

FROM THE MOUNTAINS TO THE OLYMPICS – THE CASE OF SPORT CLIMBING

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Abstract: At the 2021 Olympic Games in Tokyo the IOC admitted Sport Climbing with its disciplines bouldering, lead and speed. This development started 100 years earlier with a first climbing scale defining certain degrees of difficulty. The international institutional organization changed internationally from a membership in the UIAA (International Mountaineering Federation) towards the specialized IFSC (International Federation of Sport Climbing). Sport Climbing can, in accordance to the criteria of Allen Guttmann, be considered a modern and lifestyle sport. The only deficiency is the limited accessibility for all.

In 2021, in Tokyo, several *action sports*⁴ debuted at the postponed Summer Olympics: Along with surfing and skateboarding, sport climbing was part of the Games for the first time. On August 5th and 6th, 2021, Janja Garnbret from Slovenia and Alberto Gines Lopez from Spain won the first gold medals. With this first appearance on the Olympic stage, athletes and sport federations wanted to prove that climbing is more than a fad and rightfully claims a place in the world of Olympic competition.

The following article aims for a definition of the status of sport climbing after its first Olympic tournament. It will trace the path from being a kind of movement and lifestyle to the sport it is today. It will provide an analysis of the concept of *modern sports* and how it applies to climbing. For this purpose, the literature and source material will be evaluated.

So far, there are only a few publications on sport climbing with cultural or social scientific perspectives in the German and English-

speaking worlds. Three publications shed light on the inclusion of climbing into the Olympics, while taking different perspectives:

- Thorpe and Wheaton², who examine the inclusion of sport climbing in the Olympic program in the context of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) Agenda 2020;
- Sas-Nowosielski³, who primarily deals with the development of competition in sport climbing;
- Batuev and Robinson⁴, who portray the institutional development of sport climbing.

Previously, there have been extensive works on mountaineering (which climbing was traditionally attributed to), that also addressed the development of sport climbing⁵. The attention of more recent research often focuses on the aspects of sports medicine in climbing, especially on injury prevention and treatment⁶. Kirchner's studies, which do not deal with competitive sports, examine the sociological

aspects of the sport and gender-specific issues⁷. When comparing sport climbing with other new action sports in the Olympic program, it is worth analyzing the comments on skateboarding⁸.

The International Federation of Sport Climbing (IFSC) is an umbrella organization that represents three different disciplines: Bouldering (solving shorter but complex climbing problems at a maximum height of five meters without ropes), Lead (climbing a longer and upwardly more difficult climbing route with a rope), and Speed⁹ (sprint climbing with two climbers competing on a standardized route). While Bouldering and Lead are more technical, Speed climbing depends primarily on the athletes' quickness.

The History of Sport Climbing

The motivations to ascend mountains were and still are diverse. The joy of nature and its recreational effects, the search for spirituality or for scientific facts were just as important as sporting challenges, which mountaineers have sought and mastered since the 19th century¹⁰. As time went by, there was an ever-growing interest in performance, comparison, and competition. In this respect, mountaineers in the 20th century were attracted by higher summits and more spectacular ascents. Being the first (or even the fastest) to master a challenge, for example a certain climbing route, is still an important aim.

For climbing, German Wilhelm Welzenbach introduced grades of difficulty in 1925¹¹, following the ideas of climbing guides from Great Britain and Austria. Welzenbach's Scale included VI grades and was supposed to be limited by the «*humanly possible*». The World Mountaineering Federation (Union Internationale des Associations d'Alpinisme, UIAA) adopted and adapted the scale 50 years later. Other scales also emerged. The French bouldering area of Fontainebleau developed its own classification, as did East Germany and the Soviet Union. In the globalized present, there are several comparative scales, although

the natural climbing object has never become completely standardizable. In 1925, the «*humanly possible*» was grade VI. Therefore, the introduction of grade VII in 1977 was highly controversial¹². Today such discussions are obsolete, since new peak performances have extended the scale up to grade XII. Unlike other sports, where a stopwatch measures or a jury judges a record, the assessment of the difficulty of natural and often remote climbing routes is up to the first climber. Today, people who perform at this level are usually professionals who make a living from marketing their accomplishments. Amateur athletes can hardly ever compete at the global top level.

While climbing developed as a lifestyle and subculture in the Western world, the situation was different in the Soviet Union and its satellite states in eastern Europe, where all sports were classified, which meant that athletes of all levels belonged to groups according to their performance. They held competitions and had to achieve standard requirements. Regular, often scientifically based and centrally organized training accompanied this process. As Sas-Nowosielski¹³ pointed out, the Russian Ivan Josifovich Antonovich (1909-1994) developed the first climbing competitions as early as the 1940s, which from the 1970s included international guests, also from the Western world. In East Germany, climbing competitions for children and young people in particular on natural rocks have existed on a national scale since the 1960s¹⁴.

In Europe and the USA in particular, standardized competitions became established from the mid-1980s onwards, alongside the struggle for routes of ever higher grades, with the first international championship taking place in Bardonecchia, Italy, in 1985. For a long time, the climbing community had been hesitant about this idea: Standards and rules were too much at odds with the free spirit associated with climbing. The large Alpine clubs were also hesitant to join in with this development. However, they realized that they might lose contact with an

important area of mountain performance sports and did not want to leave the field to other sports providers¹⁵. This resulted in a heterogeneous situation, illustrated by the following examples¹⁶:

Germany: Deutscher Alpenverein (DAV) represents the national team of sport climbers and, being a member of the IFSC, acts as a national association. Nevertheless, DAV is less than a sports association and is certainly not a climbing association. It sees itself as a mountain sports and nature conservation association, with responsibility not only for mountain sports, but also with cultural, social, and ecological tasks¹⁷.

Austria: Not associated with Österreichischer Alpenverein (ÖAV), Kletterverband Österreich (Climbing Federation Austria, KVÖ)¹⁸ has organized Austrian climbing sports since 2005. KVÖ is a member of the IFSC and represents the national team. It also considers itself responsible for climbing development in mass and school sports.

Switzerland: The traditional alpine club, Swiss Alpine Club (SAC)¹⁹, represents the national team and is a member of the IFSC. The Swiss Sport Climbing Federation (SSKV)²⁰, founded in 2017, saw itself as a competitor to this approach and intended to appear as the sole umbrella organization. However, the SAC organized the Olympic appearance.

Initially, Union Internationale des Associations d'Alpinisme (UIAA) represented sport climbing on an international level. The first competitions were held on uniform routes on rock and later in climbing halls or on artificial walls outdoors. With these competitions, the sport moved more into the light of media and public attention and therefore became more attractive for sponsors. As early as 1986, 10 000 spectators and seven TV stations followed the international competitions in Arco, Italy²¹. In the past, as well as the present, the climbing scene has rarely seen competitions as a central part of their sport: Batuev and Robinson have summarized what its core focus is about:

«...the four common values that are considered historically important for those who consider themselves climbers: passion for adventure, travel, and challenge; desire to be close to nature (life outdoors); camaraderie of fellow climbers; being an anti-establishment community to a certain degree.»²²

However, international visibility, lucrative sponsorship deals, and social media images are (primarily) offered by competitive sports. If nothing else, the commercialization of great successes may have convinced some of the climbers who were hesitant in the beginning. Many of them have had dual careers. Until today, more than thirty years after the first competitions, many of the world's top athletes, such as Adam Ondra from Czech Republic, Alexander Megos from Germany, and Janja Garnbret from Slovenia continue to deliver spectacular performances both in competition and when climbing the most difficult routes individually outdoors.

By the end of the 1980s, federations agreed to hold international competitions only on artificial climbing walls. Although more authentic rock would have been the means of choice in the early years, natural routes caused some problems²³: Athletes were not supposed to know the routes beforehand, but the routes had to reach a certain level of difficulty. Furthermore, temperature, rainfall, and sunlight have a direct influence on climbers' grip, so the challenges the athletes faced in the course of one day in the same competition could vary significantly. Artificial climbing walls allow standardized conditions and thus fairer competition.

This decision paved the way for the first World Championship to be held in 1991 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. Until 1998, the only disciplines admitted were Lead and Speed. Bouldering was added in 1999. In the following years, the number of national and international tournaments increased. With the decision of the UIAA to support the foundation of an international sport climbing federation, the competition scene received further impetus. From 2007, the

IFSC guided the fortunes of sport climbing and made its Olympic premiere in Tokyo possible. Nevertheless, besides the promotion of sport climbing, this federation emphasizes its support of social values and ethical principles. Since 2010, it has also opened to para-climbers and in the same year hosted their first World Championship²⁴.

With the transition of climbing from the International Mountaineering Federation (UIAA) to the specialized IFSC, self-perception changed. Administration was now in the hands of the athletes themselves, former and active professionals, and other climbers. According to Batuev and Robinson, this is a typical phenomenon of young *lifestyle sports*²⁵.

Despite its rapid growth worldwide, the world map of sport climbing still has blank areas. 44.5 million people practice indoor and outdoor climbing²⁶. By the end of 2020, 93 national federations were members of the IFSC. In Africa in particular, where there are eight federations, but also in Southeast Asia and Central America, climbing is not very widespread²⁷. Countries with a low gross national product, where large parts of the population live below the poverty line, have not been able to gain access so far. This is due to, among other things, the high cost of sports infrastructure and equipment, the lack of interest in sports in populations that work in the primary and secondary sectors, and the low chance of social advancement through sport climbing.

Sport Climbing at the Olympic Games

When the founder of the modern Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, planned the first program in 1884, among other sports, *Alpinisme*²⁸ was on his list. Coubertin not only saw the Olympic Games as a sports competition but also as a cultural event. Thus, until 1948, artistic competitions were part of the Games. The same idea led to *Alpinism* on the Olympic stage. Mountaineering at that time was located somewhere between competition (in the struggle for first ascents), science, and art. However,

there had never been an actual tournament at the Games and climbing had never had the status of a sport on the Olympic program. In 1928, 1932, and 1936 prizes were awarded to successful mountaineers²⁹. Spectators at the Olympic Games saw climbing in as early as 1896. Film material shows several athletes, male and female, climbing on long ropes stretched out at various angles. However, this only happened as part of the supporting program³⁰ and has little in common with today's sport climbing.

Climbing itself did not make it into the Olympic spotlight until almost one hundred years later: In 1992, the IOC considered including new sports on the Winter Olympic program. Unlike curling, climbing did not make it past the demonstration stage at that time. In an unsuitable sports venue, competitions (in Lead Climbing) were poorly organized and exceeded any time frame, since no time limit was set for single attempts³¹. Even for Susi Good from Switzerland and German Stefan Glowacz, who both won in their disciplines, this performance only comprises a footnote in their sports biographies³².

With the foundation of the International Federation IFSC in 2007, increasing professionalization, and a standardized competition calendar, the IOC started to consider sport climbing. In 2010, only three years after its foundation, the IOC recognized the IFSC and cleared the way for the future inclusion of climbing on the Olympic program³³.

Due to extensive criticism of the organization, in 2014 the IOC drew up the *Olympic Agenda 2020*, which focused on three objectives: «*Credibility, Sustainability and Youth*». The IOC joined the process of reshaping the Olympic Movement. On one hand, the program aimed to stop the ongoing, excessive growth and to limit the numbers of athletes, personnel, and events³⁴. On the other hand, it wanted to inspire younger generations and integrate their sports³⁵. While the latter was a good fit for climbing, the desire to reduce the number of athletes led to the requirement that,

if admitted to the Olympic program, only one set of medals would be available for sport climbing. At first, the IFSC wanted to admit only Lead, but then changed its mind and presented the idea of a combined competition³⁶. *Olympic Combined* was the name of the compromise, which included the sub-disciplines of Bouldering, Lead, and Speed. International tournaments changed their regulations in accordance with the new modus. When analyzing these processes, Batuev and Robinson saw a decisive influence of the IOC on the sport itself, the IFSC, and its athletes. In their opinion, it led climbing representatives to break with the traditions of their sport³⁷.

In 2014, the Program Commission of the IOC added sport climbing to the short list of potential new sports and allowed a presentation at the Youth Olympic Games in Nanjing, China. The performance was quite different from the one in 1992. Spectacular and efficiently organized competitions with impressive images were convincing for the media and spectators alike. Shortly before the decision, the Commission summarized the benefits in its report:

«What value does this sport provide to the Olympic Games?

Games-time:

Sport climbing would bring something totally new, as it is not similar to or a variant of any existing sports on the Olympic programme. It would be the only sport where vertical ascent is the goal.

Legacy:

It proposes a fresh, dynamic lifestyle with strong sport values. It also inspires sustainability through its affordable and environmentally friendly consideration.

Youth:

Sport climbing is a popular sport, with a strong and special appeal to younger generations. Climbing is a natural instinct, which is why it resonates with young people and will engage them further.»³⁸

At the 126th IOC Session in Rio de Janeiro in 2016, the IOC accepted the proposal and confirmed the temporary admission of a combined climbing competition. Because of the vastly

different disciplines during the next few years, specialized performers turned into all-rounders. In many countries, the sport received enormous support from now on – either publicly or privately funded – and national federations invested in the development of national teams.

Before the Olympic premiere in 2020, at its 134th session (2019), the IOC Executive Board accepted sport climbing once more for the Olympic Games in Paris in 2024. Again, the admission was temporary. The competition mode was modified to better fit the nature of the sport. Two sets of medals were planned: one for the combination of Bouldering and Lead, and a separate rating for Speed Climbing³⁹.

The first official Olympic start was late due to the Coronavirus pandemic. Just like all other Olympic sports, Covid-19 brought disarray to climbing too. In spring 2020, right in the middle of the preparations for the Olympic Games, and even before the qualifications for the tournament had closed, everything came to a halt, and the Olympics were postponed for one year. When the Tokyo competitions finally began, no spectators were allowed – even many of the TV commentators were not on site but working from their home countries with special monitors. However, television and streaming were greatly appreciated: As many as two million people watched the competitions in Germany alone⁴⁰.

The German climbing magazine *Klettern*⁴¹ gave a positive verdict, although not unreservedly. The combination of the disciplines and their ratings, as well as the fact that the Speed competitions in the finals were held in knockout mode regardless of the times measured, led to surprise rankings, at least among the male climbers. The athletes and commentators also criticized the route setting of the three boulders in the final, as they were hardly able to separate the field of participants: all the men managed boulder 1, while nobody could manage boulder 3. Therefore, the rankings were determined by a single boulder challenge. There was a lot of praise for the lead routes, which were

able to separate the starting field much better. The participants appreciated the Olympic experience⁴², even if some of them were not satisfied with their personal performances. For the next Games, they look forward to competitions in Speed and Lead/Bouldering along with cheers from their spectators.

Sport Climbing as a modern Sport

Today's sports science cannot speak of a modern sport without referring to Allen Guttmann's definition, which lists seven criteria of modern sport:

«*Secularism,*
equality of opportunity to compete and in the conditions of competition,
specialization of roles,
rationalization,
bureaucratic organization,
quantification,
the quest for records.»⁴³

Even young learners studying sports science are familiar with these criteria, which are used to distinguish today's sports from earlier eras. Although Guttmann developed them as early as 1978 (and reiterated them in 2004 in an afterword to his book «From ritual to record») they are still applied today. In 2014, the French anthropologist Darbon reduced them to five characteristics⁴⁴: (1) *Precise and universally applicable rules* (Guttmann's rationalization), (2) *the institutionalization of the monitoring of rules* (bureaucratic organization) and (3) *the equality of competition* (equality of opportunity...). He then added the (4) *spatial* and (5) *temporal* components. These characteristics, in his view, were mutually dependent. Interestingly, he did not include unorganized individual sports⁴⁵. Many other efforts to evaluate sport and modernity exist⁴⁶. Recently, Batuev and Robinson added the aspects of commercialization and professionalization⁴⁷.

At first sight, this outlined framework can be applied to sport climbing. In particular, the criteria of secularism, specialization, rational-

ization/applicable rules, striving for records, and quantification were presented earlier (see also Table 1). The use of space, which is always dependent on climbing facilities or appropriate natural conditions, and time, especially in competition, goes without saying.

The administration of new sports and their inclusion in international competitions raises an intriguing issue. In the past, *trend sports* were often assigned to traditional federations, for example, BMX to the Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) or Parkour (non-Olympic) to the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG). Athletes view this critically and feel poorly represented by the traditional federations⁴⁸. The Mountaineering Federation UIAA represented climbing until 2007, but has never been active in competitive sports, which facilitated the formation of the IFSC. Thorpe and Wheaton worked out that having their own sports-related representation clearly promotes the visibility and perception of athletes' interests.

The concept of *equality of opportunity to compete and in the conditions of competition*, which was introduced by Guttmann and reduced to *equality of competition* by Darbon, also deserves closer examination. Equality of opportunity in climbing is desirable but has not yet been achieved. A person's origin still determines their access to sports opportunities – and at the next step – to competition as well. The world map of climbing still has blank areas, especially in the poorest countries of the world. But, even if the sport's infrastructure is available, climbing is often only accessible for those who have the equipment and the financial means to travel and to gain admission to climbing facilities⁴⁹. So far, there are few projects that aim to broaden social accessibility or to enable participation through membership, for example, of sports club. The situation is extremely diverse around the world.

People with disabilities also face limitations. The IFSC is eager to promote and develop a competition calendar for para-climbing and to increase its visibility in the media. Climbing

will be part of the Paralympic Games in 2028 in Los Angeles⁵⁰. It is the task of national federations to promote para-climbing. Most countries lack the appropriate conditions for para-climbing as a popular sport or for beginners. Only a few climbing gyms offer support for athletes with disabilities. There is still a lot of work needed here, especially at the grassroots level.

The situation regarding equal opportunities for women is better. The (in)accessibility of sports is rarely still a gender issue. It is of importance only in those societies that restrict women's access to sports and, in general, other social activities. Women are represented well in climbing sports and female professionals are courted by sponsors and the media just as much as their male counterparts. Kirchner's studies, which assume an emancipated femininity⁵¹ in

Professionalization and commercialization determine many sports today. International success often goes hand in hand with performing sports as a profession, while leaving enough time for training and competition.

the field of sport climbing, still find differences and entrenchment in traditional role models, especially in the recreational sector. However, she hardly ever identifies any gender attributions, at least at the professional level.

Professionalization and commercialization determine many sports today. International success often goes hand in hand with performing sports as a profession, while leaving enough time for training and competition. Athletes who are not supported by a state program often live off sponsorships. According to public opinion, this

kind of commercialization is controversial, even though it makes many competitive sports careers possible. Not only are outdoor and climbing outfitters among the sponsors, but also businesses that want to be associated with an active and modern lifestyle⁵². At the Olympic Games, however, sponsorship is forbidden by the Olympic Charter (Rule 50). A detailed brochure, which was edited together with the international federations⁵³, defines, for instance, the maximum sizes of brand logos allowed on athletes' clothing and equipment. Therefore, sponsors can only hope to benefit indirectly from increased levels of awareness of their sponsored athletes.

Conclusion

Climbing can unquestionably be considered a modern sport in many ways. Its late arrival in the sports community allowed the development of contemporary standards and criteria without having to break with old traditions. Sport climbing reached milestones at the 2020 and 2024 Olympic Games. Considering the popularity of these competitions, the huge public interest, especially among young people, and the values associated with climbing, it is highly likely that the IOC will continue to include climbing on the Olympic Program.

When it comes to Guttman's or Darbon's criteria of modern sports, most of them, except for *equal opportunities* and in particular *accessibility*, can be found in climbing.

This paper has proven the modernity of sport climbing. However, there are still a lot of gaps in the scientific reflection of this sport, especially regarding its impact on sports development and the associated social effects worldwide. Until the beginning of the Olympic Games in Paris in 2024, and possibly after that, there remains a lot of potential for research. The same is true for the identification of factors that enable sport climbing and its governing body to facilitate people of any origin to practice it.

Characteristics of modern sport	Application to sport climbing
Secularism	True
Equality of (opportunity to compete and in the) conditions of competition	Partly true. The equality of competition is mostly true for sport climbing. However, many people worldwide do not have access to the sport and thus the chance to practice it successfully. In particular, this affects people from poor countries or poor financial backgrounds, people with disabilities (from all countries), and women (in some countries).
Specialization (of roles)	True for the disciplines of Bouldering, Lead, and Speed. Although there was a combined competition at the 2020 Olympics, specialization characterizes both sport and athletes. Specialization also exists in the governing body. Many different commissions exist.
Rationalization	Competition rules are transparent and comprehensible. However, at the Olympic Games (Tokyo 2020), subtleties in the regulations led to a perception of unfairness among some athletes.
Bureaucratic organization	True. With the foundation of the IFSC, sport climbing has its own specific organization, whose officials come from the climbing scene. According to Holly and Thorpe, this is typical of sports that, like climbing, are associated with an «anti-establishment-heritage» ⁵⁴ . With the different member national federations, the organization is still heterogeneous, although a governing body always exists.
Quantification	True. Extensive performance data from national and international competitions are available, for example, via the websites of the different federations.
Quest for records	True. Although measurable records are only being registered in Speed Climbing. In the other disciplines, the only means of achieving quantifiable records is to count successful rankings.
Use and interdependence of space and time – organized sport opportunities	Partially true. Space: sport climbing is connected to a specific infrastructure (for example, artificial walls). However, not everyone practicing this sport (often in private climbing gyms) is institutionally bound, especially in recreational and popular sports.
Commercialism and professionalism	Sport infrastructure (for example, climbing gyms) is often privately owned and accessibility is linked to financial resources. Many professional athletes get funding from private sponsors or national sports funds. Prize money is sometimes available. Top athletes do not usually pursue any other profession besides climbing, although some of them study.

Table 1 Sport climbing as a modern sport in the application of Guttman's, Darbon's, and Batuev/Robinson's criteria⁵⁵.

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Keywords: Sport Climbing, Bouldering, Olympic Games, Allen Guttman, International Federation of Sport Climbing (IFSC).

Résumé: C'est aux Jeux Olympiques de Tokyo de 2021 que l'escalade sportive a été admise pour la première fois dans ses trois modalités disciplinaires que sont l'escalade de bloc, l'escalade de difficulté et l'escalade de vitesse. Ce développement avait commencé dans les faits 100 plus tôt avec la définition d'une échelle définissant les degrés de difficulté. D'un point de vue institutionnel, le gouvernement de l'escalade est passé d'une tutelle exercée par l'UIAA (Union internationale des Associations d'Alpinisme) à une tutelle exercée par l'ISFC (Fédération internationale d'escalade). Dès lors, l'escalade sportive peut être considérée comme un sport en même temps que comme une activité relevant d'un style de vie moderne, dans les termes proposés par les travaux d'Allen Guttman.

Mots-clés: Escalade sportive, Bloc, Jeux olympiques, Allen Guttman, Fédération internationale d'escalade sportive (IFSC).

Notes

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- ³⁶ BATUEV Mikhail, ROBINSON Leigh, «Organizational evolution...», p. 1684.
- ³⁷ BATUEV Mikhail, ROBINSON Leigh, «Organizational evolution...», p. 1685.
- ³⁸ IOC, Olympic Programme Commission, *Olympic Games...*, p. 36.
- ³⁹ IFSC, *Annual Report 2019*, p. 46.
- ⁴⁰ DWDL, Official site of the online magazine of the German media landscape, available at [https://www.dwdl.de/zahlenzentrale/83920/olympiauebertragungen_inzwischen_auch_nachts_erfolgreich/], last consulted October 14th, 2021.
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- ⁴² For example, see: Climber Alexander Megos in an interview with *Burmester Sarah*, «Höher...», p. 10.
- ⁴³ GUTTMANN Allen, «From ritual...», p. 16.
- ⁴⁴ DARBON Sebastian, *Les fondements du système sportif: Essai d'anthropologie historique*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2014, in accordance with: HOLT Richard, «Allen Guttmann's Alter Ego: Sébastien Darbon and the Definition of 'Sport'», *Journal of Sport History* 44 (1), 2017, p. 60.
- ⁴⁵ HOLT Richard, «Allen Guttmann's ...», p. 62.
- ⁴⁶ A comprehensive analysis of the concept of modern sport can be found here: SEVEN Anselm, *Zwischen Funktion und Leistung - zur systemtheoretischen Kritik des Sportbegriffs*, Göttingen, Justus-von-Liebig Universität Göttingen, 2006, available at [<https://d-nb.info/986869791/34>], last consulted September 6th, 2021.
- ⁴⁷ BATUEV Mikhail, ROBINSON Leigh, «Organizational evolution...», p. 1674.
- ⁴⁸ THORPE Holly, WHEATON Belinda, «The Olympic Games...», p. 481.
- ⁴⁹ LANZ Juliane, «Bouldern hat Potential», in: *Forum Kinder- und Jugendsport* 2, 2021, pp. 158-163, [<https://doi.org/10.1007/s43594-021-00049-2>].
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- ⁵⁵ GUTTMANN Allen, «From ritual...», p. 16; HOLT Richard, «Allen Guttmann's ...», p. 62.; BATUEV Mikhail, ROBINSON Leigh, «Organizational evolution...», p. 1674.