

The school and the military: two precursors of physical education and sport in northern Morocco during the protectorate

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Abstract: Considered rather as a protectorate, the Spanish colonization of northern Morocco allowed the establishment of a new culture among the natives: the sports culture. The socio-political context of the emergence and the social and geographical dissemination of sports activities and physical education (PE) in schools explain why they were put at the service of the patriotic and militaristic national colonial conception.

This conception was implemented by two ideological apparatuses: the school and the army. The action of these two agents in charge of disseminating sport and PE among the Moroccan population aimed at highlighting the possibility that colonial Spain would have to prepare future men-soldiers capable of responding to the aspirations of the conquering state. Sport was instrumentalized and became an effective channel of political communication.

Keywords: School Physical Education, Military sport, Protectorate, Northern Morocco.

1. INTRODUCTION

The introduction of modern sport and physical education in schools in the north of Morocco was undoubtedly a colonial undertaking only a few years after the establishment of the Spanish protectorate.

During the first twenty years, the military spirit dominated the ideas and practices of gymnastics and physical education (PE), which was introduced into the school curriculum according to the Spanish peninsular model. The primary mission attributed to PE was to prepare young Spaniards and Moroccans too, for military service. In addition to improving physical qualities, the proposed PE aimed to develop a sense of patriotism and nationalism in school children.

Furthermore, the army played a leading role in the introduction and dissemination of sport among the Moroccan population in the Spanish zone of influence. In addition to the presence, in large numbers, of military personnel among the monitors and instructors of gymnastics and physical education in all school levels, gymnastics and other exercises of a purely military nature served to prepare the armed troops and to galvanize and discipline them. By pursuing the territorial conquest of remote areas of large cities and towns, the military was able to spread football and encourage young Moroccans to play it.

In this article, we will try to show that sport and school physical education, in the colonial conception, responded to a national, patriotic and militaristic conception, which

was permanent until the Second World War. Sport during the Moroccan protectorate therefore had a strong link with the school and the army. The actions of these two institutions were aimed at providing colonial Spain with male soldiers, both Spanish and Moroccan. Thus, sport became a political instrument.

2. METHODOLOGY

Our method is based firstly on a set of data, sometimes partial, consisting mainly of works dealing with the period of the Spanish and French Protectorate. We have privileged those that refer entirely or partially to the phenomenon of sport and physical education. Furthermore, we relied on the results of open-ended interviews we conducted with some authors of books on sport in Morocco, and with some rare living witnesses of this period, including sportsmen and women, leaders of sports clubs, political activists, association activists (Scouts), supporters and referees. In addition, we had recourse to the testimonies of people who had not directly witnessed sporting events during the period under study, but who had information that was sometimes useful for the treatment of our problem. The answers given by the respondents, especially those expressed by approximation (dates, facts, and events), are retained with precaution and are generally compared with other answers or other sources.

3. GYMNASTICS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS: A MILITARY TREND IN THE SERVICE OF THE COLONISING POWERS

The introduction of physical education and sport into the school curriculum is known to have been the work of the French and Spanish colonisers, only a few years after the establishment of the official Protectorate in 1912. The military spirit undoubtedly dominated the ideas and practices specific to this "school discipline". It is true that the primary mission of PE is to prepare young people for military service.

Indeed, education was to become an "active instrument of the colonization of the country after the Algeciras Conference in 1906, which put an end to the effective independence of the Cherifian Empire and marked the beginning of direct Franco-Spanish intervention in Moroccan affairs"[1]. Spain, like the rest of the European powers, used the educational and cultural fields, especially linguistic, as one of the ways of political, economic and social penetration in order to strengthen its presence.

Before 1912, Spain, following the example of France in southern Morocco and previously in Algeria, had already created educational centers in the North (Franciscan schools and secular institutions, managed and financed by the Spanish consular representations) in order to promote and disseminate the Spanish language and culture among the population of the Zone [2]. After the establishment of the Protectorate, the Spanish colonial administration officially set up a diversified educational system, intended on the one hand to meet the educational needs of the children of Spanish families who were beginning to settle massively in Tetouan, the capital of the Protectorate, and in the rest of the Khalifa area, and on the other hand to encourage the emergence and development of a Spanish-speaking elite from the local population. The schools for Spanish children reproduce the existing educational models in the Peninsula. The schools designed and organized for the Moroccan population were inspired by the French experience in the Algerian colony [3], which was exported by Paris to Sultanian Morocco, where France exercised its functions as a protective power [4].

The different names used in this educational model (consular schools, indigenous schools, advanced schools, Hispanic-Arab schools, Moroccan schools and Moroccan Muslim schools) [5] referred to the need to combine the teaching of Spanish language, culture and civilization with the teaching of Arabic and the Muslim religion in order to train an 'indigenous' elite that was favourable to Spain. These schools were also intended to offer an alternative to the Coranic schools that were then the majority educational system for the entire Moroccan Muslim population. The aim was to "introduce a modern

educational system, inspired by European models, aimed at renewing the teaching of classical Arabic and the Muslim religion while moving away from the traditional educational system" [6]. At that time in Morocco, the system was based on learning classical Arabic by reciting and memorising the Koran. A similar system for the much smaller Jewish population was set up in the Spanish-Hebrew schools.

The modern education system proposed by the colonizer as part of his civilizing mission concerns, among other things, the "introduction of gymnastics and physical education into the school curriculum [7]. In fact, Valderrama F. M. states in this sense that in modern education in the Spanish-influenced North Moroccan zone, "the culture of the body, alongside that of the mind, is as old as the education itself. As part of the school curriculum, each school offered physical education courses to pupils of different levels, in accordance with the professional conscience of the instructors, their professional qualifications and the standards they received from the competent higher authorities.

In the study plans and for all school levels of the different study systems, physical education, as for the other subjects, has always occupied spaces and timetables among the set of school activities programmed in each educational cycle. "The courses are given in the form of theoretical classes or practical activities. School groups and schools responded to the presence of this discipline with enthusiasm. And the simple educational gymnastics classes extended, from time to time, to sports games and physical exercises accompanied by music"[8].

On the occasion of the commemorative acts at the end of the school year, schools often included in their programmes special numbers dedicated to physical education and which highlighted the pupils whose excellent commitment during the preparations had been appreciated on the one hand, and whose satisfactory results had been achieved on the other, most often thanks to the disinterested collaboration of army employees, doctors and graduates in this field. Public exhibitions were even organized, such as the one in Tetouan in 1925 and the one in Larache in 1928, to mention only these two events.

The gymnastics and PE taught in the establishments of northern Morocco until 1941-1942 were reproduced from the Spanish model developed in the middle of the 19th century [9], itself borrowed from the French and German schools. The Liberal Government created the Central School of Gymnastics Teachers in Madrid in 1883, transmitting to the future instructors-monitors a military-oriented Physical Education based on the French method of the military Amoros. It is a question of physical exercises seeking to harden the body and aiming to develop the strength, skill, endurance, speed and

resistance of the participants. He thus gives his gymnastics a mission to bring people into contact with perilous and heroic activities "in order to gather happiness and glory one day". In addition to improving physical qualities, this gymnastics also aims to develop moral faculties which "tend to make man more courageous, more intrepid, more sensitive, more skilful, prepared to resist all the inclemencies of the seasons and all the variations of the climate... to overcome all difficulties, to triumph over all the dangers and all the obstacles, and finally to render noteworthy services to the State and to humanity"[10].

Amoros gymnastics offers exercises without apparatus: walking, running, without and with obstacles, strength exercises, pulling, pushing, carrying, throwing, wrestling exercises, high jump, long jump, deep jump and pole vaulting exercises. On the other hand, it offers exercises with apparatus; exercises with parallel bars, asymmetric bars, suspension bars, rope gantries and rings.

As for Yahn's German gymnastics, it is a method that is very similar to that of Amoros in terms of purpose, philosophical principles, scientific references (human anatomy in particular) and pedagogical organisation (types of exercises proposed). However, this method emphasises the development of a patriotic and nationalistic sense in soldiers and schoolchildren.

This organisation of 'gymnastic exercises', which is likely to have an influence on the development of school children, is placed under the responsibility of the physical education services. In the Dahir of 3 April 1913, by virtue of which the Education Council in Morocco was created [11] under the direct dependence of the Ministry of State, it is not specified which body would be responsible for the territorial organisation and functioning of this discipline in the schools. It was not until the Order of 22 June 1942 that the Directorate of Physical Education and Sports was created [12]. In the meantime, the effort to make this teaching compulsory, to generalize the practice of gymnastics and physical education in all Spanish schools, in the provinces of the northern zone [13] (Yebala, Lucus, Xauen and Ghomara as well as Rif and Kert), both public and private, for boys and girls, is described by the Interventor of Moroccan Education, Valderrama Martínez F. as patent [14]. The contribution of the military was required; financial aid was granted directly to the schools, which had some gymnastics equipment established for their schools.

The presence, in large numbers, of military personnel among the gymnastics and physical education monitors and instructors in all school levels also attests to this sustained contribution by the soldiers of the Spanish army. All of them were trained first at the Central School of Gymnastics and the Army from 1919 onwards, then at the School of Physical Education which depended on the San Carlos Faculty of Medicine of the General University

of Madrid, the current Complutense, and then, in Catalonia in 1936, at the Academy of Physical Education of the Generalitat, which came directly from the Commissioner of Culture and Sports of the Council of Culture and whose first and only director was Dr. Solé i Damians. The task of these actors was to maintain the good physical level of the troops and the teaching of gymnastics in the schools. The teaching of PE and the practice of gymnastic exercises is conceived as an indispensable complement to school studies and as a very effective means of ensuring the proper functioning of military laws.

The same strictly military orientation of gymnastics and PE in schools was also aimed at by the French in the Sultanian zone. The introduction of gymnastics [15] in the primary and secondary schools of the public sector in French Morocco dates from the ministerial circular of 10 September 1915 on the organisation of gymnastics teaching in public educational establishments as in Metropolitan France; "the schools (PE) must prepare physically and with methodical care for the aftermath of energy". General Gottez specifies in this sense that "...what we need is a general method of PE which is unique in its principles ... to take the child from nursery school, to develop it in primary school, to prepare it finally for military service... "

The text of the ministerial circular of 1918, supporting that of 1915, specifies that PE should seek to develop the physical qualities of the individual in order to obtain maximum performance, so as to prepare the young man to become a great soldier.

These two sets of regulations contain a number of provisions that organize gymnastic exercises appropriate to the needs of schools, from kindergarten to secondary school, to be conducted by teachers, instructors or a special master.

The teaching of "gymnastics necessarily includes the practice of movements and exercises that do not require the use of any apparatus" (Art. N°6 of the Ministerial Circular of 1918). Gymnastics exercises with apparatus were proposed by teachers and professors according to the availability of apparatus in the schools and also according to the level of the pupils.

In 1919, a branch of the Joinville school was created in Rabat [16]. It is a training and physical instruction centre created in Morocco to train teachers and sports and PE instructors. The school sport is structured and supervised by military personnel thanks to the collaboration of the Military Centre of Physical Instruction created the same year.

In a letter addressed to those responsible for education and culture in the northern regions of Morocco, the Minister of Education recommends that the dual purpose of gymnastics, which is to develop the physical strength of young people and at the same time to give them habits

of order and discipline, should not be lost sight of. This teaching will be provided by gymnastics teachers who hold a certificate of aptitude. They will be provided with a manual in which the pedagogical approach and contents are explained, divided into two parts: gymnastics without apparatus and military exercises. These exercises, described in the second part of the manual, were intended to prepare young people directly for military service. This is the case of the walks, holiday camps and the great outings to discover the environment, the aim of which is to develop the habit of walking and the inculcation of very useful topographical notions. The teaching of shooting, in its various forms, is of great interest.

The military function thus becomes decisive. It is no longer a question of the physical strength and education of the Spanish and French youth of Morocco, but above all of the proper functioning of military discipline and force. All the children who attended the schools were called to serve one day and defend the territories of the colonization as soldiers. The aim was to discipline them, by giving them virile habits, by familiarizing them from childhood with the role they would have to fulfil later on, by initiating them into the duties that awaited them, if necessary, in the regiment and in the colony. To quote Michel Foucault, it is a disciplinary practice of the body that tends to monitor, train, use and punish. It is a taking of power over the body.

Moreover, the teaching of this gymnastics is mainly under the authority of the military. The difficulties of recruitment and supervision are overcome by the garrisons, which have great resources in this respect, and the devoted assistance of the commanders. In the regions of Morocco, there are also a certain number of gymnastics societies which pursue similar goals and which lend their support to the administration. In the Spanish zone, we mention the shooting societies created in Ceuta, Melilla, Tetouan and Tangiers. In the southern zone, military gymnastics and equestrian societies, which were much more numerous, were created in Rabat [17], Casablanca, Safi, Oujda and Marrakech, among other cities. The leaders and actors in these societies are often called upon to support the school's efforts in organizing military and gymnastic exercises. The leaders and actors of these societies, who are military, are in most cases instructors of gymnastics and PE in schools. Because of their dual status, they ensure the extension of the supervision of physical exercise to the profile of young people in school with the same military aim.

However, this vision of gymnastics supervised by the military was not unanimously supported by European teachers in Morocco, particularly the French. It should be noted that the fight for the development of a different kind of PE was already being waged in French Algeria in September 1880 by gymnastics teachers who drew up a

project for the reorganization of gymnastics in public education [18]. This project denounced the teaching, which had always been entrusted to army instructors and who, for the most part if not all, lacked the anatomical and physiological knowledge that a gymnastics teacher should have.

The incompetence of the military leadership and the lack of a unified curriculum for all school levels in the different educational institutions in all regions of the North are also criticized by some teachers [19]. This unevenness of trajectories becomes explanatory of the "significant disparity in the physical and athletic performances achieved by individual students. The absence of an overall work is then the cause". The Amoros method, the training of instructors and the physical education manual were measures designed to create unity in the educational action of military, physical and sports training. However, the French and German gymnastics, with their reputation for violence and aggression, often causing accidents and trauma, and not being suitable for civilians, schoolchildren and girls, were not in fact suitable for all pupils. The lack or absence of material means obliged the instructors to limit themselves to monotonous and repetitive exercises, which caused boredom and fatigue among the pupils. In addition, the instructors were not trained in the sciences (anatomy and physiology) to adapt the exercises to the physical and anatomical conditions of the students. As a result, the desired unity was not fully achieved.

This method of recruitment should then be outdated, because army instructors offer pupils exercises that are harmful to their development. It was therefore a gymnastics unsuited to children that was being taught. In reaction to these gymnastics, alternative gymnastics schools were created in France. But without profoundly questioning the militaristic training of traditional gymnastics [20].

In this context, the indigenous Moroccan, in the north as well as in the south, is generally not concerned because either he does not yet have access to school, or the school reserved for him, the traditional Muslim school and the Moroccan school, does not offer gymnastics and physical education as subjects.

Similarly, another hygienist current appeared in Spanish Morocco. A very small minority wanted to fight against the social ills of colonial society and called for the application of a hygienic EP already in vogue in the peninsula. For this tendency, it is recognized that it is better to make strong and healthy men.

This current, which appeared in the southern zone thanks to French physical educators from Algeria, did not declare health as a priority objective. Hardi G., director of Public Instruction, Fine Arts and Antiquities in

Morocco between 1919 and 1925, and in a context of conflict of PE methods, called in 1920 for the harmonious and rational development of physical qualities and insisted on the general orientation that PE should have. The recreational role is rather privileged. There were parties everywhere, making the school a place where all people could come together, where there was understanding and fraternity.

In peninsular Spain, in the middle of the civil war, a law was promulgated in 1938 in the areas controlled by Franco's troops. This law aimed to reform secondary education by introducing gymnastics as a compulsory school subject in all levels of secondary education (preparing the Bachillerato). From 1941 onwards, physical education classes were given to Spanish boys by the "Youth Front", while its women's section took charge of PE for Spanish girls. In the same year, the José Antonio National Academy and the Isabel la Católica School were created, two institutions for the training of PE managers. In 1961, the Elola Law was promulgated, marking a new phase known to PE historians in Spain as the period of normalization of physical education. This law provided for the merger of the two institutions for the training of PE managers into a single centre, called the National Institute of Physical Education of Madrid (INEF), which became operational from the 1967-1968 school years. Since then, it has become the only centre recognized as competent to train future PE teachers. The Elola Law also establishes the obligation of PE in all cycles and levels of education, in public and public schools.

To encourage physical education, the competent Spanish authorities organized gymnastics festivities on the last day of the local, regional and final competitions [21]. All the schools in the area witnessed a collective presentation of physical expression by schoolchildren of both sexes.

The Directorate of Physical Education and Sport organizes the school sports festival. It sent the schools, through their respective committees, the calendar of exercises, standards and institutions for its development. Each school had to put this calendar into practice under the guidance of the P.E. teachers during the school year. Subsequently, local competitions between the schools were organized. The winners went on to another competition where schools from Tetouan were selected to be part of the end of year gymnastics festivities. The first edition of this gathering took place in July 1940. It was an opportunity to determine the orientations to be taken into consideration for the years to come. However, it was during the 1941-1942 school year that the first complete physical education plan was put in place, crowned by the celebration of sports festivities in Tetouan, attended by 1,500 schoolchildren. In the same year, the "General Orgaz Trophy" (named after the Spanish High

Commissioner of the time) was created, which was later called the "School Trophy". It was an award to encourage and stimulate the 25,000 schoolchildren of the whole area during the months of the physical education plan. In 1944, the gymnastics event in Tetouan brought together 3,000 schoolchildren, twice as many as in 1942, in front of an audience of 20,000 people. Moreover, the number of spectators has continued to grow over the years, reaching 30,000 during the last festivities in June 1955, in which 5,000 pupils participated. It should be added that all expenses concerning the costumes and uniforms worn by the pupils during these exhibitions, as well as travel, maintenance and accommodation costs, were covered by the official budget.

To give an idea of what such a competition represented, here is the programme of the last sports festivities celebrated on 12 July 1955 at the Tetouan stadium:

- The "Bows and Sticks", a dance performed by the pupils of the girls' school groups of Larache;
- Popular dance from *Galicia* performed by the girls of the General Orgaz school group, from Tetouan;
- Children's game performed by the pupils of the Spain school group in Tetouan;
- Spanish dance from Madrid called "Bolera", performed by young girls from the Spain school group in Tetouan;
- Rhythmic dance performed by the pupils of the Spain school group of General Orgaz in Tetouan;
- Childish game performed by the girls of the Jose Antonio school group in Tetouan;
- Parade of pupils;
- Exhibition of an educational gymnastics game;
- Distribution of prizes.

Furthermore, considering that it was necessary to orientate young people aged between 15 and 20, i.e. beyond school age, towards sport, a physical education plan was set up in 1943 for young people who wished to participate. This led to the creation of the "Adult Trophy". In addition to educational gymnastics, it included all types of sports compatible with the age of the participants: football, athletics, javelin and discus throwing, high jump, long jump, pole vault, basketball, handball, volleyball and swimming. These sports were practised in conjunction with educational gymnastics and were the final events of the trophy.

The gymnastics plan for adults consisted of twelve parts. Like the school trophy, it started with local heats in gymnastics and the other sports and went through regional heats to the final. At the end of March or beginning of April, the winning teams travelled to Tetouan to begin the final rounds under the supervision of the physical education teachers. The events introduced by the above-mentioned plan were: educational gymnastics, basketball, sprinting, swimming, relay race,

200-metre race, hurdles, high jump, pole vault, long jump, javelin throw, football, volleyball and handball [22].

4. THE ARMY: AN AGENT FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF SPORT IN SPANISH MOROCCO

Sport appeared in Northern Morocco with the Protectorate in the large cities of the Spanish influence zone, including the capital and most important of these cities, Tetouan. Its geographical spread to other towns came later due to their more or less late conquest. In fact, the territories where the military would be installed would in turn be affected by this diffusion agent.

Firstly, it should be remembered that the presence of Spanish military personnel was constant and decisive, not only in the process of occupying the territories, but also at a political level until 1956, through the important positions held in the administration of the Protectorate. Many military personnel were at the head of the Spanish High Commission, the supreme political institution representing the Spanish state in Morocco. The military were also appointed to head the delegations of indigenous affairs, education and culture, economy, industry and commerce, public works and communications, finance...

It should also be remembered that the north of Morocco was initially divided by the Spanish authorities into three "military" zones, subject to the three general commands of Ceuta, Melilla and Larache. However, this division was not definitive. In 1918, the territory of the Protectorate was divided into two zones only, Eastern and Western, under the authority of the military chiefs of Melilla and Ceuta respectively. This new territorial organisation limited the number of zones and increased the size of each one. In 1927, once the whole territory was fully occupied and pacified, the High Commissioner, the military José Sanjurjo (from November 1925 to November 1928) and his successor, General Francisco Gómez-Jordana Sousa (from November 1928 to April 1931), organized the territory into regions. Following the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic, three civil regions were created. The concern for security and control of the territory remained permanent. The definitive organisation, which was to last until the end of the Protectorate, dates from 1935 when the Service des intervecciones (controllers) [23], then directly attached to the High Commission, divided the territory, according to mainly military criteria, into five regions: Yebala, Lucus, Chauen or Gomara, Rif and Kert. In addition to the capital of each area, Tetuán (Yebala), Larache (Lucus), Xauen (Ghomara), Villa Sanjurjo (Rif) and Villa Nador (Kert), there were a series of small towns and localities of real importance. We mention: Arcila, Rio Martin, Alqsarquivir, Rincon of M'dik and Ajdir. At the head of each territory is a senior officer

appointed by decree. This officer, under the authority of the High Commissioner, exercises locally the attributes of the latter. Each territory is in turn subdivided into circles, annexes and posts administered by officers. In addition, in each locality, whatever its importance, there is a garrison.

Finally, another remark should be made. Compared to the remote areas of the rural territories, the presence of the Spanish in the urban territories was more marked during the first years of the Protectorate. This meant that the penetration of sport into the countryside and the kabilas (tribes) was slower. The conquest of these outlying areas of Tetouan and the important cities of the five regions helped the military to spread sports practices. If gymnastics and other exercises of a purely military nature have always been used to prepare armed troops and to galvanize and discipline them, the military chiefs at the head of the city of Tetouan will play, from 1913 onwards, a significant role in the establishment and dissemination of sport through the creation of sports societies, as they fall within their competence. First of all, they developed leisure activities for their own use. They will set up spaces to play football in and around the barracks. The intramural barracks, closer to the walls that encircle the old Medina of Tetouan, reserved spaces for the practice of sport, especially football, allowing the soldiers to have fun and practice their favourite sport in their free time [24]. We quote:

- The Independence military barracks, close to Luneta Street;
 - The artillery barracks in the historical empty space of the intra-muros, south of the *Al-Youn* quarter, the barracks of the Chorfas military hospital, in the north-east corner inside the Medina, between the Bab Jiaf gate and the *Bab Saida* gate. The double function of this barracks, both sanitary and military, gives it a vocation as an autonomous space with its own urban fabric, characterised by the existence of elements such as squares, gardens, playgrounds and a church;
 - The barracks of the *Kasbah*, occupying the fortification built by El Mandri in the 15th century. This barracks contains three towers attached to the city walls on the edge of the Dersa Mountain. Built in 1927, it was conceived as a centre for the troops of indigenous regulars (Regulares). It was handed over to the Royal Armed Forces in 1957 under the control of the Headquarters Company.
- As for the extramural barracks, they are military installations surrounding mainly the Lebbadi Square, west of the Medina. These included the following barracks:
- The military barracks of Borbon, or *R'kaina*;
 - The military barracks of regular and cavalry troops, just beside the *Bab Nouader* gate;

- The mountain artillery barracks and *R'zini* to the west;
- Another barracks was located in the *Saniat R'mel* district, far from the previous barracks to the east of the city.

The barracks were the first places in Tetouan where the Spanish military practised gymnastics and military preparation exercises and to maintain the physical and moral fitness that the men of the army should have. These barracks also offered the Spanish soldiers the first spaces for practising their favourite sports, especially football, for entertainment and amusement. Finally, they were the first place where the indigenous soldiers (Regulares) discovered gymnastics and sport. It should be noted that during the Spanish and French Protectorate (1912-1956), many Moroccans were recruited to serve in the *Spahis* and rifleman regiments of the African's Army. More than 300,000 Moroccan soldiers (including *Goumiers*) fought alongside the Free French Forces in North Africa, Italy and France during the Second World War. Many Moroccans also participated in the Indochina War from 1946 to 1954 as part of the French expeditionary corps. The Spanish army also used many Moroccan soldiers recruited from the Spanish Protectorate, both during the Rif War of 1921-26 against the Moroccan populations rising up against the Spanish and French occupation, and the Spanish War of 1936-39 against the government of the Second Spanish Republic. The Moroccan Regulars (Indigenous Regular Army, created in 1911 and formed by infantry and cavalry troops of the Spanish army, recruited in Spanish Morocco. They were composed of Moroccan volunteers supervised by Spanish officers) and the Spanish Legion together formed the elite of the African Army.

The Spanish military, in charge of all the services and direct actors in daily life, built public and private spaces with a cultural, leisure and entertainment function (gardens, cinemas, theatres, clubs and cafés, football pitches and other sports grounds, etc.) and organized recreational, sporting and artistic activities.

They will build football fields outside the barracks. The Society of Military Engineers (Igeniores) was responsible for the overall construction and development of these cultural and sports recreational areas. By setting up these facilities, they helped to prepare the ground for the practice and dissemination of sport in Tetouan.

On the other hand, the diffusion of sport within the population will be difficult. There are three main reasons for this reluctance. Firstly, the mistrust of the protector and his culture of the body that he wanted to implant across the African land. Secondly, the representation of the body and its social functions in Muslim society. And finally, the tendency to stick to the traditional games classically played before the arrival of the protector.

The clubs were not numerous, with only a few dozen players, mostly Europeans. At first, the natives were not very enthusiastic, even recalcitrant. It was a question of culture. Despite this reticence, some officers made efforts to introduce and develop sport among the Muslim population.

This sports education would be a good complement to the school education that is given to young people in the indigenous school. On the other hand, he thinks that the team spirit imposed by the game can only have a positive effect on the discipline of these young people who are destined to become the elite of the population.

But in 1941, not all the military shared this view and adopted a lethargic attitude towards the development of sport in what seemed to be uninterested *Fukhas* and *Sufis*, especially among the rural population [25]. The sedentary indigenous youth, unable to understand the meaning of such activities. However, the military leaders tried to deal with this state of mind and asked that sports be encouraged, that sports areas be set up and that sports be spread and developed even in remote corners of Spanish Morocco.

But from a numerical point of view, Valderrama M. notes that the outlying areas of the big cities are still relatively weak in terms of sports facilities. The Territory of Kert has only a few clubs, with a very small number of members, no more than sixty, composed exclusively of Europeans. In the Rif Territory, there are three Spanish sports societies, but it should be noted that this territory has only one football stadium in Villa Sanjurjo (Al Hoceima) and very few facilities.

Thus, sport, which has taken root in urban areas, among the urban population, has not spared the eastern Rifans thanks to the military, and part of the youth of the sedentary population has access to sport and is passionate about football. However, the peasant villagers, who are in the majority, have remained very little affected by the sports phenomenon. They remain very attached to traditional physical activities and indifferent to modern sports activities.

5. CONCLUSION

We can say that the school and the military are two precursors of physical education and sport in northern Morocco during the Spanish and French protectorate of Morocco. The school physical education and the gymnastics societies, by developing activities of a rather military type, played above all a patriotic role. Gymnastics activities did not lose this role. There was a close connection between these physical practices and the utilitarian military aim.

From this we can deduce that sport, in the colonial conception, responded to a patriotic and especially militaristic national conception that was permanent until

the Second World War. It is true that sport during the Moroccan protectorate had a strong relationship with two ideological apparatuses responsible for disseminating and controlling it: the school and the army. Thus, the actions of these agents who disseminated sport among the Moroccan population under the protectorate (soldiers and teachers) called on young people to practice sports and emphasised the possibility that colonial Morocco and Spain would have of "having soldiers-men".

In this way, the colonial ideological discourse found in the field of sports an efficient channel of political communication.

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