

### Interuniversitary Institute of Social Development and Peace

## INTERNATIONAL MASTER AND DOCTORATE IN PEACE, CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES



## MASTER'S DEGREE FINAL PROJECT

# "Les Bleus" and a broken French identity: a project to educate aspiring footballers

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Castellón, Dakar, St Etienne des Oullières July 2022

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Keywords [3 - 5]:

Identity; Society; French identity; Sports; Peace

Abstract [100 words]:

In 2018, France won the football World Cup in Russia. The team was notably composed of players from diverse backgrounds. There was much criticism of this diversity, made by right-wing political parties and by civil society and it was claimed that the team wasn't 'France'. This is a recurring theme in the history of the national team. It raises the question of what it really is to be "French", as a fractured society clashes with itself over the question. This document proposes a project using the French national football team to unite the nation, to re-define the meaning of being French, by educating players from the French national youth teams as catalysts for change in the future. The document concludes that football players and sports can be used as tool for peace, but they must be supported by other means and measures to resolve societal issues.

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## Acknowledgements

I would like to start by thanking my mother for helping me patiently and intensely throughout the whole process of my education. All the way from the age of three, she, more than anyone, has always been there to help me. So, for the last twenty-one years, thank you!

I also want to thank my dad, as he has also always been supportive of me and has always made sure I was provided with opportunities. Both my parents enabled me to have an excellent education and I thank them for that.

In the academic world, I would like to thank both my thesis supervisors, Leonor Hernandez Lopez and Arely Vázquez Vidal for their help in producing this thesis since the month of February. They both helped me do the best I could and provided me with feedback rapidly so I could move on and fulfil all the deadlines expected of me.

Again, on a personal level, I would like to also thank all my friends from the masters or from Castello during the last two years for their kindness and friendship.

A special mention goes to my flatmates over the last two years. To my most loyal ones, Daniel, Haroun and to the newest ones, Guigui and Rox, and without forgetting Raffa for the first year, thanks so much for making Career Alloza such a special place! I will never forget the times we had in this house. These five also helped me during the ups and downs of the last two years with moral support and more. So, to you guys, a big thank you!

Finally, I would like to thank my fellow course mate and wonderful girlfriend, Clara. I thank her for all the help she provided during the production of this thesis through long debates of ideas, but also for the moral support she provided while I was writing the thesis in a small appartement we shared in Dakar. Thanks also for the many debates we have had about topics of interest (many geopolitics and international affairs) during class and out of it over the last two years.

## **Acronyms:**

ALN: Armée de Libération National

EDL: English Defense League

FIFA: Fédération Internationale de Football Association

FLN: Front de Libération National

FN: Front National

HQ: Headquarters

RN: Rassemblement National

TGV : Train grande vitesse

UKIP: United Kingdom Independence Party

U16: Under-16

U17: Under-17

U18: Under-18

U19: Under-19

U20 : Under-20

## Introduction

This document will explore the power of sport and more specifically, French football, to influence national identity. It will present a project proposal to harness the soft power of the France national youth football teams to encourage a culture of peace both nationally and internationally. "Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination." Nelson Mandela (2000).

Sport includes sportsmanship, which is defined by a set of values such as tolerance, fair play, respect, teamwork, dedication, and commitment. These are all found in the value of being in a team or competing in a controlled environment, supervised by a referee.

Recognising the importance of these core values shows the importance and impact that high-level athletes can have. Given their social influence via television and social media it is easy to understand the pressure they face to adhere to these core values. This also means that they are excellent potential ambassadors who can be used to improve society and set an identity which adheres to these values (Armstrong, 2007).

Historically, sport has peaceful origins. According to Tom Woodhouse "the purpose of the original games was to stop war between the Peloponnesian city states, when a formal agreement was signed declaring all wars should cease, arms should be laid down and competitors and spectators allowed to travel to and from the games safely".

There is a vast amount of literature already available in the academic sphere surrounding national, social, and political identity but none explicitly linking it to the strength of the soft power of a

national football team. This document aims to fill the void in the literature and to propose a project to create and harness this soft power in France.

This subject of national identity has been selected because as explained by Liu and Turner (2018) "in the context of globalisation, national identity is increasingly becoming a problem, and technological progress extends the defined temporal-spatial boundaries and the fixed network of contacts. (Jin & Yao, 2014)."

France has been selected because it finds itself at a crossroad, trying to re-define itself in a changing world which has seen it go from one of the main world diplomatic and cultural power houses, to a country struggling to compete economically, with rising powers from the East, and with a fractured society suffering from societal and historical divisions. The transition from colonial power was brutal. This transition caused much trauma in French society and amongst its people. France has been searching for its new position and its identity ever since (Hayward, 2007).

The French football team will be used as the tool for this project since the team reflect France, with all its hope, its dream, its celebrations, its technical ability but also its violence, its racism, its inequalities, and its traumas (Krasnoff, 2017). Put simply, through the players, it is possible to understand the diversity of French society and the complexity it is facing today with regard to positioning itself in the world, but also with accepting its history.

The FFF is mostly opposed to taking a clear political stance regarding identity and its players, and prefers to adapt to public opinion, it also wants its players to be exemplary. Taking a position on identity through the French national team presents an excellent opportunity for giving the players the possibility to be exemplary and to contribute towards re-creating a more peaceful, united French identity. This identity would be based on the idea of Omar's hybrid identity theory (Omar, 2019). Football is the perfect sport to address the issues. As Tom Woodhouse (2010) says, "Football is possibly one of the most popular choices when it comes to using sport as a tool for engagement.

At both ends of the football spectrum there are people attempting to use football to bring about peace."

Football unites under the banner of support and emotions. Peace can be achieved through football and specifically through a national football team.

Football and sports can also be the best display of patriotism possible on the global stage. Football is controlled by a referee and players must respect a set of rules which are part of the game. This enables a form of physical challenge between nations but all within values of respect, equality, teamwork, and sportsmanship. Football therefore develops commitment to a nation without any allusion to violence.

This document will have four objectives.

- To explore French National identity and to demonstrate that the French national team reflects French national identity.
- To show that French football has the power to glorify, deconstruct or challenge French identity and act as a catalyst for peace.
- To educate the national youth football team players to redefine their identity.
- To use this new team identity to prepare the players for social, political and media pressure, harnessing the soft power of their influence to start a positive future debate in France about an aspirational and peaceful new French identity.

The document will follow a clear structure. Firstly, it will present a theoretical framework which will define identity, including its different facets and its role in politics, sports, and peace. It will then contextualise the project proposal by examining French colonial history showing its links to the national football team and to French identity. Finally, it will present a detailed project proposal

consisting of a set of workshops designed to harness the potential within the youth national football teams to influence French society, prior to the conclusion.

## **Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework**

## 1. Identity

#### Individual and collective identity

In the Britannica dictionary identity is defined as the "the qualities, beliefs, etc., that make a particular person or group different from others" (Britannica, 2022). This is a very simplified definition of a complicated term.

Liu and Turner (2018) explain Erikson's idea that "identity is not only individual, but also collective and social. Identity is the difference, character and sense of belonging found in interpersonal interactions and interactions between groups (Erikson, 1994), and it arises from the self-views that emerge from the reflexive activity of self-categorisation or identification in terms of membership in particular groups or roles (Stets & Burke, 2000)." This suggests that the collective identity of an influential group such as a youth football team can be mirrored within society.

#### **Hybrid identity**

The concept of a "Hybrid identity" enables a better understanding of what makes up an individual's identity, as it enables multiple identities to collide. This not only enables a better understanding of identity, but also of culture, as one can better understand cultural blending through the lens of an individual's hybrid identity (Omar, 2019). The idea of a hybrid identity also allows "recognition"

of multiple ways of life and the right to hospitality", the right to immigration (Omar, 2019) leading to a more interconnected world in which there is the potential for national boundaries and racism to be defeated. Understanding and developing this at a micro level in the French football team and then using it a macro level for the good of French society will be a key element of the project proposed by this document.

#### **National identity**

National identity— According to Mader & al. (2018) national identity is "the sense of one's belonging to the nation and the extent to which people believe being a member of the nation is important—is a key aspect or core dimension of social identity (Tajfel, 1982) (Huddy & Khatib, 2007) (Theiss-Morse, 2009)".

Liu and Turner (2018) add that "National identity is the product of the development of modern nationalism. Since the French Revolution, modern nationalism is not only an ideology but also a political and social movement based on this ideology. National identity refers to the identity of the citizens of a country with their own country's historical and cultural traditions, moral values, ideals, beliefs, national sovereignty, and so on."

#### **Evolving identity**

National identity is socially constructed, therefore unnatural, which means that it can be changed at any time, and it is constantly changing (Burke 2007) (Omar, 2019). Identity is not set (Easthope, 2009) but can be modified by surrounding influences or settings.

This is particularly notable in France which is seemingly obsessed with identity. This obsession has multiple origins. Firstly, the French education system which places strong emphasis on French history, with the glorification of Louis XIV for example as a national symbol. France's past is

glorified in classrooms and France's position on the world stage is emphasised, giving students a feeling of pride in their nation. Secondly France's history as a colonial leader. Famous defeats such as in Diên Biên Phu, when France lost the power on the world stage that it once had. This affected French identity and its "glorious" image of power (Cadeau, 2015).

The mass arrival of immigrants during that period, coupled with this loss of power meant that France started to look inward at itself instead of towards its empire, thus questioning its society and its identity (Evans, 2004). Its socially constructed identity was changing. Change is often associated with fear and French society is no exception. The feeling of the old identity being "replaced" is difficult to reconcile and yet change is inherent to the definition of identity. Today these factors, history, education, unreconciled constant change, and fear of the unknown, mean that changing identity has become extremely sensitive in France

Recognising that national identity is not static but is socially constructed is also recognising that it is a strong force of mobilisation, a 'coming together' in the name of that identity which may be political, historical, peaceful, or other. It can be used as a force for good, but also for dangerous ends. An example of national identity associated with sport and used for dangerous political intentions is the way in which the Turkish national football team boosted popularity for the invasion of Northern Syria by using a military salute during celebration of a goal against France (Kasapoglu, 2019). Understanding the strength of this mobilisation, particularly when associated with sport is discussed later in this document and will be one of the key elements to be conveyed in the project proposed by this paper, as a force for good in French society.

#### **National Identity versus "sport" national Identity**

National identity and "sport" national identity intertwine but are very different.

National identity as discussed above can depend on the country you came from, grew up in, its history and its culture, and it is therefore related to a nation or to a region. Sport national identity on the other hand is not. A French national can support the Brazilian national team without having any prior connection to Brazil (Rowe & Gilmour, 2010).

Sport also creates a form of attraction which is known as "soft power" (Nye, 1990). This is seen a lot in club football, where fans from around the world, support one club, such as Real Madrid of Spain for example, due to their success on the pitch (Rowe & Gilmour, 2010). It demonstrates a desire by fans to assimilate their own personal identity with one of a successful football club that promotes success as an identity (Nye, 1990). This 'soft power' is what this document will aim to use in its project proposal to open a positive future debate in France surrounding identity. It will aim to use it to unite and bring a culture of peace within French society.

The soft power of sporting identity to unite is clear in something as simple as a flag. A flag can be used for demonstrating both types of identity, national and 'sport' national, depending upon the way in which it is used. During sporting competitions, to display the national team's flag on one's door or to wave the flag around in the street is seen as positive, it mobilises the nation, unites in support of the national team. On the other hand, outside of sporting competition, to display the national flag in a window is often seen as a symbol of a far-right national identity. This is the case in England for example. The Saint-George's cross is often used by members of the far-right political party UKIP, but also by the EDL at rallies to show their "nationalism". Here outside of sport the flag may still mobilise, but it also divides.

#### **Political identity**

National identity is not politicised by nature, but it can be used as a political tool (Hubby & Khatib, 2007). National identity is often used as a concept which is highly politicised, to put one category of people into a certain box (Laffan, 1996). This is very limiting and restrictive.

In 2010, the French Football National Team failed miserably during the World Cup in South Africa, which notably saw them organise a strike and refuse to train. The French politicians and large parts of the population blamed this on the "foreign" players. The increase in racism, and the question of national identity amongst the foreign players was brought to the forefront and not for the first or probably the last time.

#### The multiple facets of identity

The definition of identity is not simple and recognising all the different aspects of its definition is crucial to the project proposal presented in this document. The proposal will lean towards a wider intangible definition of the word identity. A definition which will promote inclusivity, understand its constant evolution, and avoid simplistic interpretation (Ranaivosoa, 2020).

### 2. Identity and its role in politics, history and peace

#### **Politics**

Politicians for many years now, have bought identity to the forefront in the national political debate (Cliffton, 2013). This was notably evident in Europe during the 2022 French Presidential election. In France, far-right candidates, Eric Zemmour and Marine Le Pen, even brought up the conspiracy theory term "le grand replacement". This is an identity-based theory, which claims that European and French identity is being replaced by an "Islamic" one, leading to the "replacement of culture".

and destruction of French history" (Johannès, 2022). This simply racist theory is rather a theory of fear of the loss of power of European countries on the world stage. A loss of the global domination of colonial times in world politics but also in terms of cultural strength (Johannès, 2022).

These discourses are extremely dangerous and very powerful. In the extreme, this can lead to people taking justice into their own hands, as they feel the cause is one that is above the justice system and laws. This was the case in France as racially motivated crime increased by nearly thirty percent in 2021 (Republic Française, 2022). Another example is the momentum behind the attack on the Capitol building in Washington DC in 2001. Trump supporters were driven by Donald Trump's baseless claims of a rigged election (Munn, 2021). This was a clear example of crowds influencing each other behind a discourse, with the most radical pushing and influencing more moderates to take justice into their own hands (Munn, 2021).

Politicians tend to bring up and categorise identity when they lack answers to national problems (Cliffton, 2013). This can be a positive opportunity, but it becomes dangerous without sufficient critique. In politics, identity has a strong potential to unite and mobilise but also to divide and fracture.

This was notably the case in Europe in 1933 during times of great financial hardship and specifically in Germany. The Germans used identity, backed by ultranationalism, as a facilitator of entry into the ideology of fascism, which is based on control, authoritarianism, restriction of freedom, elitism, patriarchy, and militarism (Griffin, 2013).

Arendt would likely see politics linked to identity as an opportunity. Identity can be an excellent opportunity for discussion between people as every member of society has one. It can also be a great form of union, sharing of similar ideals or ideas linked to identity through politics as a sphere of interaction between human beings (Passerin, 2019). This was notably the case in 2005, during the civil war in Cote d'Ivoire, when the national football team called for citizens to drop arms after

qualifying for the world cup, as they proved that united under the identity of Ivorian, they could achieve great things (BBC Africa, 2020). This obviously didn't stop the war, but a dynamic was launched.

#### **History**

Identity has an undeniable link to history (Rose, 1996). Identity is set by history and history is set by identity. Historical events have shaped the world, shaped people, and shaped their identity through nationality and nation state for example. These two concepts are a production of history. In France, historical events have set up personal identity in a very specific way. For millions of French binationals, the great crime of history, colonisation, has set up personal identity, by moving cultures and identities around the globe but also destroying them (McClellan, Regourd, 2000). This is a great form of cultural violence on a national and historical scale (Galtung, 1990).

Today, France is still in denial of its colonial past, the victims of colonisation are denied their own identity. France's colonial empire (in simple terms) lasted from 1534 to 1980 (even though France still has the control of "overseas" territories which one might claim are colonies. Notably New Caledonia which is on the UN list of territories to "decolonise"). Many crimes were committed, and resources and art were stolen and bought to Paris to enrich the state.

A French colony was found on every continent and France had the second largest empire in the world behind the British empire. Following the early independence of Quebec and Louisiana (joining Canada and the USA respectively), the empire was mainly concentrated on Africa, as France nearly controlled territories from the West of the continent all the way to the East, from Dakar to Djibouti (see appendix 1). The empire progressively fell following WWII and France's power diminished. However, many people from these colonies migrated to France to respond to

the demand in labour needed in Europe. This labour was required to reconstruct following the war, with the largest populations coming from North and West Africa (Chafer, 2002).

Following decolonisation, France worked hard to keep its influence though, mostly in West Africa, through "Francafrique", which is a term used to describe France's post-colonial influence in its ex African colonies. Today, "Francafrique" remains, for example, through the "Franc CFA" which is the currency in most of France's ex-colonies in Africa. This currency is still today controlled and monitored by and in Paris.

Today, this influence serves France economically and in geopolitical terms, as it gives them advantages on the exploitation of natural resources in West Africa, but also with potential development projects, as seen with the lucrative contract for the construction of a new train in Dakar, Senegal, which was built by a French company.

France simply doesn't want to recognise its past and the crimes of colonisation, as it tarnishes the "image" of modern French identity (Charpentier, 2021), thus potentially costing the French financially and in terms of influence.

Today, the binationals whose families migrated to France from the ex-colonies for work, simply do not get recognition of their past, denying them their full identity.

History has also played a part in shaping population identities through mass forced migration. This is notably the case of the triangle trade also known as the Atlantic slave trade which lasted from approximately 1526 to 1867 (Mintz, 2022). This crime of humanity caused the exodus of approximately thirteen million black Africans (Mintz, 2022) to a continent from which they did not originate, the United States, the West Indies and Cuba. This created multiple new identities as American and African culture mixed creating the African American identity, or the Afro-Cuban. The foundation of these identities lies on the greatest crimes in human history (Dundes, 1976).

History also plays a part in boosting self-identity, as it can generate pride in "national achievements", such as in historical battles won for example, (aka French nationalism following its victory in WWII) (Hutchinson, 2017). France has done this throughout history, notably with Napoleon who conquered large parts of Europe and has become a national emblem for some, of French skill and talent. Ironically, this is creating a culture based on war, where victories and death of other nations is seen as a form of achievement and of patriotism.

"National achievements" and pride associated with identity can also be seen through great scientific achievements. Examples in France are the pride associated with the great philosophers such as Voltaire of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the inspiration that French scientists such as Pasteur and Marie Curie bring to the young generation of French thinkers and scientists. Pride and motivation to achieve built on past examples of successful French men and women (Daley, 2013). "National achievements" can have a positive effect on identity, but, once again, can also be used for negative means, or even re-appropriated to suit a certain discourse. This was seen in Eric Zemmour's 2022 campaign announcement video (Cassini, Dassonville, Maad, Imbach & Groult, 2021) where he used these achievements to show that France was "once" great and is currently being destroyed by migration to the country.

Historically then over-identification can have negative impact upon society, but in the same way a lack of national identity can also lead to unrest. This can be observed when a population finds itself unable to identify with the national identity of a centralised government for example. In Mali, this is one of the many reasons for the complex and difficult situation in the country.

With a lack of state building and over centralisation, populations of the north and centre of the country became alienated. National identity was replaced with strong local identity, and radical jihadism (Orellana, 2017).

There are also very diverse populations in Mali. The nomadic Tuareg population has a strong tribal identity, has no borders, and does not believe in the system of nation states and therefore will not link its identity to any state. This causes important tensions between the Tuaregs and the states in which they live, as they live in their native Sahara Desert which is today spread across multiple nations (aka Algeria, Libya, Mali, Niger, Mauritania, etc).

#### Peace:

Peace can be a form of identity (Francis, 2004). The hippy cultural identity for example is one based on peace and pacifism. Many youth movements during the cold war were also based on peace at their core. The youth movements of the 1960s notably changed the world by liberalising many aspects of society. The movements also made government liable for their actions. This was seen notably through the protests against the Vietnam war and the Cold war all over the world. This influences government to move away from war and to find world peace. Ultimately, the peace movements of the twentieth century didn't bring world peace, but they did mobilise the global public conscience towards global issues of environment, freedom, and world peace.

As discussed above sport national identity can also be a creator of peace, uniting under the banner of a common identity. This can be seen for example in France in 1998, when the national football team won the World Cup, and French people from all backgrounds came together in the street to celebrate the win (Dietz & Dauger, 2016). This can be positive and negative obviously, as overnationalism, (as seen following the 1998 World Cup), can also be a great detriment to peace.

## **Chapter 2: Contextualisation**

### 1. French national identity and its evolution

What is French national identity? The answer to this question depends on what side of the political spectrum one finds oneself.

Looking at recent developments in national politics through the lens of Eric Zemmour, Marine Le Pen and of the (extreme) right, French identity is a traditional "white" identity. These are racist views that base themselves on the French being "pure" and practising the catholic or Christian religion, as historically this was the way. To be French means being "patriotic" in a way that "defends" the nation whatever its actions. This form of identity also sees French history through the lens of France being "heroic" and a "spreader" of civilisation. Notably many right-wing followers believe that colonisation was a positive experience for the colonised countries as it "gave them civilisation and French values".

This "patriotic" view of French identity started in the 1980s when France naturally started to lose its power in the world geopolitical order and globalisation was starting to open the world like never before. This created a fear amongst the French population, a fear that France would firstly lose its historical "greatness" as a world power, but also that it would lose its identity and traditions as a nation. This fear was accentuated by politicians, and created significant racism within French society towards Muslims, and immigrants that came to France when France needed manual labour at the end of WWII to fix the damage the war had caused (Ogden, 1991).

France's past political power therefore became an important theme in the early 2000s when Jean-Marie Le Pen from the political party the "Front National" (extreme-right) made it to the second round of the French presidential elections in 2002.

France is today a nation searching for itself and this search has often led to looking at history without fully comprehending it. Instead, it has led to a glorification of the past and to protectionism surrounding it. Hence the views of history presented by Eric Zemmour, during the 2022 presidential election. Thinking that France can be what it once was in terms of power is backwards and unrealistic (Semo, 2021). It doesn't consider the changed globalised world in which we live today. This is a real issue not only for France but for many European countries that are struggling to adapt their image in today's hyper-competitive globalised world, where identities mix naturally, and migration happens on a much larger scale than before (Semo, 2021).

These views are clearly very simple to understand and for people to relate to, but not representative of reality. Looking to the past for a French identity is simply not possible and would return the country to times of imperialism and the resulting human suffering.

France should rather look to the future to re-define its identity. The multiculturality that France has obtained through history within its borders following population movement, is near unrivalled compared to other European nations (Ogden, 1995). Thus, adapting and creating a form of flexibility of identity is key.

This does not mean that France should not take the learnings of its past. Without these, it cannot understand its society and its complexities today, nor create justice as would be required for a new definition of French identity. It also needs to start a discussion with its civilians regarding identity, as only through discussion and mutual understanding, will society move together as a whole, to implement a culture of peace instead of the culture of war currently found in France (Ranaivosoa, 2020).

Other parts of the political spectrum recognise that French identity is not so easy to understand because it is in fact very complex. They often recognise its diversity but without fully understanding or recognising its hybridity. As discussed above, hybrid identity means identity is

constantly changing, evolving through time and recognises multiple ways of life and the right to hospitality (Omar, 2019).

One important lens through which to see French Identity and French history is the French national football team. It provides a reflexion of French society throughout time, as seen in the documentary "Les Bleus, Une Autre Histoire De France" (Dietz & Dauger, 2016).

# 2. French national identity reflected in the National football team and related to its colonial past

There are multiple links between the French national football team, (but also in all other national sports), and France's colonial past (see appendix1).

Firstly, the diversity of the origins of the players and athletes that compete for France (Krasnoff, 2017). Most who are not considered to be "French", (aka white players with "French" surnames), come from France's ex-colonies such as Senegal, Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, etc and from current French colonies, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Reunion, etc. Some though originate from nations such as Armenia, which saw a large diaspora develop in France following the Armenian genocide from 1915 onwards. Amongst others are those from Portugal, Spain who arrived in France following WWI and WWII when the French needed labour workers.

This immigration took place mainly from the 1910s to the 1970s (Silvermann, 1990). Today, most players within the team are born in France, grew up and studied in France, most being third generation immigrants.

The diverse nature of the "make up" of the French national team and the way in which its different elements are treated today can be compared to the 'makeup' and treatment of soldiers called up from the French colonies to serve in WWI and WWII. This document will now draw these parallels

by discussing the "tirailleurs Senegalais" from the Sahel, called up during both French wars, and the "Harkis" from Algeria that were colonial army forces used by France during the Algerian war from 1954 to 1962.

#### A. Les Tirailleurs Senegalais:

This was a section of the French army created in 1860 which was composed of soldiers mostly from Senegal and from other French colonies of West Africa, otherwise known as the "Force noir" the "Black Strength" in English (Deroo & Champeaux, 2006). This legion of soldiers was active in multiple conflicts and colonial battles on the French side but was most notably known for the acts and offensives it led during WWI and WWII.

Normally the tirailleurs, were a unit of soldiers by profession, but as WWI went on, and the French realised they had a lack of men available to fight, they called up as many abled men as possible from French West Africa to fight in the battlefields of Europe (RFI, 2017). These men, whatever the country of origin (Malian, Togolese, etc) were branded "Senegalais" as the French assimilated all men of different origins into one.

Tragedy was to follow during the war, as soldiers from these units of "tirailleurs" were not treated as equal to other soldiers from the French army. (Lepidi, 2019).

Tirailleurs received very little training and during battle, black soldiers from the Tirailleurs were often put in the front line and sacrificed in the name of an offensive (Echenberg, 2009).

Many Tirailleurs who fought for France in colonial wars, WWI and WWII, were sent back to Dakar in terrible conditions, with some not even receiving any pay for their military service (Lepidi, 2019).

Worse still, in 1944, an estimated 190 soldiers were massacred by the French army following a revolt in Thiaroye, near Dakar.

#### B. Les Harkis:

The "Harkis" were an Algerian unit of soldiers who remained loyal to France during the independence war of Algeria from 1954 (Allouche, 2021). Only composed of Algerians or "indigene" as the French would say, they were mostly a form of militia created and trained up by the French army to defend and fight against the FLN or ALN in the villages and rural Algeria. They would work in commandos under the supervision of French officers (Allouche, 2021).

After years of fighting and many deaths in the name of French colonialism, Algeria gained independence, and the Harkis found themselves in a difficult situation. On the one hand, the French rejected the Harkis in their regular army and left them for dead in Algeria. On the other hand, the new Algerians and Algerian society, rejected them as they were seen as people who had fought against the people of Algeria and for the oppressor (Hamoumou, 1990).

The Harkis therefore, either went to France, where they were treated inhumanely and made to live in gated and controlled camps in often terrible conditions, or they were rejected by Algerian society and forced into exile and persecuted and killed by their compatriots.

Today, many descendants of Harkis still live in France and Algeria, and the struggle goes on, even though the French state is making efforts to recognise its crime and its debt towards the Harkis (Allouche, 2021).

Today, within the French national football team we see a very similar situation, although of course slightly less tragic.

Players are often selected and encouraged to play for France to reinforce the national team, but at the expense of the national team of the players' origins. This is mainly due to infrastructure, as the French national team often has a higher budget, but it is also a result of history and education.

In school, the crimes of the French during the colonial periods, and history, such as that of the Harkis or Tirailleurs are not mentioned. Instead, the history of the ex-colonised countries is

extinguished to the detriment of "glorious" French history. Similarly, players are influenced by the glory of playing for France, to the detriment of the level of sporting achievement of the country of their origins.

France using populations from its ex-colonies for its national army and national sports team is brain drain (Docquier & Rapoport, 2012). The concept of taking the "brains" aka intelligence, from so-called developing nations to come to richer nations in the West to do their work. In the case of sport, the term can be slightly modified 'sporting brain drain'.

In sporting terms, this also means less performing national teams. Today for example, in football, one of the world's best players, Kylian Mbappe, plays for the French national team, although his father is from Cameroon and his mother Algeria, meaning he could have played for any of the two. This means less quality and talent on the pitch for the aforementioned nations, lower quality performance, and lower sporting achievement. This in turn means less opportunities for soft power (Leroux, 2019) and failure to harness a key opportunity for growth and strength in diplomatic and developmental terms.

The way that players within the French national team are treated is also reflected in French history. Similarly, to the Harkis and the Tirailleurs, players from diverse backgrounds are often judged by fans and society more harshly than "white" players. "When they win, they are the best, they are seen as French, when they lose, they are foreign and are hooligans from the quartiers and banlieues" (Cantona, 2016). If the team and players start underperforming or losing, the players find themselves in a difficult position. They are rejected as part of the national team by French society as they are not considered to be "French", but they are not accepted in the country of their origins with their history of playing for the colonisers team. This creates a gap of identity for the players, with rejection coming from all around.

In this way, France dehumanises the individual's identity. It takes advantage of physical strength and ability and then when not deemed needed or performant, it is rejected into a vast unknown. In 2011, recordings of a secret meeting between the manager of the French national team and the FFF took place in Paris. The recording revealed a discussion about imposing discriminatory quotas on the training of black players and players from diverse background in order to facilitate investment in "white" "pure" French players for the future national team (Dhers & Schneider, 2011). This mentality reflects the lack of training given to the tirailleurs. The French giving advantages to one type of individual over another in an evident act of racist discrimination.

Clearly as demonstrated in the examples above, France still uses the manpower and strength of their ex-colonies to improve their national teams without any consideration for identity issues or their resulting consequences.

# 3. The French national football team and its relationship to French identity today

As presented in the introduction to this document, the ebbs and flows of the French football team are the mirror of French society today. "C'est que du foot, mais c'est plus que du foot" (Domenech, 2016) "Le sport est de la politique" (Thuram, 2016). 26,1 million people watched the French at the world cup (L'Equipe, 2018), meaning that nearly half the French population were watching and scrutinising the players. Those playing under the France national team flag, face social, political and media pressure like none other. For ninety minutes, they are the ambassadors of a nation, of an identity (Armstrong, 2007). Historically society's demon's popup every time they play (Dietz & Dauger, 2016).

To understand the role of the French football national team in French society and the reason why the question of identity is so important in the modern team, it is important to discuss five events and situations that have defined the French national team over the last twenty-five years. These five events show the path from glory to disaster back to glory and back to the question of identity.

#### A. Black, Blanc, Beurre and the 1998 World Cup victory

After approximately fifteen years of struggle on the pitch, France hosted the 1998 FIFA World Cup on home soil. The mega-sporting event came at a tense time, following the legislatives of 1997, when the "Front National" of Jean-Marie Le Pen reached the historical high score of 15%. This was the highest score an extreme right-party had ever achieved since the creation of the fifth French republic in 1958.

Prior to the World Cup, Le Pen openly criticised the team by claiming that the players didn't sing

the national anthem before pre-tournament games, and that maybe they simply didn't know the anthem and so were not "patriotic". He followed this claim by saying that it was a shame that most players were "not French", and that France should stop recruiting their talent from abroad.

Aime Jacquet, the manager of the team at the time, supported his players against the attack, and said that all the players were very proud to play for the national team and for the French shirt.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1998, France won the World Cup, and the streets of France were full of fans singing, dancing, and chanting, united under the slogan "Black, Blanc, Beurre". This slogan was used by the French to show the unity of the French nation. The term "Black", was used to represent the black populations coming originally mostly from sub-Saharan Africa but also from the current colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique. The term "Blanc" was used for the white players in the team, and the bi-national players. Finally, the term "Beurre" which is a slang for "arabe" was used to refer to the populations coming from the Maghreb.

Thus, the slogan started from an origin of acceptance and of diversity, a force for good representing France's best image, one of diversity and acceptance of different origins, yet united under the French flag. It was a form of acceptance of hybrid identity. Its only drawback was that it did put every player of the national team into a box according to their origins (Dietz & Dauger, 2016). This was the high point of French football in terms of acceptance of identity. The tournament went very well for the French, winning their first ever football World Cup. Stand-out performances came from Zinedine Zidane. "Zizou" was born in Marseille, descending from two Algerian immigrant parents in Marseille, which is known for its high level of crime and unemployment rate, and for having a high number of immigrants living in the area (Lichfield, 2006). Zidane playing a vital role in the victory is very symbolic. Chants of "Zidane, President" were resounding all over France on the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> of July and the Arc de Triumph on the Champs-Elysée was lit up with the slogan. A mythological figure was born (Leroy & Metayer, 2018). This is highly symbolic. How could the French population ever consider a French Algerian as their president? Suddenly, thanks to football, and good performance on the pitch, the French were chanting for a French Algerian to lead their country.

This shows the strength and the power of sport to heal divisions and shift public opinion in an instant. All division within French society was forgotten for one night. Football has this power as it touches emotions and amplifies them, and it does this in extremes. It can be positive, as we see with the example above, but also negative and can create great damage within society (Muska, 2017).

That night was the apogee of the French national football team, a height of love and unity of the team and of French society that would never be reached again. It was only "powder for the eyes" (Lemaitre, 2021) and was short lasting.

#### B. France vs Algeria 2001

Following the success of the 1998 World Cup and the victory at the European Championship in 2000, the French government at the time, decided to organise a friendly game against Algeria. It was a highly symbolic game which was supposed to put the problems of the past behind both nations (aka the war of Algeria).

Unfortunately, it was anything but that. Before a ball was even kicked, the French national anthem was booed by Algerian supporters (with most living in France) who took over most of the stadium. When the game started, Algerian supporters started running onto the pitch with a progressive increase in numbers. In minute 77 of the game, the pitch was fully invaded by young fans wearing Algerian shirts and with Algerian flags.

This was more than just a pitch invasion. This was not only the expression of anger against the French state and a protest against racism, it was also a major identity crisis expressed on a football pitch by thousands of French Algerians. Most were born in France but were rejected by their surroundings and by the society in which they lived. This pitch invasion was a proof of their existence, a display of their identity to the French state.

Unfortunately, this act caused even more racism and discrimination towards the French Algerians. These acts of rebellion played into the hands of extreme right-wing politicians. They were proof of the cliches, and stereotypes associated with French Algerians and immigrants from the "banlieues". Their reputation for being "uncivilised" and hating the French was reinforced. It is possible that this was the case. That many of the people who booed the French anthem hated the French state. Following this game, the question should have been why?

One of the potential answers could have been found in the conditions in which immigrants live in France's poorest neighbourhoods with a lack of work opportunity, geographical access to opportunities and a high level of unemployment.

Instead of asking fundamental questions about the identity and composition of French society and its structures, the question of immigrants was again put at the forefront as a hindrance and immigrant "racaille" were blamed for the invasion and incidents during the match. Although it didn't involve the national team players directly, societal problems were again reflected through sport and the national team.

The match was seen as one of the catalysts for the result of the 2002 French presidential election when Jean-Marie Le Pen reached the second round, A first for an openly racist candidate of the extreme right wing.

#### C. Knysna 2010, the psychodrama

In 2010, France went to South Africa to play in the first ever World Cup in Africa. The French had a good squad of players on paper, again from multiple backgrounds. For the tournament, the French settled in Knysna on the southern coast of South Africa in an ultra-luxury hotel.

Following the second match of the tournament, it emerged that one of the players, Nicolas Anelka, had violently abused the manager. The following day, the FFF expelled Anelka from the squad, sending him back to France. Following this decision, all the players refused to train and went on strike. This led to surreal images of a bus parked on a training ground, full of footballers refusing to come out. The manager was also publicly humiliated as he read out a message from the players announcing their strike.

Over the following days, first the newspapers and then politicians got involved. The team and the nation were falling apart. Nicolas Sarkozy, the president at the time, got personally involved and asked the FFF to do a full inquiry into what was happening and who to sanction. Roselyne Bacehlot made things worse. In front of the national parliament, she called the players "caid immature"

which means immature hooligans (Chaffanjon, 2010). This was an obvious attack from the right-wing politician on a certain class of players within the team.

Those suspected of being the troublemakers and Nicolas Anelka, were all from popular suburbs of Paris and had an image problem, as they would walk to games wearing headphones, branded jackets, hats on sideways, and listening to rap. The "white" players from the middle class of French society were regarded differently.

The entire squad acted in a manner that was not worthy of any sportsman, but it was those from the banlieue who were blamed, and the image problem contributed to even more racism, discrimination, and stereotypes in French society.

Through the disaster of Knysna (being named after the name of the city where the players stayed), the players reignited all the social tension in French society that was brewing beneath the surface and had always been present.

Right leaning "intellectuals" even wrote books which blamed the banlieue culture and questioned why they were even in the team. They were called "uneducated and arrogant" (Ghemmour, 2020). Marine Le Pen (the daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen, who shares the same ideals as her father) also exploited the disaster by calling the affair a "humiliation to all the country" (Ghemmour, 2020). This was well and truly the end of the myth of the "Black, Blanc, Beurre" (Ghemmour, 2020). The team was being destroyed from the inside due to identity, and so was society. The team flew back to France with their head hung low to face the fury of the nation.

#### D. Karim Benzema

Following the drama of the 2010 World Cup, France needed a re-build. This happened in a relatively calm way until 2015 when Karim Benzema, one of the players, was accused of being an

accomplice of someone who was trying to blackmail Mathieu Valbuena. Benzema denied any implication. Benzema was suspended from the team for an "undetermined" amount of time.

Today, the case has passed, and the problems between the two players are forgotten. Yet Benzema was not reintegrated into team, despite being one of the best French players in the world.

Benzema, although born in Lyon, had two Algerian parents and grew up in the banlieue of Lyon. He was largely seen as "racaille" (a term discussed above). Multiple times, politicians from the extreme right wing party RN (ex FN), accused him of not being "proud to be French", that he "didn't like France", that he "disrespects the nation" and that he only represents the French national team for money (Senecat, 2021). He was also accused of not being a patriot, for not singing "la Marseillaise" the French national anthem before games, the same words used by Jean-Marie Le Pen in 1998 before the victorious World Cup.

These accusations were made for years while Benzema played for the team because of a 2006 interview when he was asked if he would play for the French national team or the Algerian one. Benzema said that he chose France over Algeria. He claimed that it was a "sporting" decision. France was the better team with better players, and the French national team would give him more opportunities (Senecat, 2021). Never was there any talk of identity in what Benzema said, never did he mention that he felt more Algerian than French. Benzema always claimed to proudly wear the French shirt every time he wore it.

Still used commonly today, the accusations are entirely unjustified. Players are not actually paid to play for the national team, so Benzema would not have been paid differently if he played for Algeria or France (Senecat, 2021). Does singing the national anthem before a football game make one person more "French" and more "patriotic" than another? Michel Platini, one of the greatest 'white' French players of all time, never sung the "Marseillaise" before any game, yet he was never criticised or accused of not being a "patriot".

This obviously shows that Benzema's origins caused problems for certain people. From 2018, Benzema not being called up for the national team (and notably the World Cup in 2018) became the subject of national debate. The debate was not about whether he should be called up due to the ongoing court case, but it was about whether Benzema was "French" enough or "patriotic" enough to be wearing the shirt. An increasing number of extreme right-wing politicians used it as a political tool for their own popularity and the popularity of the party (Czaja, 2021). In 2017, the president of the FFF, Noël Le Graët, even quoted that "Benzema's time with France is over".

In 2021, for the Euro 2020 (delayed due to COVID-19 pandemic), Benzema was surprisingly and finally recalled to the national team. When he was recalled in 2021, 57% of the French public thought it was the right decision (Bontinck, 2021), yet, in 2017, 78% of the French, asked in an opinion poll, were said to be against a return of Benzema to the national team (L'Equipe, 2017). Many ex-footballers at the time, Eric Cantona, amongst others, claim that Benzema was not allowed a fair "trial" due to this public opinion, racism and Benzema's origins. In 2016, Karim Benzema himself even said that the manager and the FFF had cracked to a "racist section of French society" (Mestre, 2016).

There is a clear link between French public opinion collected during opinion polls and the rejection or acceptance of Benzema. This reflects the psychodrama of Knysna in 2010. To rebuild its image, it was dependent on its relationship with the French public. The FFF and the team wanted to move away from anything that might cause debate and controversy in France.

From this we can see that the FFF have now understood the important role the national team has in society, but also that it is not ready to take a stance which divides public opinion.

The FFF allowed Benzema back into the team, but only when most of the public (56%) were for his return, thus causing less controversy (Bontinck, 2021). This is rather dangerous, as the FFF is potentially creating and adapting its ethical values to public opinion. Currently, extreme-right wing

parties are seeing nearly 40% of the French population vote for them, so would the FFF shift their value system towards pleasing this part of the French population if ever one day these extreme right-wing parties reached 50%? This is an important question to ask.

This also shows the fact that the FFF are aware of the sensibilities of the French public when it comes to national identity and shows to what extent it will go to stay on the right side of public opinion, putting popularity before values.

Today, Benzema has been reintegrated into the national team. Questions surrounding his identity have therefore been brushed away. As Eric Cantona said and mentioned previously in this paper "When they win, they are the best, they are seen as French, when they lose, they are foreign and are hooligans from the quartier and banlieue".

#### E. The 2018 World Cup Win

In 2018, in Russia, France won the FIFA World Cup for the second time in its history. Following a remarkable tournament and win, many commented on the fact "Africa" had won the tournament, amongst them was the South African comedian Trevor Noah on a US TV show (BBC, 2018). Overall, the tournament was a success for France and for the FFF with a famous win. The team seemed to co-exist in an orderly manner, but it was apolitical. The FFF ensured that the players did not take any political position and made every player vow for exemplarity. Avoiding controversy was the order of the tournament.

## 4. A tormented history

Much like French society, the national team has had a tormented 25 years on and off the pitch (Dietz & Dauger, 2016) and identity has been at the centre of this torment. The team itself is a

basket of talent coming from all over the French speaking world and beyond. It comes together to represent the nation of France.

The slogan "Black, Blanc, Beurre" was the apogee of this diversity as it was celebrated and praised and the beauty of interculturality within the team was put at the forefront to celebrate the wonderful achievement that was winning the World Cup (Dietz & Dauger, 2016).

Unfortunately, as we see in years that followed, it was just an illusion, the dream of a diverse and open society was crushed by the everyday reality of French society (Dietz & Dauger, 2016).

From analysis of the different events that the French national team has faced, it is clear that the team and the FFF are at war with themselves. Great victories and traumatic experiences have shaped the team for good and for bad (Dietz & Dauger, 2016).

Many events the team faced could have been dealt with internally, with initiative coming from the players in the spirit of a sports dress room, but unfortunately, when it comes to the national team, politicians get involved (Ghemmour, 2020). Thus, even small events within the team can take the scale of a national crisis and increase even more tensions within the country (Ghemmour, 2020).

The FFF has attempted to deal with the diversity of the team and the resulting politics by trying to depoliticise the team (Defrance, 2000), without success. Politics and issues within society will always catch up (Power, Widdop, Parnell, Carr & Millar, 2020).

French society has deep set problems with defining who they are and what being French is and this is reflected in the national team. Facing the inevitability of politics being ever present, the FFF should take a position on the question of identity and embrace it, harness it and use its potential for creating peace. Leaving the issue and trying to constantly avoid it can only be counterproductive and produce further issues.

## **Chapter 4: Project Proposal**

#### 1. Summary

This document is proposing an educational project via a series of workshops. Its aim is to use Sport as Nelson Mandela says, 'to change the world', 'to inspire', 'to unite people in a way that little else does'. It intends to 'speak to youth in a language they understand' by educating the young players coming up through the youth national football teams in the complex issues surrounding identity with a view to preparing them, not only for the short-term question of their own personal identity, but also for the longer term when they reach the national team at senior level and are faced with the pressure of becoming role models and ambassadors for French society. "Players have to be exemplary as they are representatives of the republic" (Griffet, 2018). Indeed, after the 2018 World Cup win, Emmanuel Macron, President of France, said that the players were "role models for millions of children". Action on the pitch is reproduced in millions of schools around the world from adoring young fans. This can be in sporting terms, aka reproducing a skill move, or a celebration for example, but can also potentially have political ramifications

The project has selected to focus upon the youth teams as they are potentially the future French national team players, and most players have double (or even triple) nationalities.

For each of the youth teams, the project is proposing four hours of interactive workshop over the course of a day (two hours in the morning, two hours in the afternoon), to take place at the headquarters of the FFF in Clairefontaine. The participants will be members of the youth teams (U16, U17, U18, U19).

Coaches of the respective teams will be asked to join their team in the workshops, not only help with discipline in the classes, but also to create more team cohesion between players and coach.

### 2. Workshop Objectives

These workshops will address the third and fourth objective of this document which are:

- To educate the national youth football team players to redefine their identity.
- To use this new team identity to prepare the players for social, political and media pressure, harnessing the soft power of their influence to start a positive future debate in France about an aspirational and peaceful new French identity.

The education objective is the main objective of the project and is both tangible and measurable. It sets out to ensure that participants unite and endorse a new identity for the French National team. Firstly, the players should commit to a common and core set of values surrounding sport, respect, sportsmanship, commitment, dedication, and sacrifice. Secondly the team should recognise the tormented history of France and its colonial past and embrace its diversity, enabling players from every background to be represented.

Wearing the French shirt as a player would therefore mean wearing the blue of "hybridity" and of multiculturality represented and mirrored in the French state, recognising players from all backgrounds and origins, but also recognising them as hybrid French. Players would be proud to wear a shirt that represents the "banlieue" of Paris, Lyon and Marseille, the natural beauty of Bretagne, the towering French Alps, the rich parts of Nice, but also parts of Abidjan, Dakar, Conakry, and other areas in which France has historically posed it influence.

France would therefore not need to define its team as the team of "Africa", as "Africa" would be represented in the team, but so would "Asia", the "Antilles" or any other part of the world found within the origins of the new hybrid French team.

This document has demonstrated that success in achieving this objective should provide the tool to achieving the far more ambitious and less tangible and measurable objective, a new and peaceful definition of French identity.

Although, as discussed above, it is difficult to give one definition of the word 'identity', this document will suggest a potential re- definition of French identity for consideration, as an ideal to aspire to.

### 3. Workshop content

Each workshop will be divided into two sessions of two hours with one class in the morning from 10am to 12pm and the other in the afternoon from 2pm to 4pm. The workshops are short and intensive to accommodate the busy schedule of the players, keep it interesting and avoid overloading the participants with information.

The morning session will focus on understanding the more theoretical side of identity. The afternoon session will be about defining a new group identity and learning to use it as a positive influence in society.

The workshops will include the following:

#### Morning (Timing indicated in appendix 10)

- Ice breaker
- Individual identity
- Hybrid identity
- National identity
- National identity and its relationship with French colonial history and the national team To open the workshop, there will be an ice breaker. The objective of this ice breaker is not only for the players to feel comfortable, and for the facilitator to get to know the players but also to introduce

the topic of 'identity' by allowing the players themselves to recognise the diversity in the classroom.

This icebreaker will be an activity where the participants must find information about their fellow teammates. A hand-out (example in appendix 2) will be given to the participants asking them to find teammates that correspond to the question. One question for example could be "Find a teammate who can make foufou". This handout will clearly be tailored to the group and will require the facilitator to know something about the background of each group prior to the workshop.

There will then be a plenary discussion about the findings, to explore the individual identities of the participants and to understand their origins and journeys. This will lead to a discussion about why there is such diversity in the room. Power point slides, (see appendix 3), surrounding the meaning of identity, will prompt debate and help the participants to discover for themselves that identity is socially construed and hybrid. The slides will include the theory of hybrid identity.

After a short break, a five-minute video about national identity will be presented. "L'identité nationale est une invention"

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vkXPW72200&ab\_channel=Courrierinternational).

The video can be found on YouTube. It was made by the "Courrier International" which is a French newspaper that also makes videos on Youtube. The video lasts five minute and thirty seconds approximately. It will be downloaded beforehand to ensure that it will run without issues.

This video presents identity as it is presented in this document, as a concept that is constantly in transition. It should be appropriate to the audience as it contains images which are entertaining and simple to understand, thus providing a basis for guided discussion in pairs.

For the guided discussion the pairs will all need the same prompt questions about the video. This will be provided in the form of a handout (appendix 4). The pairs will then present their

opinions/answers to the questions to the rest of the participants and a plenary discussion will follow. Once again, the aim of this discussion, which will be accompanied by several slides (appendix 5), will be for the participants to see for themselves that identity is ever evolving.

For the final part of the morning, the topic of identity will be related to French national identity, French colonial history, and the national team. This will be presented through pictures and videos of events such as the game between France and Algeria in 2001 or images from Knysna in 2010, supported by PowerPoint slides. There will then be a guided group discussion based on two questions (see appendix 6).

#### Afternoon (Timings indicated in appendix 10)

- Role models as future professional footballer and social responsibility
- A peaceful identity
- Redefine team identity
- Preparing to be ambassadors

The afternoon and second part of the workshop will start by discussing the importance of the role of a potential future professional footballer and the weight of responsibility that this role carries. They will be a special focus on how their actions influence millions of children in school playgrounds. A series of three images will be shown to the participants, one after the other without any explanation. The group will then be asked to work in 3 small groups and each group will be given one of the images. The groups will be asked to discuss the image and answer the question 'What is the effect of the action in this image on society and on children in particular?' The images will be of Zidane's 2006 World Cup final headbutt, more positive example of Marcus Rashford helping children to get school meals during the Covid pandemic, and the "Black Lives Matter"

stance in the English Premier League (appendix 7). The groups will share their thoughts in a plenary discussion, followed by a short two slide PowerPoint presentation (appendix 8) The first slide will have two columns 'National football team actions' and 'consequences' and will list some renowned actions and ask the team to name their consequences. The second slide will have the same headings, but this time, the names of the participants of the workshop will be listed under action and the facilitator will ask the rhetorical question 'How important can you be as members of society, and how can you inspire younger generations?'

The next session will involve a short presentation on the idea of a peaceful identity and what this

implies. The song "Place of peace" by Bob Marley will be played to spark interest in the topic, but also to enable the young participants to identify with this peaceful 'cool' identity via the much-loved reggae artist and cultural icon Bob Marley. This will be followed by a short PowerPoint slide about the values that are normally represented when discussing peaceful identity (appendix 9). The class will then be asked to work together in groups of four to identify three core values which represent them as a youth team and to classify them in order of importance. These youth team values will be written onto a white board (or a computer board). Each group will be asked why the core values are so important to them, and why they classified them in the way they did. There will then be a plenary debate merging the values of all three groups and classifying them in order of importance.

Following a very short break, the classes will return to their groups of four and will be asked to use the agreed youth team values to create a definition for the identity of their group. This will be a definition of one or more sentences. The groups will then share their definitions in plenary and together the participants will be encouraged to come to a common consensus on one definition for the entire group. Once consensus is reached the definition will be written onto the board, and it will be presented as the definition which defines this group's identity.

The afternoon will conclude by putting the agreed definition of the group identity to the test. There will be a role play where participants will be asked to role-play as professional footballers. They will be asked to answer questions about identity from the mass-media, who will be acted by the facilitator, following a match or while under the public eye. They will be encouraged to act and speak during the role play according to their agreed core values and group identity defined in the previous activity. This will not only prepare them in the future for media interventions, but also encourage them to adhere to their new team identity.

The full workshop program is presented in appendix 10.

#### 4. Educational method

The workshops will be as interactive and simply presented as possible to ensure that the audience is fully engaged in the learning. The aim will be for them to be actors in the process of learning as opposed to spectators. This method has been selected in view of the age of the youth team players who generally know very little about politics and their political status and many of whom have left school at a young age to concentrate on football as a professional career, without completing a full education (Bourke, 2003). This method will not only ensure engagement but will also ensure that the new learnings are truly acquired as opposed to simply heard and forgotten.

Throughout the two days, a focus on student participation is key. The classes' success or not will be defined by the participants. Their participation and interest will also be assured using simple language during debates and personal examples at their own group local level (for example by talking about identity through the lens of their local environment). Each topic area broached will be short (30 minutes) to ensure maximum concentration and the video materials used will be light-hearted.

#### 5. Structure

Learning will be in small groups of eleven. This will be to improve the learning experience of the participants, ensure interactivity and allow the workshops to be personalised as far as possible with regard to the subject matter, 'identity'.

Each youth team, composed of twenty-two players, will be split into two groups of eleven. Given that there are four teams, there will be a total of eight groups.

For each of the eight groups, the project is proposing four hours of interactive workshop (two hours in the morning, two hours in the afternoon), a total of 8 workshops to be led and organised. The workshop structure has been designed in this way for two reasons:

- to allow for the fact that players are not readily available whilst in Clairefontaine as they are often required for training
- To keep the workshops short but intense for concentration

Provided the dates can be organised accordingly, the aim will be to educate four teams at a time.

The workshops will take place in conference rooms at the FFF, depending on acceptance and availability.

It is important to ensure player engagement in the project and therefore they will be informed well in advance about the planned workshops and their content. This will enable better mental preparation for the players.

#### 6. Timescale

The project will be timed to start in January 2023 with a presentation of the full project plan in view of project acceptance and agreed workshop dates by the end of April 2023. The project cannot

begin earlier as the World Cup for the senior team takes place in Qatar from November to December 2022, hence the FFF will be otherwise occupied. The implementation of the project will take place over the course of six months from May 2023 to end of October 2023, depending upon the availability of the teams.

#### 7. Evaluation

The success of the project will be measured over both the short and long term.

#### **Short term**

Firstly, the groups will leave the workshop with a clear definition in writing of their group identity, created together from an understanding of the definitions of identity and its relationship to sport and in particular the national team. This will be a clear, measurable, and tangible output from the workshop.

Secondly their learning will be put to the test and demonstrated very tangibly and immediately in their responses during the final role play answering questions from 'the media' at the close of the workshops. Their responses will demonstrate their engagement. A recording of this final role play will be included not only to add to the realism of the role play, but also to provide tangible evidence of the results of the workshop.

Finally, an anonymous online quiz will be sent the players at the close of the workshop with questions about France's tormented history (appendix 11). The players will have two days to complete the quiz and to return to the facilitator. Players will be encouraged to answer the questions alone, using only their knowledge and learning, but this will clearly not be possible to control and will be dependent upon the good will of the players. Anonymity should encourage good will as it

will be clear that this is not a test but a method of measuring the extent to which the workshop has contributed to extending the players knowledge of French history and its relationship to sport

#### Long term

Over the long-term, the results of the workshop will be measured less tangibly or formally by simply observing the way the participants playing for the national team handle the questions of identity when faced with the pressure they were prepared for during the workshops. This will potentially take five to ten years depending on when the players reach (or not) the senior national team.

If the project is a success, it could take place every year with potential new teams and participants, not only in the National team but in local teams, to reach as many young aspiring footballers as possible.

#### 8. Preparation and implementation

The first step of this project will be to present the workshop proposal to the president of the FFF, Noel Le Graët. The meeting will be set-up through personal contacts at the FFF (see chapter 9, 'Costs and Risks').

As discussed above the FFF has to date attempted to depoliticise the team but without success. If this project is to be implemented and to succeed it will be critical to convince the FFF of the importance of the ideas presented in this document (see appendix 12).

If this can be achieved, then the focus of the presentation will need to be the benefits of the project to the FFF, associated with evidence of converging values.

The benefits of the project are twofold. Firstly, given its role as an educator, the FFF should also be expanding the knowledge of its players and allowing and increasing the development of critical thinking. They should be particularly interested in preparing their future national team players for questions surrounding identity, as they are fully aware that these are some of their main preoccupations with regard to the media. Instead of controversy, it might even create a positive image of the FFF and improve their reputation.

Secondly, the acceptance of the concept of hybrid identity within the team should lead to a more united and peaceful team and potentially better results on the pitch and more revenue for the federation.

Regarding values, the FFF promotes the values of "pleasure", "respect", "tolerance", "solidarity" and "engagement" (FFF, 2022) on their website. These values are almost identical to the redefined values of French identity presented in this document.

Once the project has been accepted, workshop dates will be agreed with the FFF, and an implementation plan will be prepared by the facilitator, for the facilitator. This plan will show the step-by-step details of the materials to be created, the information to be collected about the participants, the materials and logistics details to be finalised with the FFF and the deadlines.

#### 9. Cost and risks

Any project is faced with risks and costs.

#### A. Costs

The project will be submitted for entire funding from the FFF but will not involve excessive costs as it is a simple project. Some costs must however be noted and include the following.

#### Labour

Firstly, the human cost which will include, leading and preparing eight 4-hour workshops plus travel time to and from the eight sessions. Total time required will be 32 hours contact time with

the students, 20 hours preparation time and 8 hours travel. The hourly rate will be fixed at 60 euros. This figure includes the rate paid to the facilitator but also social charges and taxes. The total salary to be paid will therefore be 3600€ in total. This will be a fixed salary.

#### Logistics

There will also be logistics costs associated with travel and accommodation. Provided the dates can be organised to include four workshops per trip, travel will only be the cost of two return train tickets from Lyon to Clairefontaine.

Again, assuming the dates can be organised as above, accommodation and food will be required for five nights on both occasions (from the Sunday night to the Friday morning). Local accommodation and a restaurant (within walking distance of the venue) will be selected. Only food for the evenings will be included in the project cost, as the FFF has a canteen for the players. The facilitator will request access to this canteen to eat with the players at lunch time, hence further developing rapport in preparation for the afternoon session.

Total logistics costs will be 1,715€20

#### **Materials**

Material costs will be low. A projector, printer, pens, and paper will be required but these will be provided by the FFF, therefore the costs will not be calculated in this document. The slides presented during the workshop will be created on a laptop and safely stored on two USB keys (one extra to provide a backup), at a cost of 12€.

As the facilitator will be French and English bilingual, no translation of the workshop will be required.

#### **Total cost**

The total cost of the project would therefore be 5327.20€.

This budget is low for the potential impact it will have on the young players involved. Although not the most important part of the project presentation, the low-cost benefit of the project will be alluded to, when presenting the project to the decision makers within the FFF.

The FFF is an association and is funded by the French state, therefore funding will be public, making it very important that every cost is transparent.

The detail is presented in appendix 13.

#### B. Risks:

There are some risks linked specifically to this project:

The first and major risk is that the project presentation pitch does not reach the FFF, that the personal contact enabling the lead fails to validate a meeting. In this instance an alternative could be to start the project on a lower level in a smaller club, with French hybrid players (FC Metz for example). This would enable the project to gain reputation and experience, but also to gain direct contact and exposure to the FFF.

Another major risk is simply that the FFF refuses the proposal. In this case, there would be two options. The first would be to discuss their objections to the project with a view to presenting an adapted version. Alternatively, if it becomes clear that there is no room for negotiation, then the project could focus on smaller club teams, as discussed above.

Another risk is player engagement. The participants may judge the workshops as unnecessary. To minimise this risk, and ensure success, the workshops have been designed to be very participative and 'hands on', encouraging the participants to speak and get involved. Participant engagement will be key to success.

The subject matter may be too complex for the players. Some players might find the ideas discussed difficult to understand or comprehend as the subject is steeped in history and controversy. To limit

this risk, the workshops will be structured simply, and specific attention will be given to the players in difficulty. Constant questioning to check and validate comprehension will be undertaken. Some of the discussion could be very controversial and may touch some very personal issues linked to players identity. This might cause conflict between participants, but also inner conflict. This would be a difficult issue to deal with during the workshop without the presence of the team coach. The presence of the team coach is therefore recommended not only to create more team cohesion between players and coach and help the coach understand the players but also to help manage any uncontrolled outburst of emotion

### 10. Limitations of the project

The project presents some limitations:

The first is that the author of this document is the intended project facilitator and currently has no experience as a teacher or workshop leader. This lack of experience might be a complication when it comes to facilitating discussion and in providing references to the FFF. To address the latter, the facilitator could capitalise upon his experience in other related domains, such as working with groups of young teenager footballers, his strengths, particularly his communication skills, and his knowledge of the subject matter. To address the former, the facilitator could follow a facilitator training course prior to the workshops. Secondly, the project is (for now) limited to the youth teams. There is currently a senior team representing France and French identity is constantly on the international stage, yet this project does not reach them. This means that the impact of this project will be long-term and there will be very little return in the short term.

Finally, the length of the workshops might also be an issue. Four hours is a short time for such a complex subject and the 30 minutes sessions are very ambitious. However, four hours of player

time when in Clairefontaine is already a lot to ask of the FFF. Ideally, the project would be increased to 6 hours per group, but this would need to be weighed against losing participant engagement. This could be discussed and envisaged with the FFF if the project ideas are accepted.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

By investigating and exploring the idea of national identity within the French national football team as a mirror of French society, this document has been able to draw some clear conclusions and suggest a project to begin to address many of the issues that have been raised.

Les Bleus" are a real reflection of France (Dietz & Dauger, 2016), and through their diversity they carry a weight not only of expectation, but the hope of a successful and open French society.

In the past, many have used the team as a symbol of the failure of French society, as seen in Knysna in 2010, but the team mirrors society in its ability to unite as one to achieve great success.

The project proposed in this document is one example of concrete action that can be taken using sport and youth education to start addressing the problems within French society. As demonstrated throughout this document, football and football players can be excellent tools, catalysts, for encouraging national cohesion and peace and resolving societal issues, but they are not the only enabler of change. They must be supported by governmental politics and other initiatives at all levels of society and in other domains.

This is a long-term strategic project which would need to be scaled up to make a real difference. Although it does not entirely address the question of French identity and provides a very simplified new definition, it does highlight the urgency and importance of the need for action.

France is a beautiful country of natural beauty with high mountains, plains, and sea. It is rich in culture and has one of the most refined gastronomies in the world. Finally, and importantly it is rich in the diversity of its people, created by its history. It is now time to exploit these attributes and to re-define the future of France.

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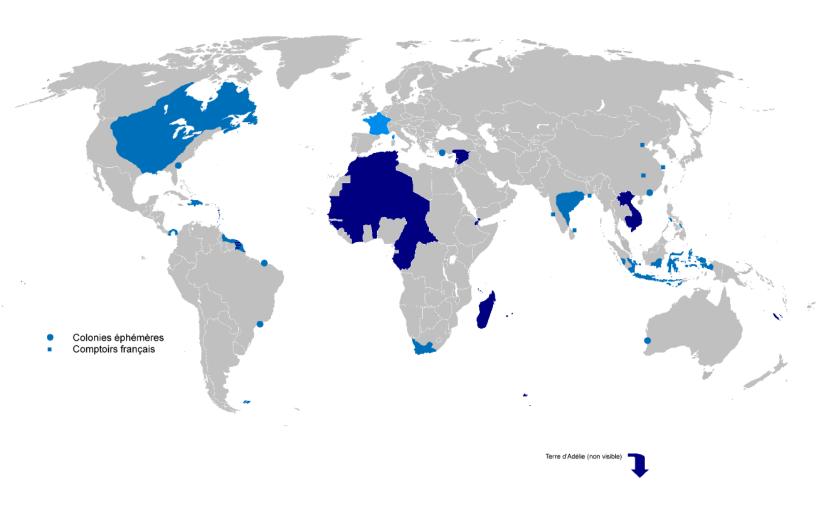
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# **Appendices**

# Appendix 1

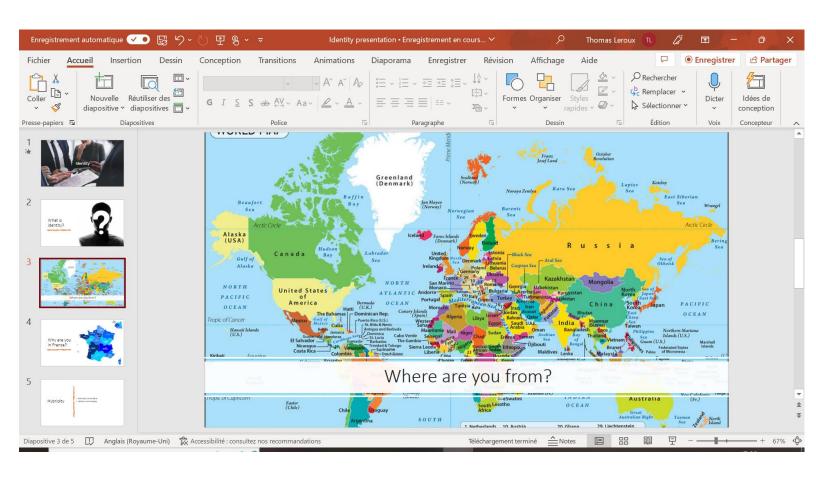
## French Colonialism



### **Ice Breaker**

- 1. Find a teammate who can dance the salsa
- 2. Find a teammate who can speak more than three languages
  - 3. Find a teammate who can make 'Foufou'
  - 4. Find a teammate who knows the game 'La Trutte'
  - 5. Find a teammate who has family in South America

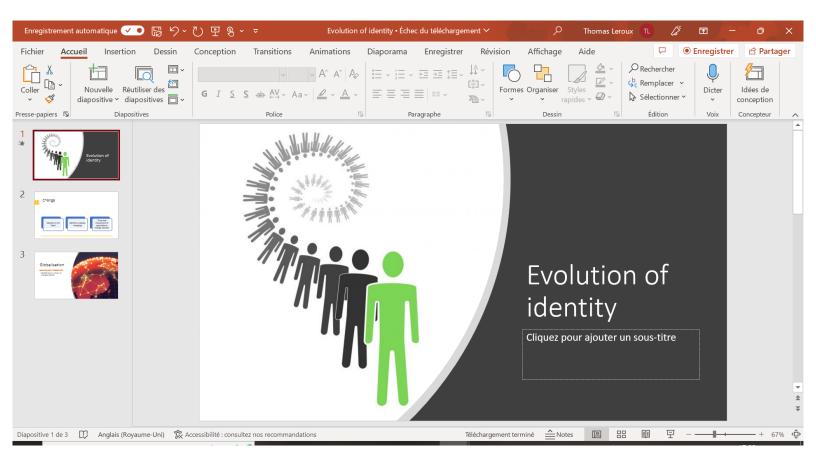
## What is identity?



## Video hand-out

- What do you think makes a country?
- How does this video effect your feeling of national identity?

## **Evolving identity presentation**



## Group discussion questions about French national team history

- How do these images make you feel? What do you think are the consequences?
- How do you think these events are linked to France's colonial history?

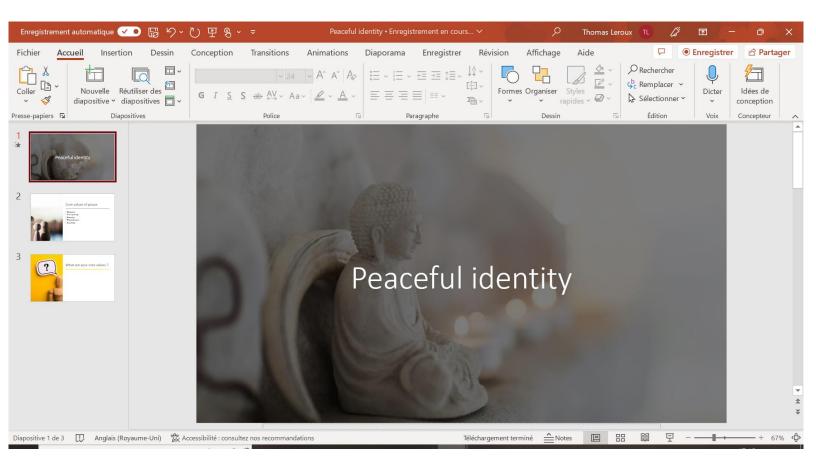
# Social responsibility presentation



# Social responsibility: actions, and consequences table

Consequence		
Cigrage (An Anna 1900)  Alberto Transis (1900)  Anna (1900)  Anna (1900)  Anna (1900)  Anna (1900)  Anna (1900)	Actions	Consequence
Activation (Secondapoted)	Zidane's 2006 Headbutt	
	Turkey "military salute" celebration in 2019	
	The 2022 Qatar World Cup	
	Iran vs USA game during the 1998 World Cup	
	France vs Algeria pitch invasion in 2001	
	Serbia vs Albania "events" in 2015	
	England vs France in 2015 following Paris attacks	

### Peaceful identity presentation



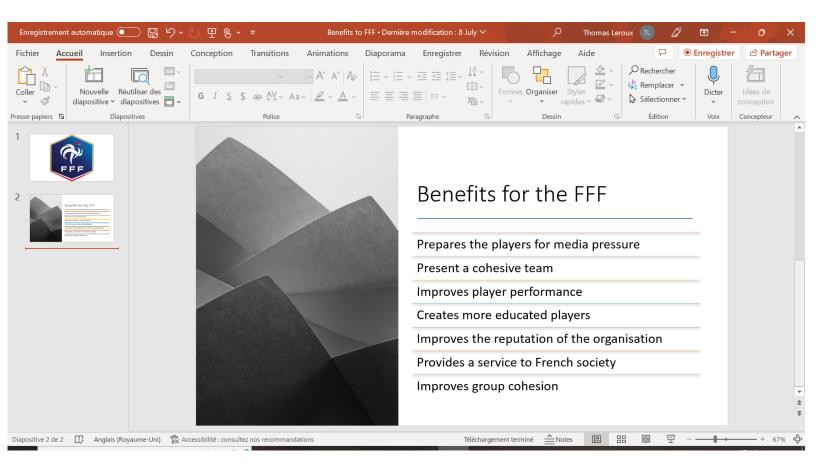
# Detailed workshop program

	Morning				Afternoon		
	Icebreaker			<mark>0 - 30min</mark>	Future roles as footballers and social responsibility		
	Debrief and discussion						
30min - 1h	Individual indentities		30min - 1h	Peaceful identity			
	Socially construed identity				Define core team va	lues	
	Hybrid Identity						
1h - 1h05	BREAK			1h - 1h05	BREAK		
	Video national identity (5mins)		1h05 - 1h30	1h30 Define team identity			
	Guided discussion	ı					
	Evolving identity						
1h30 - 2h		tory and the nationa	al football team	1h30 - 2h	Role play		

### **End of workshop evaluation**

- 1. What was the impact of Zinedine Zidane's headbutt following the 2006 World Cup?
  - 2. Why were there issues at the 2001 France vs Algeria match?
  - 3. What impact did French colonialism have on the territories it colonised?
- 4. What are your responsibilities as potential future players of the French national team?
  - 5. What have you learnt from the workshops?

### Benefits to the FFF presentation



# Budget

	Budget for series of eight four hour workshops					
1. Human ressources	Number of units	Individual unit cost	Total cost (in euro)			
Salary	1	3600	3600			
Logistics	4	53.8	215.2			
Accomodation	10	100	1000			
Food	10	50	500			
Total			5315.2			
2. Equipement						
USB Key	2	6	12			
Office rent	0	0	0			
Computer	0	0	0			
Total			12			
3. Total Cost of project			5327.2			