

Manrique Arribas, J.C. (2014). Actividad física y juventud en el franquismo (1937-1961) / Physical activity and youth in the Franco dictatorship (1937-1961). Revista Internacional de Medicina y Ciencias de la Actividad Física y el Deporte, vol. 14 (55) pp. 427-449. [Http://cdeporte.rediris.es/revista/revista55/artactividad494.htm](http://cdeporte.rediris.es/revista/revista55/artactividad494.htm)

ORIGINAL

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AND YOUTH IN THE FRANCO DICTATORSHIP (1937-1961)

ACTIVIDAD FÍSICA Y JUVENTUD EN EL FRANQUISMO (1937-1961)

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Código UNESCO / UNESCO Code: 5599 Otras Especialidades: Historia (Historia de la actividad física y el deporte) / Others: History (History of sport and physical activity)

Clasificación del Consejo de Europa / Council of Europe Classification: 7. Historia del deporte / History of sport

Recibido 4 de enero de 2012 **Received** January 4, 2012

Aceptado 17 de diciembre de 2012 **Accepted** December 17, 2012

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the competences that different nationalist political organisations had in the field of physical activity had with regard to youth, particularly the “Delegación Nacional del Frente de Juventudes” and the “Delegación Nacional de Deportes”. Through the revision of the official documentation of the era and the contribution of studies already carried out on the subject, we try to show some common aspects and friction points that existed between the two institutions. While both delegations prioritized sport and physical activity as a tool for the indoctrination and adherence to the regime, however, the “Frente de Juventudes” tried it harder. Their instructors infiltrated into the educational system and promoted after-school activities, especially school games and outdoor activities, which both attracted attention among schoolchildren during the first two decades of Franco Era.

KEY WORDS: Franco, indoctrination, Youth wing of The *Falange*, physical activity, sports, youth, school games.

RESUMEN

El presente artículo analiza las competencias que en materia de actividad física tuvieron diferentes organismos políticos franquistas con respecto a la juventud, especialmente la Delegación Nacional del Frente de Juventudes y la Delegación Nacional de Deportes. Mediante la revisión de la documentación oficial de la época y la aportación de estudios ya realizados sobre la temática, se descubren los puntos de unión y de fricción que existieron entre ambas instituciones. Mientras que ambas Delegaciones priorizaron la actividad físico-deportiva como instrumento para el adoctrinamiento y la adhesión al régimen, sin embargo, fue el Frente de Juventudes el que más lo intentó. Sus instructores e instructoras se filtraron en el sistema educativo y promovieron las actividades extraescolares, especialmente los Juegos Escolares y las actividades de aire libre, aunque realizadas con un marcado sesgo de género y de selección de los más aptos durante las dos primeras décadas del franquismo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Franquismo, adoctrinamiento, Frente de Juventudes, actividad físico-deportiva, Delegación Nacional de Deportes, juventud, Juegos Escolares.

INTRODUCTION

Any type of government has always been socially interested in the youth considering it as an attractive target. The strength of this group, as a catalyst for behavior to suit every social and historical context, lies in its ability to grasp and assimilate ideological premises. However, it is also particularly sensitive if they do not suit their interests and thoughts, passing to criticism and destabilization of the established order.

Throughout history, totalitarian regimes, including Franco's regime, have attempted to address a strategy of youth policy (Sáez Marín, 1988). In this case, the aim was more likely to be indoctrination than cooperation. On one hand, the goal was to improve individual and social welfare of young people with activities to meet their expectations, including physical and sporting activities. Nevertheless, on the other hand, those young people should be correctly indoctrinated to receive the appropriate beliefs in order to ensure their loyalty to the regime.

Therefore, it can be said that, applying this political socialization of the youth, they were supposed to become part of source of young athletic citizens properly instructed and trained physically and in a healthy way. Consequently, the endurance and stability of the government was ensured.

Several institutions had to be created to carry out these tasks. They were directly responsible for this social group and they developed physical activity and sport programs. Since Francoism was so pure in these years, we focus on the period 1937-1961, being its ideology virtually intact, without foreign influences which later motivated a new social order.

This paper aims to address the following objectives:

- Define the responsibilities that belonged to the Delegaciones Nacionales (Spanish Delegations) under the Secretaría General del Movimiento (General Secretary of the Movement) more related to youth during the period 1937-1961 and explain what their roles were in relation to physical activity and sport: The Frente de Juventudes (Youth Front) and the Delegación Nacional de Deportes (National Sports Delegation).
- Explain whether there was coordination or, on the contrary, there were discrepancies between the major institutions that promoted physical activity among young people for the period which is being studied.
- Determine whether physical activity was used to promote sports and physical education or if it was only used as a framework in order to train and indoctrinate Spanish Youth for the first two decades of the regime.

METHODOLOGY

The research method used for this work is historical, since the historical process is always set by the interaction of the structures and the subject. In this case, we are interested in a certain moment of Spanish history to clarify how influential the actions and decisions of the Francoist governmental hierarchies were in establishing the implementation of a model of physical activity and sport to be integrated in the society of the first part of the Franco regime. As Aróstegui points out (2001:352): "historiography, the knowledge of history, is undoubtedly set within the knowledge of the social dimension. It is the knowledge of society." From this approach, we want to emphasize the contents which have been examined thanks to primary sources and existing studies on this same subject at hand: youth and their relationship with physical activity. Therefore, the analysis is based on documents which were published and produced by the regime and official institutions linked to it between 1937 and 1961 (legislation, important political texts, ideology of the leaders, justice branch, propaganda, etc.) as well as the works already published about this issue.

DEVELOPMENT

1. Reasons and interests to control the youth during the Francoism. Delegación Nacional del Frente de Juventudes

The Franco regime was extremely long lasting, from 1939 to 1975. For this reason, historians have divided this long period into stages or phases in order to examine better the events which enabled Franco to remain in power as well as show the evolution of the political institutions created that supported this authoritarianism. Some of these were those related to youth and physical activity. The period under study refers to approximately the first twenty years of Franco's regime: the decade of the forties, which has been called by some authors as "Early Francoism" (Riquer, 2010), "Totalitarian Francoism" (Temine, 1985), "Spanish Neo-Thomism" (Tamames, 1977), "The Blue Era" (Tusell, 2001), "Semi-Fascist Phase" (Payne, 1987) or "National Syndicalism and Autarky" (Tunon de Lara, 2003). We also focus on the fifties, culminating with the Planes de Desarrollo (Development Plans) implemented by Opus Dei leaders, which led in turn to the restructuring of many political institutions because of change in Spanish society. Thus, Tunon de Lara (2003), among others, refers to this second decade the "Hinge Decade", Tusell named it the decade (2001) of "stability of Francoism", Riquer (2010) mentioned it as a decade of "political debates and reformation" or Payne (1987) who called it a "decade of Catholic corporatism". In general, these are years characterized by strong social control exercised by the arrangement and execution of laws which were aimed at preventing public discontent with regard to the regime and creation of a state of repression as well as that one of autarky, the black market and economic downturn. In this context, young people had few possibilities and rare opportunities to develop well-planned physical activity. Rather, this group became a target for political leaders from which to gain support and choose the

best prepared ones in order to take the reins of the future society (Vizuete, 1996).

The institutions responsible for leading the development of youth belonging to the Delegaciones Nacionales were created from the Secretaría General del Movimiento Nacional (SGM), (General Secretariat of the National Movement). It was the highest institution of the only political party allowed by the State to serve the regime, which became a Ministry.

There was an Organización Juvenil (OJ) (Youth Organization) created in 1937, by the Decree of August 4, 1937, during the Civil War after the unification of political forces that supported the military uprising. Therefore, firstly, their objectives were to indoctrinate and train militarily its members who voluntarily chose to enlist. In order to carry out this plan, they concluded that it was more appropriate to use extra-curricular activities as a tool for training young people. Thereby, it is demonstrated that the new party was from the beginning intended to be infiltrated into the educational system and to develop its plan of action and recruitment. This OJ, created after the Unification Decree in 1937, hosted some youth associations of different political parties allied with the Movimiento Nacional (National Movement) imperatively, in order to achieve victory in the war effort. They were remarkable: the Juventudes de Acción Popular (CEDA) (Young People's Action), Pelayos and Asociación Escolar Tradicionalista (Traditionalist School Association) also known as Comunción Tradicionalista (Traditionalist Communion), the Federación de Estudiantes (Federation of Catholic College) and Sindicato Español Universitario –SEU- (Spanish-University Union) within Falange Española y Tradicionalista FET (Traditionalist Spanish Association) and las Juventudes de Organización Nacional Sindicalista, JONS (the Spanish Young Union), but always separated into male and female branches (Carnicer Ruiz, 1996; Jato, 1954).

Once the war ended, the leaders of the Movement wanted to expand their horizons in controlling the whole Spanish youth. Consequently, a new organization was created. It was the *Delegación Nacional del Frente de Juventudes*, (the National Delegation of the Youth Front) according to the Law of December 6, 1940, art. 1. Therefore, it was decided to frame and indoctrinate the whole youth. The SEU's inspirational leader, Enrique Sotomayor, aimed not only to create a *Frente de Juventudes (FJ)* gathering youth in the ideals of the Falangist SEU and Catholic faith, but also aimed to create a revolutionary zeal in the social and political field (Tecglen, 2003). Precisely, this revolutionary spirit is the reason why many members of the FET and JONS felt betrayed, when they realized that the program's ideals were pushed aside to give way to a greater bureaucratization of the organization (Alcocer, 1978; Cruz Orozco, 2001; Gonzalez and Souto, 2007; Peñalba, 2009, Thomas, 2001).

In 1942, after the disappearance of the OJ, the Falanges Juveniles de Franco (Franco's Youth Phalanxes) from the FJ (Cruz Orozco, 2012). They were "units of volunteers who aspired to achieve the supremacy in all the phalangist companies by the exercise of the best virtues of the race, "(National Delegation FJ, 1943, PP. 14-15).

After this reformation of the ruling institutions, young people could belong to the FJ voluntarily, and to the different groups according to age and sex. The men's division was classified into: Arrows (7-10 years), Archers (10-17 years) and Cadets (17-21years). And the female one: Daisies (7-10 years), Female Arrows (10-17 years) and Blue Arrows (17-21). Even though, all the young who were students were enrolled by law.

The Foundational Act itself of the FJ (with the first National Delegate Jose Antonio Elola Olaso, as the person in charge) already reflected the intentions and fields of action needed to reach the objectives. Thus, some consultancy services were created with a defined range of competencies: political education, physical education, religion and moral pre-military education, culture, art and health issues. Those best known over time and the most impacted by the Organization were: the initiation of the Spanish youth, of both sexes, in the principles of Spanish Unionism, practice of physical education in schools and local facilities, these to a lesser extent; extracurricular activities, field trips and summer camps; and the promotion of sport among young people, both members and students, away from the pre-military training for males and household training for females. Therefore, the *FJ* was present in (private and state) schools and in the workplace with staff specialized in the corresponding field, although without teachers belonging to the Spanish Ministry of Education.

It was clear, from the very beginning and following the principle expressed in the Decree of December 28, 1939: "God, Country and Home", that the sense of action and military, particularly male values according to national syndicalist ideology, did not match with the educational objectives of the Delegación Nacional de Deportes of FET and JONS for the Spanish young women. Hence, after the Act of January 24, 1945, the SF was assigned the training of the Spanish female youth, being separated permanently from FJ. This distinction in the lines of action, depending on the gender, was also reflected in education. The Ministry of Education itself, according to the Act of September 4, 1936, abolished coeducation in secondary schools in the whole Spanish Kingdom as a feature of its identity. This marginal style of education was based on segregating criteria, supported by the 1938 Act on the Reform of Secondary Education.

All the voluntary or compulsory members received political, sport and physical education. Pre-military education was specified for males who enabled the myth of the perfect man: physical vigor, gentlemanliness, austerity, sacrifice and bodily strength (González Aja, 2005). This model was specified in a series of virtues according to the ideological principles belonging to the Spanish Unionism: obedience, hierarchy, discipline, service and love of Spain. Thus, all that made a "real imperial dignity" (Ibanez, 1942). The training for females was focused on the "Initiation into home", appealing to their important role in the family (Manrique, 2007). In addition to these ethical principles, other religious and notably catholic ones were included. This incidence of Catholicism had more support from 1945, after the end of the World War II. It was also especially

supported after noticing that the movement lost strength in the ruling bodies of the Spanish Government as well as when the membership of FJ decreased considerably.

If we examined the evolution of the National Delegation of the FJ, the first action that this institution had to face was the creation of a professional body of instructors and trainers (Decree of September 2, 1941, of the Spanish Headquarters of the Movement, in charge of creating the Spanish Academies "José Antonio" and "Isabella." Movement Gazette Ner. 122), adequately trained and indoctrinated in order to fulfill the tasks that had been set.

Creating Schools of Instructors and Trainers provided promotions of professionals initially very linked to the phalangist project. In 1942, they not only had to prove their absolute adherence to the new state, but also should be included in any of the groups as: complement or provisional officers, veterans, former captives, war orphans and children of killed or crusaders teachers (Saez, 1988). Nevertheless, they were insufficient to meet all the needs required for the plan. Apart from the work in schools and working centers, numerous extracurricular activities and outside work were also offered. For instance, sports, cultural events, parades, houses for Arrows, meetings and especially summer camps (for men) and shelters, itinerant schools and preventorium (for females).

Those who returned during the first two decades were mostly declared authentic phalangists, antifrancoist and joseantonianos. However, they were linked by law to the SGM from the very beginning. These had a triple orientation: a) education, not only as teachers of the Formación del Espíritu Nacional (National Spirit Formation) but also of Educación Física (Physical Education, PE), b) coaching, as coaches of teams participating in various school and federal competitions, and c) youth leadership, in recreational extracurricular activities directly organized by FJ (Manrique, in press).

The Spanish Education Ministerial Order of October 16, 1941 expressed the close collaboration that should have the educational centers and the FJ due to a lack of specialized instructors in politics for youth. It was specified more in detail by the sixth point about extracurricular sports activities. This sixth point regulated games and sporting competitions between schools, being always organized by the sport delegations of the FJ. In this case, especially in the area of primary education, with the inability to cover all schools, teachers were forced, although also in a very relaxed way, to take charge of the tasks previously assigned to the instruction officers trained by the Academia Nacional de Mandos "José Antonio" (Spanish Academy of Commands "José Antonio"), more related to secondary education, university and workplaces (Zagalaz, 1999). They took advantage of the fact that PE was introduced in the Curriculum of teacher training in the years 1942, 1945 and 1950. In addition, the magazines "Mandos", for male teachers, and "Consigna", for female ones, became the way of transmittal for standards, content and procedures to be

implemented with the students about education or politics, as well as physical education and sport.

Spain's own social, political and economic evolution from the forties to the early sixties with the first student revolts in 1956 and especially after the Organizer Decree of July 20, 1957 with a new Spanish Delegate from 1955, Cancio Lopez, reorganized the SGM. He intended to make more technical the complex FJ and close the Francoist Youth Phalanxes, personally linked to Elola. These decisions resulted in training officers less linked to the specific youth policy (Alcocer, 2001; Thomas, 2001), giving way to a more technical and specific formation (Organizer Decree of Delegación Nacional de Juventudes, 1961, Act of July 18, 1960, establishing the Organización Juvenil Española (OJE) (Spanish Youth Organization) and Physical Education Act, 1961).

The image of the FJ in popularity, social and political consideration and power to bring young people together was progressively deteriorated; the official teachers and instructors lost their purchasing power in their salaries. Therefore, they were forced to perform very long working days in different centers simultaneously (Manrique, in press). Furthermore, there were new students at the Academy without such an emotional and committed link as was produced in the early years, they came to lose the level of commitment of the initial period. Hence, these youth trainers sought a new career opportunity in these studies rather than a clear ideological linkage.

2. The Promotion of Sport among Spanish People. *Delegación Nacional de Deportes* (The National Sports Delegation)

It has been already discussed that the institutions responsible for the organization of physical activity during Francoism attempted conveniently to use PE in formal education as well as sports in after-school activities, too. Its purpose was to spread the excellence of its implementation as well as to contribute not only to achieve more effectively its performance but also to provide the best framing for the Spanish youth sought by the SGM (González Aja, 2002).

The potential of sport to bring together the masses, unify interests and as a factor in economic development has always been remarkable for the political institutions as well as for political leaders in Francoism. They also considered it as a tool to participate in public life and an instrument for the implementation of educational approaches and philosophies based on training through action. Due to these propaganda approaches of sport, an institution was specifically created for organizing it depending on the SGM: the Delegación Nacional de Deportes (Decree of Creation of the Delegation, 1941). Thus, General Moscardo (1941), first Delegado Nacional de Deportes (DND) (Spanish Delegate of Sports) of FET and JONS, ratified these assumptions saying: "for its extraordinary educational power, sport has become today a political weapon, that every

government exploits when they think of the formation of its Youth". Consequently, the state party considered the control of sport as a matter of political action. There are two different reasons for it: On the one hand, the initiation of young people into the discipline of the party; On the other hand, the deviation of public attention into sport, avoiding the focus on dangerous issues for the government. Physical activity and sports exhibitions were used by the regime for spreading patriotic values, organizing massive entertaining events to inculcate ideals such as discipline, diligence, endurance, strength, generosity, courage and perfection in performance.

From the first moments of the Francoist regime, Physical Education and sports were included in civic education programs. This approach did not change from that already proposed during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and during the Second Republic (Bielsa and Vizuete, 2005). Physical activities were used as an educational tool promoted and organized with a manifest intention of control over the young population. The approaches on youth policy which have been already discussed were followed in the way that it had been already planned by the German National Socialist Party through the Federación Nacional-Socialista para el Ejercicio Físico (NSRL) (National Socialist Federation for Physical Exercise). Contacts were abundant with the leaders of the Hitler Youth (Hitler Jugend) from whom they intended to try to copy its organizational structure, but keeping doctrinal differences and propagandists (Sanz Campos, 2003).

The DND had full authority in sport as it was reflected in the Constitution which was published in *Boletín del Movimiento* (the Bulletin of the Movement) of FET and JONS (published in the DND BO, 28 August 1945). In its organization chart there were three fixed departments responsible for ruling sports in three different fields: federative, the Army or the military and the Party sports.

Federative sports concerned the regulated sport. Therefore, it should not be linked to political institutions. Yet it did not have that independence during this period. Both presidents of the federations as club leaders were monitored by the state institutions, especially by civil governments and the DND itself. It meant full control of the sport by the Phalanx, clearly targeted at keeping the social and political control: "the members of Federaciones Nacionales (the National Federations) and sports clubs or societies leaders must have a proven commitment to the Movimiento Nacional" (BO of the DND, 28 August 1945, P. 8).

The mission of the Departamento de Relaciones con la Educación Física y los Deportes de los Ejércitos (Department of Relationships with Physical Education and Military Sports) was to introduce physical education in military instruction with military sports (horse riding, shooting, fencing, etc.). Contrary to the federations, army commanders had a greater independence in decision-making in this area, for obvious reasons of respect for hierarchies (Santacana, 2011).

The third department of the DND consisted of the "Sports of the National Movement". Its participants were linked to the activities promoted by some sections of the Party: SF (women's sports), FJ (youth sports), SEU (university sports) and Education and Leisure (worker sport). This organizational framework evidences the power of the Party upon the population, especially upon the youth, by applying a suitable sports network. A totalitarian political system could not leave this important task in other hands. Nonetheless, in these years, the results obtained were not as positive as it was expected: all the youth could not practice physical activity, nor be framed and indoctrinated as a whole social group. Perhaps the chosen direction, which was more ideological and doctrinal than technical, was not as beneficial as it has been expected. According to Gonzalez Aja (2002, 185): "the position of national delegate was held by war heroes, politicians and remarkable phalangists, therefore they were not the best people for the development of a good sport policy".

When defining the competences regarding the organization of physical activity among young people in that founding decree of the DND in 1941, among the conflicts that were caused, there was a disagreement in deciding which institution within the Party should control Physical Education and Sport in Elementary Education. It was decided that both the FJ as SF had all the educational responsibility regarding ages below 21 years. Since the scope was more focused on the student population, the Ministry of Education helped to achieve this goal by giving priority to the political organization for organizing everything related to physical activity. In Chapter 6 of the Act of Elementary Education of July 17, 1945, exclusivity in the organization of sports and championships of any kind was attributed to the FJ. The teachers responsible for delivering both PE lessons and extracurricular physical activities were trained, as we have already commented, by delegations of the Party. Initially, the motivation of these professionals was more sentimental and doctrinal than technical. Yet, over the years, and after the reforms within the political organization, their formation became more specialized, increasing the number of training courses (Nares Fernandez, 1993).

As can be seen, if the FJ aimed in general to encourage and discipline Physical Education and Sport of the young Spanish population and one of its key areas of action was Education, we can imagine that their teachers and instructors entered by a back door in the education system, since they were named by the Ministry of Education itself at the proposal of FJ or SF, depending on the SGM, without any opposition.

Political and educational objectives were sometimes overlapped. The DND itself, through his involvement in the planning and organization of sports of the Movement, also added further lack of definition to the sport responsibilities relating to young people. The friction in this regard between political and religious hierarchies was even more significant. The leaders of the religious orders had to mistrustfully host trainers and instructors of youth and physical education teachers unconnected with their congregation. Nevertheless, these same private centers used as an advertising ploy the good results of their teams

precisely in those championships when the National School Games were created. This decision led them to invest heavily in their schools to improve the sports facilities and employ professionals trained and specialized in different sports, targeted at attracting Spanish families of the middle and upper classes.

The different delegations of SGM assumed responsibilities directly or indirectly related to the fields of PE and Sport. However, they were never well defined, probably in the interests of the regime itself which used this to disperse powers and responsibilities, precisely to avoid concentrating too much power in a single person.

During the long postwar which was ended in the late fifties, the difficulties of daily life converted the leisure and the pursuit of fun and disconnection into a real psychological need for most people, and especially for the youth. For this reason, "outdoor" or in nature physical activities and sports were used to involve a lot of young people, and consequently, inculcate the corresponding ideological messages.

This concentration of power that the SGM had was enhanced by the publication of the Act of Associations of 1941, which gave the Ministry of Government control over all the boards of clubs and associations. For instance, very deep-seated activities among young people such as those organized by the Asociación Nacional de los Excursionistas de España (National Association of Spanish Hikers) or "boy scouts" nongovernmental, had to work almost in semi-clandestine manner. They often had to rely on the protection of Church to keep on practicing these activities.

The sporty atmosphere during the forties and fifties in Spain was pretty bleak. The political isolation and the autarkic regulated economy were not good bases for the development of sport. In the mid-fifties, the adaptation to the times demanded new ways and methods, hence the National Sports Delegation itself, now called Delegación Nacional de Deportes (by Decree of 17 May 1956 by the SGM. BOE (Official Spanish Bulletin of 17 June), was consolidated as a more technical, rigorous and scientific delegation. There, it was better planned to achieve the objectives in all its areas where could be found among other responsibilities: spread the sport and raise its technical level, promote Physical Education, regulate Sports Federations, monitor the sport facilities of educational centers and lead the training of the technical staff (Bravo Berrocal, 1995; Pastor Pradillo, 1997, Zagalaz, 1999). However, what had been achieved by the DND was not as positive as it had expected. Perhaps, the system of electing delegates and officials of the Delegation did not correspond with a good capacity for sports management, since they valued more the commitment to the Phalangist principles than effectiveness in meeting the objectives. In addition, they did not set aside enough money for the implementation of all the proposed projects (González Aja, 2002; Santacana, 2011). This is confirmed by the fact that the new Delegate of Sports elected in 1956 Elola Olaso, while the FJ had been the one during the previous fifteen years.

3. Outstanding Fields of Action of Sport and Physical Activity among the Youth

As it was pointed out above, during the first two decades of Franco's regime, the sports related to the Spanish youth was regulated by the DND and the FJ. In principle, this structure gave full independence to each of the parties, respecting the political powers of each other. Therefore, for this group of age, the great fields of action were:

- a) Physical activities with clear educational purpose and political interest, although this is not explicitly stated. These activities were carried out in schools and they were directed by members of FJ and SF.
- b) Activities proposed from a clear institutional political position of the regime in which one also supposes an educational purpose. They took advantage of its ability to involve the youth the population and the massive participation was used to carry out gymnastic exhibitions with political purposes. Juegos Escolares Nacionales (The National School Games) were instituted and nature activities in summer camps and shelters were organized but then they were not allowed to participate in federated competitions (Manrique, 2011).

As we mentioned before, the monopolistic intention of the ruling institutions of sport was to involve all practitioners. They were watched to an extent close to proselytism, looking for both talented athletes and those who showed greater affinity for the state ideological project. For this reason, the DND ruled that Spanish persons under 18 could not participate in any federated sport competition. Thus, the FJ had the control of the entire school population virtually guaranteed. Provincial, regional and national sports championships were promoted and addressed to this age group. However, there was some attempts to break this monopoly. A youth section was created in certain sport federations, such as in Football. Thus, that control exercised by the FJ over this age group was partly broken (Santacana, 2011).

According to Vizquete (1996), this primary recruitment system was conveniently planned and followed a methodology to "hook" practitioners through a series of strategies. For instance, testing sport in schools to detect sport talents; conveniently motivating students to participate in the provincial championship; requesting membership of Falanges Juveniles de Franco being a requirement for participation in their own championships and making massive concentrations and gymnastic exhibitions including schools, teachers, religious orders, leaders of the army and the Movement. All this was aimed to make a big social and political impact in favor of the regime.

One of the most important steps to involve the most talented students for physical activities and sports were: the creation of regulatory standards of

diplomas as well as badges for Elementary School Fitness Aptitude (Communication of 21 October 1959), created by the Delegación Nacional de Juventudes, formerly the FJ, and the organization of the National School Games in their respective phases provincial, regional and national. These are referred in a following section.

The criteria to attain the Diploma tried to distinguish the school (boys and girls) who had a better and more complete fitness by exceeding a series of challenges to get Physical Fitness Badges in the categories of gold, silver and bronze, which in turn helped to give greater publicity to the centers where they were studying. All this was targeted at elevating the fittest, the "chosen", to whom a collection of networks to draw in them were launched. Hence, then, they were affiliated to the male section and female sections of the youth organizations of the Movement. Thus, the missionary task that any leader or ruler should exercise over their wards to control them was continued.

3.1 The Creation of the National School Games

The history of school sport in Spain has been studied concurrently with Physical Education, since, in a broad sense, "to write about school sport is also writing about school, Physical Education, the people who are involved and society as a whole" (Devis, 1996). The FJ assumed the responsibility for being in charge of sport for its school period in order to spread the spirit of National Unionism. In order to achieve this, it was said that a strong body was required to reach the virtues matching the Christian ideal. It was due to that fact that sport was considered a complement to the development of the physical, moral and spiritual dimension that would improve the race and support the Nation. In addition, sport was conceived as competition, since it is how man measures his strength and develops his military and religious training (Delegation National Youth Front, 1944. PP. 63-66).

It has been already discussed that the specialized teachers who taught physical education in schools depended directly on the SGM. Consequently, the Ministry of Education did not personally participate in the organization of the future National School Games, except for providing facilities or for receiving help from instructors teachers in the organization of the different teams in primary schools.

The school sports and competitions began in Spain in 1949, when the first National School Games (only on the provincial stages) were held. The following year, for the first time, the national phase was organized in Madrid. The FJ was the governing institution in school sports, therefore, the first competitions were only for males. We have to wait until 1969 when the first female school games were organized by the SF. The delay in starting this activity among girls may be due to the fact that sports within the girls' physical education programs in the school curriculum were considered secondary contents, much less relevant than games (directed and free), rhythm, educational gymnastics, walks and

excursions and dance (classical and popular) (according to the Act of February 26, 1953. BOE (Spanish Official Bulletin) number 58). The goal of the SF leaders was to encourage the practice of sport, but always with the aim of reaching health, discipline, coordination, camaraderie and solidarity among its athletes taking advantage of spare time, without affecting work or study. Being a sports role model was not an added value for women.

School sports were born with an educational direction in the late fifties, with the end of the period of the National Delegate Elola Olaso belonging to the FJ, and at the beginning of reforms with Cancio Lopez. It was due to the consolidation of the Francoist regime, the creation of Organización Juvenil Española (OJE) (the Youth Spanish Organization), initiating a process of "dephalangization", and a greater prestige and acceptance of the staff in schools belonging to the FJ.

In this phase of Francoism, a campaign to improve the public image of the regime began. A more participatory and pluralistic image was shown far from the rigid characteristic of sports for the first decade of the regime. The operational unit for the framing work was changing, which was not only controlled by the FJ and SF, but it also concerned the educational center itself. Therefore, the action of the instructors and of those enabled to teach was assessed by these institutions depending on the participation: the more numerous, the better. Thus a higher prestige was reached.

Although the splendor of this activity would take shape in the next decade, as a result of the implementation of the National School Games, we could analyze Cagigal's opinion (1979) for whom this is the most outstanding work which was performed by the institutions of the Movement achieving their task of promoting physical education and sport among the Spanish youth. That is how young people became practitioners and not mere observers. In this manner, they occupied some leisure time that could not be filled with other activities. In formal education, sport became a basic resource, and sometimes unique, providing some recognition to teachers. Nonetheless, it was initially considered as marginal content in the curriculum of the early stages of the Francoist regime. Yet the high level of demand that often was required for competitions caused a lack of adherence to sport of those who were not as skilled physically and those who were not prepared to deal with the pressure that was generated in the competitions.

It could be also mentioned as a non-attained goal by the leaders of the regime that the political effects, indoctrination, and the membership to the youth organization and the framing technique regarding the school sports were not as expected. The reasons for this may be due to the particularly competitiveness inculcated with this model, hardly educational, and encouraged by the different federations. This was scarcely adapted to the educational interest (Velázquez Buendía, 2001), although Pradillo Shepherd (1997, p. 460) clarifies this claiming that "for the FJ, in any field and sports event there was always a relevant sense of humanism, which avoided an excessive concern for the records".

The student participation was marked by a selection of the fittest, leaving behind young people who abandoned physical activity because of a learned belief of their lack of ability. The interest in looking for a promotion, such as of the officer or teacher trainer, coach, or the private school leaders or, less typically, from a public school caused the objectives of the students to be considered less important, looking more for individual and self-interest. Finally, as a result of the overall situation in which women lived, young women participated in a number much lower than young men, without actually achieving the promotion of physical activity wanted from the SF, which was always conditioned by most influential social agents: principally political and religious. According to Vizúete (1996), the result of this physical practice was more social than political and more cultural than sportive.

3.2 In the nature /"outdoor" activities

The activities delivered in nature or "outdoors" can also be considered outstanding physical and sports activities within the range offered by the FJ. According to Chaves (1968), the concept of "outdoor activities" is "the set of physical activities that determines several skills in the individual that allows him to spend time relaxing and training, living in the nature". It is not a contribution of the regime that they wanted to be considered an insight for Spanish society. Rather achievements of other associations, both secular and religious, which had already been experienced quite successfully, were collected. The best known was the Scout Movement (Badem, 1914; Martínez Navarro, 1983), which had a religious origin in Spain, with Hispanic Scouts created in Madrid by the priest Jesus Martínez in 1934 (Martínez, 1934). The FJ, especially the Youth Francoist Phalanxes, found there a good model to develop its National Spirit Formation, including the pre-military and ideological component.

According to the Act of Foundation of FJ, 1940, Article VII, such "fresh air" activities could be found among afterschool activities which could be enjoyed by affiliated members as well as the rest of the student body, in its indoctrination effort. In an atmosphere of camaraderie, sacrifice, effort and courage solving all the problems that nature provided them, all the values and ideas wanted by the Movement to be inculcated to its young population grew. (Lopez Cepero, 1960). According to the National Youth Delegation itself (Elola Olaso, 1960), the essential purpose of the summer camps activities would be the formation of a "way of being" but not a "way of thinking". In which case, the training process was not neglected, their religious events were abundant, the songs of the FJ animated many moments, physical education and sports (in spite of a lack of adequate facilities) had their fixed scheduled and marches and camps were used to inculcate the Phalangist doctrine.

The activities and planning of the different shifts gathered the previous experience in this field of the scouts and the army already possessed. The predominant style of life that was laden with a military imprint, characteristic of

the leaders of the campers, supported by a discipline from the "barracks" in order to ensure the respect of regulations that were still very demanding (Villegas, undated). Among the most popular practices, one could find, apart from physical education (especially gymnastics and most traditional sports), others more specific such as marches, camping, games in nature and rescue services, which were aimed at hardening and strengthening of personality and body (Granados and Lorente, 1974).

Similarly, "outdoor activities" were also organized for young Spanish women. However, the interest of the leaders of the SF in defending a comprehensive training, following an ideal value based on "feminine issues", made them seek other "outdoor activities" less physically demanding. Precisely this lifestyle in the camps organized by FJ did not help to promote the characteristic values for every woman: delicacy, sweetness, purity of thoughts and submission (Agullo, 1990). Consequently, other activities were developed in less hostile environments to their condition, such as shelters in exclusive locations on the beach or in the mountains. According to what was said in 1941, the "Arrow" was exercised in camps in arranging the linen, mending, sewing, fixing appliances as well as making them feel the idea of economy and order (SF of FET and JONS, 1941). This commitment to daily tasks in camps, where it was supposed to extrapolate to their future tasks in their homes, was achieved with physical fitness in order to reach the final goal of shaping "healthy women in body and spirit" (SF of FET and JONS, 1940).

CONCLUSIONS

During the first two decades of Francoism, one could find the essence of the totalitarian regime that Spanish one became. The interventionism by the state in controlling and channeling all actions made the population include sport and physical activity among their preferred objectives. For this reason, both the FJ as DND were created about the same time, with goals that, in some cases, coincide. Both agencies relied on the same institution, the SGM. Therefore, they worked essentially for political issues which were marked by the Phalangist ideology. Regular physical activity was appreciated as a staple in the training of young Spanish people. While it was clear that the FJ should plan its activities for the Spanish under 21, especially with students in physical education, sport and politics, which became known as the Formation of National Spirit; the DND intended the sport to be an instrument to unify and strengthen the Spanish to further their education, but also as a weapon of government to train youths.

The two state institutions have well defined their functions as indicated by their founding decrees. However, in the case of DND, in their wish to deliver a model of sport more ideological than technical among the population, a specific department called the "Sports of the Movement" was created. It was promoted

by the SF, the FJ, the SEU and Education and Leisure, which had different members and different leagues than the federated ones. This is where there was more friction between the two delegations, since responsibilities related to youth belonged to the Young FJ and the SF.

Sports federations organized their own championships, but nobody under 18 could participate. This duplicity of competition caused a situation in which those young athletes with good skills for physical activity had to ask permission for leaders to participate in both. If it was clear for the FJ that their goal was to indoctrinate the youth through physical activity, why could not the DND do the same with sport? Nevertheless, in spite of having controlled the presidents of the federations, this delegation had never the strength to inculcate the Phalangist values originally proposed. Even, for the first years of its existence, they discounted professional sports in order to gain greater doctrinal control among the population. However, they did not succeed, due to the demand by the population for sports idols and sporting feats. Although all students were framed in the organization by law, neither the FJ got a massive voluntary affiliation to their political organization.

Despite the circumstances of friction, there were also approaching positions between the FJ and DND in favor of their interests. On the one hand, although initially Physical Education was not its priority, the DND depending on the FET and JONS supported this activity at the end with reforms in the institution in the mid-fifties. Perhaps the change in direction of the DND Elola Olaso, who previously was in the FJ, was a symptom of osmosis that occurred within both organizations.

Teachers were gaining a better technical preparation, gradually moving away from the doctrinal formation. National Schools, created expressly for training future physical education teachers and coaches, were adapting their curriculum to cover the different fields of action asked for them at the completion of their studies.

Francoist policies on youth and physical activity were greatly conditioned by the ideological needs that were created to justify the political regime. This subordination to the official doctrine is reflected in a quest to find the "membership" or accession of individuals on the managing institutions of the regime. The success of these policies was relative, since, although it was inculcated to the community the need to engage in physical activity and sport from an early age, membership in the political organization that planned it was scarce.

The basis of this ideology -the fascist influence, models of Nazi Germany, the Spanish Catholic tradition, the formation of very different models depending on the gender, the creation of a man "half monk, half soldier", etc- are those which oriented or rather determined youth and sports models. This orientation was

also completed by the regime's own needs, which converted sport into a very relevant factor of propaganda.

Sporting activity among students was initially a tactic used among the youngest, through the organization of the National School Games and outdoor activities, especially in the shifts of summer camps and shelters. The attraction exerted by such activities was oriented towards a greater political affiliation to management institutions, an issue that did not occur in the desired amount. Yet, it was almost the only way to enjoy sport and physical activity for youth during the period under study, which, however, was conditioned by the selection of the fittest, who were expected to become future leaders of the Movement.

Finally, during this historical period there was a clear distinction between the teaching of physical education among male and female and the male and female sports. The female section was the most constrained from any level of power.

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