (1975, 1984)	<i>Managerial strategy</i> <i>National legislation</i> <i>European legislation</i> <i>Professionalism</i>
Cultural and political references Decentralized model MJC Fitness Industry Club, municipality (1984)	<i>Grassroots development</i> <i>Local strategy (under the control of local power)</i> <i>Model outside the federation</i>
Références	
Centralization (globalization of the sports offer)	
Economic reference: mixed national system (State / Federation) Mixed economycompany (1975)	Mixed strategy (double CIO control but also State) State amateurism and professionalism
Nationalist reference (Club / Federation / State)	Public service strategy (IOC authority but internal state control) amateurism
Ideologicalreference (Club / Federation) (1901)	Associative strategy (free association / association of the IOC) amateurism

3. State of the Problem and the Hypothesis

3.1 State of the problem

Initiatives to promote sport in French-speaking countries of Black Africa which have been independent since 1960 are often marginal, because sport is cut off from culture and the economy. Historically, the field of modern sporting practices has not been established in these countries as a product of any internal evolution towards modernity, but as a process generated by colonial domination, then by the reproduction of the French or Western model.

However, the sporting model of the 1950s and 1960s (decade preceding decolonization) was the culmination of seventy-five years of history in an industrialized country, characterized by specific socio-cultural data: democracy, urbanization, development of the associative movement, promotion performance, rooted in Judeo-Christian culture.

The ambition of world sports leaders, in particular those of the International Olympic Committee, to make it a universal cultural model, transferable to any country, had the consequences of making people forget that sport was also a "place" of economic, political and social issues.

Thus, the only model retained in Africa was that of performance sport as proposed by the Olympic Charter, which by declaring it above politics and religion (and until recent years beyond) above the economy), had introduced into people's minds the idea that sport could be conceived outside of social constraints. African officials did not perceive that this performance sport was born in the West, more precisely in Greece, in a global and harmonious philosophical, artistic and scientific system. Athens and

Ancient Olympia are still the symbols of this vision of the world. However, the model of men's sporting confrontation had been reinforced very early on by the sporting nationalism present from the first Olympic Games and the first international competitions (national teams, national anthems) and transformed since 1950 into an ideological confrontation of States by oppositions violent political regimes (the cold war). Today, there is economic and political confrontation instead of sporting nationalism. We remember the problems of Tibet and the boycott of the Olympic flame in London and Paris in 2008.

The Third World states, many of which were born out of the break-up of colonial empires, have been pushed into the cycle of national sports promotion to assert their independence. From the start, they called for sport to promote national identity. Sport, considered as one of the possible ferments for the creation of national feeling, by creating a collective memory through international victories acquired against other nations, had to embody an identity value and thus participate in the construction of the nascent nation. Sport is both a geographical place (plural space) and a cultural and historical process, a memory and a memory that shape a people and its destiny.

But the crumbling of ideological stakes, which occurs with the end of the "socialist model", German reunification, the break-up of the USSR and Yugoslavia, the victory of the market economy, etc. does not seem to impoverish, in developing countries, the need to promote oneself through international victories; performance sport remains the chosen path for sport development in these countries. Not only does this perhaps correspond to erroneous cultural objectives (the sporting victories of the GDR or the USSR are no longer indices of social, political or economic successes), but above all this choice constituted a strategy dedicated to dead end ! Because of their vision of the world and their identities, how will the peoples of black Africa be able to appropriate modern performance sport and Olympism which highlight the opposition between "the very rich North and the South?" very poor " ?

The case of certain states providing, in political speeches at least, for the development of sport as an identity and social value, can make it possible to understand how the political stakes and the absence of a sufficient economic environment could destabilize the pre-existing sport system and create an empty structure. (Niger, Benin, etc.).

How to identify the references and the strategies of actors who ensure the convergences necessary for a true integration of the countries studied in the international sports system and more generally in the Olympic system?

3.2. Hypothesis

What the international Olympic movement expects from black Africa at the end of its participation in the international sports movement is that it brings more solidarity, peace and humanism to sport, that it consolidates the universality of Olympic sport, by creating the necessary links between performance sport represented by the West, African cities, the African people and current Olympism.

Black Africa must therefore, through the search for convergence, create complementarities between the North and the South in international sport. In other words, the organization of World Cups, Olympic Games or World Championships in an African capital will result in allowing Africa to register its identity, its culture and its vision of the world in universal sport. .

Sport is to be considered as the product of a society which, in its vision of the world, makes physical fitness a factor of development and an element of intercultural dialogue between cities and peoples. This sport is an identity concept that has generated the local and national associative movement first and then international. The national federal model perpetuates the benchmark sporting identity, that is to say the Olympic model which remains a non-African model.

The search for new dimensions of convergence in international sport (sport / health, sport / education, sport / industry, sport / spectacle - bodily practices -) and in local sport (traditional physical activities - bodily practices -) will allow 'Black Africa to help reduce the gap between the North and the South in the field of sport; it will also allow Africans to give international sport new dimensions of solidarity, peace and humanism while consolidating the universality of world sport.

4. Methodology

4.1 The field of the study

The research focused on four (04) French-speaking black African countries:

- Two coastal countries of West Africa: Benin and Senegal (Dakar was the capital of the former French West Africa and today this city is home to the headquarters of CONFEJES);
- A coastal country of Equatorial Africa: Congo Brazzaville (Brazzaville was the capital of the former French Equatorial Africa);
- Finally a Sahelian country: Niger which benefits from a rich tradition of African wrestling (1st national sport as in Senegal).

4.2 The investigation method

Documentary study: official texts, briefs, results of scientific research; observation of the reality in four (04) countries studied and finally interviews with sports leaders, executives, trainers and politicians.

A first survey in 1985 and 1986 made it possible to carry out an inventory and formulate a research project on Senegal, Niger and Congo Brazzaville (1989/1992).

A second survey, in 1991 and 1992, in the aforementioned countries, thanks to the support of the French mission for cooperation and cultural action (Cotonou Benin), then the Joseph Fourier University of Grenoble (France) which perceived the relevance of this research project.

In our sampling, we selected 200 people (50 per country) to interview in Brazzaville, Niamey, Dakar, Cotonou and

Porto-Novo using the reasoned choice method. Three stays in Grenoble (1995, 1996 and 1997) allowed the study of French sport and the processing of aggregate data.

A phase of synthesis which aimed to understand from the inside, the role of international organizations such as UNESCO, the International Olympic Committee, CONFEJES in the period from 1998 to 2005. Discussion with the officials of the Inter-Governmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (CIGEPS-UNESCO year 2000), the IOC year 2000, the AIO 2002-2001, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (CSSA) in 1999, and CONFEJES in 2000, 2003, 2005.

5. Results and Discussion

5.1 The context of departure in France

5.1.1 The French model from 1975

French sport between 1958 and 1975 did not have a coherent organization: "In the field of elite sport, national representation is at stake in a system of heightened competition between states; France cannot withdraw because of the impact of these competitions; it must therefore take the means to succeed without falling into the logic of state sport countries "(Jamet, 1995, 191); in the meantime, another law has entered into force, the law of October 29, 1975 known as the Mazeaud law. This law indicates in its explanatory memorandum that the concept of public service mission is the basis for the promotion and organization of APS. The statute of the French federations remains confused and this is what emerges when Chifflet writes: "the federations, although considered as independent, are placed under the supervision of the minister in charge of sport who entrusts them with the mission of promoting, developing and organizing the physical and sporting activities"(Chifflet, 1995, 27). Further on, the author takes stock: "French sport was thus regulated in (1988) by 27 Olympic federations, 36 delegating federations, 17 approved federations, 11 multisport groups, 04 school federations" (p12).

The nationalist benchmark and public service strategy have led to the establishment of a national sports system in which the Ministry of Youth and Sports governs through its coaching and training services. Finally, it should be noted that since 1981, there has been a separation between executives teaching PSE (reserved for the Ministry of National Education) and sports executives (coaches working for the benefit of the Ministry of Youth and Sports).

5.1.2 From the mixed national system to the market system

The French sports system has become through its changes a mixed system, that is to say, semi-liberal, semi-state. The independent federations are under the supervision of the ministry and controlled by it, insofar as it grants subsidies. But the paradox here is that by obtaining a monopoly at the national level, the federations have become the spokespersons of their members as well as defenders of the political interest of the state. Such a situation greatly favored the emergence of the performance sport model, a centralized and structured model. If the dominance of the performance

sport model has asserted itself despite the policies set out to promote other forms of sporting practice, it is because a lot of space remains empty. For this, social regulation mechanisms will help to recompose the French sports system, so that it adapts to the new internal and external situation. In fact, there is too much difference between the national and the local, the “top and the bottom”.

This transposition and diffusion have been carried out unevenly in time and space. The objective and subjective conditions did not allow the establishment of a sports policy in each state or modern management methods (management and marketing). So access to high level sport and high performance has not been considered in an overall development policy of the nation.

5.2. Two references in favor of the reconstruction of the system: of identity local in the triumph of the managerial model

5.2.1 Social reference and local strategy

The developments in French society have marked sport and its status under the 5th Republic. Sports federations (amateur sports) did not have to worry about cultural, social or economic developments. However, a cultural evolution imposed itself with regard to the “Body”, by referring in turn to leisure, ecology, health, technology or adventure during the 1970s. We understand that, faced with political and ideological issues, sports leaders have left out sport for all and physical condition (sport / health). The need to practice and frequently change sports, the search for individuality (particularity), the taste for adventure, well-being, have revealed alongside the typical practitioners of the federations, practicing almost marginal, that is to say outside federal structures. This population of practitioners who would need a new arrangement of spaces, quickly organized and made their mark by occupying private commercial space and, failing that, municipal (local), but never the national one. There would be a movement more social than sporting.

The observation that deserves to be made is that it seems that there is a shift from a nationalist sports system to a local sports system. A local order is created to make it possible to regulate the references and strategies of institutional and individual actors. The local order with its field of collective and individual private and public practices, allows each municipality to define an original, particular and therefore identity policy.

The mixed state / federations system is replaced by a much more complex system, in a way weakening national strategies, to the benefit of local strategies! The state remains the privileged support of national federations, but its action is hampered by the emergence of local policies that take into account another sporting culture (Chifflet, 1995 :14). This multifunctional approach to local sport creates community social identities.

Politically, the changes are linked to many structural and economic factors. The status of the French National Olympic and Sporting Committee (CNOSF) from 1984 onwards, shifted it from orientation tasks to sports

organization tasks. The decentralization laws, carried out during 1983-1984, allowed the transfer to local authorities (municipalities, departments and regions) of decision-making power in many areas. It is a great upheaval that appears, since the municipalities must take their own initiatives, to face the need for adjustment between an excessive demand and a reduced supply which is further complicated by a situation of economic austerity and unemployment. Each local authority has developed its own sports policy. This is how the municipal sports services came into being. We can think from the figures communicated by Chifflet (1995, 13), namely that 90% of French municipalities with more than 5,000 inhabitants have a sports service and 100% for towns with 30,000 inhabitants and those communicated by Leblanc following a study by the Ministry of Youth and Sports for 1990, show that the local authorities assume 37.61% of the financing of sport (they own 85% of sports equipment), that the French sport has been decentralized. As a result, citizens and civil society have been able to influence the political decision-maker, even if the latter still remains faithful to performance sport; sports federations are thus losing part of their ground. Also and always subject to the constraints of efficiency and results, they embarked one after the other in a process of professionalization. For this, they called not only technical executives, but also professionals. Then, within the sports organization, the struggle between sports leaders and state administrative officials continued to take on a competitive form.

Finally, the successive boycotts of the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal, 1980 in Moscow and 1984 in Los Angeles, ended up lowering the cost of Olympic medals. The breakup of the USSR and its satellites could only worsen this observation. It can be said that there has been a refocusing of the French sports system which, by transforming itself, is trying to catch up with grassroots democracy.

However, alongside this progress, two problems have remained without obvious follow-up:

- State sports educator certificates sponsored by the Ministry in charge of sports and which do not exist in other European countries, also put the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MJS) and national education at odds Politics;
- The “anti / hot summer” operations launched by the MJS and organized by the local authorities, have shown that the challenge of defining a global sports policy for the city is essential, with all the more force (Chantelat, Fodimbi and Camy, 1994, Augustin, 1993).

From now on, national identity in sport must find its respondents in regions and citizen cities, with the opening to a Europe involving transnational identities and new powers.

5.2.2. Economic benchmark and managerial strategy

Chifflet (1995) notes that since the early 1980s, television has played an important role as a mass communication system in the transformation of the French sports system. It is no longer only the technical structure of sport that is concerned through its regulations, its technology and its culture, but it is above all a change that the sport product has generated on the collective and individual imagination of society and of the consumer. The new product is both a

symbol and a passion. The spectacle aspect emphasizes the presentation of the event and partly eludes the technical aspect. A new reality is giving way to sports nationalism: spectacle sport with an economic and transnational identity.

Each of the federations involved represents the environment in the form of a system of media and financial competition that must be faced, thinking in terms of strategy to retain its members and gain the support of the media. Sports federations or leagues are gradually establishing themselves as businesses (mixed or sporting companies) and must conquer market shares to be managed. Sport thus entering the economic and commercial sphere, adopts the mode of organization and management of companies. This is causing a real break with the traditional Olympic philosophy already undermined by the USSR and the countries of the East. Corporate strategies emerge and govern the affairs of sport. This professional sport, which supplants amateurism, benefits above all the great champions who buy or sell on the international market and the large (multinational) firms which control the world of show sport. Faced with capital, financial flows never seen in amateur sport, the IOC and international sports federations have rapidly undertaken their transformation, accepting not only to participate in the sharing of gains or profits, but above all and generally to place themselves at the center of Management system.

This is explained by the fact that, the direct aid to federations and clubs by sponsors, wishing to benefit their companies or to associate the name of their lack with the satisfactory image of sport, has certainly favored, at least initially, the development and power of federations. However, each of them, in order to compete with the others in the search for funding, has pushed manufacturers and the business world to take an interest in the sports sector. This is how extra-sport capital has taken hold of the world of professional sport.

With all the know-how of a very rigorous and ambitious world, the sponsors are gradually becoming more influential and the sport is rushing towards a new horizon.

Chifflet (1995, 16) observes that private companies have sometimes been formed only by circumventing the monopoly attributed to sports federations to directly organize sports events (the example of the Tour de France cycling).

Thus, the action of federations and the state is competing with the interests of sponsors, the media and managers who amplify the effects of competition between sports.

Faced with the "vertigo" caused by the loss of power and control over professional sport, the French Ministry of Youth and Sports is seeking to give itself new prerogatives in the field of security and social affairs, by proposing to fight against violence in stadiums (holliganism) or insecurity in difficult neighborhoods, in order to gain another (new) recognition (legitimacy).

The federations now serve as partners for the sponsors who manage transnational financial flows, operating in a "multi-center" world, also participating in economic and financial

globalization. If the traditional national sports system has weakened since the Olympic Games in Los Angeles, the IOC and the international sports federations have experienced a resurgence of power and credibility, through a network of convergence which remains a shared monopoly, in which the He Africa necessarily marginalized by its economic, technological and scientific weaknesses (as in international trade), remains a continent behind the West.

However, we all see today that the primacy of the managerial model at the top upsets expectations and satisfactions at the bottom, at the local level (regions, municipalities for example) where social and community identities prevail. Faced with such a reality, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, faced with the very individualized demands of social actors referred to their simple status of "European" citizen, a quest for personal identity is developing at the local level. The crisis in citizen support systems (unions, administration, political parties, state) and the uncertainties weighing on the redistribution of powers between the institutions of the European Union, national, regional and local institutions are displacing and demanding, to Alongside a system of sports offers based on the market or the national model based on public service, that a social sports model be built with local strategies to satisfy a plurality of individual demands. This return to the local, suggested by a quest for personal identity, thus makes it possible to set up a system of competition, in which each citizen can decide his identity without excluding the other. Personal identity (the bottom) is not conceived as a form of fundamentalism, a refuge, a model of conservatism, but as a model of openness that accepts both integration and differentiation.

5.3 The reproduction of the French sports model in black Africa: the example of Benin, Congo, Niger and Senegal

The beginning of the 1960s corresponded to the decolonization of the territories of Black Africa. In search of their own national identity, these countries join all the movements that can serve as a framework for their notoriety. However, by presenting, since the beginning of the 20th century, competitive sport as apart from politics, religion and money, the leaders of the Olympic movement had introduced into people's minds the idea that sport can be design outside of economic and social constraints. Like culture, it could therefore be one of the rare sectors where the young States thought of competing with the industrial powers and occupied there the place which belonged to them (comment of the Technical Advisor Mouhamadou M BODJ, Dakar, November 19, 1992). The new national officials are therefore not introducing a break in the sports organization system. The existing territorial committees, in particular for athletics, basketball, football, and school sport are transformed into a national federation. The characteristics of the French sports model are maintained: delegation of power to national sports federations, for the organization of competitions and the representation of the country in international meetings. At the same time, France, with its former colonies, continues its work of integration into the world sports movement of Olympism from which it can derive symbolic fallout, to justify the retention of its sphere of influence. Indeed, the friendship games in Antananarivo

(Madagascar) in 1960, with States still under domination, then in 1961 in Abidjan (Côte-d'Ivoire) and in 1963 in Dakar (Senegal), show the role of incorporation, played by France in the world sports system. Incorporation acquired in 1960-1961, when the new African states were admitted to the International Olympic Committee and international sports federations and confirmed by the organization of the first African games, in 1965 in Brazzaville (Congo), without the participation of athletes Europeans (interviews with Mr F. Chabilis, former Director of Sports of Dahomey, Porto-Novo, August 1985).

But the federal model has been transposed in countries without a democratic tradition and without modern economic development. It is therefore the state that subsidizes the federations, finances the preparation of international matches, pays the technicians of the ministry in charge of sports, and thus holds power in the administration of national sport. A form of "soft national incorporation" of sport existed until the mid-1970s.

During the 1970s, most French-speaking African countries were marked by important political developments in relation to the east-west ideological struggles on the one hand and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa on the other; that is to say, more from external constraints than internal constraints. Indeed, during the period of the "cold war", that is to say the opposition between the bloc of liberal countries and the bloc of socialist countries, the developing countries tried to position themselves politically. In the French-speaking countries of Africa, strong political regimes are establishing themselves at the head of states (single party in Cameroon, Côte-d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Togo, Zaire; military power with Marxist ideology in Benin and Congo, etc.) and attempt to impose development patterns in which sport has a role to play as a constitutive element of the post-colonial state (interview with MM G. Dumont, and J. Bouzoungoula, ISEPS de Brazzaville, February 22, 1991).

The Olympic model is maintained as an established order of sport, since on the one hand, it corresponds to a model of administration, education, organization and management of culture, favoring the marks of national sovereignty, and of on the other hand, it should allow the country to be known internationally. Each of the countries keeps the French model, with a ministry for youth and sports and so-called autonomous federations. At the same time, the ideology close to the communist model, developing the idea of sport as a cultural phenomenon of the people, provokes a stranglehold on sport by political leaders (interview with Mr. Cocou Sèdami, National Director of Sports, former athlete of Dahomey now Benin, 1985). In many countries, a sports charter is voted by the political power. It proposes the development of grassroots sport¹, but retains sports federations, specifying that they henceforth report to the National Sports Council (a political body). Thus, in the concrete operation, the representatives of political power ensure the real control of sport in reality, the context of economic underdevelopment of the countries prohibits any prolonged initiative and as the population does not make Western sport a priority, the discourse policy can continue without too much reaction. In Benin, sport does not enjoy

organizational autonomy and, moreover, it does not obey the local culture.

Since 1990, after the weakening of strong powers and sometimes the collapse of social structures, officials have tried, in a democratization movement, to revive performance sport, by erasing ideological discourse (the African sports system is in a situation brittle). The restructuring and animation of sports federations remains a problem. The example of football (the most developed sport), which mobilizes few players and has a very small elite, illustrates the general situation of federal sport. As for mass sport, constantly advocated in official texts and in political speeches, its development is practically non-existent, while President Kérékou, invited by his Minister, Mr. Ousmane Batoko, took to the streets to give the example of practice in 1986.

Thus, research on African sport (Dikoumé, 1989, Elam Jackson, 1977, Ezziani and Kaach, 1984, Gouda, 1986, 1997, Mbengalack, 1993, Mignon, 1978) shows a fairly negative assessment of the development of sport in each country with:

- A lack of political will and strategy to promote endogenous physical activities linked to the values of ethnic groups;
- An education system in which PSE is marginalized;
- A system organized from "the top" and not integrated into local social structures;

5.4 Sports and cultural identities in Francophone Black Africa

African sport thus suffers from the lack of internal innovation in vision, policy, strategies, and the managerial system. Destabilized and disadvantaged African communities too often obey what state power proposes. The latter, unable to choose according to their strengths or their needs, align themselves with international conformism favorable to the Western model, in opposition to the development of a multicultural world (Badié, 1992 : 67).

African territories, born out of the political will of colonizing Europeans, were territories which achieved independence and not nations which were created. The political leaders were aware (more or less) that it was also necessary to give a community dimension to their countries: spreading the same culture, adopting the same language, acquiring the same historical references, "Sport, which could have participated in development. of this community dimension, starting with the associative process, therefore by the local, and not by the national, was used differently" (comment of the former dean of the Faculty of Agronomy of the National University of Benin, former athlete 1960/1970, Cotonou, February 18, 1990). It is, in fact, the national elites who seized on Western sport, as a form of modern culture, in an attempt to introduce it into local social structures. Of course, most of the time, the political and administrative structures of the states have not been able to impose their model of administration and management of sport, because too many informal networks have been formed around political leaders, sports leaders, technicians of sport and foreign aid workers. But concretely, sport in

African countries has remained the prerogative of dominant minorities (intelligentsia, political classes, economic leaders) who come together to recognize Western values through their confrontation and their alliance, through interposed states, in the sport of performance.

Like the Conseil Supérieur du Sport en Afrique (CSSA) and the Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sports sharing French (CONFEJES) encouraged by organizations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Sports Federations (FSI) have led to favoring the competition model, sport has become synonymous with a sports championship organized within the framework of international standards. Of course, the national constructions of each sport system are dependent on the political regimes that lead them (Defrance, 1990), but without escaping the movement of globalization of Olympism. CONFEJES had undertaken "the sportivization" of African wrestling with certain experts such as, for example, Technical Assistant Rubio (interview carried out in Dakar in November 1992).

Technical sport (Brohm, 1976) in which the presence of experts induces the creation of national sports teaching methods, is imposed on the few local associations. The values of prioritization on individual merit are offered to societies whose cultural traditions are the opposite of what can be conveyed in the West. But for national governments, the symbolic benefits of sport must help create a national identity. Thus, in developing countries, sport is used as a project giving the guarantee of legitimacy to the power of the state, whereas at the end of the 19th century, in industrialized countries "sport was born, more precisely from a political project, that is to say that it was posed as a major element of an attempt at social reform" (Bordeleau, 1990, 25) by elites with educational aims.

This observation of a strategy for the development of sport by the national level (confers the role of cooperation missions in black Africa), agrees with the political analysis which proposes notions of "up and down", to characterize authoritarian development. African states organized "above" like a modern society, facing local ethnic groups who "below" retain their traditional culture (Bayart, 1981). A centralizing vision is preferred to local development. The projects serve to strengthen national power. This tends to "Olympicize" sport, because sport is, in theory, a model of order and progress. It highlights all the fundamental values necessary for the dominant economic and political system: excellence, productivity, technology, apparent equality of opportunity, etc.

This is the model that national leaders adopt to make it an instrument of national identity, eliminating all local particularities. But a double problem exists for the countries of black Africa: that of the presence of local communities built around traditional ethnic structures, and that of the weakness of the national entity at the state level. This, conceived as the product of a common history spanning several centuries, and of a popular culture that shapes modes of perception and social representations, does not exist. The nation does not represent the place of expression and democratic practices, because the socialization of individuals has not yet produced the learning of a particular

national tradition, and the internalization of values and singular models of this nation in which the individual was born (Tshyembe, 1990, pp88 and 91).

For sport, the International Olympic Committee (IOC, the International Sports Federations (IFs) and the commercial and industrial companies which organize and manage the professionalism and commerce of sport, play a similar role. Olympic power, both economic and symbolic is comparable to the economic power in the hands of the multinationals which are the relays of the policies of the rich countries. But the creation of a sporting "multi-center world" has been done so far, without taking into account the countries of Black Africa within of which there are no "centers" (headquarters of the IOC, FSI or sports firms, place of organization of world competitions such as the Olympic Games or the Football World Cup). Competitive sport is not perceived by African leaders as a participant in transnational flows favorable to centers of external power, because the symbolism of Olympism hides the concrete power attributed to themselves international sports organizations (Roseneau, 1990; Gouda, 1997, 63). Africa is now considered the continent of athletics and football (positive impact of participations: athletics and football have a better distribution, better organization of competitions in Africa). And yet in the 100, 200, 400 meter races and then in the jumping and throwing competitions, Africa is absent. Apart from football, all other team sports, tennis, judo, swimming, gymnastics seem to be reserved for the rich countries.

The level of funding and the role played by Western experts, faced with the modest and sometimes non-existent means of the local community, certainly ensure the presence of competitive sport in each country. But this present is reduced to the national aspect - the capital and the national teams; in its time, out of 31 Olympic federations, 28 for summer sports participated in "Olympic Solidarity" actions. At the same time, it imposes the cultural model of Olympism which is accepted by national leaders for the development of their country.

But this project is ambiguous. He admits that the symbolic effects of sport promote the emergence of a national identity, without analyzing all the consequences. However, the development of competitive sport in a black African country cannot be accomplished without first reversing cultural perspectives. It participates in a cultural transformation of which it is important to know the outcomes. Because, unlike other cultural practices such as dance, painting, sculpture, writing, competitive sport does not accept any form of practice other than that which is institutionalized. The Olympic movement, like the international sports federations, has the avowed objective of developing an identical sport for all. Under the guise of bringing peoples together, federated sport thus participates in a form of cultural normalization on the Western model, to the exclusion of all others. In doing so, it raises several issues related to the fundamental characteristics of traditional African societies which do not explain human life and social success with the same criteria.

For example, time management, which is an essential dimension of modern sport, is not a characteristic of

traditional societies in which there is a particular time dimension. The traditional society established in the long term, does not segment time according to the classic past / present / future sequence. Of course, these notions exist, but with different meanings: the present is a continuous past, constantly updated by the presence of ancestors; the two times are linked in the pregnancy of fate and the patterns of the predestination of existence, is a reserved area which does not fall under the initiative of man and in which one hesitates to venture. Only mediators and intercessors between the visible and the invisible can risk themselves: diviners, tellers of hidden things, shamans, astrologers, magicians, are able to understand a part of this world which is both secret and sacred. In principle, the future belongs to the unknowable (Poirier, 1990 : 4-5).

Likewise, in rural African societies, the notion of person is conceived in a complex form. The person is not an individuality, but a knot of relationships fused in a community where his character (gentle, daring, shy, etc.) is a difference favorable to the complementarities necessary for collective life. The diversity of individuals is not denied by drowning them in a community that would be first, which would be the only true reality, but it is organized in the very universe of the community in which the African person is immersed. Each individual participates in the lineage of ancestors and the ecological universe, and this in the very foundations of his being. The individual is a particular kind of intensity of the group, connected to different levels of relations from which he derives the principle of his existence. He is not conceived of as a personality to stand out from the crowd, like what is the foundation of success in Western societies and especially in competitive sport.

Finally, the place of women in African society does not seem to be modified by the development of international financial aid. Of course, the IOC asks the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) of African countries to give preference to female athletes when possible. But these concrete occasions are still infrequent to satisfy this preference. The name of the courses (boxing, judo, football, etc.) suggests that the majority of aid benefits men's sport. The role of women in African societies remains a social datum that the majority of Africans do not wish to see transformed. There is a clear reluctance to admit that the international sports movement should take up this issue.

Of course, in a country where the people are divided by cultural oppositions, often amplified by tribal and regionalist quarrels, and not having a national culture, we can explain that the rulers, having at their disposal the model of Olympic sport, bet on the possibility of building a national sports culture, to repair and fill in the gaps of their State. One can understand this strategy of using a "social practice" not tainted with particularism. But performance sport cannot be imported like a commodity. In Western countries, he has participated in the evolution of a whole society from a traditional way of life (from rural cultures) to a modern way of life. In African countries, this process does not exist, sport is introduced as a factor of social transformation by proposing references and values that are the antipodes of local cultures, just like the original notion of "athletos".

6. Conclusion

The ideological vision of the start (associative strategy) gave way to a nationalist vision, seeking a Negro-African national identity. This is the case, for example, of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (CSSA), when it made the fight against apartheid its hobbyhorse through various Olympic Games and other international sporting competitions.

By seeking national identity to build the state, we have rather witnessed the strengthening of the universal character of sport (or that of dependence), because it is the international federations and institutions such as CONFEJES and then Olympic Solidarity which have above all funded African sport, through their various programs to accelerate the globalization of sport. Thus, there is no intercultural dialogue.

By trying to use sport as a unifying movement, African leaders did not perceive that the man who practices it belongs to a society, a culture and a civilization whose origin does not start from ancient Greece, neither from Rome nor from Paris.

Thus, African sport has not evolved towards diversification, the search for new endogenous dimensions, which would have allowed the development of a sport for all, a sport of proximity, a community sport, anchored on endogenous values and which would be practiced at a lower cost (bodily and non-bodily practices).

But as da Costa (2001, 7) points out, the end of the 19th century corresponded to the end of the imperialist conquest in black Africa. During this century, science has consolidated its fundamental role in the social, cultural and economic relations of the so-called modern world, and ancient Greece has found itself in the center of the interest of intellectuals and academics. It was also the time when historical and cultural knowledge reinforced the notion of national identity. It was also the time of archaeological initiatives which resulted in the restoration of several historic sites in Greece. Greece, Athens and Ancient Olympia have come to the forefront as visible landmarks of Western culture. To this should be added that Coubertin's philhellenism had helped to recreate a perception of the world, centered on the values of ancient Greece by choosing sports competition to ensure its international visibility.

By accepting the proposals of the West, the new Africa has not yet hosted either the Olympic Games or the Football World Cup (South Africa 2010) to claim this sharing, this solidarity of values as was the case in this motto: "bring the world to Seoul, send Seoul to the world"! Like Barcelona in 1992 or Sydney in 2000, African cities can make the continent's contribution to the enrichment of human heritage, but with the participation of the rest of the world.

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