

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
IRVINE

Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with Right:  
Soccer, Sports Media, and Populism in Argentina and Chile, 1940s-1950s

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

Pedro Acuña

Dissertation Committee:  
Professor Heidi Tinsman, Chair  
Professor Steven Topik  
Assistant Professor Alex Borucki

2016



## **DEDICATION**

For my Parents

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
CURRICULUM VITAE	viii
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: Setting the Field: Sports Policy, Physical Education, and Soccer	22
CHAPTER 2: Forging Strong Citizens: State Building and Sports Under Perón and Ibáñez	64
CHAPTER 3: Picturing the Game: Print Media, Iconography, and Soccer Narratives	112
CHAPTER 4: Playing in the Airwaves: Radio Broadcasting and Soccer Announcers	161
EPILOGUE/CONCLUSIONS	200
BIBLIOGRAPHY	214

## LIST OF FIGURES

		<b>Page</b>
Figure 1.1	Our Great National Contest of Athletic Beauty	50
Figure 1.2	President Ibáñez at the Campos de Sports	55
Figure 1.3	President Ibáñez with Colo-Colo players	60
Figure 2.1	President Ibáñez and Chile Women’s Basketball Team	100
Figure 2.2	Presidents Perón and Ibáñez at the Luna Park Stadium	106
Figure 3.1	“Euforia”	113
Figure 3.2	General Juan Perón. The First Sportsman of the Nation	120
Figure 3.3	President Perón inaugurating the Evita Championships	123
Figure 3.4	Eva Perón inaugurating the Evita Championships	125
Figure 3.5	Ángel Labruna	130
Figure 3.6	Jorge Robledo	140
Figure 3.7	President Ibáñez with coach Tirado and “Manolo” Álvarez	147
Figure 3.8	Marlene Ahrens	152
Figure 3.9	“The Hidden Treasure”	157
Figure 4.1	Joaquín Carballo	189

## LIST OF TABLES

		<b>Page</b>
Table 2.1	Governmental loans and subsidies to sporting entities in 1950	79

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed to the making of this dissertation. My deepest gratitude is to my advisor, Heidi Tinsman, who has provided enduring support and guidance throughout all these years in graduate school. Thanks for having confidence in me. You are an excellent role model and inspiration for historians. I am also grateful to the members of my dissertation committee: Steven Topik, for sharing his wisdom, enthusiasm, and for always believing in my work. Alex Borucki, for his encouragement, perceptive advice, and for helping me to establish professional connections. Thank you all for providing feedback and suggestions in different stages of the dissertation and sharing your knowledge about Latin America.

UC Irvine has been a unique place to share my research interests with amazing professors in different disciplines. I thank professors and former students who have enriched my academic experience and provided important direction during earlier stages of the dissertation. I am grateful to Rachel O'Toole, Vinayak Chaturvedi, Emily Rosenberg, Sarah Farmer, Lilith Mahmud, Laura Kang, Annette Schlichter, Edward Dimendberg, Victoria Johnson, Alberto Barrera, Kurt MacMillan, and Ernesto Bassi.

My success at UC Irvine was greatly facilitated by the excellent teachers I had as an undergraduate at Diego Portales University, in Chile. I thank Hillary Hiner, Claudio Barrientos, Consuelo Figueroa, Rolando Álvarez, and Alberto Harambour. Their encouragement was highly responsible for my decision to pursue a graduate degree in the United States.

I am grateful to the people who inspired me with their work in sports history. I am fortunate to have crossed paths with brilliant researchers who have offered advice in conferences or through long emails: Ranaan Rein, Brenda Elsey, Carolyn Boyd, Rwany Sibaja, Carlos Aguirre, Roger Magazine, Eduardo Santa-Cruz, Jennifer Schaefer, Stephen Allen, Felipe Martínez, Cristian Arce, Danilo Díaz, Shunsuke Matsuo, Alex Ovalle, Sebastián Salinas, Annette Hofmann, Sebastiao Votre, Julio Frydenberg, Rodolfo Porrini, Mauricio Bruno, Nicolás Duffau, Monica Maronna. I am also thankful for the feedback provided by panelists and members of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport (ISHPES) and the North American Society for Sport History (NASSH).

Several librarians and private collectors have helped me to navigate in a sea of sources. I especially would like to thank Kevin Chang, Becky Imamoto and Thelma Castro for their patience at the UC Irvine Langson Library. In Santiago, I thank staff at the National Library, Solene Bergot and Constanza Bravo at the Centro del Patrimonio Fotográfico, Marcelo San Martín at the Asociación de Radiodifusores de Chile, and the staff at the Centro de Estudios Deportivos. In Buenos Aires, I am deeply thankful for the hospitality and help of my friend Carolina Cortés. I also thank the staff at the National Library, Alejandro Del Bosco in *El Gráfico*, and to the resourceful research institutes: Centro de Estudios del Deporte, Instituto Nacional Juan Domingo Perón, Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Históricas Eva Perón. In Montevideo, I greatly appreciate the hospitality of the Borucki family, especially don Alex, who kindly shared all his knowledge about soccer broadcasts on radio. I also thank the staff of the National Library and the Museo del Fútbol.

My doctoral studies were generously supported by two scholarships from the Chilean government (CONICYT-Chile). My dissertation research was generously supported by the UC Irvine School of Humanities through various grants: Summer Dissertation Fellowship, Humanities Collective, and the Charles & Ann Quilter Award. My dissertation writing was generously supported by the prestigious Miguel Velez Scholarship. I am honored to be a recipient of these awards and I cherish the opportunities that UC Irvine provides for international graduate students. I am also deeply thankful to the teaching staff in Humanities Core, especially Carol Burke, Larisa Castillo, Kazumo Washizuka, and Dawn Jenison. As a Teaching Associate, I appreciate the central role that Core's interdisciplinary courses play across the UCI campus in teaching undergraduate students to think and write analytically. I am truly thankful to all my undergraduate students.

This work would not have been possible without the love and friendship I have received from my Irvine friends. I especially thank Alex Jacoby, Andrea Milne, George Allen, all my international friends and all my Chilean friends, especially Alejandro, Tracy, Pía, Rodolfo, Joel, Lidia, Enrique, and Olivia. You have been a real family for me. Many friends have helped me to stay sane throughout these difficult years away from home. I would like to thank Claudio Sepúlveda, Valeska Yáñez, Cristóbal Cifuentes, Álvaro Yubero, and Juan Saravia. I am so blessed for your unconditional friendship.

Nothing made me happier than to play soccer with men and women from all over the world, either for the UCI Soccer Club or for my Intramural teams. Thanks for the amazing memories, making me a better player, and for sharing my passion for *fútbol*.

I would like to thank my parents, Gloria and Pedro, to whom this dissertation is dedicated. My sisters, Paola and Alejandra, and *mis regalones* Amaya, Gaspar, and Colomba. They have always supported me and encouraged me to stay strong. I miss you and I know that my absence has been hard for you.

Finally, I give special thanks to Francisca Benavente for her love and support. Everything has been better with you by my side. I admire you and I hope we continue this adventure together. This dissertation also belongs to you.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

**Pedro Acuña**

### EDUCATION

University of California, Irvine, CA, USA (UCI)	
<b>Ph.D. in History</b>	Spring 2016
University of California, Irvine, CA, USA (UCI)	
<b>M.A. in History</b>	Summer 2011
Diego Portales University, Santiago, Chile (UDP)	
<b>B.A. in History</b>	Spring 2009

### FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AWARDS

Miguel Velez Scholarship, Graduate Division, UCI	Spring 2016
Summer Dissertation Fellowship, School of Humanities, UCI	Spring 2014
Humanities Collective, School of Humanities, UCI	Spring 2014
Charles & Ann Quilter Award, Department of History, UCI	Spring 2014
Conference Travel Award, School of Humanities, UCI	Spring 2014
Conference Travel Award, Associated Graduate Students, UCI	Spring 2014
Graduate Feminist Emphasis, Gender and Sexuality Studies, UCI	Spring 2013
Full Scholarship for Doctoral Studies, CONICYT-Chile	Fall 2011
Full Scholarship for Masters' Studies, CONICYT-Chile	Fall 2010
Honorable Mention, M.C. Tocornal Prize, Chilean Academy of History	Spring 2010
Excellence Award, Department of History, UDP	Spring 2009
Honors Program, Institute of Humanities, UDP	Spring 2008

### PRESENTATIONS

- Snapshots of the Regime: Peronists Repertoires in the Argentine Sports Magazine *Mundo Deportivo*, 1949-1955. *Annual Convention of the North American Society of Sport History (NASSH)*, Glenwood Springs, CO, 30 May 2014.
- Repertoires of the Body: Sport Photography at the 1930 World Cup. *Annual Congress of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sports (ISHPES)*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 11 July 2012.
- Scoring for the Nation: Sport Policy, and Discourses of Race and Gender in Chilean Football, 1930-1948. *Annual Conference of the Pacific Coast Council of Latin American Studies (PCCLAS)*, California State-Los Angeles, CA, 28 October 2011.
- Bodies in Motion: Race and Gender in Chilean Football, 1930s-1940s. Annual Conference of the History Graduate Student Association, University of California, Irvine, CA, 21 May 2011.
- Construcciones de Nación a través de Discursos de Raza y Masculinidad(es) en el Fútbol Chileno. *Seminario de Historización de la Cultura*, Alberto Hurtado University, Santiago, Chile, 25 September 2009.
- Construcciones de Nación a través de Discursos de Raza y Masculinidad(es) en el Fútbol Chileno. *Jornadas de Estudiantes de Historia*, Diego Portales University, Santiago, Chile, 15 April 2009.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

Pedro Acuña, *Scoring for the Nation: Sport Policy, Print Media, and Discourses of Race and Gender in Chilean Football, 1930-1948*, M.A. Thesis, UC Irvine, ProQuest, August 2011.

Pedro Acuña, "La Roja de Todos: Construcciones de nación a través de discursos de raza y masculinidad(es) en el fútbol chileno: 1930-1948," *Revista Virtual Historia y Patrimonio*, 1, October 2009.

## **RESEARCH EXPERIENCE**

**Chile** (July-August 2013 and December-January 2015)

Conducted dissertation research in Santiago sponsored by the University of California, Irvine (School of Humanities). Main research sites included the National Library, the Centro del Patrimonio Fotográfico, the Asociación de Radiodifusores de Chile, and the Centro de Estudios Deportivos.

**Argentina** (September-October 2013 and February 2015)

Conducted dissertation research in Buenos Aires sponsored by the University of California, Irvine (School of Humanities). Main research sites included the National Library, the Centro de Estudios del Deporte, the Instituto Nacional Juan Domingo Perón, Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Históricas Eva Perón.

**Uruguay** (October 2013)

Conducted dissertation research in Buenos Aires sponsored by the University of California, Irvine (School of Humanities). Main research sites included the National Library, the Museo del Fútbol at the Centenario Stadium.

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

### **Teaching Associate**

Humanities Core Program, University of California, Irvine, CA, USA

Developed course syllabus, wrote lectures, created PowerPoint and multimedia presentations, led discussion, generated assignments, maintained class website, and administered grades. Taught an average of 20 students per course.

Course theme: War I

Fall 2015

Course theme: War II

Winter 2016

### **Teaching Assistant**

Department of History, Diego Portales University, Santiago, Chile

Organized and supervised weekly discussion meetings, created assignments, administered grades, maintained class website, and assisted with curriculum and exam development. Taught an average of 30 students per course.

Course theme: Latin American History

Fall 2009

Course theme: Historiography

Fall 2009

Course theme: World History

Fall 2009

Course theme: World History

Spring 2009

Course theme: History of Economic Thought

Spring 2007

Course theme: Middle Eastern History

Spring 2007

## **ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

### **Co-organizer** (Spring 2014)

Latin American Film Festival, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, UCI.

### **Editor** (Winter 2012)

Trans-Scripts, Interdisciplinary online journal in the Humanities and Social Sciences, UCI.

### **Research Assistant** (Spring 2008)

Dr. Claudio Barrientos, FONDECYT Project, Santiago, Chile.

## **LANGUAGES**

English: Professional/fluent

Spanish: Native speaker

Portuguese: Intermediate

## **MEMBERSHIPS**

International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sports (ISHPES)

North American Society of Sport History (NASSH)

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with Right:  
Soccer, Sports Media, and Populism in Argentina and Chile, 1940s-1950s

By

Pedro Acuña

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Irvine, 2016

Professor Heidi Tinsman, Chair

*Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with the Right: Soccer, Sports Media, and Populism in Argentina and Chile, 1940s-1950s* contributes to the field of cultural studies and Latin American history by focusing on soccer (or *fútbol*), arguably the most significant mass spectacle in twentieth century Latin America. As part of the inquiry on Latin American populism and mass culture, my dissertation examines the role of soccer and sports media in creating and contesting populist regimes during the 1940s and 1950s. In particular, my work analyzes the presidencies of two military leaders that aggressively promoted soccer and sports programs as part of their state modernization projects: Juan Perón in Argentina (1946-1955) and Carlos Ibáñez in Chile (1952-1958). Both Perón and Ibáñez argued that sports would morally and physically uplift the working and middle classes and transform them into citizens of more vigorous national races. *Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with the Right* is both a social-political history of soccer and a cultural history of the particular roles played by sports media during the 1940s and 1950s. While historians of sports have extensively used government documents, club balances, and attendance records, my project further expands the archive by including sports magazines, medical treatises, illustrations, photographs, advertising, radio records and film footage.

## INTRODUCTION

In 1948, the Chilean soccer club Colo-Colo hosted and organized the “South American Championship of Champions” (*Campeonato Sudamericano de Campeones*), the first continental-wide tournament for professional clubs in the history of soccer. Held in Santiago’s National Stadium between February 11 and March 17, it brought together the champions of each nation’s top national leagues. Participants included: Colo-Colo (Chile); River Plate (Argentina); Nacional (Uruguay); Litoral (Bolivia); Municipal (Peru); Emelec (Ecuador); and Vasco da Gama (Brazil). Hopeful that club River Plate would win the tournament, Argentine President Juan Perón (1946-1955) donated a silver cup for the champions. The aspirations of Perón were dashed when the Brazilian team Vasco da Gama finished undefeated and took the trophy back to Rio de Janeiro, where it is still prominently displayed at the club’s museum.

Chilean sports journalists celebrated Perón’s enthusiasm with the soccer tournament as a way to criticize the lack of support from the Chilean state. Given the refusal of authorities to finance the travel of Chilean athletes competing at the 1948 Olympics in London, club Colo-Colo donated a small percentage of the tournament revenue: 1 Chilean peso for each ticket sold. Though the campaign succeeded due to the large attendance to the stadium (nearly 40,000 spectators per game), columnists of the sports weekly *Estadio* complained that the task of supporting national athletes was responsibility of the government and not of soccer clubs.<sup>1</sup> To support this claim, they valued Perón’s gesture of sending a trophy and admired his support to Argentine sports as something to imitate in Chile. As *Estadio*’s director Alejandro Jaramillo argued in an article from January 1948, “Argentine sports has the backing of the government,

---

<sup>1</sup> “El campeonato de campeones,” *Estadio*, 20 March 1948, 1.

which has offered vast state resources to the extent that receiving private aid is deemed as inappropriate.”<sup>2</sup> Jaramillo recognized that not only the state could boost sports, but also that Argentina’s example was the path to take.

As seen in the story, soccer in Argentina and Chile became something more than a game. It became a cultural practice that projected national dreams and frustrations. Players, fans, journalists, and even presidents shared the idea that soccer teams represented the uniqueness of each nation. Although the 1948 tournament was promoted as a friendly instance of continental fraternity, the fact that President Perón tried to associate himself to the winning soccer team shows his interest to evoke political sympathy and national pride. Similarly, Jaramillo’s opinion in *Estadio* highlights a broader trend in which Chilean sportswriters paid close attention to Argentina’s development of sports policy.

*Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with the Right* contributes to the field of cultural studies and Latin American history by focusing on soccer (or *fútbol*), arguably the most significant mass spectacle in twentieth century Latin America. As part of the inquiry on Latin American populism and mass culture, my dissertation examines the role of soccer and sports media in creating and contesting populist regimes during the 1940s and 1950s. In particular, my work analyzes the presidencies of two military leaders that aggressively promoted soccer and sports programs as part of their state modernization projects: Juan Perón in Argentina (1946-1955) and Carlos Ibáñez in Chile (1952-1958). In an attempt to present themselves in opposition to both communism and imperialist capitalism at the peak of the Cold War, both Perón and Ibáñez argued that sports would morally and physically uplift the working and middle classes and transform them into citizens of more vigorous national races.

---

<sup>2</sup> “Todos se preparan,” *Estadio*, 31 January 1948, 3.

*Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with the Right* is both a social-political history of soccer and a cultural history of the particular roles played by sports media during the 1940s and 1950s. While historians of sports have extensively used government documents, club balances, and attendance records, my project further expands the archive by including sports magazines, medical treatises, illustrations, photographs, advertising, radio records and film footage. Following the framework of literary scholar Diana Taylor, I approach these sources as “cultural artifacts” and “repertoires” of narrative gestures that are produced not only “on the field” during the games, but also through representations that create meaning for much larger audiences than those sitting in the stadium.<sup>3</sup> The importance of these sources lies in their central role of making soccer a much more understandable sport to mass audiences, many of whom were illiterate. In the 1940s, soccer chronicles might be read aloud and photographs of famous soccer players were usually posted in public places for semi-literate workers too poor to buy sports magazines. Similarly, the pitch of a radio announcer’s voice and the quick summations he gave to different plays or referee calls generated their own visual spectacle and moral evaluations for listeners. While scholars have too often used visual materials strictly for illustration, I analyze how images—along with audio and print journalism—created narrative understandings about soccer that had broader political meanings.

*Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with the Right* argues that the increasing media coverage of soccer, especially through print journalism, images and radio, contributed to the dramatization of political debates in the 1940s and 1950s. The idea that sports can serve as dramatized expressions of political ideas is not new. Marxist playwright Bertolt Brecht saw sports as analogue to avant-garde theatre. As he wrote in 1926, “If only someone could take

---

<sup>3</sup> D. Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*.

those sporting establishments designed for theatrical purposes... and treat them as more or less empty spaces for the successful pursuit of sport, then they would be used in a way that might mean something to a real contemporary public [...] We pin our hopes on the sporting public.”<sup>4</sup> In that sense, soccer not always encouraged a passive response of a depoliticized audience, but instead provoked rational reflections and critical views of the actions on stage. In that sense, my dissertation explores how sportswriters, physicians, photojournalists, illustrators, and radio announcers performed the “political stage” and constructed stories about athletics to support different political projects.

By closely reading different types of media, my dissertation explores how sports commentators deliberately described and criticized political regimes on both sides of the Andes. Discussions about soccer in media remained a way for citizens to talk about their nation, its people, and its politics. In this sense, written accounts of the game, portraits of individual soccer players, and the charismatic styles of soccer announcers in radio were always political. Sports commentators from Argentina and Chile borrowed from and competed with one another, critiqued each other’s national projects and vied for masculine and racial prowess every bit as much soccer players on the field. Understanding the politics of media coverage of sports either in print or radio not only requires an analysis of what is seen or heard, but also what is obscured and silenced.<sup>5</sup> Theoretical appropriations of Gramsci by Raymond Williams allow thinking sports media not necessarily as spaces of control and reflection of political ideology but also as counter-narratives and counterhegemonic discourses at interplay.<sup>6</sup> In that sense, my dissertation

---

<sup>4</sup> B. Brecht, “Emphasis on Sport,” (“Mehr guten Sport”) in J. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> J. Scherer and D. Rowe, *Sport, Public Broadcasting, and Cultural Citizenship*; L. Fuller, *Sport, Rhetoric, and Gender*; R. Boyle and R. Haynes, *Power Play: Sport, the Media and Popular Culture*; H. Hundley and A. Billings, *Examining Identity in Sports Media*; D. Rowe, *Sport Culture and the Media*.

<sup>6</sup> R. Giulianotti, *Sport and Modern Social Theorists*; J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Culture, and Ideology*; W. Morgan, *Leftist Theories of Sport*; B. Carrington and I. McDonald, *Marxism, Cultural Studies and Sport*.

argues that debates about sports in media became a unique place to discuss political ideas, not just a locus for cultural building of consent to state projects or the production of propaganda.

Although media is the primary focus of my work, *Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with the Right* pays particular attention to the discussion and enactment of sports policy in Argentina and Chile. My dissertation bridges media and the state and proposes that sports journalists and medical experts played a key role in the design of sports policies and the promotion of soccer as the most popular sport in both countries. By examining and comparing state's action, my dissertation underscores the political borrowings, ruptures, exchanges, divergences, and continuities between the Argentine and Chilean state. Thus, I explore the polemical meanings that state projects had across the border and the central role sports media played in staging these debates. By placing sports as a primary ideological battlefield within the margins of media and the state, my dissertation considers how Chilean sports policies drew directly on the Peronist model and articulated ideals about national fitness in ways that were in dialogue with their neighbors.

As a history of both Argentina and Chile, this project contributes to the still-emergent intellectual endeavor of transnational and comparative history. It raises a challenge to national historiographies that have long treated populism as a national phenomenon. As Sandhya Shulka and Heidi Tinsman suggest, rather than conducting a side-by-side comparison of the two countries, my dissertation looks at “transnational interactions—spaces of dialogue, encounter, conflict, and divergence that take shape across, or sometimes, outside national borders.” It also pays special attention to the ways in which sports media expressed “international counterhegemonic projects that linked people with shared regional subjectivities.”<sup>7</sup> Narratives

---

<sup>7</sup> S. Shukla and H. Tinsman, *Imagining our Americas*, 2, 17.

about soccer in the media were central to representing national politics across the border. For example, my dissertation explores how the proximity of the two nations allowed Chilean fans to read Argentine magazines and tune into Argentine frequencies, particularly soccer broadcasts. Print media and radio created a new way of taking part in experiencing sport that enabled participation from larger parts of the nation but also from outside its borders. Unfortunately, historians of sports take nation-states as their unit of analysis and fail to take account of the linkages between societies that share regional contexts.<sup>8</sup> My dissertation presents a group of characters who used their transnational exchanges to rework ideas about nation and populism.

The history of soccer in Latin America is itself a product of transnational dynamics. While being informally played since the 1870s, soccer was not organized in Argentina and Chile until the 1890s when British immigrants created the first sports clubs in port-cities such as Buenos Aires and Valparaíso. Soccer spread most quickly in South American countries subject to British economic and cultural influence, including Uruguay and Brazil as well as Chile and Argentina. Railway workers and engineers helped to spread the game further inland during the period of extensive railway construction. As no other sport, soccer helped assimilate new immigrants to Latin America. By the 1920s, South American sport, fueled by growing cultural industries and literacy in urban centers, was not only widespread but also well organized. National sports structures flourished and became affiliated with the nascent world sport system and soccer's governing body: Fédération Internationale de Football Association or FIFA. After their affiliation with FIFA, South American soccer teams dominated the Olympics in 1924 and 1928, with Uruguay winning on both occasions in victories over Switzerland and Argentina respectively. Uruguay defeated Argentina again in 1930 in the inaugural FIFA World Cup in

---

<sup>8</sup> I. Henry, *Transnational and Comparative Research in Sport*.

Montevideo. In addition, full professionalization replaced the amateurism of the preceding era in Argentina (1931) and in Chile (1933).<sup>9</sup>

Because World War II destroyed European soccer, which would not recover until the mid 1950s, South American soccer was unquestionably the best in the world. Argentina's national team dominated the international tournaments winning several South American Championships (*Campeonato Sudamericano*) in 1941, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1955, 1957 and 1959.<sup>10</sup> In the same tournaments, Chile reached second place in 1955 and 1956. As hosts of the 1962 FIFA World Cup, Chile achieved third place—its best mark in history. As many scholars argue, these events lent legitimacy to the regimes and served to bolster national pride.<sup>11</sup> Building on this interpretation, my dissertation suggests that many of these events were also used to criticize nationalism, express political dissent about populist regimes, debate social reform, and display cultural modernity through photographs and radio. Soccer boosted mass media around the 1940s, infusing the game with new cultural meanings and political subjectivities. As the Argentine sociologists Pablo Alabarces and María Rodríguez explain for the Argentine case, “Sporting spectacles in the 1940s and 1950s became a new national ritual, with a deeply symbolic repertoire that had until then been practically unimaginable within the political realm.”<sup>12</sup> In this way, soccer operated through the articulation of a symbolic political consensus that generated a set of patriotic emotions while also opening up spaces to contest particular national governments.

---

<sup>9</sup> Known as First Division (*Primera División*) in Argentina and as Honor Division (*División de Honor*) in Chile, both national tournaments started as yearly round-robin leagues. H. Chapponick, *Historia del fútbol argentino*; O. Bayer, *Fútbol argentino*; E. Marín, *Centenario: historia total del fútbol chileno*; E. Santa-Cruz, *Origen y futuro de una pasión*.

<sup>10</sup> Known as Copa América since 1975, the South American Championship was an international soccer competition between the men's national soccer teams of South America. The first tournament was celebrated in 1916 in Buenos Aires. From there it was played every year almost uninterruptedly until 1959.

<sup>11</sup> A. Tomlinson and C. Young, *National Identity and Global Sports Events*; B. Keys, *Globalizing Sport*.

<sup>12</sup> P. Alabarces and M. Rodríguez, “Football and Fatherland: The crisis of national representation in Argentinian soccer.” *Culture, Sport, Society*, 2.3 (1999): 122.

*Dribbling with the Left and Shooting with the Right* suggests that soccer, as no other sport in Argentina and Chile, attracted the masses by evoking unique forms of class collaboration. With thousands of spectators in the stadium every weekend, soccer became the most popular sport because it attracted citizens from different social strata. In fact, the highest peak of stadium attendance occurred during the years of populist governments. In 1940, nearly 830,000 Chilean fans attended to the stadium. By 1956 attendance increased to 1,411,000 spectators. In 1957, attendance rates diminished considerably due to a severe economic crisis, which in turn triggered mass protest and social conflict. In Argentina, a similar trend is perceptible during the same years. The annual average attendance between 1946 and 1955, the so-called “Peronist decade,” was of 3,211,000 spectators.<sup>13</sup> Those figures, considerably larger than any other cultural industry at the time, made soccer to figure prominently among the innovative social policies of populist governments. Perón and Ibáñez sponsored, advocated, hosted, and promoted large international sporting events and mediated in conflicts between players and clubs. Sports advocates argued that soccer could foster class cooperation between workers and national industrialists instead of class conflict. Sports programs were meant to be vehicles for including workers within the body politic and shaping them as citizens, not mobilizing them for overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

By the mid twentieth century, soccer in Latin America was not only a mass spectacle but also a complex process of political negotiation. In Brazil, the largest country of the region where the level of economic development and urbanization had produced a large urban mass and a militant working class, industrialists and workers promoted soccer under populist authoritarianism. In the context of Brazil’s *Estado Novo* under President Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945), workers and industrialists converged on rationalizing projects of improving workers’

---

<sup>13</sup> D, Matamala, *Goles y Autogoles*, 26; A. Scher, *Fútbol, pasión de multitudes y de elites*, 46.

recreational programs but diverged on politics where workers followed populists and industrialists conspired for more authoritarian government.<sup>14</sup> My dissertation explores how middle-class sportswriters and physicians exploited political alliances that populism made possible as well as the sports institutions created by Perón in Argentina and Ibáñez in Chile.

While numerous studies draw parallels and connections between dictatorial regimes in Argentina and Chile, my dissertation casts new light on how sports policies and media narratives about sports connected these countries in debates about populist democracy. Generally, “populism” as a concept has been described as a style of election campaigning by colorful politicians who could draw masses of new voters to their movements and hold their loyalty indefinitely, even after their deaths. Michael Conniff’s classic definition of “populism” includes a multiclass alliance and a political doctrine that did not necessarily fit traditional ideological definitions. According to Conniff, charisma became a special quality in the eyes of their followers as well the capacity to claim the right to exercise power on behalf of the people.<sup>15</sup>

One of the goals of populist regimes of Perón in Argentina and Ibáñez in Chile was to reduce the power and influence of the established party system. This does not mean that populism was necessarily anti-democratic. Populism may have represented a demand for broader participation within the political system, even when in practice it led to state authoritarianism at the expense of civil society. In order to understand this apparent contradiction, my dissertation proposes to use sports as a window into populism. In Chile, for instance, Ibáñez intentionally cultivated a relationship with Colo-Colo, a popular soccer club that claimed to bring a juvenile and modern spirit to the sport that would result in order and victory, similar to how Ibáñez described his own aims. Similarly, The Peronist administration was closely identified with

---

<sup>14</sup> B. Weinstein, *For Social Peace in Brazil*.

<sup>15</sup> M. Conniff, *Populism in Latin America*.

Racing Club, a club that built a new stadium funded by the state and named after President Perón. Perón and Ibáñez, as well as their supporters and critics, understood the powerful symbolism and high visibility of sport, especially in light of its competitive character, and invested profusely in it.

### **Peronism, Ibañismo, and Sports**

Despite the immense body of academic literature on Peronism, the history of sports has not escaped from certain forms of economic and demographic determinism. Schematic interpretations of the 1960s emphasize the alleged “irrationality” of workers who followed Perón. In Gino Germani’s classic interpretation, Peronism recruited unskilled workers who migrated to Buenos Aires from the countryside in the 1930s as product of the transition from a rural to industrial society. According to this scholarship, sports spectacles only allowed the easy cooptation of the masses.<sup>16</sup> In the 1970s, labor historians challenged the image of Perón as tyrannical manipulator of a “passive” working class and suggested that the origins of Peronism could be found in the political changes that began in the 1930s.<sup>17</sup> By refuting Germani’s thesis, labor historians argue that both internal migrants and established urban workers supported Perón not because of an irrational attachment to authoritarianism but rather out of a rational calculation of their class interests. But all these intellectual endeavors share a pronounced structuralism in which popular culture seem too secondary for analysis. Peronism was seen as the result of a particular pattern in economic development rather than a socio-political or cultural process. The “popular” status typically assigned to soccer and its concomitant immediacy to personal

---

<sup>16</sup> G. Germani, *Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism*.

<sup>17</sup> M. Murmis and J. Portantiero, *Estudios sobre los orígenes del peronismo*; J.C. Torre, *Interpretando, una vez más, los orígenes del peronismo*; D. Macor and E. Iglesias, *El peronismo antes del peronismo*; D. Campione, *Orígenes estatales del peronismo*; J. Brennan, *Peronism and Argentina*.

experiences influenced the academic bias towards sports as relevant for working-class identity. Besides, when a few social scientists in the U.S. and Europe were beginning to develop an interest in modern sports in the 1970s and 1980s, humanities and social science activity in much of South America was disrupted by political repression.

In the late 1970s, Marxist political theorist Ernesto Laclau moved the discussion of populism from class-based analysis to an exploration of dominant ideological discourses. For Laclau, the uniqueness of populism is its convergence of disparate ideological contents (cultural values and symbols) and their equivalence in terms of a shared antagonism to a given ruling authority.<sup>18</sup> Drawing on Laclau, scholars in the 1980s argue that much of the support of Peronism was gained due to Perón's discursive techniques and communicative strategies.<sup>19</sup> This shift from the socioeconomic analysis towards an emphasis on discourse as a field of contested cultural power became central for social historians in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>20</sup> The most prominent of these historians is Daniel James, who pays special attention to the lives and actions of the Peronist rank and file, analyzing the "structure of feelings" that informed the behavior of Peronist militants in the face of repression after the 1955 coup that overthrew Perón.<sup>21</sup> Building on Laclau's and James's contributions, my dissertation argues that, although the transformation of sports was engineered by the state, it was decisively influenced by sports journalists and advocates who were anything but passive recipients of official ideology. As contested space, sports media framed individual and sometimes antagonistic responses to the sports policies carried out by the Peronist administration.

---

<sup>18</sup> E. Laclau, *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*.

<sup>19</sup> E. de Ipola, *Ideología y discurso populista*.

<sup>20</sup> J. Beasley-Murray, "Peronism and the Secret History of Cultural Studies: Populism and the Substitution of Culture for State," *Cultural Critique*, 39 (1998): 189-217.

<sup>21</sup> D. James, *Resistance and Integration*.

While some aspects of Peronism have received considerable attention in the past (trade unions, Catholic church, military, and the charismatic figures of Evita and Perón), the study of Peronist “cultural policy” began in the 1980s. Research on official propaganda, the politicization of the school curricula, and the profusion of advertising in motion picture newsreels inaugurated a rich cultural history of Peronism.<sup>22</sup> New social actors not only attracted a focus on gender issues, middle classes, and rural migrants but also brought new insights on health policy and mass consumption. For historians of Peronism such as Eduardo Elena and Mathew Karush, actors engaged with multiple discourses in a struggle over the meaning of citizenship.<sup>23</sup>

While some scholars recognize elements of democratization during the Peronist regime, others emphasize the use of sports as a tool for youth indoctrination. The latter often compare the experience of Peronism in Argentina with Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany, in which the authoritarian governments promoted sports competitions for ideological control. Under the banners of structural Marxism and psychoanalysis, the Argentine sociologist Juan Sebreli analyzes Argentine sports as a product that discouraged the development of an oppositional class-consciousness within capitalism. Sebreli also explores the erotic dimensions of soccer as forms of Peronist popular culture. He argues that soccer not only affirmed chauvinistic myths of national unity but also that it functioned as an organized practice against homosexual fantasies.<sup>24</sup> Sebreli’s structuralist conceptualizations of soccer assign primacy to the economy and mass psychology as determinant forces in which culture serves merely as ideological state apparatus, manipulating individuals to accept situations that belie their class interests.

---

<sup>22</sup> A. Ford et al, *Medios de comunicación y cultura popular*; A. Ciria, *Política y cultura popular*; A. Puiggrós and J. Bernetti, *Peronismo: cultura política y educación*; P. Sirvén, *Perón y los medios de comunicación*; M. Plotkin, *Mañana es San Perón*; E. D’Arino, *La propaganda peronista*.

<sup>23</sup> D. James, *Doña María’s Story*; M. Karush, *Culture of Class*; M. Karush and O. Chamosa, *The New Cultural History of Peronism*; E. Elena, *Dignifying Argentina*.

<sup>24</sup> J. Sebreli, *Fútbol y masas; La era del fútbol*.

In response to these approaches, a group of English-speaking scholars discuss Latin American sports as social practices on multiple levels, including media and fans.<sup>25</sup> Combining extensive fieldwork with a close reading of different texts, the Argentine anthropologist Eduardo Archetti demonstrates how soccer fans conceive their multiple masculine identities over time.<sup>26</sup> Inspired by Archetti's ethnographic work, new research in the 2000s shows that Peronist policies effectively expanded participation in sports activities and guaranteed achievements in the international arena, while at the same time enhanced the popularity of Perón and his regime.<sup>27</sup> Raanan Rein's valuable contribution to the study of soccer clubs under Peronism provides a glimpse on the negotiated identities of sportspeople as well as the ways in which sports activities created spaces for support and dissent.<sup>28</sup> My dissertation builds on these works to emphasize soccer and sports media as contested fields of force and not mere detours of class struggle.

Even though extensive literature has been published about Peronism, there are almost no substantial studies of populism in Chile during the second government of Ibáñez. Partly this is due to how the phenomena of Peronism continues to define populism as well as to Chilean investment in seeing Chile's political trajectory as defined against Argentina's example. The vast majority of Chilean political commentators that first wrote about Ibáñez defined him as a poor

---

<sup>25</sup> V. Duke and L. Crolley "Fútbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18.3 (2001): 93-116; J. Lever, *Soccer Madness*; T. Mason, *Passion of the People?*; J. Arbena, *Sport and Society in Latin America*; J.A. Mangan and L. Pereira, *Sport in Latin American Society*; R. Miller and L. Crolley, *Football in the Americas*; G. Armstrong and R. Giulianotti, *Football Cultures and Identities*; D. Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round*; J. Nadel, *Fútbol*.

<sup>26</sup> E. Archetti, "Estilo y Virtudes Masculinas en *El Gráfico*: La Creación del Imaginario del Fútbol Argentino," *Desarrollo Económico*, 35.139 (1995): 419-442; E. Archetti, *Masculinities: Football, Polo, and the Tango in Argentina*.

<sup>27</sup> P. Alabarces and M. Rodríguez. *Cuestión de pelotas*; P. Alabarces, *Peligro de gol*; P. Alabarces, *Fútbol y Patria*; P. Alabarces and R. Di Gianio, *Deporte y Sociedad*; J. Frydenberg, *Historia social del fútbol*; J. Frydenberg, *Fútbol, historia y política*; A. Scher, *La patria deportista*; V. Lupo, *Historia política del deporte argentino*; A. Scher, *Fútbol, pasión de multitudes y de elites*.

<sup>28</sup> R. Rein, "El Primer Deportista: The Political Use and Abuse of Sport in Peronist Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15.2 (1998): 54-76; R. Rein, *Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina*; C. Torres, "Peronism, International Sport, and Diplomacy," in H. Dichter and A. Johns. *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945*; R. Rein and J. Frydenberg, *La Cancha Peronista*.

imitator of Perón.<sup>29</sup> Along with deconstructing the notion of Perón and Ibáñez as tyrannical leaders, my dissertation's most important contribution is to think about these two governments together, sharing but also differing. Although studies of both Peronism and Ibañismo are commonly written from a national perspective, my dissertation aims to destabilize the national gaze in order to understand the cultural influences and political borrowings between the two leaders and the political movements they inspired. By asking how Chileans “translated” the Peronist lexicon to Chilean audiences, my dissertation evaluates the broader impact of Argentine sports programs abroad and the effects they had in Chilean political dynamics.

Scholars who compare Peronism and Ibañismo emphasize economic treatises and Perón's interventionism in Chile's domestic affairs. These works argue that Peronist Argentina joined the United States and the Soviet Union as a third major political actor actively seeking adherents in Chile.<sup>30</sup> As Donald Bray suggests in his pioneer work from 1967, the techniques employed by Perón to spread his doctrine in Chile were similar in many points to those used by the US and USSR. Perón invited Chilean politicians, labor leaders, journalists, and athletes to Buenos Aires for subsidized inspection of his state. According to Bray, the political elements most receptive to the foreign doctrines of Perón were the most nationalistic groups in Chile: the military and labor unions. Peronist officials and local supporters in Chile also attempted to plant favorable commentaries about Perón's government in the press and radio.<sup>31</sup> Building on Bray's work, my dissertation suggests that, instead of extolling the unquestionable advances of sports in the Soviet Union or in the United States, Chilean sports advocates of the 1940s and 1950s conceived the

---

<sup>29</sup> A. Magnet, *Nuestros vecinos justicialistas*; G. Maggi, *Patria y traición*.

<sup>30</sup> G. Vial, “Chile y Argentina: Ibáñez y Perón, 1952-1954.” In J. Fermandois and F. Luna, *Nueva Mirada a la Historia*, 189-220; L. Machinandiarena de Devoto, *Las relaciones con Chile durante el peronismo*; S. Amaral, “Feminismo y Peronismo en Chile: ascenso y caída de María de la Cruz,” *Todo es Historia*, 27.321 (1994): 78-91; L. Zanatta, *La Internacional Justicialista*.

<sup>31</sup> D. Bray, “Peronism in Chile,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 47.1 (1967): 48.

Peronist example in Argentina as *the* model to follow. Although my dissertation revisits Bray's initial concerns, it explores why and how Chilean sports advocates welcomed Peronism at home. Although several military clusters and labor leaders became openly sympathetic to Peronism, my dissertation proposes that sportswriters and physicians also wanted to import Peronist social policies in Chile.

Undoubtedly, Ibáñez's second administration from 1952 to 1958 has received less attention. Published in 1961, Donald Bray's Ph.D. dissertation considers the emergence of Ibañismo as "pathology" within Chile's historical democratic process.<sup>32</sup> Scholars either focus on the Popular Front in the 1940s (which Ibáñez is not seen as being part of) or the Frei-Allende era in the 1960s and early 1970s (which Ibáñez is not given any "credit" for setting the stage for). Chilean scholars have been driven by Paul Drake's influential contention that populism never took hold in Chile. In his 1978 classic work *Socialism and Populism in Chile*, Drake argues that charismatic figures were rarely successful in Chile because of the institutionalized political parties.<sup>33</sup> Leaving little room for personalistic mass mobilization or independent adventures, political parties filled the ideological spectrum. Moreover, two Marxist parties –the Socialists and Communists– preempted any non-ideological populist bid to the working class, especially during the governments of the Popular Front (1938-1947), a center-left coalition formed by Radicals, Socialists, and Communists, which articulated a new economic strategy based on import substitution industrialization and social welfare. Thus, Drake sees Ibáñez as populist campaigner and Ibañismo as a very ephemeral political phenomenon.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> D. Bray, *Chilean Politics During the Second Ibáñez Government*.

<sup>33</sup> P. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile*.

<sup>34</sup> P. Drake, "Chile's Populism Reconsidered," in M. Conniff, *Populism in Latin America*, 69.

Nonetheless, my dissertation challenges Drake's thesis by focusing on the long-term trajectory of Chilean populism. As an authoritarian military dictator during his first presidential term (1927-1931), Ibáñez initiated a period of unprecedented state modernization and labor reform in Chile, obtaining popular support while simultaneously neutralizing and demobilizing leftwing militancy. Ibáñez thus made important changes in sports legislation, many of which would continue in place through the 1930s and 1940s. Historians such as Patrick Barr-Melej and Patricio Silva argue that the preexisting welfare reforms carried out by the Popular Front had a significant impact on Ibáñez's turn to populist democracy in the 1950s. Despite the ideological and personal differences between Ibáñez and the Popular Front governments, they all showed a clear disposition towards maintaining a public administration relatively isolated from the political turmoil.<sup>35</sup> In that sense, my dissertation traces the continuities and borrowings in state policy between Ibáñez's first administration, the Popular Front governments, and Ibáñez's second administration. In addition, my dissertation sheds new light on how Perón also drew from the sports policies of the Chilean Popular Front. As embassy official in Santiago between 1936 and 1938, Perón witnessed firsthand the growing influence of the Chilean leftwing parties on sports and leisure.

Writing in the context of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990), Chilean historians projected Ibáñez as an earlier inspiration for the bloody military regime. Literature about Ibáñez in this period normally stresses two things: the crisis of state-led economic policies and the repression of the labor movement. The works of Tomás Moulián and Pilar Haimovich characterize Ibáñez's political style as "bonapartist" because he incorporated the military as

---

<sup>35</sup> P. Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile*; P. Silva, *In the Name of Reason*.

political actors.<sup>36</sup> Research in the 1990s highlights the multiple political zigzags and alliances established by Ibáñez, stretching from quasi-fascist right-wingers to semi-socialist left-wingers.<sup>37</sup> The problem of all these approaches is their overemphasis on economic and political structures, which clouds the significance of Ibáñez's investment in mass culture and sports—or sports media's attention and critique to Ibáñez's authoritarian populism. In that sense, my dissertation explores and compares different attitudes, policies, images, styles, but also responses and debates, over the meaning of citizenship during the Ibáñez period.

Relevant topics such as the expansion of the middle classes and the role of women in the ascension of Ibáñez have reinstalled an interest on Ibañismo. Indeed, women militancy has provoked intense debate among historians. According to Elisa Fernández, women overwhelmingly backed the right under Ibáñez because Ibañismo stressed the role of mothers and daughters rather than as individuals working outside of the home. Refuting Fernández, Jordan Stanton suggests that, far from being a rightwing force, female Ibañistas embraced the pro-worker and anti-oligarchic rhetoric of Ibáñez.<sup>38</sup>

My dissertation builds on these works to emphasize gender politics as a disputed terrain in sports. The works of feminist scholars such as Jennifer Hargreaves, J.A. Mangan and Roberta Park established the foundation for comparative work concerning the history of women in sports in order to understand how sport is depicted as the “natural” arena for males.<sup>39</sup> Thereby, I argue that not only women engaged in sports practices but also criticized Perón and Ibáñez arguing that

---

<sup>36</sup> P. Haimovich, *Ibáñez, ejército y populismo en Chile*; T. Moulián, *El Gobierno de Ibáñez*, R. Alegria, *Del general de la esperanza a la desesperanza general*; E. Fernández, “Análisis de dos movimientos político-militares y sus consecuencias en el golpe de estado de 1973: Puma y Línea Recta,” *Tiempo histórico*, 2 (2011) 85-115.

<sup>37</sup> J. Grugel, “Populism and the Political System in Chile: Ibañismo (1952-1958),” *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 11.2 (1992): 169-186; J. Fernández, “Nacionalistas, antiliberales y reformistas: las identidades de la militancia Ibañista y su trayectoria hacia el populismo, 1937-1952.” In: O. Ulianova, *Redes Políticas y Militancias*, 210; V. Valdivia, *Nacionalismo e Ibañismo*; J. Fernández, *El Ibañismo*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. E. Fernández, *Beyond Partisan Politics in Chile*; J. Stanton, *The Divided Center*.

<sup>39</sup> J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*; J.A. Mangan and R. Park, *From “Fair Sex” to Feminism*.

women were being ignored or underserved by existing sports programs. Also using gender as analytical category, my dissertation contributes to analyze the social construction of masculinity as a crucial element for defining citizenship in the populist context. Drawing on Foucauldian approaches to sport, I explore how soccer became a relevant discourse in the stories that men tell themselves about who they are and what they want to be.<sup>40</sup> Karin Roseblatt's argument that gender discourse legitimized the Popular Front through public health campaigns is particularly useful to explore changing meanings of masculinity in sports and media.<sup>41</sup> My dissertation explores how sports magazines in the 1950s promoted soccer to make men more responsible breadwinners, and by consequence, better workers.

Historiography on Ibañismo has certainly ignored Ibáñez's appeal to sports. Despite the ubiquity of soccer in Chile as unquestionably the most popular sport in the nation, only a few academic histories of the sport exist. In the 1990s, Chilean journalists and sociologists barely mention Ibáñez's interest in sports affairs and reduce their accounts to the history of clubs and sports organizations, biographies, and countless anecdotes of soccer events.<sup>42</sup> The most prominent of these writers is the sociologist Eduardo Santa-Cruz, who argues that mass sports spectacles in Chile emerged vis-à-vis the Popular Front governments. For Santa-Cruz, these governments pursued a model of state capitalism in which cultural industries could discipline and educate the working class in order to become an important actor charged with the responsibilities and duties of citizenship.<sup>43</sup> Lacking historical perspective, Santa-Cruz isolates the Popular Front as a separate context interrupted by Ibáñez's rise to power in 1952. In contrast, my

---

<sup>40</sup> P. Markula and R. Pringle, *Foucault, Sport and Exercise*; J. Hargreaves and P. Vertinsky, *Physical Culture, Power, and the Body*.

<sup>41</sup> K. Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises*.

<sup>42</sup> P. Modiano, *Historia del deporte chileno*; E. Santa-Cruz, *Fútbol y cultura popular*; D. Matamala, *Goles y Autogoles*; S. Salinas, *Por empuje y coraje*; L. Ortega, "De pasión de multitudes a rito privado," in: R. Sagredo and C. Gazmuri, *Historia de la vida privada en Chile*, 158-197.

<sup>43</sup> E. Santa-Cruz, *Las escuelas de la identidad*.

dissertation sees Ibáñez's second administration as a continuation and as extension of the Popular Front, particularly in terms of sports policy design and media coverage of soccer.

Perhaps the most notable work on Chilean politics and soccer is Brenda Elsey's *Citizens and Sportsmen*, in which she argues that soccer clubs in Chile from the late nineteenth century until Pinochet's military coup in 1973 served as a space for working-class men to enter into politics. While acknowledging state power and success in using sports for hegemonic purposes, Elsey focuses on the experiences and identities of sportspeople as well as on the ways state projects were challenged and resisted.<sup>44</sup> Although Elsey profusely discusses print media journalism as key to understand gendered and racialized depictions of clubs, she downplays the fundamental role of photography and radio as an important locus of political debate and social representation. Although club leaders and sportswriters remained important actors in the 1940s and 1950s, radio announcers and photojournalists created a unique dynamic popular culture that was neither controlled by state actors nor the clubs. Considering the high levels of illiteracy in Chile during the 1940s, I argue that sports magazines and radio employed eye-catching photographs and charismatic broadcasting styles to attract working-class fans and clubs. By closely reading magazine covers and excerpts of soccer broadcasts, my dissertation expands on the political meanings of soccer that Elsey shows in her work. More broadly, my dissertation explores how innovative platforms of sports media such as images and broadcasting became a crucial point of reference for making claims about Chilean citizenship—affirmations of appropriate masculinity, racial belonging, and class relations.

## **Organization**

---

<sup>44</sup> B. Elsey, *Citizens and Sportsmen*.

The dissertation consists of four chapters and one epilogue in rough chronological order. It does not pretend to give a complete account of soccer's history in Argentina and Chile. Instead the chapters focus on specific themes of political, social, and cultural significance. Chapter one: "Setting the Field," analyzes how physicians and sportswriters elaborated national projects of physical education and exchanged ideas about national fitness, soccer playing styles, women's sports, athletic beauty contests, and state involvement in athletic competitions. This chapter argues that many of the sports policies implemented during the 1940s and 1950s have older roots in the cultural dynamics of the 1920s and 1930s. It would be during Ibáñez's first authoritarian presidency that the Chilean state became directly involved in creating a new sports legislation decisively oriented at creating strong and healthy bodies. Embodying the figure of a strong man in command, Ibáñez attracted many sports advocates into his sphere of political action.

Chapter two: "Forging Strong Citizens," compares state involvement in sports in Argentina and Chile from the late 1930s to the mid 1950s. This chapter argues that sports policies in both countries were the result of a complex chain of political borrowings and continuities between Chile's Popular Front, Peronist Argentina, and Ibáñez's second administration. Both Perón and Ibáñez decisively supported high-competitive sport, provided loans to soccer clubs, and supported sports competitions for women. In Argentina, Perón promoted massive state programs for children such as the Evita Championships, which were never replicated by Ibáñez in Chile. While Ibáñez found Peronist politics very useful within his program, he finally failed to promote new sports legislation and faced strong criticism by sports advocates. Although Perón and Ibáñez benefited politically from sports competitions, their sports programs were firmly contested for not showing full commitment to women's sports in comparison to the support and attention granted for men's soccer.

Chapter three: “Picturing the Game,” analyzes how print media elaborated ideas about populist politics, both celebratory and critical, in Chile and Argentina during the 1940s and 1950s. It pays particular attention to the impact of two weekly sports magazines: the Chilean publication *Estadio*, created during the Popular Front government in 1941, but of major importance during Ibáñez’s presidency in the 1950s; and the Argentine publication *Mundo Deportivo*, created under Perón in 1949. Focusing on magazine covers, cartoons, and photographs, I argue that sportswriters, photographers and illustrators from both countries created appealing visual images that were both inspired by, and critical of, the larger policies carried out by the respective regimes under which they labored.

Chapter four: “Playing in the Airwaves,” explores the political significance of radio and the charismatic styles of soccer announcers in Argentina and Chile. Radio became a powerful vehicle for enacting nationalist fantasies about class unity and defining male citizenship. This chapter argues that, while describing soccer matches in real time, announcers crafted their own versions of populism, masculinity, and nationalism. Borrowing heavily from other forms of popular culture such as music and film, announcers ranged from second-rate actors to professional sports journalists. By analyzing radio records, print media, sports films and advertising, this chapter argues that while radio certainly enabled new ways of imagining sports, it did not simply displace the longstanding practice of seeing soccer through print.

In the Epilogue, I highlight the effects of Perón’s military overthrow in 1955 on sports programs in Argentina and in Chile. Even though the post-1955 scenario was marked by repression and persecution of Peronism in both Argentina and Chile, media coverage of soccer remained a productive ideological terrain where political meanings were constantly shaped and re-shaped.

## CHAPTER 1

### Setting the Field: Sports Policy, Physical Education, and Soccer

On 13 November 1931, Professor José Porras presented a lecture about the state of physical education in Chile at the Club Universitario in Buenos Aires. Porras, a renowned Chilean physical-education teacher, was invited by a group of Argentine medical professionals for the purpose of debating topics such as the introduction of sports medicine in soccer clubs. Porras' lecture celebrated the nationalist stance adopted by President Carlos Ibáñez (1927-1931), who enacted the first Law of Physical Education in 1929, considered a starting point in the development of Chile's sports policy. The reception of Porras' work in Argentina was such that his presentation became a book in 1932 that circulated in Buenos Aires with several copies throughout the 1930s.<sup>1</sup> This connection exemplified a broader trend in which Argentine sports experts paid close attention to Chile's development of physical education.

This chapter examines how physicians and sportswriters from Argentina and Chile exchanged ideas about national sports policy and racial fitness during the first decades of the twentieth century. In the first section, I explore how medical professionals and physical-education teachers elaborated nation-wide projects of physical education and argued that sports could be both a healthy antidote to class conflict and a means of "preserving the race" (*Preservar la Raza*). Racial whitening, they believed, would not only homogenize nation-states that harbored a frightening array of cultures and ethnicities but also bring economic development and capitalist modernization. While these self-styled experts debated about the place of soccer within physical education methods, Argentine and Chilean physicians and educators had to

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Porras, *La educación física en Chile*.

acknowledge, more resignedly than enthusiastically, that playing soccer was an undeniable part of children's lives, and this affected the teaching curriculum as well as the kind of physical activity performed by students in gym class.

Deeply influenced by medical and pedagogical debates, Argentina and Chile's first sports columnists engaged in discussions about the "social question," a series of debates that attempted to combat the deleterious effects of industrialization: labor unrest, political polarization, alcoholism, prostitution, and first-wave feminism.<sup>2</sup> Reaching more readers than medical experts, thanks to the growing circulation of newspapers and magazines in the 1920s, this chapter argues that sportswriters produced a modernizing discourse that claimed soccer would help to define national identity. On the one hand, Argentine writers made strong efforts to include a new generation of native-born children of immigrants through the creation of stories about a supposedly unique Argentine style of soccer. On the other hand, Chilean writers celebrated Chile's distinctiveness as a country of racially homogeneous mestizos, that is, people of mixed indigenous and European heritage as distinct from pure European or pure Indian lineage.

In addition to debates about national identity, sportswriters also exchanged considerable information about the organization of sports institutions. In particular, I argue that Chilean columnists cited Argentina's international success of the 1920s in order to replicate sports programs created on the other side of the Andes. Sports promoters from both countries celebrated women's athletics as the cornerstone of the "regeneration of the race." Sports advocates wrestled to convince lawmakers that the physical body, especially the female body, could be disciplined through sports such as basketball, tennis, and swimming. In the 1920s, women were prescribed methodized gymnastics, which were considered appropriate for shoring

---

<sup>2</sup> N. Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 91.

up their future procreative role as mothers. Competitive contact sports like soccer were strongly discouraged because such activities would presumably make it more likely for women's body parts to be inappropriately touched or rubbed. In parallel to this patriarchal inclusion of women in "soft sports," writers increasingly celebrated the beauty of the male body. Without abandoning the concern of molding women's bodies they extolled and praised erotized images and narratives about masculine athletic beauty. More than any other popular activity, sports reproduced the homosocial and profoundly homoerotic nature of male bonding in the struggle for triumph of one man over another. Trained, uniformed, and sometimes naked male bodies exhibited the erotized masculinities of athletic fitness in the late 1920s.

In light of such homosocial narratives of men describing and admiring other men, a new generation of sportswriters mostly composed by young physicians in the early 1930s extolled conservative and patriotic images of masculinity and set the tone against homosexual urges and fantasies. They supported the authoritarian government of Carlos Ibáñez (1927-1931), who embodied the figure of a strong military man in power. Above all, he thrived on the mystique of efficient management of society and appropriate moral behavior. Due to his personal interest in the institutionalization of sports, Ibáñez attracted many physicians and physical-education teachers into his sphere of political action. Although Ibáñez was deposed and exiled to Argentina in 1931, and thus his project interrupted, he made important changes in sports legislation, many of which would continue in place throughout subsequent governments of the 1930s and 1940s.

### **Prescribing Racial Fitness**

In the 1880s, when the chances of war against Argentina increased considerably, Chilean elites worried about the physical condition of the population. With the possibility of an armed

conflict, the Chilean government hired German and Austrian educators with the purpose of increasing the size of male citizens and prepare them for battle against foreign threats. After the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) in which Chile defeated the allied armies of Bolivia and Peru, government involvement in sports was limited to the assumption that military training for soldiers would implicate rigorous exercise among citizens. Physical training under the label of “military gymnastics” emphasized the importance of civic education and its practices included the creation of school battalions, civic parades, and individual execution of barbell exercises.<sup>3</sup>

The turn of the century and the appeasement of diplomatic tensions between Chile and Argentina further invigorated the emphasis on physical education over that on military training. This was particularly true after the Pacts of May (*Pactos de Mayo*), a series of protocols signed in Santiago by Chile and Argentina on May 28, 1902, that resolved territorial disputes. Although the link between physical strength and patriotic defense remained important throughout the twentieth century, military models for promoting physical wellbeing declined in favor of pedagogical approaches to sport. In fact, Chilean educators rejected military instruction in schools because they perceived sport as an instance of social interaction and not a space for military preparedness.<sup>4</sup> Whereas military training focused on “strong bodies,” the purpose of physical-education teachers was to make all civilians stronger, especially the weak children, who were more likely to get sick. Most educators considered sports a much more feasible instrument than the military for nationalizing the children.<sup>5</sup>

The most important opponent to military instruction in schools was professor Joaquín Cabezas. He led a group of Chilean teachers sent to Europe to improve teaching methods to

---

<sup>3</sup> F. Jenschke, *Guía de gimnasia escolar*, 233. (sic)

<sup>4</sup> J. Cabezas, *La enseñanza de la gimnasia*, 4. (sic)

<sup>5</sup> J. Silva and A. Concha, “La fuerza de la patria: educación física y ritos cívicos,” in S. Serrano et al, *Historia de la educación en Chile*, 225-251.

strengthen school-age youth. Trained at the Royal Gymnastic Central Institute in Stockholm, Sweden, he returned to Chile in 1893 to promote physical education through conferences and publications. His writing focused on the differences between German-oriented instruction, by then called “military gymnastics,” and the pedagogical approach inspired by Swedish models known as “scientific gymnastics,” which stressed playground games, stretching routines, and breathing exercises.<sup>6</sup> In 1906, Cabezas founded the National Institute of Physical Education, the first of its kind in Latin America. The Institute, supervised by the University of Chile and the Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Instrucción Pública*), promoted the specialization of teachers and was enthusiastically received among advocates of public education. Cabezas understood the school environment as a healthy space and envisioned incorporating physical exercise into the daily curriculum. In that sense, Cabezas pushed for a shift in which the state’s interest from locating physical fitness only within the context of preparing men for battle to promoting physical education and sports for civilians. In 1912, the Ministry of Public Education approved Cabezas’ national plan for physical education, which did not include soccer as an official part of the school curricula. That does not mean that students did not play but at least it reflects that soccer was not yet promoted by the state as integral component of physical education. Cabezas’s plan would last until 1927, when military officers would regain tutelage over Chilean physical education under Carlos Ibáñez’s authoritarian regime.<sup>7</sup>

By the 1910s, the issue of “racial improvement” preoccupied both Argentine and Chilean reformers and policymakers as much as any other national problem. Many intellectuals of the late nineteenth century embraced the biological determinist and evolutionary theories that Count

---

<sup>6</sup> J. Cabezas, *A Sketch of Manual Training in Chile; Manual de gimnasia educativa; Los juegos olímpicos*. E. Gómez, *Contribución al estudio de la obra y personalidad de Don Joaquín Cabezas*.

<sup>7</sup> F. Martínez, “Hacia una pedagogía del cuerpo. La educación física en Chile, 1889-1920,” *Ágora*, 14.3 (2012): 320-331.

Gobineau, Gustav Le Bon, and Herbert Spencer had popularized in Europe, elaborated from the work of Charles Darwin.<sup>8</sup> The premise that nonwhites were biologically inferior to whites and that racial mixture led to racial degeneracy found a sympathetic audience in the Southern Cone, largely because it reinforced a long-standing disdain for indigenous and African-descendant populations. On the one hand, this thinking spurred enthusiasm for promoting European immigration to Argentina and Chile as means of national progress. At the same time, mass European immigration created its own anxieties about the health of the national race.<sup>9</sup>

In Argentina, where almost five million immigrants arrived between 1871 and 1915, reformers increasingly worried that newcomers hailing from Italy, Spain, Russia, and the Middle East (most of them poor Jews and Arabs) would have a less than salubrious impact. The Argentine government adopted educational policies promoting sports as a means of inculcating national cultural values among immigrant children. In 1908, the Argentine pedagogue José Ramos was appointed president of the National Council of Education. One of Argentina's most ardent xenophobes, Ramos influenced physical-education teachers through the monthly *El Monitor de la Educación Común*, a pedagogical journal that was distributed nationwide and enjoyed great prestige. The journal advocated a set of educational reforms (Law No. 1,420) that created state schools without ethnic or religious discrimination and gave physical education a markedly integrative character.<sup>10</sup> These educational reforms resulted in growing literacy rates and democratization of Argentine politics, especially considering the approval of the Saenz Peña Law in 1912, which granted the secret ballot and compulsory male suffrage. In 1914 three-

---

<sup>8</sup> For Social Darwinism: M. Miranda and G. Vallejo, *Darwinismo social y eugenesia en el Mundo Latino*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism, Argentina and Chile*; E. Zimmermann, "Racial Ideas and Social Reform: Argentina, 1890-1916," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 72.1 (1992): 23-46; B. Subercaseaux, "Raza y nación: el caso de Chile," *A Contra Corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 5.1 (2007): 29-63.

<sup>10</sup> "Reflexiones sobre Educación Física," *El Monitor de la Educación Común*, 31 August 1912.

quarters of the Buenos Aires working class were immigrants and the overwhelming majority of the rest were their children. Therefore, public schools conveyed a variety of knowledge and daily habits as well as a defined notion of respectability that entailed the individual discovery of being part of a nation.

Even in Chile, where immigration was more modest, concern mounted that not all immigrants automatically improved the nation's racial stock. Thus, physical education emerged as an important means of integrating immigrant populations and promoting national improvement. Chilean intellectuals rehabilitated the image of the native-born mestizo and questioned that of the immigrant. Nicolás Palacios, a physician well known as an analyst of Chilean social affairs, admired the strength and endurance his mestizo countrymen displayed when he served in the War of the Pacific. Using the logic of biological determinism, Palacios argued that Chileans were racially superior to other South American peoples as well as to Latin Europeans. Celebrating the heritage of Gothic peoples who had arrived in Spain after the fall of Rome, Palacios argued that Chileans were the result of a mixture between Germanic conquistadores (as distinct from Latin Europeans) and another allegedly superior race, the Mapuche, the indigenous population of southern Chile that had successfully resisted conquest by both the Spanish and the Inca empires. According to Palacios, the resulting Chilean mestizo had a superior physiognomy and possessed heightened masculine attributes such as courage, bellicosity and morality, in contrast to the "feminine" character of Italians and more recent Spanish immigrants. To maintain Chile's patriotic manhood, Palacios argued that government authorities should focus on recruiting Teutonic immigrants instead of Latin Europeans.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> N. Palacios, *Raza Chilena: Libro escrito por un chileno y para los chilenos*.

Although Palacios never addressed sports directly, his ideas lived on to influence later generations of Chilean writers. Inspired by Palacios, some intellectuals proposed that Chile's poorer inhabitants could implicitly whiten its racial stock and contribute to national progress through hard work, better health care and physical education.<sup>12</sup> Leotardo Matus, one of the first Chilean sports physicians, thought that the survival and reproduction of the national race depended on assimilating the previously excluded Mapuche indigenous population. In 1908, he proposed to adapt the Mapuche game *palín* an early-modern form of hockey practiced since the fifteenth century but banned by the Catholic Church in 1764.<sup>13</sup> For Matus, games such as *palín*, as well as archery and rowing, were common practices among the indigenous cultures that had inhabited Chile since the thirteen century. In addition, he assured that these practices, “mistakenly assumed to be European in origin,” should be integrated into school curricula as state policy. By celebrating the glorious Mapuche heritage, Matus praised the mestizo identity as part of what he claimed as representative of the nation. The emergence of a more positive evaluation of the indigenous population coincided with the conclusion of military campaigns against the Mapuche in the Southern Cone initiated in the 1880s.

Matus employed anthropometric studies (a set of measurements of the human body) to convince authorities that Chilean children were stronger in comparison to children from other countries. In 1911, he measured hundreds of teenage boys in order to record their chest diameters and concluded: “those who practice sports have better breathing capacities and lesser risk of getting sick.”<sup>14</sup> Appealing to widespread concerns about high infant mortality rates, Matus claimed that physical exercise was essential to the development of students' patriotic impulses

---

<sup>12</sup> N. Appelbaum, A. Macpherson, K. Roseblatt, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, 14.

<sup>13</sup> L. Matus, *Los ejercicios físicos de los antiguos Araucanos*, 21.

<sup>14</sup> L. Matus, *Antropometría de los niños chilenos*, 142.

and moral fiber. When similar anthropometric studies flourished in the 1920s under the label of “biotypology,” Matus revised his work incorporating classification schemes, biometric records, and skull photographs.<sup>15</sup> Undoubtedly, the introduction of scientific instruments such as the spirometer, an instrument for determining the size, strength, and muscle proportion of the human body, not only allowed specialists to present specific evidence about the effects of physical exercise, but also promoted standardized practices in the name of “normal” and “healthy” bodies.<sup>16</sup> Toward the end of his career, Matus criticized professor Cabezas for introducing foreign models of physical education in Chile. He claimed that policymakers should promote a national system based on scientific measures in order to extoll the uniqueness of the Chilean mestizo race.<sup>17</sup>

Matus drew heavily on the work of the Argentine physician Enrique Romero, who he met in 1910 during a congress organized by the Sociedad Sportiva Argentina to mark the Centennial of both republics. Romero wrote extensively on the standardization of physical education and the philosophy of sports.<sup>18</sup> In order to foster national integration, Romero criticized foreign forms of physical education, particularly “French gymnastics” due to “its aristocratic values, since only the wealthy could afford expensive workout machines.”<sup>19</sup> He also argued that Spaniards and Italians, the major immigrant groups in Argentina, were more agile but weaker than other

---

<sup>15</sup> A. Stern, “From Mestizophilia to Biotypology: Racialization and Science in Mexico, 1920-1960,” in N. Appelbaum, A. Macpherson, K. Roseblatt, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, 187-210.

<sup>16</sup> R. Park, “Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative,” *Journal of Sport History* 14.1 (1987): 44-45.

<sup>17</sup> L. Matus, *El problema de la educación física en Chile y el embrujamiento sueco*, 119.

<sup>18</sup> E. Romero, *La educación física en la escuela primaria; Planes tipos de clases fisiológicas de ejercicios físicos y rondas escolares; El sentido espiritual de la educación física; Elementos de gimnástica fisiológica*. A. Aisenstein, *Tras las huellas de la educación física escolar Argentina*.

<sup>19</sup> E. Romero, *Pedagogía de la educación física*, 354.

immigrant groups such as Germanic and Slavic peoples. Therefore, it was necessary to encourage physical exercise among immigrant children as part of the nationalization process.<sup>20</sup>

Romero criticized most of the European gymnastic systems that were imported to South America. In any case, these systems did not seriously rival the physical activities imported by the British, including soccer, boxing, cycling, and rugby. Only at the dawn of the twentieth century did gymnastic systems gain popularity among critics of British modern sports, especially Romero, who constantly attacked soccer for its lack of pedagogical values and its foreign character. In 1911, Romero referred to soccer as a “pernicious game,” and “anti-aesthetic practice” because “it could deform the lower extremities and damage the lungs.” Within Romero’s physical-education plans, soccer was excluded from the curriculum because of “the dangerous rivalries it has created among creole children.”<sup>21</sup> Romero assumed a critical stance against soccer due to its European, particularly British, origins. Although the criticism did not entirely disappear, it was not powerful enough to question the essence of British modern sports. It was precisely the ban on playing soccer in the schoolyard that made the sport even more popular in streets and wastelands.<sup>22</sup> Even though Romero’s influence on pedagogical matters established the basis for Argentine physical education, his early efforts to make soccer less central to creole children were largely unsuccessful.

### **Creole Soccer and Mestizo Players**

While medical experts would continue to provide a scientific perspective on physical education, a new generation of writers emerged to promote soccer in a range of popular and

---

<sup>20</sup> A. Agüero, “Enrique Romero y los inicios de la Educación Física escolar,” in N. Sánchez, *Historia de la niñez en la Argentina*, 93-135; P. Scharagrodsky, “El padre de la Educación Física Argentina: fabricando una política corporal generizada (1900-1940),” *Perspectiva*, Número Especial (2004): 83-119.

<sup>21</sup> E. Romero, *Pedagogía de la educación física*, 104-107.

<sup>22</sup> J. Frydenberg, *Historia social del fútbol*, 28.

commercial print literatures. Despite the medical warnings, soccer not only had become ubiquitous in neighborhoods and schoolyards but also in print media. In contrast to medical publications, which targeted an academic audience, magazines had the advantage of reaching more readers. By the early 1920s, sports writing in Argentina, for instance, was aided by an already high level of per capita print media consumption that resulted from the early growth of a literate urban middle class and the economic prosperity generated during World War I. Consumption of magazines, cinema, radio, and sporting events reached levels that would only be surpassed during the Peronist era in the late 1940s. For example, the publishing house Atlántida edited a variety of popular magazines such as the sports weekly *El Gráfico*, the women's magazine *Para Ti*, and the children's magazine *Billiken*. All three reached a circulation of almost 500,000 in Argentina and other South American capitals.

Published in Buenos Aires in 1919, the Argentine weekly *El Gráfico* extolled sport activity as symbol of modernity. The magazine mixed a variety of entertainment topics such as music, theater, cinema, and sports. A typical page in *El Gráfico* combined stories about French singers, Russian dancers, and U.S. swimmers. Thus, Argentines could identify themselves as part of the cultural achievements of Europe and North America, conceived as the "civilized world." In that sense, its very name (literally, "the chart" or "the figure") expressed a certain visual voyeur with Western images of progress.<sup>23</sup> With a weekly circulation of 100,000, *El Gráfico* could not compete against newspapers' day-to-day coverage of soccer such as *Crítica*, *La Nación* and *La Prensa*, which achieved a daily circulation of over 300,000.<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, *El Gráfico*

---

<sup>23</sup> M. Bergel and P. Palomino, "La revista *El Gráfico* en sus inicios: una pedagogía deportiva para la ciudad moderna," *Prismas*, 2 (2000): 103-122.

<sup>24</sup> M. Karush, "National Identity in the Sports Pages: Football and the Mass Media in 1920s Buenos Aires," *The Americas*, 60.1 (2003): 11-32.

became an important cultural text that advocated for racial fitness through soccer. Beginning in 1925 *El Gráfico* abandoned its miscellaneous coverage and began to focus primarily on sports.

The early modernity of the Argentine educational system, its cultural industry, and its growing audiences, enabled a group of middle-class intellectuals to create a discourse about sports and national identity.<sup>25</sup> These writers emphasized soccer's aesthetic aspects, arguing that Argentines not only had become exceptionally skilled at the game, but also the way they played it revealed certain essential aspects of the national character. The Argentine style of soccer, they wrote, had as its central characteristic the art of dribbling, which foregrounded the individual player's creativity and his ability to single-handedly evade opposing defenders. Argentine players were crafty, wily, and imaginative—in contrast to the British, whose play was more rigid, machine-like.<sup>26</sup>

This artistic dimension of soccer as the most significant for national identity was evident in the writings of legendary journalists such as Ricardo Lorenzo (aka “Borocotó”) who became an influential voice in soccer media until the 1950s. As a Uruguayan working for an Argentine magazine, Lorenzo's first journalistic works covered the carnival of Montevideo where he described the street performances of the Uruguayan candombe, the Africa-based rhythm of the Río de la Plata. In *El Gráfico*, Lorenzo wrote extensive columns about what he labelled as the “creole style” (*estilo criollo*) in reference to the unique Argentine playing style of soccer.<sup>27</sup> In July 1930, Lorenzo was sent to cover the first World Cup held in Montevideo, Uruguay. During

---

<sup>25</sup> Sportswriters in the 1920s were generally university graduates including lawyers, teachers, dentists, salesmen and soldiers who engaged in intellectual activities and journalism. The way I see them is similar to how Ángel Rama describes modern city “letrados”: a lettered elite closely associated with the institutions of state and invariably urban in orientation that enhanced social prestige through writing. A. Rama, *The Lettered City*.

<sup>26</sup> E. Archetti, *Estilo y virtudes masculinas en El Gráfico: la creación del imaginario del fútbol argentino*,” *Desarrollo Económico*, 35:9 (1995) 419-442.

<sup>27</sup> The meaning of *criollo* in the Argentine context should not be confused with the Afro-American association of “creole” elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere. B. Bockelman, “Between the Gaucho and the Tango: Popular Songs and the Shifting Landscape of Modern Argentine Identity, 1895-1915,” *The American Historical Review*, 116:3 (2011), 588.

the tournament, Lorenzo described Argentine players as spontaneous and skilful dribblers who could do wonderful things with the ball in small space. In his accounts, readers could imagine idyllic scenes of the national team in which they could project themselves in the field. While describing the midfielder Francisco Varallo in an article from 1930, Lorenzo said: “He has a typical expression of a stubborn boy. Ready for action. Although he is young but plays with the serenity of an experienced player.”<sup>28</sup> According to Lorenzo, soccer was not considered a necessary rite of passage for an adolescent to become an adult. Quite the reverse: the privileged image of the ideal creole player was the authentic Argentine player that played like a child. Much of this understanding of children making a quick transition to adult sport was reinforced through the gradual acceptance of soccer within the school space.

Although coolness and composure were significant values, Lorenzo dedicated most of his columns to young players. In an article entitled “Citizen of the Wasteland” from 1933, Lorenzo described the winger Carols Peucelle as the embodiment of the creole style: “He is the personification of a carefree boy. Look at his smiling face, like a kid playing with a rough ball. Observe him and see how he transmits the idea that soccer is a game, and as such, can be fully enjoyed only when one man has total freedom.”<sup>29</sup> Lorenzo’s words presented Peucelle’s childlikeness as the source of his talent. His comments introduced a new aesthetic dimension of soccer as the most significant for national identity. As “citizen” Peucelle produced clever metaphors for the inclusion of immigrant children within the optic of citizenship. Furthermore, Lorenzo’s columns contradicted earlier thinkers such as Enrique Romero who argued that soccer was “pernicious to the body” or “anti-aesthetic,” inaugurating a complex tradition of masculine virtuosity based on individual creativity and personal cunning. Although this culture emerged in

---

<sup>28</sup> “Los favoritos del público,” *El Gráfico*, 9 August 1930, 5

<sup>29</sup> “Ciudadano del baldío,” *El Gráfico*, 4 April 1933, 4.

Buenos Aires and did not necessarily extended to the interior provinces, it was a national culture in the sense that it continually produced soccer narratives as symbol of national identity. Writers like Lorenzo made soccer belong to a “cultural landscape” with cross-references to popular figures of tango and cinema as part of a larger repertoire that was under construction.<sup>30</sup>

In Chile, the situation was different. Illiteracy slowed the spread of print media considerably. Given that Chile’s sports literature market was much smaller, magazine editors mainly targeted upper-class readers and some petty-bourgeoisie sectors of society who were looking to imitate the customs of the British. Not only practicing sports but also reading about sports became a central feature of bourgeoisie status. Unlike the explosion of cultural industries in Argentina, Chile’s entertainment market was severely affected by inflation. In order to compete against foreign publishers, including Argentina’s Atlántida whose magazines circulated in Chile, local publishing houses targeted specific audiences with magazines such as *El Peneca* aimed at children, the women’s magazine *Familia*, and the weekly *Los Sports*.

Inspired by the example of *El Gráfico*, which was widely distributed in Chile, Chile’s Zig-Zag publishing house founded the magazine *Los Sports* in 1923. Similar to the Argentine magazine, the Chilean version aspired to become a nationwide weekly reaching a weekly circulation of 20,000 numbers in the late 1920s. *Los Sports* offered a wide range of British-imported practices including boxing, cycling, polo, tennis, and soccer without highlighting one sport over the other. The structure of the magazine consisted of opinion columns, interviews, and a series of news reports about the development of national sports. The magazine also advocated a national sports plan and demanded the construction of a national stadium.

---

<sup>30</sup> E. Archetti, *El potrero, la pista y el ring: las patrias del deporte argentino*.

In contrast to Argentina, the idea of sports writing was still a novelty in Chile. Unlike *El Gráfico*, the Chilean sport publication relied on schoolteachers, physicians, and literary critics. Thus, *Los Sports* gave considerable space to early reformers such as Joaquín Cabezas, who frequently exposed his ideas in the novel publication. Cabezas insisted in the importance of a national plan for physical education. With the magazine as ally, Cabezas lobbied successfully for the creation of the National Commission of Physical Education established in 1923, the first governmental initiative to organize physical education.<sup>31</sup> Although the commission made significant efforts for the creation of a sports legislation, the attempts failed in Congress.

Since the beginning of its publication, *Los Sports* established close ties with influential politicians such as the demagogic president Arturo Alessandri (1920-1925).<sup>32</sup> In an interview from 1923, Alessandri reassured that “sports and physical education programs are key to preserving the mestizo racial heritage.”<sup>33</sup> Alessandri’s celebration of glorious mestizo identity was central to convince lawmakers about the unique strengths of Chilean sportsmen. Following Alessandri’s claim, a handful of writers defined Chilean soccer players as mestizos. For example, the columnist Sady Zañartu argued that Chilean sports should embrace its indigenous heritage and limit the imitation of European sports. As he lamented in 1923, “we know nothing about Mapuche games and its legacy, overshadowed by European sports, which contribute nothing to patriotism [...] This long coexistence between the conquered and the conquering race was

---

<sup>31</sup> The Commission was headed by the Education Minister, Alcibiades Roldán; the prominent educator Joaquín Cabezas; club director Jorge Matte; the soccer referee Alfred Betteley, and the physician Cora Mayers. “La Comisión Nacional de Educación Física,” *Los Sports*, 3 August 1923, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Alessandri elaborated an ardently anti-oligarchic rhetoric, which, together with the rising number of strikes and mass mobilizations by workers, created a climate of urgency for parliamentary solutions to the “social question.” However, Alessandri could not get labor laws passed in Congress and the Chilean armed forces took control of the government to implement these reforms. Between Alessandri’s first resignation in 1924 and his return to office in 1932 there were five military coups in Chile, including a brief attempt to establish a “socialist republic” in 1932.

<sup>33</sup> “Debemos trabajar por la difusión de la Educación Física,” *Los Sports*, 16 March 1923, 1.

influenced by the customs of the people, who was already bound by miscegenation.”<sup>34</sup> Zañartu encouraged his readers to reconnect with glorious Mapuche past to embrace national mestizo identity, abandoning any pretension of passing as a country with European origins.

Zañartu was not the only writer in *Los Sports* who argued against whiteness. For instance, the columnist Carlos Zeda wrote elaborate profile pages, describing a player’s hair or skin color, civil status, and place of birth as relevant markers of identity. In an article from 1923, he referred to Chilean players with European roots as “Blondies” (*rucios*) mocking their lack of technical skills with the ball.<sup>35</sup> Zeda generally criticized players who deviated from the norm. Players who were extremely tall or robust did not fit his ideal. Zeda explained that these players usually came from the port city of Valparaíso, to which he attributed their British roots. In July 1926, Zeda urged racial homogeneity for the team, stressing the importance of “mestizo superiority over blond players.”<sup>36</sup> Zeda also struggled to define players from the northern cities such as Coquimbo and Iquique. In September 1926, he wrote, “although we can differentiate between a snowflake and a lump of coal, we do not understand the nuances. Where is the limit between brown and black?”<sup>37</sup> Zeda’s confusion reinforced his distance from blackness and his metaphors only caricatured northern players as more indigenous and as racially distinct from urbanities. Zeda’s invocation of racist hierarchies defined Chilean players in direct opposition to blackness.

Considering that Chile did not experience the same influx of European immigrants as Argentina in this period, Chilean sports columnists celebrated the supposedly “different” racial biotype in contrast to Argentines. In a friendly match between the amateur teams of Argentina and Chile, disputed in Santiago in 1925, an anonymous columnist recognized the unquestionable

---

<sup>34</sup> “Los Deportes Patronímicos,” *Los Sports*, 6 July 1923, 2.

<sup>35</sup> “Del laboratorio del llano,” *Los Sports* 10 October 1926, 13.

<sup>36</sup> “¿Tiene el pueblo chileno aptitudes deportivas?” *Los Sports*, 16 July 1926, 5.

<sup>37</sup> “Frente al moreno Achante,” *Los Sports*, 17 September 1926, 7.

talent of the Argentines and made extensive comments about their physical bodies. The writer described the visitors as “chunky boys with remarkable elasticity and great ball control” and claimed that they won “because they are bigger than us.” In the same chronicle, the anonymous writer highlighted the Chilean defender Claudio Brito, “who performed brilliantly against the Argentines despite his short size and modest means.”<sup>38</sup> The reference to differences in size and height was a constant characteristic in *Los Sports* chronicles. Overall, the performances of foreign athletes in Chile drew attention from columnists and their accounts helped to establish the supposedly distinctiveness of Chile as a country of racially homogeneous mestizos.

This early veneration of the mestizo was taken to a new level when a group of schoolteachers from Santiago founded the soccer club Colo-Colo in 1925. The club attracted a middle-class membership and claimed to bring a modern spirit to the sport. The club also fulfilled the need expressed by physicians and columnists in terms of bringing back indigenous traditions to sports culture. “Colo-Colo” was the name of a sixteenth-century cacique (indigenous chief) who won important victories against the Spanish. Thus, the club cultivated an image of soccer for the masses and its success attracted fans from all over the country. Colo-Colo’s decision to travel throughout the Americas and Europe in 1927 was met with great enthusiasm by *Los Sports*. Journalists paid close attention to Colo-Colo’s trip, labeling the players as “the most efficient diplomats” sent abroad.<sup>39</sup> However, an unfortunate event generated nation-wide sympathy for Colo-Colo when David Arellano, captain and founder of the club, died shortly after a match in Spain.

---

<sup>38</sup> “Chilenos contra Argentinos,” *Los Sports*, 12 June 1925, 6.

<sup>39</sup> “Togo Bascuñán nos habla del Colo-Colo,” *Los Sports*, 24 June 1927.

Arellano appeared in *Los Sports* as an honorable player willing to die in the soccer field.<sup>40</sup> As physical-education teacher trained by Professor Cabezas, Arellano wanted to create an authentic Chilean club that transcended class alliances and represented the whole nation. Arellano believed in dedicating more time to athletic training and wholesome nutrition. The good performances of South American teams in Europe such as Argentina's Boca Juniors in 1925 and Uruguay's Club Nacional in 1926 encouraged Arellano to propose the idea of touring with Colo-Colo in 1927. He hoped to import foreign trainers who could provide guidance in physical development as well as strategic planning. Arellano viewed the role of a coach, a novelty in Chilean soccer of the 1920s, as a central part of the game's evolution. Sports columnists from *Los Sports* described Arellano as a sober young man, talented, polite, and intelligent.<sup>41</sup> His abilities included a powerful shot that made him top scorer in the 1926 South American Championship (*Campeonato Sudamericano*) held in Santiago. After his death in 1927, soccer fans responded with grief and Catholic masses in memory of the young player. In 1929, Alberto Arellano, David's brother and one of the first sport journalists in Chile, published a book relating stories of the club's travels.<sup>42</sup> To many observers, Arellano represented the purest expression of Chilean manhood and the best example of authentic Chilean mestizo race. As a figure, Arellano became an important part of Colo-Colo's founding myth and enduring popularity.

### **Argentina is the Example**

Notwithstanding the tendency of Chilean sportswriters to celebrate mestizo players like David Arellano as the distinguishing feature of Chilean soccer, Argentine sports institutions

---

<sup>40</sup> "Dolor," *Los Sports*, 13 May 1927, 1.

<sup>41</sup> "Hombres de nuestro football," *Los Sports*, 19 March 1926, 5.

<sup>42</sup> A. Arellano, *David Arellano Moraga, el futbolista mártir*.

served as a much more important model for actually expanding the sport in Chile. Since the beginning of its publication, *Los Sports* promoted the diffusion of physical exercises among the youth relying on the experience of neighboring countries, particularly Argentina, “where local authorities and educational circles provide the most enthusiastic support for sports initiatives.”<sup>43</sup> This early concern of “staying behind” demanded the confluence of all actors: government authorities, physicians, educators, journalists, club directors, and athletes. As a way to convince lawmakers to promote sports programs, Chilean sportswriters often cited Argentina sporting success as directly related to that country’s advances in industry, commerce, and education. In the 1924 Paris Olympics, Argentina won six medals in three sports: polo (1 gold), triple jump (1 silver) and boxing (2 silver and 2 bronze).<sup>44</sup>

Even before these outstanding international performances, *Los Sports* made multiple efforts to describe the proper functioning of Argentine sports institutions. In 1923, the magazine published an anonymous editorial on the eve of Argentina’s celebration of the Revolution of Independence (May 25<sup>th</sup>), which lauded the achievements of Chile’s neighbor: “Our brothers from across the Andes give us an example of how sports can teach correct behavior to young citizens. We must react! Let’s imitate their progress and we will see results sooner than later.”<sup>45</sup> *Los Sports* saw Argentine success as product of political organization and strong support from state and private actors. The magazine suggested that the admirable work of club directors allowed the construction of field courts and gymnasiums all over Buenos Aires. Another article reported that, “Argentine physicians worked feverishly to strengthen children because they will eventually become leaders of their country. [This is a] smart gesture to the society they want to

---

<sup>43</sup> “Eduquemos a nuestra juventud,” *Los Sports*, 23 March 1923, 3.

<sup>44</sup> C. Torres, “Tribulations and Achievements: The Early History of Olympism in Argentina,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18.3 (2001): 59-92.

<sup>45</sup> “Salve, Argentina,” *Los Sports*, 25 May 1923, 2.

build.”<sup>46</sup> However not all observers wanted to imitate Argentina’s sports programs. *Los Sports* columnist Víctor Palominos warned Chilean authorities about the military aims of Argentina’s physical programs:

“Argentines have already achieved what for us seems an ideal: a centralized sports authority. Their policymakers work hard to promote physical activity among the youth, beyond the realms of aristocracy, and to consider the importance of muscle for national progress. But our neighbors want to unify sports not only for recreational aims: There is a military goal that we should observe closely. An example of this orientation is the recent law that enforces 16-years-old adolescents to practice shooting for military training. It is reasonable that our sports authorities promote a law in the same direction in all secondary schools of the Republic.”<sup>47</sup>

Palominos’s concern reflected the importance of athletics to military readiness, as a reemerging theme in Chilean sports circles during the 1920s. Renewed diplomatic tensions over the Argentine-Chilean border, both south and north, fanned paranoia about armed conflict. Palominos demanded massive sports diffusion to prepare a broader swath of Chilean men for military readiness. In a certain way, his article was aimed at politicians who had opposed government sports initiatives in the early 1920s. By insinuating the threat of war, Palominos urged legislative authorities to pass a physical education law that included military practices such as shooting.

Other columnists in *Los Sports* shared some of Palominos’ opinions. In 1925, Juan Marín, a young physician from Santiago, visited Buenos Aires and reported favorably on how Argentina had simplified bureaucratic channels through the Intendencia Municipal, a local state agency that subsidized soccer clubs in exchange for the right to give periodic medical examinations to children. Marín also pointed out the importance of physicians to the successful

---

<sup>46</sup> “Argentina,” *Los Sports*, 6 April 1923, 2.

<sup>47</sup> “Crónicas Porteñas,” *Los Sports*, 3 March 1923, 14.

performance of Argentina's Olympic delegation in 1924.<sup>48</sup> As historian Diego Armus argues, the concern with physical activities in Argentina during the 1920s and 1930s was especially significant in the effort to prevent tuberculosis in children.<sup>49</sup>

But it was also necessary to address the comments of Argentines themselves. In April 1924, *Los Sports* published an interview with Carmelo Calarco, Argentina's Secretary of Sports Confederation, in which he emphasized the role of soccer clubs in improving the health of newcomers to Buenos Aires. Calarco reported that, "despite the initial suspicion of medical experts, soccer clubs have promoted physical education outside the school system, especially children who arrive from the interior cities."<sup>50</sup> Calarco explained that clubs obtained subsidies to organize summer programs in small towns and big cities, assuring that soccer was becoming popular among poor children due to its association with free leisure activity.

Calarco's words were echoed four years later, when *Los Sports* columnist Carlos Pérez considered that the Chilean delegation had no chance against the Argentine team.<sup>51</sup> As official correspondent in the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics, Pérez explained that Argentina's sports victories resulted not only from the talents of gifted men, but also from the joint efforts of government, educators, and the wealthy donators. According to Pérez the major differences were in terms of management. "While in Chile a profound anarchy reigns in the payment of club fees, Argentines rely on the monthly payment of club members (*socios*), fans willing to pay for the development of the club." Pérez cited the example of Club de Gimnasia y Esgrima in Buenos Aires with more than 6,000 club members and River Plate or Racing with no less than 4,000. These figures far exceeded those in Chilean clubs, including popular teams like Colo-Colo,

---

<sup>48</sup> "Impresiones de un viaje deportivo a Buenos Aires," *Los Sports*, 10 April 1925, 3.

<sup>49</sup> D. Armus, *The Ailing City*, 281.

<sup>50</sup> "Entrevista con el Sr. Carmelo Calarco," *Los Sports*, 4 April 1924, 3-4.

<sup>51</sup> "La Argentina y su representación en Ámsterdam," *Los Sports*, 27 January 1928, 11.

which by 1928 had only 800 club members.<sup>52</sup> Perez was convinced that the exchange between Argentine and Chilean soccer clubs was necessary for the diffusion of sports outside the school system and confessed to be “a staunch supporter of sports exchanges because they intensify the powerful links and keep the friendship of South American peoples.”<sup>53</sup>

Undoubtedly, Argentine sports bureaucracy had received a considerable attention from *Los Sports* columnists such as Víctor Palominos, Juan Marín, and Carlos Pérez. By emphasizing Argentina’s successful experience in the international arena, Chilean writers aspired to obtain similar concessions by the legislative powers. The search for state subsidies became a distinguishing element in Argentina’s Olympic Committee, in contrast to the hesitant financial commitment for sports in Chile. Argentine Olympic prospects marched to the drum of the state particularly because Argentine sportswriters, public educators, doctors, and athletes themselves convinced the politicians about the national benefits of sports. Argentine athletes, especially soccer players, were serious contenders in Olympic arenas and Chilean sports advocates observed this progress with envy as something to imitate.

### **Women’s Sports**

Chilean sportswriters not only celebrated the organization and institutions of Argentine sportsmen. They also admired Argentina’s incorporation of women in sports. According to one anonymous writer in 1924, “Chilean women should not stay behind in physical activity, so in the future they can compete with their Argentine sisters in international tournaments. Our women must represent our racial fitness in sports with sympathy and grace.”<sup>54</sup> Although sportswriters

---

<sup>52</sup> “La organización de los deportes en Argentina, Uruguay y Chile I,” *Los Sports*, 3 February 1928, 3.

<sup>53</sup> “La organización de los deportes en Argentina, Uruguay y Chile II,” *Los Sports*, 17 February 1928, 4.

<sup>54</sup> “El atletismo femenino en la República Argentina,” *Los Sports*, 10 October 1924, 13-14.

worked to assure the public that sports were going to make women “better mothers,” they were, in fact, also definitely promoting new uses of women’s bodies.

In Argentina, *El Gráfico* dedicated special attention to women’s physical education. As part of its rhetoric, the magazine developed an obsessive crusade for women’s health that attracted many readers. While the idea that women should do rigorous physical exercise was highly innovative, Argentine writers did not question the assumption that the main purpose of women’s bodies was to give birth and raise healthy children.<sup>55</sup> Gymnastics that aimed to strengthen the female body in ways that had no direct link to motherhood or reproduction were frowned upon. Furthermore, columnists made it very clear that promoting women’s physical fitness should not be confused with granting women greater political rights. As a 1919 article in *El Gráfico* advised, “Argentine women should start by governing their bodies and minds through sports. Only after that, they can think about electoral rights. Physical culture is much more important than political affairs.”<sup>56</sup> Attacks on the women’s suffrage movement persisted in the early 1920s. As an anonymous article from 1920 criticized, “women are superior to what feminists believe. The fight against inactivity is quite more important than fighting for political claims. Just look at the thinness of the suffragist agitators.”<sup>57</sup> Although many of these articles were genuine attempts to include women in activities formerly reserved for men, columnists expressed deep anxieties about the dangers of feminism. They also associated “thinness” as bad sign of physical condition because thin women were supposedly less prepared to deliver babies.

As historian Patricia Anderson has argued, Argentine physicians and journalists of the 1920s and 1930s, considering themselves experts on the subject, asserted that women who

---

<sup>55</sup> “La cultura física es un deber para las futuras madres,” *El Gráfico*, 5 May 1923.

<sup>56</sup> “La gimnasia rítmica y los sports,” *El Gráfico*, 13 December 1919.

<sup>57</sup> “La mujer no es inferior al hombre físicamente,” *El Gráfico*, 17 January 1920.

practiced sports habitually acquired morally desirable qualities such as mental stability and agility, optimism, sobriety and cooperation.<sup>58</sup> According to the influential physician Enrique Romero, sports helped women to develop self-esteem and enhanced their confidence in their bodies.<sup>59</sup> Following Romero's claims, columnists in *El Gráfico* agreed that rhythmic gymnastics and classical dance were excellent ways of keeping in shape and improving female grace and beauty. In addition, women were urged to learn how to swim because this was considered to be an ideal activity as it increased flexibility but did not excessively develop muscles.<sup>60</sup> Through the "scientific" execution of physical activities, women of all social classes were urged to achieve beauty. As an article from 1930 advised: "Physical beauty is hereditary. It might be the case of a woman that is not able to bequeath a fortune to her children but if the same woman takes rational care of her body, she can transfer her beauty to her children. And it is known that the power of a beautiful woman has no limits."<sup>61</sup> These comments flowed from a more generalized male anxiety about women developing the same athletic skills as men and thereby challenging men's presumed natural athletic superiority. Argentine medical experts firmly rejected the idea that women should play soccer, arguing that such competitive sport would masculinize women.

Despite the overtly paternalist tone of Argentine athletic recommendations, women challenged the idea that women were naturally weak and supported measures to make women's bodies stronger. In 1938, the Argentine physician Ruth Schwarz published a practical fitness manual that contained recognizable first-wave feminist ideas. The author argued that improving women's bodies was a task that not only included "soft sports" but also a balanced diet and preventive medicine. Women's physical activity, according to Schwarz, not only improved

---

<sup>58</sup> P. Anderson, "Debating Female Sport in Argentina: 1900-46," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26.5 (2009): 640-653.

<sup>59</sup> E. Romero, *Educación física de la mujer*, 9-10.

<sup>60</sup> "La natación, sport ideal para la mujer," *El Gráfico*, 5 May 1924.

<sup>61</sup> "La belleza femenina y la cultura física," *El Gráfico*, 9 August 1930, 47.

national public health but also was a matter of women's civil rights. Nonetheless, Schwarz cautioned that the goal of feminine exercise was not to "imitate men" but "to develop women's skills according to their nature." She warned that intense physical activity was dangerous during pregnancy because of increased blood flow. At the same time, she advised young women to practice moderate sports with the purpose of accelerating muscular activity before the hormonal disorders caused by menstruation.<sup>62</sup> While definitions of men's soccer centered on the development of various attributes such as cunning and improvisation, women's physical activity was mostly understood in terms of strengthening their reproductive system.

The inclusion of women to sports in Argentina became a matter of concern for Chilean observers because it was seen as a dangerous sign of feminism in the public sphere. Inspired by Argentina's successful sporting experience, Chilean sportswriters and physicians argued for women's exclusion from soccer. They imagined sports transforming women into stronger mothers rather than stronger competitive athletes. *Los Sports* director, Armando Venegas, advised that women should discover ways to overcome their "weakness" through sports like basketball and tennis, rather than engaging in the universe of politics.<sup>63</sup> Venegas considered that women's sports should be seen as an alternative to feminism rather than a means to achieve political equality between men and women.

Convinced of the positive impact that sports had over female reproductive functions, Chilean physicians equally agreed with their Argentine colleagues. For them, indiscriminate practice of certain physical practices could cause damage to the social order. In 1926, the Chilean physician Isauro Torres cited Chile's high infant mortality rate as evidence that women were in urgent need of better physical health. Torres argued that nutrition and light physical

---

<sup>62</sup> R. Schwarz de Morgenroth, *Gimnasia para la mujer*, 94.

<sup>63</sup> "El sexo femenino y los deportes," *Los Sports*, 13 November 1925, 6.

activity were crucial before and after pregnancy.<sup>64</sup> Torres considered sports such as soccer and boxing too masculine and strenuous for women. On the other hand, swimming and basketball were seen as excellent ways to improve female beauty and strengthen the reproductive system.

Sportswriters in *Los Sports* borrowed many of the Torres's ideas. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s they warned that if women were not properly guided to the appropriate form of sports, they might pose competition to men.<sup>65</sup> In an article from 1928, *Los Sports* columnist Humberto Montecinos argued: "Despite the anatomical differences between men and women, they are treading on our heels. Women already have broken records in golf and tennis and now they even want to practice soccer and boxing! Let's face their inclusion but keeping them away from dangerous practices that could deform a harmonious physical development."<sup>66</sup> In other words, Montecinos argued that physical activity would only generate positive social change when the conditions for its practice were strictly regulated by men. Articles portrayed female athletes as women only interested in preserving their beauty instead of actual interest in sports.

Despite these recommendations, Chilean sportswomen founded several sports clubs and the first Women's Sports Association (Asociación Deportiva Femenina or ADF), inaugurated in Valparaíso in 1927. Women subscribed to ADF competed in basketball, swimming, table tennis, track-and-field, and volleyball tournaments. In an interview to *Los Sports*, ADF's secretary Azucena Villanueva, declared that, "men have the idea that we cannot manage without them but we are going to prove otherwise. We must show evidence that a woman and a man can enjoy sport together."<sup>67</sup> When asked about other sport disciplines such as soccer or boxing, Villanueva

---

<sup>64</sup> I. Torres, *Como tener y criar hijos sanos y robustos*, 40.

<sup>65</sup> "La mujer chilena debe cultivar los deportes," 7 September 1923, 3; "La educación física de la mujer," *Los Sports*, 5 June 1925, 5-7; "Los deportes que no debe practicar la mujer," *Los Sports*, 7 February 1930, 2; "Deportes femeninos," *Los Sports*, October 31, 1930, 5.

<sup>66</sup> "Por qué en los deportes los hombres vencen a las mujeres," *Los Sports*, 13 April 1928, 7.

<sup>67</sup> "Los deportes femeninos en Valparaíso," *Los Sports*, 8 July 1927, 2.

stated: “Everything has its limits. Just as there are appropriate sports for women, there are also reasons that assist women to combat stale ideas.” In the same interview, Villanueva also commented that the organization was created to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the enactment of the 1877 law that had opened access to university education for women. By highlighting ADF and Villanueva’s comments, *Los Sports* patronized women’s attempts to participate in the sports arena. In the last paragraphs of the interview, the author wrote that the conversation with Villanueva “was far from being a lecture about feminism.”

Despite of the rising influence of physicians and sportswriters, women writers themselves began to call for the introduction of physical education for girls in school, which they regarded as even more important than for boys, given the greater moral demands of motherhood, particularly in the face of Chile’s high infant mortality rate. The anatomical rationale assuming that women were physiologically unsuited to sporting –and political–activity and their bodies may be damaged by contact sports was also defined by an aesthetic rationality, in which self-styled experts in sports assumed the role of male protectors. In fact, the exclusion of women from soccer was precisely linked to the vast exaltation of men. Thus, the concern based on the molding of women’s bodies became gradually intertwined with narratives about masculine athletic beauty, such as the creation of athletic beauty contests for men.

### **Athletic Beauty Contest**

On 14 March 1930, *Los Sports* caught the attention of its readers with the following announcement: “GREAT NATIONAL CONTEST OF ATHLETIC BEAUTY” (*Gran Concurso Nacional de Belleza Atlética*). The big headline was accompanied by an image of an unidentified male athlete and the contest rules. Readers were encouraged to participate as both contenders and

voters. Editors argued that this was “a unique opportunity to highlight the best athletic figure of our race.”<sup>68</sup> According to the rules, each province had the right to choose one representative through elections. Each week, *Los Sports* published a coupon entitled to ten votes. The coupons had to be cut and sent directly through mail in the magazine’s printing office located in Santiago. The magazine emphasized the national character of the competition and periodically published the progress of the election in each province.

By May 1930, subscribers had issued more than 10,000 votes. In Santiago, the young boxer Jorge Díaz obtained 410 preferences and gradually climbed in the contest over the next months. Díaz was the only Chilean athlete who appeared photographed naked in order to promote the beauty contest. On May 9, 1930, *Los Sports* published two nude photographs featuring the boxer Jorge Díaz, one of the candidates from Santiago for the prize of athletic beauty (See Figure 1.1). At the request of the magazine, Díaz posed in two deliberate body postures: first, with his back toward the camera’s gaze simulating a fighting position; and then, turning his upper body slightly towards the camera with one hand covering his genitals. On the same page, the magazine listed the first ballots divided by city; a coupon valid for ten votes; and “an important note” instructing readers on how to use the coupon. As a boxer, readers already knew him because of his successful participation in the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics where he reached fifth place in the men’s lightweight category. After the publication of these photos, Díaz reached almost 5,000 votes in August and by September he was among the three most voted from Santiago with 9,000 preferences. By the end of the election in December 1930, Díaz finished sixth nationally with 10,560 votes (the winner was the Santiago runner Belisario Alarcon with 32,250 votes).

---

<sup>68</sup> “Gran Concurso Nacional de Belleza Atlética,” *Los Sports*, March 14, 1930, 12.

# Nuestro Gran Concurso Nacional de Belleza Atlética

Sigue con gran entusiasmo el desarrollo de nuestro Gran Concurso de Belleza Atlética y cada vez aumenta el número de participantes.

Como ya lo saben nuestros lectores, el premio para este Concurso es un hermoso automóvil Willys Six, cuya fotografía pudieron admirar en nuestro número anterior. Este mismo coche fué el ganador de su respectiva serie en el Kilómetro lanzado corrido el domingo antepasado.

Damos a continuación la lista de los votos recibidos hasta hoy:

## RESULTADO DE LAS VOTACIONES:

Concepción	Manuel Figueroa . . . . .	1.142
	Manuel Ramírez . . . . .	1.125
Tomás Medina . . . . .	Daniel Darwing . . . . .	877
Guillermo Sanhueza . . . . .	Carlos Lorca . . . . .	722
Francisco Coddou . . . . .	Reinaldo Coddou . . . . .	631
Florencio Vargas . . . . .	Guillermo Venegas . . . . .	630

<b>A FAVOR</b>	<b>CUPON</b>
de .....	<b>P O R</b>
.....	<b>1 0</b>
de (Ciudad).....	<b>V O T O S</b>
Provincia de .....	



Jorge Díaz en otra pose

### Jorge Díaz

Segundo Sandoval . . . . .	619	Jorge Díaz . . . . .	410
Pablo Suárez . . . . .	535	Oriando Díaz . . . . .	310
José Mazzardo . . . . .	340	Eugenio Díaz . . . . .	300
Pedro Sauré . . . . .	216	Sergio Alonso . . . . .	300
		Luis Vicentini . . . . .	290
		Jorge Márquez . . . . .	180
		Manuel Plaza . . . . .	180
		Arturo Donoso . . . . .	50
		Mario Mitjans . . . . .	20
		Pedro López . . . . .	20
		<b>Iquique</b>	
		Capitán Solminihae . . . . .	1.340
		<b>Valparaíso</b>	
		Ulises Poirier . . . . .	1.400
		<b>Vina del Mar</b>	
		Enzo Arias . . . . .	300
		Florencio Lizana . . . . .	100
		<b>Rancagua</b>	
		Salvador Valenzuela . . . . .	90

### N O T A I M P O R T A N T E

Este Cupón, válido por 10 VOTOS, puede servir, tanto para la elección provincial como para la elección final en febrero de 1931, en que se proclamará al atleta, boxeador, tennista, nadador, footballista, ciclista, basket-ballista, etc., que tenga el mejor cuerpo, a juicio de nuestros lectores. Este Cupón deberá ser depositado en los sitios indicados en la lectura de esta página o enviado a la Dirección de LOS SPORTS, Santiago, Bahavista, 675, o Casilla 84-D.

Figure 1.1 Our Great National Contest of Athletic Beauty. Photographs and written text. *Los Sports*, 9 May 1930, 9. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

The Díaz photo shoot made explicit the homosocial relation between athletes and readers of the magazine. Díaz's photos seem to be taken directly from the locker room, a distinctive homosocial space in which athletes get naked together and teammates create bonds off the field. Although promoting men's desire for other men would have been a scandalous action for Chilean publications of the early 1930s, these images make visible a *queer* existence within the heterotopias that characterized *Los Sports*. Díaz's photo shoot can be read within Brian Pronger's notion of the "homoerotic paradox," in which the promotion of hetero-normative sexual values effectuates a contradictory sensitivity toward homoeroticism.<sup>69</sup>

Exposing homoerotic images and athletic beauty contest in which candidates and voters were men could have certainly raised suspicion among authorities—permanently vigilant of print media. Thus, on 25 July 1930, the magazine decided to rename the competition but without changing the rules and keeping the votes. From "Great National Contest of Athletic Beauty" the competition was renamed as "Sports Prestige Competition." Arguing that was more fair and meaningful to recognize the prestige obtained in tournaments and championships rather than physical appearance (and therefore masculine beauty), the magazine explained that abstract values such as "nobility, morality, manhood, and vigor make the best man."<sup>70</sup> In an effort to keep the enthusiasm for the competition but also to signal the name change of the contest, *Los Sports* repeated this explanation in all the following issues of August 1930. The name change sought to switch the aesthetic emphasis on the male body toward a competition that awarded the most successful athlete. As an incentive for competitors, the magazine offered a new car (Willys Six), a luxury for the time that certainly encouraged a great number of athletes to compete.<sup>71</sup> In

---

<sup>69</sup> B. Pronger, *The Arena of Masculinity*, 70. See also: J. Caudwell, *Sport, Sexualities and Queer/Theory*.

<sup>70</sup> "Concurso de Prestigio Atlético y Deportivo," *Los Sports*, 11 July 1930, 28.

<sup>71</sup> "Concurso de Belleza Atlética," *Los Sports*, 4 July 1930, 15.

addition to the name change, the magazine only published pictures of the car avoiding the portrait of competitors. This shift from the athletic beauty contest to a competition about sports prestige resulted from censorship, either by government intervention or by decision of the magazine's editorial board. In the context of severe repression against homosexuals in Chile, where hundreds of men were sent to the Juan Fernández Archipelago, editors of *Los Sports* might have realized that celebrating naked male bodies was not a good idea. Instead, they adopted a moral tone that emphasized the most prestigious athlete, not necessarily the most attractive one. Changing ideas of masculinity were also motivated by the strong presence of Chile's president at the time, Carlos Ibáñez, who quickly championed physical education for men and women as key tools for promoting his own governing agenda.

### **Restoring Patriotic Masculinity**

Born to a rural family in the southern town of Linares in 1877, Ibáñez took sports seriously. Tall, hardworking and athletic, Ibáñez stood out as a talented horseman in the Chilean Military Academy. Circa 1897, Ibáñez was appointed captain of the equestrian team, confirming his reputation as good rider in several competitions at the Club Hípico fields in Santiago. In 1903, Ibáñez was sent to El Salvador where he served as cavalry instructor and participated in the War of Totoposte against Guatemala.<sup>72</sup> In 1919, he moved to the northern city of Iquique as Prefect of Police, where he witnessed the intense political agitation in the nitrate centers. Ibáñez became one of the leaders in the military rebellion of 1924 that ended with President Arturo Alessandri's resignation in 1925. Commanding a group of progressive army officers, Ibáñez confronted the Congress when it refused to pass labor reforms. A ruthless politician, Ibáñez

---

<sup>72</sup> E. Würth, *Caudillo enigmático*, 15.

forced the resignation of President Emiliano Figueroa (1925-1927) and announced elections for May 22, 1927. Ibáñez's only opponent was the communist Elías Lafferte, who was exiled throughout the electoral campaign. Ibáñez won the election with 98% of the vote.

Carlos Ibáñez's tenure in power from 1927 to 1931 was a repressive dictatorship that suspended congressional participation. As a military reformer, Ibáñez launched a strong campaign of state modernization, strengthening his personal power and surpassing input from the traditional political parties. Ruling by decree, Ibáñez effectively gave an impetus to economic growth, obtaining popular support while demobilizing leftwing militancy. Ibáñez silenced worker grievances with repression and with government surrogates for autonomous unions, telling organized workers that they could achieve more by working peacefully within the legal system of labor relations.<sup>73</sup> Ibáñez replaced numerous officeholders with newcomers from the middle strata, who headed key government agencies. The valorization of technical expertise was stressed as a way to construct what Ibáñez called a strong and efficient state. For this purpose, he attempted to completely isolate the public administration from political activities in order to avoid its subordination to parliamentary debates and party interests.

As no previous Chilean president, Ibáñez turned his attention to sports. In 1928, Ibáñez appointed his son-in-law, Lieutenant Osvaldo Kolbach as head of the General Directorate of Physical Education, a new state agency created the same year. As a former athlete who studied physical education in Belgium, Kolbach advocated sports as a tool for greater civic involvement. Kolbach repeatedly stressed his desire to expand the participation of society within the state machinery. In an interview with *Los Sports* published in 1928, Kolbach regarded physical education as "the only way to avoid the final catastrophe of the Chilean race."<sup>74</sup> Kolbach's pessimistic vision of

---

<sup>73</sup> J. Rojas, *La dictadura de Ibáñez y los sindicatos*.

<sup>74</sup> "El Teniente Osvaldo Kolbach habla para Los Sports," *Los Sports*, 8 June 1928, 6.

national fitness resembled many concerns exposed by physicians and physical-education teachers of previous decades. Kolbach's efforts focused on the creation of a centralized administration of physical education. He authorized the construction of new stadiums, gymnasiums, swimming pools, and playgrounds as crucial spaces of patriotic development.<sup>75</sup> Quickly after Kolbach's nomination, *Los Sports* expressed satisfaction with Ibáñez's sports agenda and propagandized the president's activities in public, particularly his visits to the soccer field.

On 20 April, 1928, *Los Sports* featured President Ibáñez during a friendly game that took place in the Campos de Sports in the middle-class neighborhood of Ñuñoa, Santiago (See Figure 1.2). The sepia front cover shows Ibáñez dressed in formal attire, wearing shoes, tie, and a hat in his right hand. Portrayed in full-body as significantly taller than the rest of the men, Ibáñez does not conceal his intention to leave the soccer field. Followed by an entourage, Ibáñez seems to be rushing after the game. His expression and notorious moustache seem more important than the men in background. Despite of the haste in which the anonymous photographer captured the snapshot, the image certainly captures Ibáñez's discomfort. Although soccer attracted big crowds and potential voters, it was not a sport that attracted Ibáñez's personal interest.

More than a cover of a sport magazine, Ibáñez's portrait could easily pass as official propaganda. The small logo of the magazine and the caption in the top-right corner are almost imperceptible in compare to Ibáñez's commanding presence. His stance as a man of action facing the sunlight, very much like the soccer players, deeply contrasts with the opaque and private nude photo shoot of the Athletic Beauty Contest.

---

<sup>75</sup> "Inauguración del Estadio de la Escuela de Carabineros," *Los Sports*, 18 October 1929, 13.

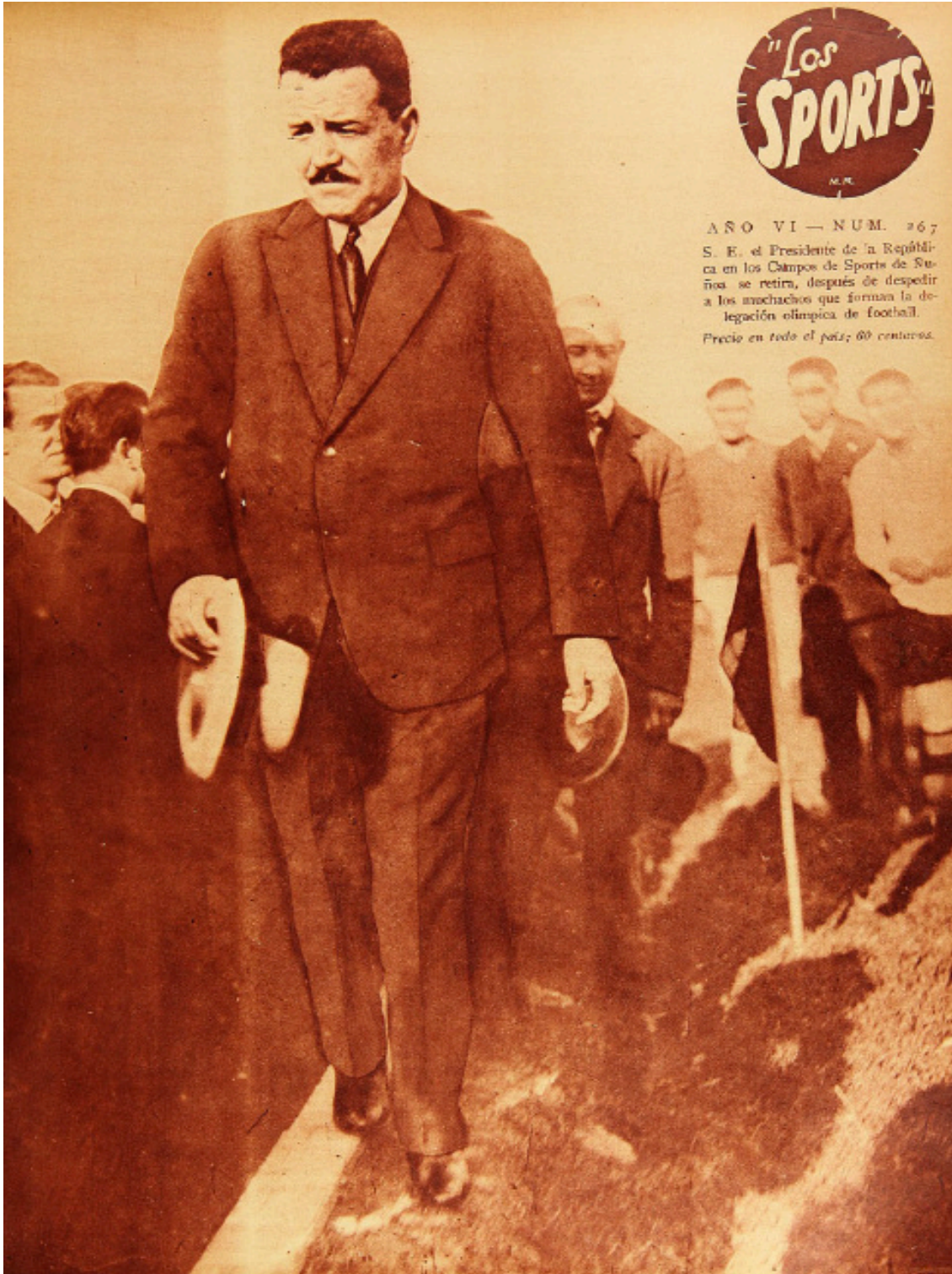


Figure 1.2 President Ibáñez at the Campos de Sports. Front cover. *Los Sports*, 20 April 1928. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

Instead of wearing traditional military uniform, Ibáñez showed up to the soccer field in civilian clothes, demonstrating his political instinct in a situation that involved closeness to the people. Overseeing the public spectacle without much interest, Ibáñez walks his way through reporters and athletes as no other Chilean politician. He quickly understood the importance of soccer as a popular cultural expression before many other Latin American presidents.

The image also represents how the magazine enjoyed the official support of the government in comparison to the strict censorship imposed over other publications.<sup>76</sup> Through editorials and abundant coverage of soccer in the second semester of 1928, the magazine's editorial board expressed optimism regarding Ibáñez's budgetary increases for physical education.<sup>77</sup> This support was also manifested through letters written by readers in which they highlighted Ibáñez's image as policymaker and "promise keeper."<sup>78</sup> A reader from Valparaíso identified as Guillermo Brown considered that Ibáñez was the only forceful hand that could implement serious policies, take a hard line against leftist movements, and thus restore patriotic honor.<sup>79</sup>

In fact, Ibáñez enacted Chile's first Law of Physical Education in 1929, which established that "the state must guarantee physical education for all inhabitants of the republic, making it a free and compulsory subject for both sexes either in public or private establishments."<sup>80</sup> The law stipulated a significant increase of sports hours in secondary school, considered vital for the future of the nation. According to the law, students were required to

---

<sup>76</sup> For media censorship during the Ibáñez regime, see: V. Contreras, *Bitácora de la dictadura*; R. Marín, *La caída de un régimen*; H. Dull, *The Influence of Carlos Ibáñez*.

<sup>77</sup> "El Nuevo Jefe del Departamento de Educación Física," *Los Sports*, 29 June 1928, 1; "Nuestros futuros profesores de educación física," *Los Sports*, 7 December 1928, 1.

<sup>78</sup> "Promesa de Su Excelencia," *Los Sports*, 8 July 1927, 14.

<sup>79</sup> "El Excelentísimo Señor Carlos Ibáñez y la Educación Física," *Los Sports*, 27 January 1928, 2.

<sup>80</sup> E. Melkonian, *Intervención del Estado chileno en materia de educación física*, 43.

practice six hours of sports per week (three of those hours dedicated to soccer).<sup>81</sup> The law provided permanent state financing of sport by levying a tax on wine production (5%) and the Concepción lottery (4%), thus generating an annual income of approximately three million pesos earmarked for physical education.<sup>82</sup>

Ibáñez' new sports legislation provided an opportunity for university students to organize their own teams funded by the state such as Universidad de Chile, a team that emerged as semi-professional and mainly composed by medical students in the early 1930s and that would significantly increase in popularity around the 1940s.<sup>83</sup> Although university students had a leading role in the revolts that overthrew the regime in 1931, Ibáñez did attract significant support among student leaders who embraced his sports projects.<sup>84</sup> In 1927, only months after Ibáñez rise to power, the new president of the University Sports Federation, Rosauero Salas, expressed his support to the new government's intentions of promoting physical activity among young citizens.<sup>85</sup> Salas, a former soccer player and sport columnist in the newspaper *La Nación*, was among the medical students who founded Universidad de Chile's soccer club in May 1927.

An important portion of Ibáñez's support came from the young professionals who wanted to expand sports activities and saw the regime's policies as an effort to extend sport beyond the realms of the stadium and as something more important than Olympic medals. In several columns about the social effects of physical education, another young physician from the Universidad de Chile, Luis Bisquertt, warned the authorities to promote "soccer as the only sport

---

<sup>81</sup> J. Porras, *La educación física en Chile*, 33.

<sup>82</sup> R. Salas and J. Bravo, "Physical Education in Chile," *The Journal of Health and Physical Education*, 19.7 (1948): 478-511.

<sup>83</sup> E. Herrera, *Historia y efemérides del Internado FC y de la "U."*

<sup>84</sup> I. Núñez, *Reforma y contrarreforma educacional en el primer gobierno de Ibáñez*.

<sup>85</sup> "Deportes Universitarios," *Los Sports*, 24 June 1927, 14.

that will make alcoholism disappear from Chilean society.”<sup>86</sup> Bisquertt’s campaigns not only emphasized soccer to the detriment of other sport but also they incorporated a medical language about infectious diseases in the design of sport policies. In a 1929 article published by *Los Sports*, Bisquertt warned about the dangers entailed in swimming, especially if practiced in public pools because of the infections that could be transmitted by water. Fearing a hygienic crisis among the poor, Bisquertt started a crusade against typhoid, tuberculosis, bronchitis, and other infections. His recommendation was the practice of outdoor sports such as soccer.<sup>87</sup>

For young medical professionals like Salas and Bisquertt, the government support of sport also passed through a direct support of soccer. In 1930, both men advocated for soccer from a scientific point of view, arguing that its practice “produces undeniable positive effects that ensure the proper functioning of organs.”<sup>88</sup> Soccer was conceived not only as a recreational and a competitive sport but also hygienic and beneficial for health. In another article from 1931, Bisquertt declared that soccer “has great educational values of social partnership that gymnastics does not have.”<sup>89</sup> In that sense, the new generation of medical professionals that emerged in the Ibáñez regime recalled the importance of soccer as an indispensable aspect of physical education.

Bisquertt was also concerned that communists, criminals, immigrants, and homosexuals be contained and controlled. In the case of homosexuals, sports could offer a social antidote to degenerate behavior. Bisquertt considered that “abnormal affection between men” (he never used the term homosexual) was due either to psychological disorders or the over-protection of mothers in children’s development.<sup>90</sup> Regardless of the efforts of medical professionals to

---

<sup>86</sup> “Aspectos sociales de la educación física,” *Los Sports*, 30 September 1927, 1.

<sup>87</sup> “Nuestra campaña de higienización en las piscinas,” *Los Sports*, 12 April 1929, 5.

<sup>88</sup> “Los ejercicios físicos tienen una influencia decisiva en la Salud,” *Los Sports*, 28 February 1930, 24; “El football es un juego de destreza, disciplina y valor,” *Los Sports*, 1 August 1930, 4.

<sup>89</sup> “Gimnasia para niños,” *Los Sports*, 13 February 1931, 2.

<sup>90</sup> “Nuestros Prejuicios,” *Los Sports*, 17 September 1926, 1.

present a less moralistic and more “scientific” view of homosexuality, this perspective remained dominant in sports literature well into the twentieth century. Bisquertt wrote on the topic, combining traditional moral aversion to same-sex eroticism with theories against sedentary lifestyle. According to Bisquertt, sedentary people included intellectuals, artists, politicians, and almost every elite women of Chilean society.<sup>91</sup>

Sharing similar concerns about men’s behavior, Ibáñez thought that the national police (*Carabineros*) could be a disciplining force of moral correctness. As an institution founded by Ibáñez himself, the police became a key actor in policing Chilean society. Ibáñez’s police repressed political opponents, workers’ organizations, the women’s suffragist movement, and exiled leftists intellectuals and homosexuals to Juan Fernández Island in the Pacific Ocean. The institution was seen as a “safe” place to practice sports especially after Ibáñez inaugurated the soccer stadium of the Police Academy in 1929.<sup>92</sup>

With a growing spectatorship, Ibáñez intentionally used popular soccer clubs as a means of shoring up political support and promoting his vision of an ordered and modern nation. He particularly cultivated a relationship with Colo-Colo, a club that claimed to bring a modern spirit to the sport that would result in order and victory, similar to how Ibáñez described his own aims.<sup>93</sup> Ibáñez helped finance the international tour in 1927 by channeling money to the club through the Ministry of Education. Ibáñez ensured the players received their salaries during their travels, justifying it with the claim that physical-education teachers could make professional observations of programs abroad.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> “Contra el sedentarismo, divulgación científica,” *Los Sports*, 25 June 1926, 3.

<sup>92</sup> “Inauguración del Estadio de la Escuela de Carabineros,” *Los Sports*, 18 October 1929, 13.

<sup>93</sup> S. Salinas, *Por empuje y coraje*; E. Marín and J. Salviat, *De David a Chamaco*.

<sup>94</sup> B. Elsey, *Citizens and Sportsmen*, 74.



Figure 1.3 President Ibáñez with Colo-Colo players. Photograph. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

Taken by an unknown photographer on July 24, 1927, the picture features President Ibáñez in company of soccer players from club Colo-Colo (See Figure 1.3). The occasion was the first friendly game in home soil after the long tour around the Americas and Europe. With the presence of Ibáñez in the main field, Colo-Colo beat a combined team of players from Audax Italiano and Unión Española showing the progress obtained in the tour.<sup>95</sup> The image also shows policemen, club directors, and fans behind a fence surrounding President Ibáñez.

The photograph stresses Ibáñez's intentions to associating himself with young male citizens. It also reflects Ibáñez's desire to appear as the embodiment of the state. Recently elected in the presidential election of May 22, 1927, Ibáñez maintained his military clothes looking almost as a commander in front of his troops. Carefully placed at the center of the image,

---

<sup>95</sup> "El progreso del Colo-Colo satisfizo a los 10.000 espectadores," *Los Sports*, 29 July 1927, 1.

Ibáñez is escorted by four police guards who watch him over behind the symmetrical line of soccer players.<sup>96</sup> With five players each side of Ibáñez, only Guillermo Saavedra (the team captain) faces the camera next to a wooden platform. Wearing white jerseys with a black ribbons in their left arm in sign of mourning for Arellano, Colo-Colo players look like obedient citizens willing to sacrifice themselves for the nation. Their expressions combine self-assurance, confidence, and team spirit.

The all-male environment of the photograph features several fans wanting to be part of that fleeting moment. Their presence illustrates soccer's evolution from elite sport in the first decade of the century to popular sport by the late 1920s. As a team formed by middle-class teachers, Colo-Colo players opposed upper-class sportsmen who practiced the sport within the confines of exclusive social clubs. Thus, both players and fans epitomize the image of social merit and a departure from oligarchic sports institutions of the past. The photograph contains clear horizontal planes formed by the tops of the men's heads with near-equal spacing between individual players. This symmetry symbolizes the balance, equality, and restraint, which were social ideals for the urban middle classes at that time—the very same ideals stated by Ibáñez during his first presidential term.

By the end of his administration, Ibáñez not only championed soccer as the most representative sport within his sports program but also tried to associate himself with Chile's national team. At the 1930 World Cup held in Uruguay, Chile won the first two games, against Mexico (2-0) and France (1-0), but lost against Argentina (1-2). Despite the defeat, the Chilean team returned to Santiago welcomed by Ibáñez himself in Santiago's central train station. With that gesture, Ibáñez inaugurated a tradition of presidents receiving athletes after international

---

<sup>96</sup> From left to right: goalkeeper Roberto Cortés, Francisco Arellano (brother of David), Horacio Muñoz, José Olguín, Jorge Linford, President Ibáñez, Guillermo Saavedra, Guillermo Subiabre, Alberto Parodi (club director), Waldo Sanhueza, José Rossetti, Togo Bascuñán, and Humberto Moreno.

competitions. Much of Ibáñez's enthusiasm for the national team responded to a particular event that occurred during the game against Argentina in which the Chilean striker Guillermo Subiabre punched the Argentine defender Luis Monti in the face. Using a patriotic and masculinizing language, reporters in *Los Sports* justified Subiabre's act as "an act of fortitude that demonstrates the courage and manliness of our mestizo race."<sup>97</sup> The story of Subiabre reinforced the idea of a virile and combative Chilean race, which Ibáñez found useful to promoting his political ideas.

If national fitness was the main pillar of Ibáñez's efficient sport policy, the erosion that set in with the advent of the Wall Street crash of 1929 was to undermine it and bring it down. Since Chile's economy relied on nitrate and copper exports and foreign loans, the dramatic interruption of capital made Chile a primary victim of the world depression.<sup>98</sup> By 1931 the Ibáñez government became increasingly unpopular: press attacks on its handling of the crisis increased and demonstrations began. Ibáñez, struggling against a situation he could not have foreseen, reacted by attempting to silence the critics. The authoritarian nature of the government was underlined in stricter control of the press, more imprisonments of opposition leaders, and physical suppression of demonstrations. Even *Los Sports*, a magazine that constantly supported Ibáñez since his rise to power, faced a budget crisis that forced its closure in 1931. The situation had become critical and the central structure of power was beginning to break up. A large number of professional associations, including lawyers, doctors, engineers, dentists, teachers, and bank employees all demanded the restoration of full public liberties. Public agitation increased after Ibáñez's police killed a schoolteacher. After this incident, Ibáñez resigned on 26 July 1931 and fled to Argentina. After his downfall, Chile experienced nine governments in

---

<sup>97</sup> "Comentarios desde el corner," *Los Sports*, 5 September 1930, 23.

<sup>98</sup> For Ibáñez's economic policies and their demise soon after the Great Depression, see: P. Bernedo, "Prosperidad económica bajo Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, 1927-1929," *Historia*, 24 (1989): 5-105.

office, ranging from moderate conservative to avowedly socialist, two general strikes, several coups, and a deep economic depression.

## **Conclusion**

Chileans sports advocates of the early 1920s admired the civic commitment of Argentine sportsmen as well as Argentina's symbols of modernity, such as the success of athletes in the Olympics and the incorporation of women into amateur sports. It would be during Ibáñez's first authoritarian presidency that the Chilean state became directly involved in creating a new sports legislation decisively oriented at creating strong and healthy bodies. Embodying the figure of a strong man in command, Ibáñez established the basis of the Chilean welfare state and attracted sports advocates into his sphere of political action. By introducing nationwide legislation such as the Law of Physical Education in 1929 and enhancing the popularity of professional soccer clubs such as Colo-Colo, Ibáñez attracted important support from columnists in *Los Sports* magazine and medical students at the University of Chile. As progressive middle-class reformers, they were sympathetic to Ibáñez's sports agenda because it included soccer as the spearhead of sports policy. Though ultimately unsuccessful, Ibáñez's first administration became inspiration for later political projects such as the Popular Front in Chile and Peronism in Argentina.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Forging Strong Citizens: State Building and Sports Under Perón and Ibáñez**

Following the economic depression and the subsequent political turmoil in Chile, Ibáñez took political asylum in Buenos Aires where he stayed from 1931 to 1937. From exile in Argentina, Ibáñez wrote several letters to his close long-time secretary René Montero, a businessman in Santiago who had close ties with Argentina. In one of those letters signed on 14 August 1936, Ibáñez articulated a notion of “social justice.”

“For me, there is no good government or flourishing state when the working classes are stirred in poverty, victims of the privileged and insatiable oligarchy. You probably remember my views in this regard and what we achieved for the masses as a result of our patriotic efforts. Our Popular Front was born as a hope but it has not yet managed to unify methods and aspirations. I believe these political groups will not succeed in Chile. What our country needs is a new social awareness about the organization of the state and a selfless sense of social justice—elements that drive up a pure and sincere democracy.”<sup>1</sup>

Ibáñez’s words were not only an apologetic defense of his government (1927-1931) but also a deliberate anti-oligarchic discourse in favor of the working classes. For Ibáñez, his administration increased economic prosperity and social welfare thanks to a strong state. Ibáñez also predicted the failure of the Popular Front coalition due to the lack of cohesion of its members. But he was wrong. For the 1938 election, he ultimately withdrew his candidacy, and in a clever tactical move against President Arturo Alessandri (1932-1938), Ibáñez advised his supporters to vote for the Popular Front candidate, Pedro Aguirre. The victory of Aguirre and the Popular Front coalition in 1938 initiated a profound transformation in Chile’s process of state formation.

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Montero, *Ibáñez*, 178-182.

The most important concept of Ibáñez's letter is the idea of "social justice"—arguably one of the principles that constituted the core of Peronism in Argentina. Presenting themselves as the patriotic champions of Catholic social reform, both Ibáñez and Perón defined their concepts of social justice as nationalist and in opposition to communism. The ecclesiastical hierarchies of Chile and Argentina welcomed this homage to Church doctrine, particularly their references to the papal encyclicals of *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), which attacked both liberalism and Marxism and presented Christian "social justice" as a path to social harmony.<sup>2</sup>

Although Ibáñez's 1936 letter did not address sports explicitly, it provides a glimpse of the relationship between the two leaders. It also implies that Ibáñez believed in the importance of the welfare of the masses several years before Perón employed a similar language in Argentina. Besides, Ibáñez and Perón probably crossed paths in Santiago during 1937, when Ibáñez returned from his exile and Perón became military attaché of the Argentine Embassy in Santiago. After that encounter, however, the trajectories of both leaders diverged considerably. While Ibáñez languished in Chile's political landscape of the 1940s, Perón emerged as a pragmatic leader within the military regime that seized power in Argentina in 1943.

By comparing state involvement in sports in Argentina and Chile, this chapter argues that sports policies in both countries were the result of a complex chain of political borrowings and continuities between Chile's Popular Front, Peronist Argentina, and Ibáñez's second administration. In this chapter I argue that massive state involvement in sports and physical education programs of the Popular Front came before those carried out in Argentina by Perón and in Chile by Ibáñez. In Argentina, Perón was able to create a state program for social reform

---

<sup>2</sup> V. Valdivia, *Nacionalismo e Ibañismo*, 16.

inspired by the experience of the Chilean Popular Front that ultimately gave him a mass following of workers and union leaders who saw the advantages of Perón's ideas. In Chile, Ibáñez continued to build on the Popular Front while at the same time he found Peronist politics very useful within his own bid to govern within the context of democratic elections.

This is primarily a chapter about state formation and how sports contributed to the expansion and modernization of state policies. State commitment to recreational activities, particularly through loans to professional soccer, brought unquestionable improvements in the organization of high-competitive sports. This progress was linked to the significant growth of state bureaucracy in the 1940s, including several agencies that generated greater resources as part of an integrated system of physical training, women's sports, and youth development. But the transformation of the state also occurred in a transnational level. In this chapter, I argue that an important part of the bilateral relationship between the populist state projects in Argentina and Chile was symbolically established in the sports arena, particularly in the context of diplomatic visits between Perón and Carlos Ibáñez during 1953. As leaders interested in curbing Marxism as a powerful cultural and political influence, both presidents explicitly appealed to workers, women, and children by mobilizing them both as new athletes and as consumers of sport. Although Perón and Ibáñez benefited politically from international sports competitions, their programs were firmly contested for not showing full commitment to women's sports in comparison to the support and attention granted for men's soccer.

### **Sports Policies in Chile under the Popular Front**

Perón might have read and shared the ideas about "social justice" raised by the Ibáñez letter, but also he most certainly witnessed the efforts of other Chilean leaders to captivate the

masses through sport. In 1938, President Alessandri, more concerned with governmental stability of the country after years of military plots and social unrest that followed Ibáñez's resignation in 1931, built Chile's National Stadium as a symbol of the economic recovery and inaugurated it in a massive act on December 3, 1938. Alessandri hoped that the new stadium would enhance his popularity. But criticism against Alessandri flourished immediately. As historian Brenda Elsey argues, the commission awarded to build the stadium was composed by many state technocrats employed in the 1920s, which generated further accusations of corruption and clientelism.<sup>3</sup> Like Ibáñez, Alessandri and the Popular Front governments utilized arguments in favor of technical expertise because the public administration constituted the sole institution in the country capable of providing some continuity in the conduct of state affairs. As a form of legitimation, they developed a technocratic discourse in which the relative autonomy of the state (and hence their own) would be strongly defended.<sup>4</sup>

Under the Popular Front (1938-1947), the Chilean state actively encouraged private enterprise and often took the place of individual entrepreneurs in developing capitalism, which resulted in a mixed public-private economy.<sup>5</sup> Renamed as Democratic Alliance in 1942, the Popular Front was a center-left coalition formed by Radicals, Socialists, and Communists along with other organizations such as the Confederation of Workers of Chile and the Pro-Emancipation Movement of Chilean Women. In general, Popular Front discourse was fundamentally ambivalent. While using notions of progress to sublimate conflict, coalition leaders simultaneously foregrounded the state's contributions to national prosperity and

---

<sup>3</sup> B. Elsey, *Citizens and Sportsmen*, 101.

<sup>4</sup> P. Silva, "State, Public Technocracy and Politics in Chile, 1927-1941," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 13:3 (1994), 286.

<sup>5</sup> P. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile*, 215.

denounced the barbarism of the retrograde oligarchic classes.<sup>6</sup> As Patrick Barr-Melej suggests, notions of culture fostered by middle-class reformers became relevant components of Chile's "official nationalism" during the Popular Front years.<sup>7</sup>

One of the Popular Front's most far-reaching efforts at social transformation was the 1939 creation of the state agency Defense of the Race and the Use of Free Time (*Defensa de la Raza y Aprovechamiento de las Horas Libres*) under the Ministry of Education. Headed by Humberto Donoso, a former military officer close to Ibáñez, the agency was defined as "a national organization, apolitical, but eminently patriotic," whose mission was to elevate the physical and moral coefficient of all Chileans.<sup>8</sup> Defense of the Race was charged with creating special recreational and educational centers where working-class families could congregate after finishing the day's labor before returning home. The centers would emphasize the importance of hard work, moral righteousness, personal hygiene, and physical fitness, offering distinct instruction for men and women.

Encouraging poor families to practice "healthy patriotism," Defense of the Race also built new soccer fields, basketball courts, swimming pools, vacations areas, clubhouses, popular libraries, and music theaters in working-class communities. It reached out to women in their homes by offering instruction on child rearing and family budgeting. As an alternative to drinking and gambling, sports imposed a form of control over workers and their non-work lives attached to the morality of family.<sup>9</sup> Defense of the Race hoped to stimulate workers' discipline and sobriety, arguing that sports practice after labor routines could enhance productivity.

---

<sup>6</sup> K. Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises*, 39.

<sup>7</sup> P. Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile*, 209.

<sup>8</sup> Chile. Presidencia de la República. *Defensa de la Raza y Aprovechamiento de las Horas Libres*, Decree No. 4157, 18 August 1939, 12.

<sup>9</sup> K. Roseblatt, *Gender Compromises*, 163-164; P. Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile*, 203-204; B. Elsey, *Citizens and Sportsmen*, 115-116.

Furthermore, it was assumed that organized recreation among workers would encourage men to participate in civic life and become more invested in their roles as family breadwinners. Although Defense of the Race was replaced by a State Department of Sports (*Departamento de Deportes del Estado*) in 1942, the subsequent governments maintained sports and physical education under the Ministry of Education. Headed by Major Osvaldo Kolbach, an officer closely tied to Ibáñez, the State Department of Sports managed to collect \$1,523.000 (Chilean pesos) aimed at building stadiums in Santiago.<sup>10</sup>

As historian Thomas Klubock shows in his work about the everyday life culture of Chilean copper miners, the Popular Front promoted the organization of soccer clubs at the workplace. Teams formed either at the employers' initiative or through the organization of trade unions flourished in the 1930s and 1940s. As workplace-based teams developed, employers interested in the prestige sports clubs could bring as well as their potential for controlling workers, offered valuable employment opportunities to talented players. In turn, organized sports clubs bolstered solidarity among workers and developed players' leadership skills. Sports, cinema, dances, libraries, and theater would help to structure miners' time away from work and provide an alternative to other forms of recreation such as drinking and gambling.<sup>11</sup>

After two administrations led by Radical presidents including Pedro Aguirre (1938-1941) and Juan Ríos (1942-1946), the coalition that had sustained the Popular Front governments trembled due to the new Cold War scenario. As candidate of the Chilean Radical Party, Gabriel González won the 1946 presidential election thanks to a successful alliance with the Communist Party, similar to how Aguirre and Ríos had won in the past. But after 1946, an alliance with the Communists provoked great concern in most of rightwing parties and encouraged an

---

<sup>10</sup> C. Muñoz, *Historia de la Dirección General de Deportes*, 35-44.

<sup>11</sup> T. Klubock, *Contested Communities*, 58-59.

international campaign to destabilize González's government. In 1947, the United States conditioned much-needed loans on the repression of striking workers and leftwing activists. In addition, González cut the state budget for sports programs and heavily repressed workplace-based soccer teams and amateur leagues established in urban centers.<sup>12</sup> In a radical twist, González sent labor leaders to concentration camps and finally outlawed the Communist Party in 1948 through the Law for the Defense of Democracy. Under pressure from the United States, González's former allies became clandestine civilians without political rights.

In the midst of political tension in Chile, the Argentine ambassador in Santiago, Julio López, declared that Argentina should take advantage of the repression of Communists to promote the Peronist doctrine among working class leaders and activists, especially through print media and radio.<sup>13</sup> But Perón had more ambitious plans. In October 1948, a group of Chilean military officials, with help from the Argentine Embassy in Santiago, conspired in a failed attempt to overthrow Chile's president. The "Pig trotters' plot" (as it became known because the plotters gathered in a restaurant that specialized in a typical Chilean pork dish) was only the first step in the gradual infiltration of Peronist propaganda into Chilean society. The report that warned against the plot came directly from the U.S. Embassy and indicated that Perón was funding a military uprising to overthrow the government of González and install a dictatorship under General Carlos Ibáñez—former ruler of Chile between 1927 and 1931 and close ally to Perón at the time. Since the coup was contrary to the increasing intervention of the United States in Chile, the movement was decisively pro-Argentine and pro-Peronist. After denying involvement in the conspiracy, Ibáñez was elected Senator for Santiago in 1949 and later President of Chile between 1952 and 1958, again with the strong support of Perón. With the turn

---

<sup>12</sup> B. Elsey, "The Independent Republic of Football: The Politics of Neighborhood Clubs in Santiago, Chile, 1948-1960," *Journal of Social History*, 42.3 (2009): 605-630.

<sup>13</sup> L. Machinandiarena de Devoto, *Las relaciones con Chile durante el peronismo*, 113.

of the Radical Party to the right in the late 1940s, the government of González acquired a reputation for opportunism that favored Ibáñez's return in 1952 with his promise to sweep out corrupt politicians and parties.

### **Sports Policies in Argentina under Perón**

Born in the Buenos Aires Province in 1895, Perón received a strict Catholic education in a rural estancia before entering the National Military College in 1911. As cadet, Perón excelled less in his studies than in sports, competing in archery, horse riding, boxing, polo, basketball, soccer, and fencing. In 1918, Lieutenant Perón became army-fencing champion and retained the title for a decade. After an outstanding career as instructor of the War Academy in the 1920s and 1930s, Perón served as military attaché of the Argentine Embassy in Santiago between 1936 and 1938. Such diplomatic experience, according to his own words, was instrumental in his formation as a statesman.<sup>14</sup> In 1937, his spy work in Chile intensified when a local military official offered him the sale of documentation and maps, supposedly prepared for a border mobilization plan against Argentina. Perón took the bait without knowing that the operation was a counter-intelligence maneuver. In 1938, Perón finally left Chile with shame after being caught in the middle of a diplomatic conspiracy.<sup>15</sup>

After his time in Chile and his observations of World War II in Europe, Perón returned to Argentina in 1941. By then, Argentina was a very different country than the one Perón left in 1936. With the overthrow of Argentina's Radical President Hipólito Irigoyen in 1930, Argentina experienced a period of successive authoritarian regimes led by military juntas, including José

---

<sup>14</sup> In a biography published in 1973, Perón stated: "If I had not been Argentinean, I would have liked to be Chilean. No other country I have felt so comfortable and no other country has made me devote hours of study and consideration. In Santiago I felt like in my own home." E. Pavón, *Coloquios con Perón*, 134.

<sup>15</sup> A. Pignatelli, *El espía Juan Domingo Perón*.

Uriburu (1930-1932) and Agustín Justo (1932-1938) punctuated by the oligarchies who later installed conservative civilian presidents such as Roberto Ortiz (1938-1942) and Ramón Castillo (1942-1943). Like in Chile, the economic depression rendered a deep blow to Argentine self-assurance, showing that the economy only remained robust in response to foreign demand. The nationalist military coup of 1943, in which Perón took part, overthrew the corrupt government of Castillo, ending a decade of oligarchic rule, conservative governments, and electoral fraud.

Drawing from his experience in Chile and Europe, Perón attempted to erase the nationalist and totalitarian undertones of the military regime (1943-1946) with the aim of reconnecting Argentina with the United Nations and domestically reaching out to traditional political parties. Perón, who had become Secretary of Labor early on in the military dictatorship, was able to create a state program for social reform that ultimately gave him a mass following of workers and union leaders who saw the advantages of Perón's ideas. Perón became especially notorious after the devastating 1944 San Juan earthquake, which claimed over 10,000 lives. While participating in relief efforts, Perón organized fund-raisers with the help of many celebrities from Argentina's large film and radio industry. During one of these events, Perón met Eva Duarte, a second-rate actress who played small roles in radio plays in the early 1940s.<sup>16</sup>

Part of Perón's success in Argentina was due to the political maneuvers he employed to evade foreign adversity. In 1945, the United States intensified its economic boycott and renewed its propaganda campaign against Argentina, both of which responded to Argentina's refusal to break relations with the Axis powers.<sup>17</sup> Spruille Braden, who served as ambassador of the United States to Argentina, insisted on disparaging Argentina as pro-Nazi. Perón denounced Braden's strategy as interventionist propaganda and for the 1946 elections he coined the slogan "Braden or

---

<sup>16</sup> For biographies of Eva Perón, see: J. Barnes, *Evita, First Lady*; A. Dujovne and S. Fields, *Eva Perón*.

<sup>17</sup> D. Sheinin. *Argentina and the United States*.

Perón.” The anti-imperialist antagonism only added to the mass attraction of Perón. Capitalizing on this support, Perón emerged as a leader able to gather the support of the working class and the unions, by then controlled by the Socialists and Communists. Perón declared his candidacy for president in October 1945 and won with overwhelming worker support and despite the opposition of the upper classes and the traditional political establishment.

Perón’s populist regime was articulated as a New Argentina based on social justice, political sovereignty, and economic independence. These three principles constituted the core of the “Peronist Doctrine” that aspired to provide happiness to the masses. During the Peronist decade (1946-1955), the working class was empowered, earned political citizenship, and became a key actor in the political process. They were also the recipients of numerous material benefits through innovative social legislation and of a whole array of state programs. Under the banner of social justice (aka *Justicialismo*), Perón shored up support among working-class Argentines, especially unionized workers within the General Confederation of Labor or CGT, which by 1945 had 528,000 affiliated members. Once in power, Perón passed laws providing minimum wages, maximum labor hours, and recreational centers for industrial workers.<sup>18</sup>

State functionaries quickly realized the importance of sports in the workplace. They were especially influenced by the publication of *Physical Education: an Innovation of my Government*, written in 1940 by the physician Manuel Fresco, who served as governor of the Buenos Aires Province from 1936 to 1940. In his book, Fresco explained that social policies such as summer camps and children’s soccer tournaments were in favor of the youth. As he wrote in 1940: “I ask my colleagues from the [Buenos Aires] Province that protect the young

---

<sup>18</sup> On Perón’s labor policy and trade unions, see: D. Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement*; T. Di Tella, *Perón y los sindicatos*; J. Horowitz, *Los sindicatos, el Estado y el surgimiento de Perón*.

legions of our country because they are the base of the civil defense against communism.”<sup>19</sup> Fresco’s ideas certainly viewed sports programs as the antidote for communism. Perón’s take-over of the Secretary of Labor could thus be seen as the execution of a nationalist strategy that aspired to establish strong networks with the trade union movement. In 1944, Perón enacted the “National Day of Physical Education” to be celebrated every last Sunday of October in all factories and state agencies.<sup>20</sup>

Once in presidency, Perón recognized the inevitability of accepting labor’s needs in an industrializing Argentina and sought to attract young workers to his vision. Fearful of left-wing influence, Perón promoted sports within labor unions and working-class communities as a means of fostering class cooperation for the greater national good. Perón’s ideas about the social benefit of sports directly drew on another medical physician: Tomás Filadoro, who published *Physical Education and Labor*, a short instructional book written in 1946, which was distributed among workers and industrial leaders to encourage after-work exercise routines. According to Filadoro, physical education could uplift the workers in three ways: morally, intellectually, and socially. The social contribution was seen as the most important because, according to Filadoro, “sports eliminates class struggle and develops a sense of national community based on the concepts of family and mutual respect.”<sup>21</sup> In that sense, Perón attempted to mobilize the workers as a base of support but also in order to avoid class conflict, which he associated with Marxism.

After becoming president, Perón easily controlled the CGT as a state agency rather than a national trade union federation. He purged it of communists, socialists, and other political party members and made sure its leadership was solidly part of his Justicialist Party, founded as the official Peronist political force in 1947. Indeed, the CGT was a major institutional vehicle

---

<sup>19</sup> M. Fresco, *La educación física: una innovación de mi gobierno*, 2.

<sup>20</sup> V. Lupo, *Historia política del deporte argentino*, 38.

<sup>21</sup> T. Filadoro, *Educación física y trabajo*, 15.

through which Perón implemented his sports policies. In November 1949, the CGT inaugurated the “Workers’ Olympics” (*Olimpiadas Obreras*) with the aim of improving the physical condition of industrial workers in Buenos Aires. More than 1,800 male workers gathered to compete in soccer, basketball, track-and-field, and boxing.<sup>22</sup> Initiatives such as these bolstered Perón’s desire to build a powerful political base of support among workers. As stated in the Second Five-Year Plan of 1953, “the state promotes summer camps to encourage workers to practice a healthy life and develop collective virtues during their free time.”<sup>23</sup> Although Perón was not the first leader that promoted sports among workers –the Soviet Union most notoriously established a state-led Olympic program to foster “class consciousness”–, he advocated class cooperation between workers and national industrialists. Sports programs were meant to be vehicles for including Argentine workers within the body politic and shaping them as citizens, not mobilizing them for overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

Sports figured prominently among the innovative social policies of Perón. The Peronist state guaranteed the masses broad access to sport. Perón established the National Council of Physical Education (*Consejo Nacional de Educación Física*) that monitored all matters related to physical education, summer camps, and sports-related medicine. The Council was originally located within the Ministry of War but moved to the Ministry of Education in 1946. This shift, from sports being coordinated by the Armed Forces as an extension of military preparation to sports becoming part of the national educational program, reflected Perón’s need to build a base of support among the school population (physical-education teachers and students) and outside military ranks.

---

<sup>22</sup> “Olimpiada Obrera,” *Mundo Deportivo*, 10 November 1949, 11.

<sup>23</sup> Presidencia de la Nación, Subsecretaría de Informaciones, *Manual práctico del Segundo Plan Quinquenal*, 95.

The Peronist state also gave unprecedented support to professional athletes and high-level competitive sport. Perón centralized the coordination of national sports and international competitions under the CADCOA –a combined acronym for the Argentine Sports Confederation (CAD) and the Argentine Olympic Committee (COA). To cement the relationship between the regime and high-level sport, Perón was appointed CADCOA’s honorary president. From there, the regime was able to exert considerable influence on sports associations and soccer clubs. Consequently, the government sponsored a variety of competitions as well as the preparation of athletes to compete both in Argentina and abroad. International victories by Argentine athletes were presented as collective triumphs of the entire society. Perón saw athletes as ambassadors that could project his New Argentina overseas and the hosting of international sporting events as an exceptional stage from which to do so. Perón frequently appeared in the company of famous athletes in order to associate their success with his own image. And indeed many sportsmen did credit Perón for their sporting feats, including Delfo Cabrera (gold-winner in marathon at the 1948 London Olympics), Juan Fangio (world-tour champion in Formula One car races), and Juan Gatica (boxing champion in the lightweight division). While Cabrera collaborated closely with Perón throughout his first term in office, Fangio and Gatica campaigned for Perón during his bid for reelection in 1952.<sup>24</sup>

Knowing the importance of sports victories, Perón approached international athletic competitions as state matters. In March 1950, Argentina hosted the Men’s Basketball World Championship, surprisingly defeating the United States in the final by a score of 64-50. More than twenty thousand fans celebrated the occasion with a torchlight parade outside the Luna Park

---

<sup>24</sup> V. Lupo, *Historia política del deporte argentino*, 230.

stadium in downtown Buenos Aires.<sup>25</sup> The basketball triumph reflected the persistent tension between the United States and Argentina, especially in the onset of the Cold War context. In the divided world created by the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, Perón tried to steer an intermediate course between the two countries and their respective allies.<sup>26</sup> As a planned distancing from capitalism and communism, the third position (*Tercera Posición*) represented Perón's principle of political sovereignty. This was encapsulated in the slogan "Neither Yankees nor Marxists, Peronists" (*ni yanquis ni marxistas, peronistas*), created by the regime's supporters, which represented the third position as much as Peronist Argentina.

Perón understood that not only could athletes disseminate a positive representation of his new Argentina but also that hosting international sporting events offered a unique platform to undertake cultural diplomacy. In March 1951, Perón hosted the First Pan-American games as a hemispheric sporting event modeled after the Olympics. As Carlos Torres argues, the spirit of cooperation created by the "Good Neighbor Policy" fostered by the United States for dealing with Latin America, which renounced military intervention and attempted to create an inter-American system of defense, certainly encouraged such a prospect.<sup>27</sup> In a demonstration of continental fraternity, it was the New Argentina that hosted the entire American continent. Perón had welcomed the foreign delegations at the Pan-American Village, saying that he was bringing "to all the brothers of America" the greetings of the Argentine people.<sup>28</sup>

Argentine athletes were certainly quite successful at the 1951 Pan-American Games. The Peronist government had given them all the necessary support for proper training. With the

---

<sup>25</sup> E. Fernández, *Breve historia del deporte argentino*, 140-143.

<sup>26</sup> For a broader discussion about Argentina's foreign relations with the United States, see: M. Rapoport and C. Spiguel, *Estados Unidos y el Peronismo*.

<sup>27</sup> C. Torres, "Peronism, international sport, and diplomacy," in: H. Dichter and A. Johns, *Diplomatic Games*, 151-182.

<sup>28</sup> "Efectuó una visita a la Villa Panamericana el primer magistrado," *La Nación* (Ar), 24 February 1951, 3.

presence of 2,500 athletes from twenty-one nations, the competitions included track-and-field, tennis, polo, equestrian sports, swimming, basketball, boxing, water polo, shooting, and soccer. Argentine athletes did not disappoint, dominating the medal count with a total of 154 medals (68 gold, 47 silver, and 39 bronze), way ahead of the United States, which was second with 98 (46 gold, 33 silver, and 19 bronze). Many of these athletes dedicated their triumphs to both Juan and Eva Perón, who enthusiastically congratulated them on their accomplishments.<sup>29</sup>

The Pan-American Games also showed that Perón's sports policies were not exclusively focused on soccer. In the beginning, he seemed more concerned with fencing, boxing, and basketball. While Perón himself was not a big fan of soccer, he actively associated himself with soccer to promote his cause. The Peronist regime gave substantial political support to professional and amateur clubs. Official documents show that the government granted an important number of loans to several sporting entities in order to encourage their further development. The majority of these funds went to soccer clubs. Boca Juniors, whose fans explicitly identified as Peronists in their chants, obtained the highest loan within the total governmental budget destined to sports institutions in 1950: \$5,000,000 (see Table 2.1).

Perón's encouragement of sports other than just soccer or basketball for working-class people challenged the exclusive upper class monopoly on athletic activities such as equestrian sports, rugby, rowing, and cycling. All of these sports became more available to the lower and middle classes under Perón, symbolizing class mobility. In addition, the loans and subsidies of 1950 included other sports that were gaining terrain in Argentina such as ping-pong, ski, bowling, baseball, fishing, yachting, and sailing (see Table 2.1).

---

<sup>29</sup> "El general Perón y su esposa felicitaron a los campeones," *La Nación* (Ar), 8 March 1951, 3.

<b>Governmental Loans</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Sport</b>	<b>Governmental Subsidies</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Sport</b>
Boca Juniors Athletic Club	\$ 5,000,000	Soccer	Argentine Basketball Confederation	\$ 800,000	Basketball
River Plate Athletic Club	\$ 3,300,000	Soccer	Argentine Cycling Federation	\$ 500,000	Cycling
Platense Athletic Club	\$ 2,500,000	Soccer	Post-Office and Telecommunications Club	\$ 350,000	Multi-sports
Argentine Sports Confederation	\$ 2,000,000	Multi-sports	Argentine Chess Federation	\$ 344,000	Chess
Independiente Athletic Club	\$ 1,800,000	Soccer	La Marina Regattas Club	\$ 300,000	Rowing
Lanús Athletic Club	\$ 1,500,000	Soccer	Almafuerte Club at San Andrés de Giles	\$ 200,000	Multi-sports
San Martín de Tucumán Athletic Club	\$ 1,470,000	Soccer	Argentine Sports Confederation	\$ 170,000	Multi-sports
San Lorenzo de Almagro Athletic Club	\$ 1,060,000	Soccer	Argentine Skiing and Mountaineering Federation	\$ 100,000	Ski
Bragado Porteño Sports Club	\$ 820,000	Rugby	Argentine Athletics Federation	\$ 80,000	Track-and-Field
Western Railway Athletic Club	\$ 600,000	Multi-sports	Rio Negro Basketball Federation	\$ 55,000	Basketball
Colón de Santa Fe Athletic Club	\$ 550,000	Soccer	Argentine Riding Federation	\$ 55,000	Equestrian
Córdoba Social Union Club	\$ 550,000	Soccer	La Rioja Basketball Federation	\$ 50,000	Basketball
Rosario Regattas Club	\$ 500,000	Rowing	Argentine Yachting Federation	\$ 40,000	Yachting
Almagro Club	\$ 489,000	Soccer	Waterworks Club	\$ 35,000	Multi-sports
Barracas Sports Club	\$ 400,000	Soccer	Argentine "Pelota" Confederation	\$ 33,700	Pelota
Argentine Polo Association	\$ 324,850	Polo	Argentine Table-Tennis Federation	\$ 28,494	Ping-Pong
La Marina Regattas Club	\$ 300,000	Rowing	Argentine Bowling Confederation	\$ 20,000	Bowling
Beccar Athletic Club	\$ 282,000	Multi-sports	Argentine Baseball League	\$ 12,188	Baseball
Rosario Central Athletic Club	\$ 200,000	Soccer	Comodoro Rivadavia Gilding Club	\$ 10,000	Multi-sports
San Fernando Club	\$ 80,000	Multi-sports	Comodoro Rivadavia "Las Heras" Sports Club	\$ 10,000	Multi-sports
<b>Total Gov. Loans for Soccer Clubs</b>	<b>\$ 18,819,000</b>		Comodoro Rivadavia Sailing and Fishing Club	\$ 10,000	Sailing and Sports Fishing
<b>Total Gov. Loans for non-Soccer Clubs</b>	<b>\$ 4,906,850</b>		Comodoro Rivadavia Sports Association	\$ 10,000	Multi-sports
<b>Total Gov. Loans</b>	<b>\$ 23,725,850</b>		<b>Total Gov. Subsidies</b>	<b>\$ 3,213,382</b>	

Table 2.1 Governmental loans and subsidies to sporting entities in 1950. All the figures are expressed in Argentine pesos. Total estimates and figures compiled by the author. Source: Servicio Internacional Publicaciones Argentinas, *Synthesis of Argentine Sports*, 106-107.

Sports management under Peronism occurred in an economic context that favored the use of state funds for social policy. Perón's drive for state-led industrialization reduced dependency on the export of meat and raw materials, pursuing a nationalization plan of banks, railroads, airlines, and gasoline. While significant government loans were directly granted to soccer clubs such as Club Boca Juniors and Club River Plate, the Peronist government facilitated governmental subsidies to other sports activities as well (See Table 2.1).

The Peronist administration was closely identified with one particular soccer club: Racing Club in Avellaneda, which won three national championships in a row with Perón in office (1949, 1950, and 1951). By the late 1940s, it became normal practice for soccer clubs to have a *padrino* (godfather or patron) within the government. They occupied high positions of power and looked after the interests of a particular club. Ramón Cereijo, Perón's Finance Minister, was a supporter of Racing Club in Avellaneda. He authorized the funds to various soccer clubs for purposes of construction or renovation. Through Cereijo's influence, Racing Club was able to build a new stadium named "President Perón," and by 1951 the team was nicknamed "Sportivo Cereijo," in honor of their *padrino*. Smaller teams from Buenos Aires also received governmental support, including Club Platense, Club Vélez Sarsfield, Club Independiente, and Club San Lorenzo, which obtained loans for their own stadiums. In that sense, mediators were an efficient yet informal contact through which the clubs obtained advantages and material benefits from the government.<sup>30</sup>

Under Perón, soccer also adopted new forms of organization and protocol. For the first time, the state promoted a national soccer policy that superseded the managerial role that private clubs and other civic organizations had historically played. From 1947 to 1955, all the presidents

---

<sup>30</sup> In a recent book, R. Rein has explored how Club Atlanta with a heavily Jewish membership, traded tactical support for the regime in exchange for material resources. R. Rein, *Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina*, 104-105.

of the Argentine Soccer Federation (*Asociación del Fútbol Argentino* or AFA) were appointed directly by Perón.<sup>31</sup> The first AFA president of this new phase was Oscar Nicolini, head of the General Directorate of Posts and Telegraphs (*Dirección General de Correos y Telégrafos*) at that time. Nicolini was a man close to Perón since the days of the military coup in 1943. He remained as head of AFA from 1946 to 1948 without resigning from his official position. Only a dispute between soccer players and clubs forced him to step down due to differences with members of the government. As head of AFA, Nicolini represented the interests of the clubs while Perón aligned with the demands raised by the players. Nicolini abandoned AFA in May 1949 after a prolonged players' strike.

Despite unprecedented state investment in soccer, the conditions for players were not always ideal. Amid a political climate that legitimated organized labor, many professional players became more vocal about wages and job security. Conflicts had been brewing since the 1930s, but under Perón athlete's complaints took more institutional forms. Parallel to the growth of trade unions between 1947 and 1955, professional athletes formed the first soccer players' union in 1944, named *Futbolistas Argentinos Agremiados*. By April 1948, unionized players were demanding formal recognition by the state as well as minimum wage and freedom of contract. When both private clubs and government authorities ignored the union, players declared a strike in November 1948.<sup>32</sup> Although the government tried to mediate in the conflict and players declared themselves willing to continue negotiating, clubs remained firm in their decision to finish the season with young replacement players, rejecting the demands made by professional players and terminating the contracts of the strikers.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> A. Scher and H. Palomino, *Fútbol, pasión de multitudes y de elites*, 92-95.

<sup>32</sup> "Declaran la huelga los jugadores," *Clarín* (Ar), 16 November 1948.

<sup>33</sup> "Los dirigentes se negaron a resolver el conflicto," *Noticias Gráficas* (Ar), 6 November 1948.

By February 1949, Perón intervened in the dispute and created a tribunal to adjudicate grievances on a case-by-case basis. After Nicolini's resignation from AFA and strong pressure from Perón, clubs revoked the suspension of contracts of strikers and recognized Futbolistas Argentinos Agremiados as trade union. In May 1949, the soccer players signed their first collective agreement with AFA, which guaranteed a minimum wage.<sup>34</sup> However, the dispute also triggered the migration of talented players from Argentina to Colombia and Chile. By 1950, nearly one hundred players left Argentina to sign up for foreign clubs.

For the 1948 strike, the Peronist government behaved as usually it did with other labor disputes of the period. Perón offered mediation in order to find a prompt solution, tilting the balance toward the side of the workers. However, the outcome of the strike was ambiguous. While players obtained important victories including the recognition of their union as an autonomous entity and tangible benefits (minimum wages and first collective agreement), clubs managed to preserve their interests on one central point: their refusal to grant freedom of contract to players. Despite granting important concessions, club leaders demonstrated sufficient cohesion to defend their private interests regardless of government pressure. In that sense, the 1948 strike shows that the power of the Peronist government in soccer was still limited.

Given the events of the strike, which damaged the quality of Argentina's professional soccer tournament (*Primera División*), enthusiasm for international competitions diminished considerably. While Perón invested great effort in controlling sports events at home, he refused to send a team to either the 1950 World Cup in Brazil or the 1954 World Cup in Switzerland. Certainly, Perón wanted to avoid national embarrassment. He was probably concerned that Argentina's national team would not be at its best after the prolonged strike. While Brazil lost on

---

<sup>34</sup> J. Frydenberg and D. Sazbon, "La Huelga de jugadores de 1948," in: R. Rein, *La cancha peronista*, 71.

its own soil to Uruguay in the 1950 competition, Argentines watched from the sidelines and were forced by Perón to miss several other international tournaments in subsequent years.

If Perón was savvy about the political uses of soccer competitions, he most often linked his message of social justice (*Justicialismo*) to increasing opportunities for the masses to actually play sports themselves. In 1949, the government published a pamphlet supposedly written by Perón titled *La Gimnasia y los Deportes* in which he distinguished two types of sports:

“A distinction must be made between “spectator sports” (*deporte espectáculo*) and sports as an activity (*deporte actividad*). The former postulates 10 playing and 300,000 watching, whereas the ideal would be 300,000 playing and 10 watching. The real benefit of sports lies in practicing them, although spectator sports are also necessary, because they educate, create a [sporting] ambience or climate, and encourage participation. I want my country to be a nation of athletes, with educated minds and strengthened bodies... We’re on our way—getting there will depend on the Argentines and on the public authorities’ support and promotion [for sports] by all possible means.”<sup>35</sup>

Perón wanted an entire nation of athletes. He took full credit for expanding athletic programs for the masses and understood this policy as central to shaping citizen-athletes who would be loyal to his vision of the Argentine nation. As journalist Félix Frascara wrote in 1961, “Perón gave everything to sport and sport gave everything to Perón.”<sup>36</sup> Although definitely an exaggeration, Frascara’s words summarize the importance given to sports during the Peronist decade. Perón understood the powerful symbolism and high visibility of sport, especially in light of its competitive character, and invested profusely in it. He sponsored, advocated, hosted, and promoted large international sporting events and mediated in domestic conflicts between players and clubs. Paradoxically, Perón would not allow Argentina’s soccer national team to play international competitions abroad.

---

<sup>35</sup> J. Perón, *La gimnasia y los deportes*, 3. Reproduced in *Mundo Deportivo*, 26 May 1949, 3-5.

<sup>36</sup> F. Frascara, “Deportes,” in J. Paita, *Argentina 1930-1960*, 380.

## Playing for Evita

With the creation of the Eva Perón foundation (headed by Evita) in 1948, the government took over the activities of existing private charity organizations for women and children, firmly wedding child and family welfare to the Peronist project. One of Perón's most important efforts to increase children's participation in sports nationwide was the initiation of the Evita Championships (*Campeonatos Evita*) in 1949. The Evita Championships were initially soccer competitions that brought children's teams from different provinces together. With governmental sponsorship channeled through the Eva Perón foundation, children (ranging from 7 to 16 years old) travelled for free throughout the country to compete against teams in other cities during the summer. The best teams went to Buenos Aires for the finals, allowing many children to visit the capital for the first time. Competitors received sports outfits and soccer shoes from the Eva Perón Foundation, as well as various prizes. The team that won the championship received a soccer field of its own or money to renovate its clubhouse and equipment. Such prizes added to the Peróns' reputation as benefactors and contributed to the improvement of the physical conditions of sports centers across the country.

Government investment in the Evita Championships rose steadily, from 478,000 pesos in 1948 to three times that amount in 1950 and five times that in 1951. In 1950, the soccer competitions were extended to the whole country and by 1951 participation exceeded 100,000 boys. In 1952, four million pesos were invested in these competitions, rising to more than eight million in 1953.<sup>37</sup> From 1953, other sports besides soccer were added such as basketball, swimming, track-and-field, and volleyball. The same year girls were admitted to the program, accounting for 20% of a total of almost 216,000 children from all the corners of Argentina. Perón

---

<sup>37</sup> R. Rein, "El Primer Deportista": The Political Use and Abuse of Sport in Peronist Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15:2 (1998), 63.

attended major games and Evita even opened games by throwing out a ball at a girls' basketball match or kicking the ball into play in the men's soccer competition. Thus, the Evita championships became an additional channel for the political socialization of children and youth, an opportunity to praise the regime and enlist young people's support for its principles, since a daily activity such as soccer had taken on a political significance.

Many Argentine physicians became active promoters of the Evita Championships. The tournaments provided an opportunity for state healthcare personnel to monitor children's health across the country. Participants were given a medical examination, a lung X-ray, and a dental examination. Children diagnosed with medical problems were referred to specialists for free treatment. In addition, the legal status of children whose births had not been duly registered – thus they lacked birth certificate– was rectified when they signed up for the competitions, yet another contribution to the integration of marginal sectors into the Argentine state.<sup>38</sup> Through editorials and magazine articles, medical experts called for public financing for health clinics in sports facilities, arguing that the money would be a well-spent investment benefitting working-class children.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to the physician in the 1920s who used scientific logics to warn against soccer's deleterious impact, medical experts writing about sports in the 1940s and 1950s used science to defend soccer as a perfect exercise.<sup>40</sup> According to Eduardo Saunders, a medical columnist in the sports magazine *Mundo Deportivo*, “soccer combines simple movements with instincts. It does not teach new moves to kids but it improves children's spontaneous attitudes. Soccer can be the best children's exercise if practiced with guidance and encouragement.”<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> M. Plotkin, *Mañana es San Perón*, 275.

<sup>39</sup> “Trascendencia del Estímulo Deportivo,” *Mundo Deportivo [henceforth MD]*, 5 March 195, 65.

<sup>40</sup> A. Barrios, “El fútbol medicinal,” *MD*, 24 November 1949, 51; E. Saunders, “Aplicaciones científicas al control del deportista,” *MD*, 14 September 1950, 38; E. Rubio, “La medicina y el deporte en nuestro país,” *MD*, 18 January 1951, 65.

<sup>41</sup> E. Saunders, “Los esfuerzos fisiológicos exigidos por el fútbol,” *MD*, 8 April 1954, 41.

Saunders's emphasis on inherent mental and emotional states (instincts and spontaneous attitudes) as flowing from the perfection of the physical body rather than reason acquired through formal education, echoes common fascist themes related to the exaltation of perfect bodies, anti-intellectualism, and natural instincts—all being carefully cultivated for a greater national good. Physicians had championed sports and physical fitness programs as part of broader public hygiene campaigns since the 1910s. However, it was not until the 1940s that doctors came to see soccer as beneficial for the public health of the nation, and men like Saunders saw it as superior to all other forms of exercise. Just as was true of tango dancing, soccer transformed from prohibition a prohibited activity into a source of national pride, becoming a key marker of the Argentine “cultural landscape.”

Physicians also defended the incorporation of girls in the Evita Championships, including their participation in soccer tournaments. For instance, Eduardo Rubio, medical expert and sports editor of *Noticias Gráficas*, argued that sports could liberate adolescent women from the frivolities of consumer culture and restore the moral purity of female youth.<sup>42</sup> Although boys and girls participated in the same sports, doctors insisted that competitions should be strictly divided by sex. With more than 15,000 girls participating in the tournaments since 1953, physicians highlighted women's competitions in soccer, basketball, track-and-field, and swimming. Concerned with the risk of masculinization, Saunders also expressed that women should compete against women and not against men in order to “keep the feminine architecture of the body, avoiding any grotesque spectacle of inappropriate interaction. Only then, women's sex becomes a selection factor for the future of our race.”<sup>43</sup> The medical logic continued to link women's

---

<sup>42</sup> E. Rubio, “Presencia de niñas en los torneos infantiles Evita,” *MD*, 8 October 1953, 20.

<sup>43</sup> E. Saunders, “El deporte, factor de belleza en la mujer,” *MD*, 16 February 1950, 24.

physical education to their future role in biological reproduction. Saunders celebrated sports for women as the means to achieve aesthetic perfection for the whole nation.

Although medical circles had already debated about women's participation in sports, physicians identified with the Peronist project tried to provide institutional direction of female physical activity. To some extent, the Peronist regime maintained a discourse focused on the importance of maternal health and approached women's physical fitness as a matter of racial regeneration. Saunders strongly recommended tennis and volleyball because they allow sudden muscle contractions without fatiguing the heart, as there are successive rest times while the rival is playing.<sup>44</sup> Basketball, fencing, and archery were also recommended, as they seemed to reinforce precision and elegance. Along with soccer, cycling, rowing, and swimming could correct body imperfections caused by the onset of menstruation. However, these practices were recommended only in moderation. Although Saunders never excluded soccer for women, he usually imagined women as fans or mothers who would encourage their sons to play it.<sup>45</sup> Thus, Saunders included soccer in the list of "acceptable" sports for women due to both its social qualities (motherhood and encouragement of children) and its physiological contributions (correction of body imperfections).

Peronism was concerned with sports as important to developing the right kind of young bodies. By direct petition of the National Council of Physical Education in 1954, women's soccer matches during the Evita Championships adopted a new format with fewer players than men's soccer. While men's teams had eleven players, women's teams had only seven. In addition, the field for girls was half the size for boys. Despite these alterations, soccer practice came to be seen as a fundamental part of the sports program for both young men and women.

---

<sup>44</sup> E. Saunders, "La mujer es apta para el esfuerzo sostenido," *MD*, 2 April 1953, 28.

<sup>45</sup> E. Saunders, "Las diferencias físicas de varones y niñas," *MD*, 23 April 1953, 34.

According to government records, the inclusion of competitive soccer among women “reinforced the innate taste for physical activity; sense of one’s skill and dexterity; sense of responsibility and respect in compliance with patriotic duty; creation of the spirit of solidarity and selflessness; character building; and natural satisfaction of desire.”<sup>46</sup> The awakening of what physicians termed “social impulses” with the onset of puberty intensified a supposedly natural inclination toward sports in both genders, but particularly it defined what was expected of femininity. Physicians agreed that sports activity among women could only generate positive social change when the conditions for its practice were strictly regulated.<sup>47</sup> Appealing to the parents, Saunders also warned that the onset of menstruation, which if not monitored by physical educators, could weaken the body and decrease interest in sports.<sup>48</sup>

Besides the Evita Championships, Saunders prescribed new dietary regimes for women such as an increase in the protein intake. But above all, he recommended daily exercise, ranging from lifting weights to stretching in the office.<sup>49</sup> Physicians agreed that women who practiced sports without guidance could face nervous breakdowns, paleness, infertility, and excessive thinness.<sup>50</sup> According to Adalberto Escudero, another physician specialized in women’s health, “physical exercises render important benefits to housewives as well as to white-collar women who perform their work in front of a desk. Daily exercise balances the organic functions of every woman and increases work capacity.”<sup>51</sup> Escudero not only distinguished women workers from housewives but also made an argument about how sports could increase productivity. While both

---

<sup>46</sup> Dirección General de Educación Física, *Anexo al Programa de Educación Física para niñas*, 16.

<sup>47</sup> E. Rubio, “No se estimula el deporte femenino,” *MD*, 2 March 1950, 66.

<sup>48</sup> E. Saunders, “El Congreso Médico del Deporte,” *MD*, 27 December 1951, 92.

<sup>49</sup> E. Saunders, “Equivalencia de entrenamiento en el trabajo y el deporte,” *MD*, 13 March 1952, 30.

<sup>50</sup> E. Saunders, “Algunas reflexiones sobre deportismo femenino,” *MD*, 9 April 1953, p. 34.

<sup>51</sup> A. Escudero, “Gimnasia para la mujer que trabaja,” *MD*, 22 September 1949, 49.

Saunders and Escudero expressed total support for Peronist initiatives such as the Evita Championships, they also encouraged older women to participate in physical activity.

In response to the paternalistic tutelage over women's sports, a few female columnists challenged what they labeled as "the masculine approach." In 1949, the female columnist Alicia Figueroa lamented that "only the boys enjoy the benefits offered by Perón," alluding to the exclusion of girls from the Evita Championships.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, one of the most iconic voices was María Cartasegna, a former basketball player who often wrote in the magazine *Mundo Deportivo*, complained against elite clubs and government authorities about the lack of sports opportunities for women. In an article from 1952 –before the inclusion of girls into the Evita Championships–, she suggested that the problem originated at home. "What can we expect after years teaching women that their first duty is to be feminine and home? Only now, thanks to Eva Perón, women can find a way as human beings with dreams and political rights. If sports can be used to teach righteousness to young boys, why is the same not done with girls?"<sup>53</sup> Clearly alluding to the granting of women's suffrage in 1947 (first practiced in 1951), Cartasegna lamented that the "housewife model" was still placing a brake on the development of women's sport. While acknowledging the role of Evita in getting women the vote (an attribution vigorously contested by leftwing feminists), Cartasegna blamed government functionaries for continuing to support men's athletes over women's.<sup>54</sup>

Cartasegna's criticism commented on the contradictions of Peronism and its relationship to women. On the one hand, Peronism promoted sports within the traditional framework of preparing women for motherhood and domesticity. The inclusion of girls in the Evita

---

<sup>52</sup> A. Figueroa, "28.000 risas infantiles," *MD*, 12 May 1949, 42.

<sup>53</sup> M. Cartasegna, "El deporte femenino en manos femeninas," *MD*, 6 November 1952, 32.

<sup>54</sup> On the women's suffragist movement and feminism under Peronism, see: A. Lavrín, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change*, 257-285; G. Hammond, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Feminism in Argentina*.

Championships in 1953 (one year after Evita's death) underscored Eva Perón's legacy as devoted wife and mother of the underprivileged. On the other hand, the example of Evita's very public activism on behalf of women and the Peronist state's enfranchisement of women as voting citizens, legitimated women's presence in activities beyond the home and suggested women's programs should have a more equitable (if always separate) relationship to those of men. Cartasegna's criticism that women were being ignored or underserved by existing sports programs took its moral authority from Peronism's promise that women, too, were to be "citizen-athletes."

In April 1951, Cartasegna and other sportswomen created a sports association called *Ateneos Deportivos Femeninos Evita* to promote sports for women over eighteen years old. As sports enthusiasts, Cartasegna supported the idea of bringing adult women to practice basketball, hockey, volleyball, bowling, shooting, and chess, and soccer. With the financial backing from the Eva Perón Foundation, the *Ateneos Femeninos* (as they were referred in the press) were small centers headed by former female athletes. Between 1951 and 1952, there were twenty branches throughout Buenos Aires.<sup>55</sup> Chaired by the professional fencer Elsa Irigoyen, the *Ateneos Femeninos* advocated the creation of municipal tournaments for female athletes, cheaper stadium tickets to enable more women and girls to attend sporting events, and free access to state administrated recreational centers. In January 1953, Irigoyen complained that medical examinations overseen by the Evita Championships were not reaching girls outside the province of Buenos Aires. Irigoyen urged the creation of medical subcommittees in each province to facilitate girls' qualification for the tournaments. She also called for a national census of women

---

<sup>55</sup> M. Cartasegna, "Intensa actividad del Ateneo Evita," *MD*, 3 April 1952, 66.

athletes and government scholarships to train women physical-education teachers.<sup>56</sup> Using Peronist language to criticize the government's inadequate support for female athletics, Irigoyen argued: "With less than twenty [female] students per year, we cannot even begin to compare [the resource of] Ateneos Femeninos with the support granted for [men's] soccer clubs. Women, too, need to educate their minds and bodies."<sup>57</sup>

Ateneos Femeninos lost many resources after Evita's death on 26 July 1952. State functionaries diverted money to propaganda campaigns that they encouraged aimed at creating a sacred worship of Evita as a Virgin Mary-like "Spiritual Leader of the Nation." Thus, Ateneos Femeninos was forced to rely on the much smaller contributions of private and amateur clubs. In 1954, two years after Evita's death, the number of registered participants in all of the group's 30 clubs amounted to only 160 women.<sup>58</sup> With Evita's death and without state funds, the Ateneos Femeninos lost influence among sportswomen and membership dropped significantly around the days in 1955. Despite these pitfalls, the Ateneos Femeninos emerged as an important occasion for extending women's agenda when Evita was gone. In contrast to the overwhelmingly superior budget assigned to men's soccer and the Evita Championships, women athletes mobilized and challenged the traditional gender hierarchies imposed by the Peronist regime, advocating for their own sports organizations and demanding recognition and resources from the state as much as men did. As Peronist supporters, the invocation of Evita's name seemed to legitimize their demands for sports equality.

---

<sup>56</sup> Like Perón, Irigoyen was a professional fencer who obtained gold medal in the Pan-American Games in 1951. Her public recognition as a talented sportswomen identified with the regime made her the face of the Ateneos Femeninos, especially through front covers in the sports magazine *Mundo Deportivo*. M. Cartasegna, "La mujer deportista ha dado un paso importante," *MD*, 1 January 1953, 48.

<sup>57</sup> M. Cartasegna, "La mujer también debe enseñar deportes," *MD*, 19 November 1953, 34.

<sup>58</sup> M. Cartasegna, "Múltiple labor del Ateneo Evita," *MD*, 7 October 1954, 57.

## Sports Policies in Chile under Ibáñez

On May 30, 1953, the Argentine ambassador in Chile, Ismael de la Cruz, inaugurated the Evita Championships in Santiago. The tournaments were a pared down version of the multi-sport youth competitions organized on a national level by the Peronist government in Argentina. Under a huge portrait of Evita in Chile's National Stadium, hundreds of Chilean children paraded in the presence of their parents and local authorities.<sup>59</sup> Although a medical staff had provided health exams to children of both sexes before the games, the tournaments themselves did not include girls and focused exclusively on soccer. Unlike the Argentine version, children who participated mostly came from Santiago's most prominent soccer clubs such as Colo-Colo. Argentina also exported the Evita Championships to Ecuador and Bolivia, where popular admiration for Peronist policy facilitated the creation of Evita's cult abroad.<sup>60</sup> Of course, Argentina did not have the political leverage to *impose* the Evita Championships on any Latin American nation beyond its own borders. In Chile, the fact that the Argentine tournaments were given such a prominent national stage in Santiago, complete with Evita's face soaring over the heads of Chilean youth, underscored just how strongly the second government of Carlos Ibáñez (1952-1958) identified itself with Perón on the other side of the Andes.

The metamorphosis of Ibañismo as political movement went from an open alliance with the Popular Front in 1938 toward nationalism associated to the right-wing parties in 1942, to finally return to anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist populism associated with socialism in 1952.<sup>61</sup> After his exile in Argentina (1931-1937), Ibáñez tried to return to power either through electoral or unconstitutional ways. As presidential candidate in 1938, Ibáñez was supported by the Chilean

---

<sup>59</sup> "Campeonato Infantil Evita en Chile," *MD*, 4 June 1953, 38-40.

<sup>60</sup> L. Zanatta, "The rise and fall of the third position: Bolivia, Perón and the Cold War, 1943-1954," *Desarrollo Económico*, 1.6 (2006): 1-27.

<sup>61</sup> J. Fernández, *El Ibañismo*, 27-28.

Nazis (National Socialist Movement or MNS) and in 1942 by the traditional right (Conservative and a fraction of the Liberal Party) losing in both occasions. After two electoral failures, Ibáñez languished in the political wilderness between exile and conspiracies, participating in two failed coups in 1939 and 1948. Finally, Ibáñez returned to Chile as Senator for Santiago, elected on March 6, 1949. Exiled from 1931 to 1937 in Buenos Aires, Ibáñez referred to Argentina as his second homeland. The country had served as the base from which he plotted the overthrow of virtually all the presidents who followed him in power after his first administration. After launching his presidential from Argentina in November 1950, Ibáñez was featured in many photographs with Eva Perón visiting projects sponsored by the Argentine first lady.<sup>62</sup> According to Gina Maggi, a Chilean resident in Buenos Aires at the time, Perón decreed that 500 Chilean workers living in Argentina could go to Chile to vote for the 1952 election.<sup>63</sup>

Ibáñez sought to mobilize an independent and multiclass electorate without party affiliations. For Ibáñez's supporters, only a man who had based his career on opposing and condemning political parties could save the systemic crisis. Much of this belief was rooted in the admiration for Argentina, where Perón also deployed messianic messages against the political parties and oligarchic groups. During the 1952 presidential campaign, Ibáñez promised administrative decency, repeal the law proscribing the Communists, and greater government control of Chile's foreign-owned copper companies, though he never made it clear how he would fulfill such promises.

Once in power, Ibáñez sought to awaken national sensibilities through popular culture, explicitly stating that his government would continue with the policies of "racial improvement"

---

<sup>62</sup> D. Sainte-Marie, *El Presidente Ibáñez*, 40.

<sup>63</sup> G. Maggi, *Tres presidentes en un andén*, 149.

initiated by the Popular Front.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, Ibáñez took particular care to distinguish the managerial efficiency of his first government with what he alleged was the corruption and ineffectiveness of the Radical Party-led administrations that had ruled Chile since 1938. The “General of Hope,” as Ibáñez was called during the 1952 campaign, was supported by a heterogeneous coalition led by the Agrarian Labor Party the (*Partido Agrario Laborista* or PAL) and the Popular Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Popular* or PSP), various clusters of nationalists and anti-communists, the newly established Feminine Party (*Partido Femenino de Chile* or PFC), which specifically mobilized women to vote for Ibáñez.<sup>65</sup>

Brandishing the symbol of a broom, Ibáñez criticized the Radicals for having sold out to the United States and for having created stagflation in the economy. But his own platform and promises were exceedingly vague. The antiparty style of Ibáñez, more than any clear-cut social coalition or reformist program, made him appear like a populist, as did his admiration for Peronist Argentina. Despite his long trajectory in Chilean politics and his political switch from authoritarian government to elected government, Ibáñez drew heavily on the Peronist model. Ibáñez found Peronist politics very useful within his own bid to govern within the context of democratic elections. Like Perón, Ibáñez sought to distance himself from his authoritarian past and saw himself as a democratic reformer. Unlike Perón, Ibáñez was not a good speaker. He had to read and was not a competent reader either. As a military leader without vitality, he developed a complex type of charisma based on paternal authority and social order.<sup>66</sup> Despite his lack of charisma, Ibáñez appealed to these qualities and imaginary as his main political capital.

---

<sup>64</sup> C. Ibáñez, *Lo que haremos por Chile*.

<sup>65</sup> The other candidates in the 1952 presidential election were Arturo Matte representing the Liberals and Conservatives, Pedro Alfonso for the Radical Party, and Salvador Allende, candidate of the Socialist Party, supported by the Popular Front of the People comprised of Communists, non-Ibañista Socialists, and several unions.

<sup>66</sup> J. Fernández, “Nacionalistas, antiliberales y reformistas: las identidades de la militancia Ibañista y su trayectoria hacia el populismo, 1937-1952.” In: O. Ulianova, *Redes Políticas y Militancias*, 210.

Sports in Chile were not nearly as well developed as they had been in Argentina when Perón started his presidency. Unlike the budget that Perón assigned to sports, Chilean policymakers were unwilling to grant sports large resources since Chile already faced a monetary deficit for public works. General Elías Ducaud, head of the State Department of Sports, proposed a card-betting system called *La Polla Deportiva* for professional soccer matches in order to reverse the balance.<sup>67</sup> As an effective yet controversial solution for budget constraints, the betting system was designed to expand other sports such as basketball and tennis, which were increasingly popular among the school population. Ducaud argued that the card-betting system could bring annual revenues of 400 million pesos, which could then be distributed for sports infrastructure as well as welfare programs in rural areas and shantytowns. However, congressional opposition blocked the betting initiative on the grounds that it was immoral and encouraged working-class men to gamble away family wages.<sup>68</sup>

The card-betting system also failed because professional soccer was experiencing a process of transformation. For the first time since the start of the professional league, the champion was a club from outside the capital: Everton Club from Viña del Mar achieved first place in 1950 and 1952. In addition, popular soccer clubs from Santiago such as Colo-Colo, Unión Española, and Audax Italiano formed their teams only with Chilean players. This process, known as “Chilenization” (*Chilenización*) of clubs was justified on the need to “nationalize” local teams and strengthen Chile’s National Team. It also implied the rejection of foreign players. Sports journalists, the main advocates of this measure, focused their criticism on the large presence of Argentines in Chile. Sportswriters argued that after decades receiving players

---

<sup>67</sup> The discussion about the card-betting system persisted until the 1970s, when finally General Augusto Pinochet implemented it by decree in 1975 under the name of *Polla Gol*. C. González and B. Quezada, *A discreción. El fútbol chileno bajo la dictadura militar*.

<sup>68</sup> “Cien Problemas,” *Estadio*, 11 July 1953, 3.

from Argentina, Chilean teams had already learned a great deal about their neighbors. As *Estadio* columnist José Navasal explained in February 1953, “Defensive tactics have produced more disciplined players in contrast to the more individualistic Argentines who never release the ball to their teammates.”<sup>69</sup> For these journalists, times had changed and Chilean teams now were more prepared to confront their rivals with more strategy.

Fans also weighed on the issue of Argentine soccer players. In February 1954, the Santiago tabloid *Las Últimas Noticias* published a letter from a fan in the city of Quillota complaining about a proposal by the Chile’s Soccer Association (*Asociación Central de Fútbol*) that would allow Chilean clubs to increase to four the number of foreign players on First Division teams. The fan begged for a journalistic crusade to convince coaches and club directors that *afuerino* players (non-Santiago players with seasonal contracts) were better than Argentines. The letter ended by reminding the editors of their civic duty: “Do not forget that you are the Fourth Estate!”<sup>70</sup> To many experts, the key to improving Chilean soccer was massive state investment, especially in developing youth leagues and recruiting players from the provinces.

Ibáñez supported many Chilean athletes who credited the president for their sporting success, including César Mendoza (silver-medal in equestrian jumping at the 1952 Helsinki Olympics), Ramón Sandoval (South American record in running in 1953), Marlene Ahrens (silver-medal in javelin at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics), and Ramón Tapia (silver-medal in boxing at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics).<sup>71</sup> Ibáñez himself served as a role model. He practiced equestrian sports, usually seen as a practice by the wealthy. A consummate horseman, Ibáñez became instructor of the Santiago Cavalry School in 1921, and was holding that post when the

---

<sup>69</sup> J. Navasal, “Los tiempos cambiaron,” *Estadio*, 14 February 1953, 8-9.

<sup>70</sup> J. Martínez, “Bajo la Marquesina: respuesta a Don Leopoldo Silva,” *Las Últimas Noticias*, 24 February 1954. Quoted in: E. Marín, *La Selección de Julio Martínez*, 61.

<sup>71</sup> E. Marín, *Historia del deporte chileno*, 150-171.

political crisis of 1924 occurred. Baptized by the print media as “The Horse,” his nickname alluded both to his qualities as sportsman and his influential presence among the young officers.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, horsemanship was constructed as a demonstration of masculine courage and class mobility that Ibáñez claimed to promote and embody. Ibáñez’s image as talented horseman was revitalized during the 1952 presidential campaign especially because it coincided with the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki, Finland, where the Chilean equestrian team obtained silver medal. With outstanding performances of the police officers Óscar Cristi and César Mendoza, Chile obtained international recognition in show jumping. Mendoza, a young Lieutenant of Carabineros (national police), was an admirer of Ibáñez and declared his support for the campaign. The support of Mendoza and his image as disciplined and accomplished sportsman imbued Ibáñez’s own image of strong, virile, and capable leader.<sup>73</sup> Considering that Ibáñez was seventy-five years old in 1952, the fabrication of imagery associated with horsemanship constituted a very particular brand of masculinity, one that appealed to political vitality, rejuvenating energy and tradition.

As historian Elisa Fernández argues, the 1952 presidential campaign was deeply charged with gendered rhetoric, inspired by the fact that women were voting for first time in presidential elections. Although numerically fewer women than men voted for Ibáñez overall, it is critical to highlight that the total pool the majority of them cast ballots for Ibáñez. Undoubtedly, women played a significant role in Ibáñez’s victory. The Chilean Feminine Party or PFC tried to incorporate women into the political system. Its main goal was to restore moral values, end class

---

<sup>72</sup> H. Dull, *The Influence of Carlos Ibáñez*, 27.

<sup>73</sup> As an upwardly mobile officer, Mendoza was promoted to captain in 1953. From higher positions of power and a self-declared anti-communism, he eventually formed part of the military junta that seized power following the 1973 coup d’état that overthrew the Socialist President Salvador Allende. Of the four members of the junta led by sinister General Augusto Pinochet, Mendoza was widely considered the one who held the least amount of power and influence. Nonetheless, Mendoza remained as General Director of Carabineros from 1973 to 1985.

struggle, hunger, and alcoholism in Chilean society. The party sought to defend each woman according to the condition of being woman, mother, and wife, until she obtained equal rights with men. By participating in politics, Ibañista women defended their country from the chaos caused by political parties. Therefore, behind this alliance was the idea that the defense of the nation was synonymous with the protection of the family.

In the early 1950s, the dominant political figure of Chilean politics was the charismatic Senator María de la Cruz, leader of the PFC. De la Cruz was elected Senator for Santiago filling the seat left by Ibáñez after he assumed the presidency. Like Ibáñez, she capitalized on middle-class disillusionment with the Radicals and promised to extend the benefits achieved in the Popular Front governments to various segments of the population. Not only did she gain recognition due to her association with Ibáñez but also because of his friendship with Perón. In 1953, she declared: “I am a Peronist because I am a Justicialist, and Perón is the founder of Justicialism. I am an Ibañista because the Ibañista doctrine is Justicialism.”<sup>74</sup> In fact, she was often referred as the “Eva Perón of Chile” and openly proclaimed herself a disciple of the Argentine president. But the rapid rise of Ibañista women’s movement was matched by its rapid collapse. In the midst of growing suspicion of Peronist penetration in Chile, the Senate removed María de la Cruz from its ranks due to allegations of corruption.<sup>75</sup> De la Cruz was accused of smuggling Swiss watches from Argentina and receiving cash from Perón to support the PFC. Perón entrusted the funds to two Argentine congresswomen who met on February 26, 1953 at the Carrera Hotel in Santiago with five Chilean feminist leaders: María Hamuy, Clementina Gil de Donoso, Julia Roman, Delfina Venegas, and Maria Moll de Escudero. Argentine funds had been bestowed upon PFC leaders sympathetic to Peron by way of the Eva Perón Foundation. Despite

---

<sup>74</sup> S. Amaral, “Feminismo y Peronismo en Chile: ascenso y caída de María de la Cruz,” *Todo es Historia*, 321 (1994) 78-91.

<sup>75</sup> A. Magnet, *Nuestros vecinos Justicialistas*, 195.

her reversal of political fortune, she remained loyal to Perón —even more so than to Ibáñez— and visited him during his exile in Venezuela, when the Argentine leader took refuge in 1956.<sup>76</sup>

One factor that helped Ibáñez to mobilize women after assuming office was his appeal to women's sports. In 1953, Chile hosted the first Women's Basketball World Championship in Santiago. The tournament went from March 7 to March 23 and the teams included Chile, Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Paraguay, Cuba, Mexico, Switzerland, France, and the United States, which ultimately won the tournament. In fact, Ibáñez attended the tournament inauguration in company of his wife, Graciela Letelier.<sup>77</sup> His appearance in the tournament was an explicit attempt to look like the champion of women's rights and a leader who promoted women's sports.

On March 22, 1953, an unknown photographer captured a group of female players of Chile the Women's Basketball Team with President Ibáñez, presumably the night after the final match against the United States (See Figure 2.1).<sup>78</sup> Assuming by the formal attires and the light candles in the background, the photograph was probably taken in a salon exclusively reserved for the team's celebration with Ibáñez, underscoring how important this team was for the government. While the players express their joy and pride at winning second place (the US team beat Chile by 49-36), Ibáñez closes his eyes at the precise moment of the snapshot. In addition, most of the men featured in this picture seem secondary in compare to the vibrant smiles and empowered expressions of women in the room.

---

<sup>76</sup> S. Amaral and W. Ratliff, *Juan Domingo Perón: Cartas del Exilio*.

<sup>77</sup> "Brillante magnífica inauguración del Mundial de Básquetbol femenino," *Estadio*, 14 March 1953, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Bending over from left to right: Fedora Penelli (holding the trophy), Onésima Reyes (second), María Gallardo (third), Amalia Villalobos (fourth), Laura Piña (fifth), Lucreciá Terán (sixth); standing from left to right: Juan Arredondo (coach of the women's basketball team); First Lady Graciela Letelier, President Carlos Ibáñez, Carmen Camazón (bouquet of flowers), María Guzman, Alejandro Rivera (President of Chile's Olympic Committee) and Elena Yávar. The rest of the people in the image could not be identified. Private collectors donated the image to the Centro del Patrimonio Fotográfico in Santiago in 2008.



Figure 2.1 President Ibáñez and Chile Women's Basketball Team. Photograph. Courtesy of the Centro del Patrimonio Fotográfico, Santiago

Always a mercurially pragmatic man, though not charismatic in public, Ibáñez supported the tournament for two reasons. First, basketball had more chances of bringing Chile a sports victory than soccer. In fact, the same team had achieved golden medal in the 1950 South American tournament. Second, Ibáñez had successfully mobilized women to support his electoral success in 1952 and he wanted to keep that support. Similar to Perón's political use of official visits to sports events, Ibáñez attendance at the women's basketball tournament intentionally demonstrated state support for women's sports. After the tournament General Elias Ducaud, head of the State Department of Sports, praised the female basketball players as "a fine example of Chilean femininity" that deserved full support from the government.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> "Belleza y deporte hermanaron en el acto del Mundial de Básquet femenino," *El Siglo*, 8 March 1953, 7.

But Ibáñez's initial commitment to women's basketball eventually changed in favor of men's soccer. The two multi-sports stadiums aimed at women's sports in Santiago were not finished during his presidential term. The "Chile Stadium" (*Estadio Chile*), a five-story coliseum for "inter-school tournaments" (*campeonatos inter-escolares*) of basketball, volleyball, table tennis, boxing, and futsal (a modified form of soccer played with five players per side on a smaller, typically indoor, field) was only completed in 1965. Similarly, the "Metropolitan Indoor Stadium" (*Estadio Techado Metropolitano*), a bigger coliseum and multi-use sports complex for major international basketball matches was inaugurated unfinished in 1956.<sup>80</sup> Designed by the architect Mario Recordón, the "Metropolitan Indoor Stadium" was constructed to be the seat of the 1959 World Basketball Championship.<sup>81</sup> But the stadium remained roofless until 1999 because the money was used for the remodeling of the National Stadium in light of the 1962 FIFA World Cup to be held in Chile.

Competing for the bid against Argentina, neither Ibáñez nor the press believed that Chile would win the bid for the World Cup. In order to convince FIFA to grant Chile the organization of the event, the Chilean delegation in Europe argued that Chile offered political stability in compare to neighboring Argentina. As Carlos Dittborn argued in June 1956 at the 30<sup>th</sup> FIFA Congress in Lisbon, "while Chile is respected for the strength of its democratic institutions, no one really knows who is currently ruling in Argentina."<sup>82</sup> Dittborn was referring to the failed Peronist counter-coup on June 9, 1956, organized by General Juan Valle against the military leaders that ousted Perón in 1955, which culminated with Valle and other 26 military officials

---

<sup>80</sup> Like the National Stadium in 1973, the Chile Stadium served as center of detention and torture during the military regime of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). The stadium was renamed as a memorial to folk singer Víctor Jara, who was tortured and killed by members of the Army after the Chilean coup of 1973.

<sup>81</sup> C. Muñoz, *Historia de la Dirección General de Deportes*, 95.

<sup>82</sup> D. Matamala, *1962: El mito del mundial chileno*, 55.

executed. Criticizing the unstable political situation after Perón's overthrow in 1955, Chile won the bid with 32 votes and Dittborn was appointed head of the World Cup organizing committee.

With the surprising news confirming Chile as host nation for the international tournament, Ibáñez channeled resources towards remodeling of the National Stadium and expropriated lands for Club Colo-Colo to build a new stadium only fifteen blocks from the National Stadium, to be called "David Arellano Monumental Stadium" (*Estadio Monumental David Arellano*). Named after the mythical Colo-Colo player who died in 1927, the stadium was a way to connect soccer fans with the period when Ibáñez had first associated himself with the club during his first presidential term. However, the project was not concluded on time because of the large damage provoked by a massive earthquake on May 22, 1960, (the most powerful earthquake ever recorded on Earth), which affected Chile's central-south region.<sup>83</sup>

As soon as FIFA granted the organization of the event to Chile in 1954, Ibáñez turned his attention from women's basketball to men's soccer in a political maneuver that aroused criticism. Through the quarterly newsletter *Revista Chilena de Educación Física*, physicians and physical education teachers pressured Ibáñez to reconsider his initial plan of sports in favor of women. As physician Luis Bisquertt argued in April 1955, "women are constant victims of the soccer euphoria and authorities seem to ignore the social significance of other sports."<sup>84</sup> Rejecting Ibáñez's opportunistic support of the World Cup, Bisquertt criticized the government for diverting resources from basketball to soccer, or as he put it, from "women" to "men." Thus, the initial enthusiasm for sports programs aimed at women, fostered by the 1953 Women's Basketball World Championship, crashed with the plans for hosting the 1962 FIFA World Cup.

---

<sup>83</sup> The project would not be finished until 1989 during the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet who promised financing. Angered by his defeat in the 1988 referendum that took him out of power, he never granted the money to the club. D. Matamala, *Goles y Autogoles*.

<sup>84</sup> L. Bisquertt, "Desorientación deportiva," *Revista Chilena de Educación Física* [henceforth *RCEF*] No. 84, April 1955, 953.

## Sports Diplomacy

In February 1953, Perón made a memorable visit to Chile to meet with Ibáñez. His invitation grew out of the two men's aspiration to form a bloc of several South American states. Whereas Ibáñez considered the value of such an alliance to be its function as crucial counterweight to the United States, Perón regarded it as a means of extending his own influence within the region.<sup>85</sup> Perón arrived by train to Santiago on February 20, 1953, accompanied by a large entourage that included Ismael de la Cruz (Argentine Ambassador in Santiago) and Conrado Ríos (Chilean Ambassador in Buenos Aires), the Ministers of Foreign Affairs (Jerónimo Remorino for Argentina and Arturo Olavarría for Chile), several labor leaders, numerous journalists, security agents, army officers, and television technicians.

The delegation also included famous athletes such as the retired boxer Luis Firpo, the Olympic gold-medalist Delfo Cabrera, the auto race driver Óscar Gálvez, and the tennis player Mary Terán.<sup>86</sup> On February 21, the two presidents signed the Act of Santiago, establishing a 120-day period in which the two nations were to negotiate a treaty to eliminate all trade restrictions between them.<sup>87</sup> Later, Perón addressed a multitude gathered in front of the Chilean presidential palace. During the night, both leaders attended to Santiago's National Stadium to enjoy a friendly soccer match between Everton (Champion of the Chilean soccer league in 1952) and Hajduk, a Yugoslavian team that was touring South America at that time.<sup>88</sup>

On February 22, Perón held a meeting with athletes from both countries at the Argentine Embassy in Santiago. Almost four hundred Chilean athletes showed up to the event. They

---

<sup>85</sup> The meeting also contemplated presidents Velasco of Ecuador, Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia and Vargas of Brazil would attend to Chile. However, Vargas refused to attend because he did not want to endanger a military pact with the United States. A. Magnet, *Nuestros vecinos Justicialistas*, 192.

<sup>86</sup> "Hoy llegan las estrellas del deporte argentino," *La Nación* (Chi), 19 February 1953, 13.

<sup>87</sup> Chile, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Acta Suscrita por los Presidentes de Chile y de Argentina: 21 de Febrero de 1953*; Servicio Internacional de Publicaciones Argentinas, *Confraternidad Latinoamericana*.

<sup>88</sup> "En partido con Everton, se despide esta noche el Hajduk," *La Nación* (Chi), 21 February 1953, 11.

represented a large contingent of Chile's sports organizations and clubs who hoped Perón's visit would encourage Ibáñez to raise the living standard of Chilean athletes to the same level as those in Argentina.<sup>89</sup> In the meeting Perón explained how his government was prioritizing sports as a means of improving the public health and civic virtue of Argentina's national citizenry, rather than emphasizing the international competition of Argentine teams.<sup>90</sup> Echoing Perón's message in the state-run newspaper *La Nación*, the female tennis player Mary Terán argued that Argentine athletes were not only competing to break Olympic records, they were also working for the dissemination of sports in a social sense. As representative member of the Ateneos Femeninos, she also explained that "now, thanks to Perón, we teach tennis in poor neighborhoods with new fields built by the government, and with free racquets for students and their mothers."<sup>91</sup> As an attempt to reinforce these words, Argentine delegates gifted coins, pennants, portraits of Evita, and hundreds of soccer balls when the train stationed in a town.<sup>92</sup>

But not all the Chilean press celebrated Perón's visit to Chile. Columnists pointed out the importance of Chile for Perón's political career and described Perón as a good disciple of older Chilean leaders such as Arturo Alessandri and the Popular Front presidents. As an article of the satirical magazine *Topaze* argued in 1953, Perón's doctrine of social justice (*Justicialismo*) was born in Chile: "Mr. Perón lived for many years in our homeland, where he learned about our democratic political traditions. Inspired by Chile's example of labor legislation, Perón simply applied in Argentina what he learned in our country."<sup>93</sup> According to this publication, Peronism owed a great deal to the emergent welfare state in Chile. In turn, the sports magazine *Estadio*

---

<sup>89</sup> "No titubeamos un instante en proclamaros como el Primer Deportista de esta América," *La Nación* (Chi), 25 February 1953, 13.

<sup>90</sup> "Deportistas chilenos visitaron ayer al presidente Perón," *La Nación* (Chi), 23 February 1953, 6.

<sup>91</sup> "Interesante labor de difusión del tenis en Argentina," *La Nación* (Chi), 23 February 1953, 8.

<sup>92</sup> F. Luna, *Perón y su Tiempo* (T. III), 17; E. Würth, *Ibáñez, caudillo enigmático*, 302.

<sup>93</sup> "Perón, un discípulo aprovechado," *Topaze*, 27 February 1953, 1.

criticized Perón for banning Argentina's participation in international soccer competitions. Invoking a discourse of "continental friendship," Chilean sportswriters argued that such isolationist policies had led to a decline in the quality of Argentine soccer as well as the spirit of trans-Andean sportsmanship. Rather than proposing that Chileans could learn from Argentines how to improve sports, journalists suggested that Argentina might learn from the Chilean example. As *Estadio*'s director Alejandro Jaramillo articulated, "Hopefully, the presence of a group of athletes with president Perón will usher in a new era of Argentine sports. Our neighbors have been isolated from international soccer ignoring their brothers of the continent. An inexplicable policy that interrupted our friendship for years."<sup>94</sup> While official publications such as *La Nación* highlighted the social aspects of Peronist sports policies, magazines like *Topaze* and *Estadio* fostered nationalistic stories to justify Perón's political and sports debt to Chile.

Ibáñez returned the favor and visited Buenos Aires in July 1953 for the signing of the Argentina-Chile Economic Agreement. The agreement was billed as a mutually beneficial for the economies of both countries. Besides trade regulations, Perón and Ibáñez made commitments to collaborate on advancing tourism, communication technology, and sports.<sup>95</sup> Before leaving Argentina, Perón took Ibáñez to the Luna Park stadium in Buenos Aires (See Figure 2.2) where they witnessed a boxing fight of Pascual Pérez.<sup>96</sup> Taken on July 9, 1953, Perón greets Pérez in company of Ibáñez before the boxing match. Perón had a particular fascination with boxing. He enthusiastically celebrated it because it symbolized social mobility and manliness.

---

<sup>94</sup> "Desde la Altura," *Estadio*, 21 February 1953, 2.

<sup>95</sup> The Argentine government published two pamphlets to advertise Ibáñez visit: Presidencia de la Nación Argentina, Subsecretaría de Informaciones, *Los Anhelos de dos pueblos hermanos en la palabra de Perón e Ibáñez; Palabras magistrales: la Hora de los Pueblos*.

<sup>96</sup> Pérez was a devoted Peronist and a product of Perón's sports policy. Pérez was the son of a peasant family in Mendoza, near the border with Chile, where he jumped quickly to the 1948 London Olympics winning the gold medal in the flyweight category. His rapid style and bold stroke punch made him world champion between 1954 and 1960.



Figure 2.2. Presidents Perón and Ibáñez at the Luna Park Stadium. Photograph. Darío Sainte-Marie, *El Presidente Ibáñez*, 42.

Male athletes of humble origins such as Pérez received scholarships from the regime to demonstrate that talent and hard work, rather than privilege, could result in remarkable achievements.<sup>97</sup> The Chilean journalist Darío Sainte-Marie published the photograph in 1957 in a propagandistic book that contains many other shots of Ibáñez with Perón during his trip to Buenos Aires. While the intention of the image was to show Ibáñez's closeness to Perón, the photograph actually stresses the complicity between Perón and Pérez—both distancing from Ibáñez, who appears as an outsider with glasses and white hair.<sup>98</sup> The two countrymen have similar hairstyles with hair gel and seem to be laughing about something. Taken from above, the photograph captures the three men almost in the same size—a clever visual trick considering that Pérez was 4ft 11in (1.50m) and Ibáñez 6ft (1.83m). In addition, the image shows men in the

---

<sup>97</sup> A. Scher, *Deporte nacional*, 281-290

<sup>98</sup> The boxer and the president built a close relationship, particularly after Pérez obtained the world championship in 1954, beating the Japanese Yoshio Shirai in Tokyo. After the fight, Pérez declared to the press: "I fulfilled, my General!" (*cumplí, mi general*) V. Lupo, *Historia política del deporte argentino*, 314.

background who seem to be looking at the scene. They represent a heterogeneous group composed of a military officer (top, right), middle class spectators (three men wearing different suits and tie), and a man wearing a coat without tie (top, left) that seems to be listening to the dialogue between Perón and Pérez. Another man is hidden behind Perón possibly whispering something into his ear—perhaps a presidential adviser telling Perón that this is a great moment to smile in front of the cameras. Although the photograph was meant to uplift Ibáñez’s image in a sporting event, the image ultimately extolls Perón’s image as the real star of the show. Both Perón and Perez seem like old friends who have known for years.

Witnessing the popularity of Perón in sports, the diplomatic visits encouraged Ibáñez to pay more attention to sports. In October 1953, Ibáñez created a Commission on Physical Education and Sports in which he appointed Elías Ducaud (head of the State Department of Sports), Alejandro Rivera (President of Chile’s Olympic Committee), the Congressman and former boxer Sergio Ojeda, and the medical experts Luis Bisquertt and Rosauro Salas.<sup>99</sup> Both Bisquertt and Salas had been two collaborators of Ibáñez. As prominent physicians dedicated to sports, they looked optimistically on Ibáñez’s triumph in 1952 because they valued that his first administration had dictated a Law of Physical Education in 1929. However, they soon expressed doubts about Ibáñez’s plans. Worried about Ibáñez’s ambivalence, both men made use of high circulation newspapers such as *El Mercurio* and *La Nación*, where they regularly criticized state inaction on sports. Bisquertt and Salas supported the idea of prioritizing sports as a means of improving the public health over winning Olympic medals.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> “Problemas de Educación Física fueron tratados con autoridades y parlamentarios,” *RCEF*, No. 78, October 1953, 570-571.

<sup>100</sup> R. Salas, “Difundiendo la buena Educación Física,” *El Mercurio*, 1 October 1952; L. Bisquertt, “Contribuciones para una educación física social,” *La Nación* (Chi), 29 December 1952; L. Bisquertt, “Preocupación por la Educación Física,” *El Mercurio*, 31 March 1954.

In 1951, Bisquertt and Salas attended to the First South American Congress of Sports Medicine in Buenos Aires celebrated during the days of the Pan-American Games held in the city. There, they convened with other medical experts on sports and even met with Eva Perón. The presence of the first lady symbolized state support for this event. Bisquertt and Salas understood this meeting as a good opportunity to learn about Peronist sports programs as models for Chile. With Perón's example in mind, Bisquertt criticized Chile's investment in soccer stadiums and professional sports to the detriment of physical education and sports programs for ordinary citizens. As he wrote in 1953,

“Sport spectacles, which supposedly favor the diffusion of physical activity, gravely damage national physical education. Why? Sports journalism and the frenetic crowds attract the attention of opportunistic politicians, making them believe that what matters is the great show, the extraordinary performance, and the competition. In consequence, financial resources are diverted away from the marginalized sectors of society in favor of sport-business shows. State moneys are invested without any real benefit to the poor, since the games leave behind no permanent value.<sup>101</sup>

Bisquertt echoed Perón's distinction between “mass spectacle sports” and “sports as an activity,” but added (perhaps unwittingly) a Marxist analysis of alienation. He argued that human beings were becoming disconnected from the major goal of sports (beneficial physical activity) as capitalism's mass culture industry turned people into spectators rather than athletes. Like Perón, Bisquertt also wanted a nation of athletes but without state subsidies for commercial sports. In other words, he maintained that building more stadiums would not solve Chile's need for real physical education.

As member of the Commission on Physical Education and Sports, Bisquertt drafted a bill in October 1954, entitled the Physical Education Law, which required public schools to maintain medical exams and collect anthropometric measurements for all Chilean students, without

---

<sup>101</sup> “Los estudios de Educación Física,” *RCEF*, No. 76, April 1953, 422.

distinction of sex or age.<sup>102</sup> But Ibáñez's own ministers ignored the drafted legislation and no bill was ever sent to Congress for consideration. In response, Bisquertt published a letter in the *Revista Chilena de Educación Física* highlighting how quickly Ibáñez had forgotten his campaign promises.<sup>103</sup> On April 10, 1955, Bisquertt traveled again to Argentina to participate in the First International Congress of Sports Medicine in Buenos Aires. At the closing ceremony, Bisquertt dedicated a few words to President Perón, who personally attended the event.

“While the international press shows distrust and arrogance, while history continues on its whirlwind of conflicts, meetings like these provide a strong sense of optimism and hope. In the name of the international delegates, we applaud this conference supported by the Argentine government. For the first time ever, a Head of State, General Perón, personally attends a congress of this nature. We are very honored that this occurs in Latin America. In gratitude for his support to physical education, sports physicians will now contribute to improving the racial fitness of children, workers, and athletes in general: the living forces on which rest the productive future of our nations.”<sup>104</sup>

Bisquertt's rhetorical flourishes about the “living forces” and “productive future of the nation,” mimicked Perón's own populist discourse, linking sports to mass regeneration and racial fitness. By declaring his deep admiration for the Argentine investment in sports, Bisquertt implied that similar action should be taken in Chile. But Ibáñez refused to listen. Regardless of the interest manifested by Bisquertt in promoting a physical education agenda modeled on Perón's example, little resulted from the twenty-one sessions of the Commission of Physical Education and Sports. In 1955, Ibáñez cut the funding for the Commission and thereafter the physicians who advocated a national sports policy withdrew their support for the Ibáñez regime and pinned their hopes on the political opposition, particularly the Christian Democrats.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> “Nuevo Anteproyecto de Ley de Educación Física,” *RCEF*, No. 82, October 1954, 893-900.

<sup>103</sup> “Memorial a S. E. Presidente Carlos Ibáñez del Campo,” *RCEF*, No. 83, January 1955, 955.

<sup>104</sup> “Primer Congreso Internacional de Medicina del Deporte,” *RCEF*, No. 84, April 1955, 1019.

<sup>105</sup> “La solución integral: una ley de educación física,” *La Nación* (Chi), 2 July 1956.

## Conclusion

Populist projects such as Peron's Argentina and Chile under both the Popular Front and Ibáñez defined how nations should be organized after World War II and what kinds of citizens were desirable. Ibáñez continued to rely on similar sports programs established by both the Popular Front and Perón. Although Argentina still had more developed sports institutions and resources overall, the populist policies of the Popular Front in Chile came *before* those carried out in Argentina. In that sense, the Popular Front was ahead of the programs initiated after 1946 (or even after 1943) under Perón.

While soccer was a significant component of the larger populist sports policy and appeal to the masses, sports programs under Perón and Ibáñez were never exclusively focused on men's soccer. Both leaders promoted a variety of sports, sponsoring the preparation of athletes to compete domestically and abroad. Particularly, these governments promoted basketball because it symbolized modernity and political victories in different realms: Argentina's triumph over the United States at the 1950 Men's Basketball World Championship represented an international triumph of Peronism over U.S. imperialism; similarly, Ibáñez's support of the 1953 Women's Basketball World Championship aimed at keeping the support of women after he took office.

Although Perón and Ibáñez benefited from these sporting victories, their regimes received considerable domestic criticism for not showing full commitment to women's sports in comparison to the state support granted for men's. In that sense, the voices of María Cartasegna in Argentina and of Luis Bisquertt in Chile show that the reach of the populist governments in sports was limited, specially in Chile where the legal efforts to establish nationwide sports programs proved partial and incomplete. While Cartasegna evoked the figure of Evita to claim

state resources for women's sports programs, Bisquertt compared the "greatness" of Perón to criticize Ibáñez's ambiguities in sports policy.

## CHAPTER 3

### Picturing the Game: Print Media, Iconography, and Soccer Narratives

On the night of March 30, 1955, Chilean soccer fans lived one of the saddest sports defeats in their history. Chile's National Team reached the final match of the South American Championship (*Campeonato Sudamericano*) held that year in Santiago. Chile faced off against Argentina, which had just returned to international soccer competitions after seven years of self-imposed exile under the government of Juan Perón (1946-1955). Chile's more experienced team was the clear favorite but the Argentines played an intelligent game, countering the Chilean defense with fast transitions and accurate passes. To the astonishment of 70,000 spectators, Argentina beat Chile 1-0 with a goal in the second half, scored by Rodolfo Micheli.<sup>1</sup> Grief over athletic defeat was compounded by violence. Before the game, people without tickets had broken into the stadium and caused stampedes that trampled six fans to death. The Chilean press reported on the event with a mix of bewilderment and outrage. However, the Radical Party newspaper *El Debate* took advantage of the tragedy to provide a biting political commentary against President Carlos Ibáñez. A sarcastic and small cartoon titled "Euphoria," suggested that Ibáñez and his followers were perfectly happy with Argentina's athletic triumph over Chile since Ibáñez policy was itself nothing but an extension of Peronism. Drawn by cartoonist Alberto Reyes (aka "El Bigote"), the picture featured several Chilean politicians and civic leaders close to Ibáñez, all enthusiastically singing: "We won, we won!"

---

<sup>1</sup> E. Marín, *La Roja de Todos*, 107.



Figure 3.1 “Euforia,” *El Debate*, 31 March 1955, 4. Cartoon. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

The treasonous cronies included (from top to bottom, left to right): María de la Cruz (Senator of the Chilean Feminine Party), Guillermo del Pedregal (Finance Minister), Eduardo Yáñez (Labor Minister), Rafael Tarud (Minister of Economy and Trade), René Montero (Secretary of the Presidency), Guillermo Izquierdo (Diplomat), Darío Sainte-Marie (Journalist), and Conrado Ríos (Ambassador in Argentina). The cartoon underscored the complex relationship between soccer and politics on both the domestic and international stage (See Figure 3.1). Exaggerating physical and cultural markers, it depicted Ibáñez supporters as racial others, foreign, and fascist. At the image’s center, Rafael Tarud (of Palestinian descent) was drawn with an Ottoman fez and prominent nose, and Eduardo Yáñez (a general in the Chilean Army) appeared in full military dress. Waving Argentine flags, Ibáñez’s followers were all smiles, apparently overjoyed with the Peronist defeat of Chile on the soccer field. The cartoon made it clear that it was not just Chilean athletes who had lost, but Chile as a nation had been treacherously sold out, on Chilean soil, through the Peronist politics of Carlos Ibáñez’s government.

The cartoon also referenced the effectiveness of soccer and popular culture as instruments of political control of the masses. *El Debate*'s attack was representative of Radical Party criticism of Perón and Ibáñez on both sides of the Andes. In both Argentina and Chile, the Radical Party was in the political opposition, which regularly depicted Ibáñez and Perón as fascist dictators.<sup>2</sup> Although Ibáñez himself was not featured in the cartoon, the allegation that Ibáñez supporters were ardent Peronists, and therefore traitors, highlights the importance of Peronism and anti-Peronism in Chilean political culture. It also demonstrates how narratives about soccer in the media were central to representing and debating politics.

This chapter analyzes how sports publications elaborated ideas about national populist politics, both celebratory and critical, in Chile and Argentina during the 1940s and 1950s. It pays particular attention to the impact of two weekly sports magazines: the Chilean publication *Estadio*, created during the Popular Front government in 1941, but of major importance during Ibáñez's presidency in the 1950s; and the Argentine publication *Mundo Deportivo*, created under Perón in 1949. By analyzing print media coverage of professional soccer, as distinct from the educational-oriented policies covered in previous chapters, I explore how these sports publications portrayed the political regimes of Peronism in Argentina and Ibañismo in Chile. Throughout this chapter, I close-read images (photographic portraits and cartoons) produced within the sporting press, which were often central to commenting on broader national and international politics. While featuring Perón and Ibáñez on magazine covers, columnists debated the populist welfare state and its implications for citizens—athletes, spectators, and readers.

In particular, I argue that *Mundo Deportivo* and *Estadio* responded in different ways to populism. By examining the photographic work of José Olivieri in *Mundo Deportivo*, this

---

<sup>2</sup> P. Snow, *The Radical Parties of Chile and Argentina*.

chapter argues that sport photographs were hardly spontaneous snapshots and became symbolic representations of the social work carried out by the Peronist government, including the Evita Championships. Olivieri's photographs showed Perón and Evita as the personification of the state. In addition, photographs of young soccer players represented the profound social mobility of the working class enabled by Perón. Unlike the images created by Olivieri in *Mundo Deportivo*, the photographic work of Eugenio García in *Estadio* focused on idyllic scenes of masculine and feminine perfection through athletes who embodied the very best of the "Chilean race." In García's images, childhood represented Chile's human capital, abandoned by irresponsible biological fathers and underserved by an insensitive state.

Politically, sports iconography functioned as what Marxist cultural critic Raymond Williams has called "structure of feelings," a set of affective elements of consciousness and cultural experiences informing the world view of Peronist and Ibañista militants, as well as that of these regimes' opponents.<sup>3</sup> Considering that consuming sports publications constituted an everyday life experience for thousands of fans and potential voters, Perón as well as Ibáñez consciously courted political legitimacy through new forms of print media as part of their modernization agendas. While these governments controlled many publications that promoted and defended state policies, these regimes were quick to censor or otherwise restrict oppositional media in ways that underscored the authoritarian price of populist promises.

### **Snapshots of the Regime**

The paradoxical place of print media in Argentine society is evident in the 180-degree shift in journalists' stance towards Perón at the beginning and end of his regime. Historians agree

---

<sup>3</sup> R. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*.

that Perón was effective in winning the media's favor and at the same time getting rid of those newspapers who opposed him.<sup>4</sup> When Perón assumed the presidency in 1946, most Buenos Aires newspapers were against him; by the time he was overthrown in 1955, almost all media were in his favor. In 1946, print media opposed to Perón's rising power included the right-wing newspapers *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, the conservative publishing house Atlántida (which published the very popular magazines *El Gráfico*, the children-oriented *Billiken*, and the women oriented *Para Ti*), the military-tied *La Razón*, the tabloids *Crítica* and *Clarín*, the socialist *La Vanguardia*, and the communist *La Hora*.<sup>5</sup> They competed for readers against the labor press including *El Laborista*, which supported the emergent Colonel and had important links with the trade union movement.

Perón's own interest in media started during the military government (1943-1946). From there, he decreed the Journalist's Statute, enacted in April 1944, which established improvements in journalists' working conditions such as the right to have a union of news workers.<sup>6</sup> Perón publically exalted the civic role of journalists, arguing that instead of being mere commentators, journalists had a patriotic duty "to collect the clamor of the street, of the factory, of the stadium."<sup>7</sup> In other words, the proper role of journalists was to take the nation's pulse and give expression to the Argentine citizens, especially workers and the urban poor. The focus of state intervention in the functioning of the press shifted from an ominous vigilance over newspaper content to a positive enforcement of social justice among news workers. Perón proposed a new

---

<sup>4</sup> For detailed cases of censorship and control of newspapers, see: P. Sirvén, *Perón y los medios de comunicación*; M. Da Orden and J. Melón, *Prensa y peronismo*; C. Panella, *La prensa y el peronismo*; R. Rein and C. Panella, *Peronismo y prensa escrita*; C. Panella, *La prensa de izquierda y el peronismo*.

<sup>5</sup> These wide-circulation publications supported the Democratic Union, a coalition formed by Radicals, Socialists, Democrats and Communists that proclaimed José Tamborini as presidential candidate in 1946.

<sup>6</sup> Presidencia de la Nación, Secretaría del Trabajo, *Estatuto del Periodista Profesional*, 1944.

<sup>7</sup> Presidencia de la Nación, Subsecretaría de Informaciones, *Discurso de Perón ante la Magna Asamblea de Clausura del Primer Congreso Nacional de Periodistas*, 1951.

relationship between the state and the newspaper industry would serve the government's efforts to mediate in labor conflicts.<sup>8</sup>

After assuming the presidency, Perón carried out “restrictive measures” such as censorship of contents and control over newsprint. At the same time, he encouraged “incentives” by creating new media companies. Publications that opposed Perón suffered persecution through the application of heavy fines or temporary closure. The government nationalized paper mills, distributing printing paper to newspapers and magazines that he favored the regime.<sup>9</sup> In 1950, Perón granted 22,975 tons of paper to the Haynes Editorial—more than any other publishing company.<sup>10</sup> The Peronist government had acquired the Haynes publishing house in 1948. Previously owned by an Anglo-American journalistic firm, the government controlled Haynes's content, including newspaper *El Mundo* and miscellaneous magazines such as *El Hogar*, *PBT*, *Mundo Argentino*, and *Caras y Caretas* the last two of wide circulation. After taking control of Haynes and of the printing paper, the Peronist government promoted new magazines in order to reach diverse audiences. Thus, in addition to the preexisting titles, Haynes began to publish *Mundo Peronista*, *Mundo Infantil*, *Mundo Agrario*, *Mundo Radial*, *Mundo Atómico*, and *Mundo Deportivo*.<sup>11</sup>

The sports weekly *Mundo Deportivo* began to appear on April 21, 1949. With a price range between \$0.40 and \$1.50 Argentine pesos, its circulation reached almost 180,000. The magazine featured colorful portraits of prominent athletes and had an average of 80 pages per

---

<sup>8</sup> J. Cane, *The Fourth Enemy*, 116.

<sup>9</sup> M. Varela, “Le Péronisme et les Médias: Contrôle Politique, Industrie Nationale et Goût Populaire,” *Le Temps Des Médias*, 7.2 (2006): 48-63.

<sup>10</sup> J. Ramos, *Los cerrojos a la prensa*, 99.

<sup>11</sup> *Mundo Peronista* disseminated official propaganda; *Mundo Infantil* published educational content aimed at school children; *Mundo Agrario* commented on the agrarian economy; *Mundo Radial* covered cinema and radio programs; *Mundo Atómico* presented the advances of scientific research in Argentina. See: C. Panella and G. Korn, *Ideas y debates para la Nueva Argentina*.

issue, which at the time was higher than any other magazine. It contained a significant amount of private commercial advertising, including promotions for men's clothing and alcoholic beverages, sporting goods, cigarettes, and department stores. State ads generally consisted of a whole page per issue and were meant to showcase the works and achievements of the government.<sup>12</sup>

Under the direction of Carlos Aloé (a journalist who later became governor of Buenos Aires Province in 1952), *Mundo Deportivo* sought to expand its readership by appealing to Argentine youth and women, in addition to adult men. Along with Aloé, the editorial board included physicians Emilio Rubio, Eduardo Saunders, journalists Horacio Besio, Alejandro Yebra, Américo Barrios, the photographer José Olivieri, and the former female athletes Alicia Figueroa and María Cartasegna (two pioneer female sportswriters who occasionally wrote about school age children and women, respectively). The inclusion of Figueroa and Cartasegna in a world of "male experts" was part of the magazine's deliberate strategy to attract female readers and build support for sports among women.

Carlos Aloé's editorial pieces in *Mundo Deportivo* offered pedagogical instructions about Peronist values. Aloé shared many of Perón's views on journalism. As he wrote in 1954, "the service provided by media professionals to the formation of the national spirit is invaluable. Hence it is necessary that sport journalists become the teachers of the Argentine people."<sup>13</sup> The style of commentary of individual writers was less important than what journalists as a profession had to say about Argentina as a collective people. *Mundo Deportivo* aspired to transform journalism from an elitist institution that commented on the masses from a place of superiority, to a participatory institution for and about the masses. Nonetheless, Perón's

---

<sup>12</sup> C. Panella, "Mundo Deportivo: la mirada peronista del deporte argentino," in R. Rein, *La cancha peronista*, 49.

<sup>13</sup> C. Aloé, "El Periodismo y la educación física," *MD*, 10 June 1954, 26.

increasing control over print media made it clear that such horizontal fraternity would be closely monitored through a vertical relationship to state authority.<sup>14</sup>

Aloé's editorials also reinforced Peronist ideas about gender, advocating a strong support for women's sports. As he argued in 1953, "Perón strives to promote sport for women as no other statesmen before him, thereby ensuring an aesthetic sense that is invaluable to the human race. They [women] who are the base of our race, who transmit the spirit and soul of our people, of an enduring nation, cannot fail to ensure our national offspring."<sup>15</sup> Thus, Aloé assured that Perón championed women's sports in contrast to earlier governments. At the same time, Aloé did not represent a significant departure from earlier medical views that saw women's sports as inextricably linked to procreation. In regards to masculinity, instead of focusing on physical strength and body types, Aloé stressed collective values such as teamwork and love for the homeland. As he commented in 1951, "sport has an important influence on the moral education of men because physical practices teach respect and sportsmanship. These are the virtues that adorn Perón's unique personality."<sup>16</sup> Aloé's explicit celebration of Perón's example set the tone of what the magazine considered role model for men.

Published on October 15, 1953, the cover of *Mundo Deportivo* shows Perón posing in a stone building presumably near the mountains (See Figure 3.2). This image was published on the eve of "Loyalty Day" (*Día de la Lealtad*), the commemoration of October 17, 1945, and considered the foundation day of Peronism, which remembers the massive demonstration at Plaza de Mayo demanding the liberation of Perón who was jailed for supporting the unions.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> On Perón's anti-intellectual stance, see: F. Fiorucci, *Intelectuales y peronismo*.

<sup>15</sup> C. Aloé, "La mujer y el deporte," *MD*, 19 November 1953, 26.

<sup>16</sup> C. Aloé, "Los hombres, el deporte y la moral," *MD*, 27 September 1951, 26.

<sup>17</sup> D. James, "October 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>, 1945: Mass Protest, Peronism and the Argentine Working Class," *Journal of Social History*, 12.3 (1988): 441-461.



Figure 3.2 General Juan Perón. The First Sportsman of the Nation. Front cover. *Mundo Deportivo*, 15 October 1953. Courtesy of the National Library of Argentina, Buenos Aires.

Perón smiles at the camera standing in a stairway with snow traces. While Perón's boots, white gloves, and blue pants resemble the ones of a blue-collar worker; his cap and jacket look like military uniform. As a way to appeal to both groups (industrial workers and military men), the image sought to stress that Argentine men deserved to enjoy non-traditional sports and recreational activities. Perón holds skis and poles with each hand like offering a catalogue of sporting goods for winter sports. As historian Eduardo Elena suggests, Perón usually emphasized that the "people" deserved inclusion within an economic order that satisfied basic wants and, if possible, allowed them to enjoy various spheres of consumption (food, clothing, household products, cars, holidays, sports, entertainment) that had previously been the exclusive domain of elites.<sup>18</sup> *Mundo Deportivo* sought to complement the notion of a "dignified" living standard as key to Perón's discourse of sports and national progress. Therefore, the magazine's front cover not only promoted Perón's figure as a "man of action" but also celebrated the access of hardworking citizens to all forms of sports entertainment.<sup>19</sup>

In 1939, Perón was assigned by the Argentine War Ministry to study mountain warfare in the Italian Alps, where he also observed the development of World War II in Europe. When he returned to Argentina in 1941, Perón served as an Army skiing instructor in Mendoza.<sup>20</sup> Perón's encouragement of skiing was especially emblematic of his message as it challenged the upper class monopoly on an expensive winter sport and proposed that be accessible to all members of society. *Mundo Deportivo* published other six similar front covers featuring Perón participating in elite sports, including equestrianism and car racing. Such images downplayed soccer and other

---

<sup>18</sup> E. Elena, *Dignifying Argentina*, 69.

<sup>19</sup> N. Milanese, "Juan D. Perón and the Politics of Attraction," *Gender & History*, 26.1 (2014): 84-104.

<sup>20</sup> N. Galasso, *Perón: formación, ascenso y caída*, 121.

teams sports associated with the lower classes.<sup>21</sup> While images of Perón descending a snowy mountain or riding a horse might have symbolized Perón’s ability to control “natural forces,” pictures of him driving a racecar or a motorcycle symbolized the technological progress, industrial society, and modernization promised by the Peronist regime. Most importantly, these images symbolized the inclusion of the working class in the country’s social, political, and cultural life.

Although carrying their own meanings, the front covers of *Mundo Deportivo* generally supported Carlos Aloé’s editorials with explicit allusions to Perón’s promotion of sports. In charge of the visual component of the magazine was José Olivieri, who served as photographic editor of *Mundo Deportivo* beginning in 1949. Olivieri was an amateur photographer or *chasirette* (as it was used in Spanish), an English-derived term used in the Río de la Plata that referred to the cylindrical container for film (*chasis*) and the act of *chasing* people in public spaces with cameras. Chasirettes became important to the visual narration of sports, particularly soccer, where they observed the games behind the goals, between the goal post and the corner. Olivieri experimented with team photos, individual portraits, and panoramic views of the stadium.

Following *Mundo Deportivo*’s mission of promoting the benefits of the Perón’s sports programs, Olivieri focused most of his photographic work on the Evita Championships. Taken by Oliveri and published in *Mundo Deportivo* on November 8, 1951, the photograph portrays two characters: Perón and “the children” (See Figure 3.3). Between them, a blank space demarcates obedience to paternal authority. At the same time, the image underscores the magazine’s concern with children’s inclusion in the Peronist national project.

---

<sup>21</sup> See: *MD*, 15 December 1949 (skiing); *MD*, 8 November 1951 (riding a white horse); *MD*, 30 April 1953 (driving a motorcycle); *MD*, 31 December 1953 (driving a race car); *MD*, 22 April 1954 (formal portrait in the presidential office).



Figure 3.3 President Perón inaugurating the Evita Championship. Photograph. *Mundo Deportivo*, 8 November 1951, 56. Courtesy of the National Library of Argentina, Buenos Aires.

The young players' status as respectful and admiring children is more important than their status as athletes. They are children in uniform, receiving fatherly guidance from their national president. As such, Olivieri's photo used an image of actual children to stage a political message. Perón's personal attention to the sea of young faces and uniformed bodies wearing the colors of the Argentine flag (white and light blue) dramatized the social contract of the Peronist welfare state through which the working classes (represented here by children) received the benefits of education, healthcare, and recreational sports directly from the president himself. Olivieri's symmetrical frame highlighted the hand shaking in the center, implying that both Perón and the children had made a pact or agreement. The strict hierarchy of such an arrangement is muted in Olivieri's photo, in which Perón appears almost at the same level as the children while simultaneously being the only adult in the scene.

The caption of the image reads: “the only privileged class,” a phrase first coined by sport journalist Glean Morel in 1949 with two implications: first, the concern of the state with child welfare and children’s inclusion in the Peronist national project; and second, Perón’s vision of empowering working-class children without involving class war (a Marxist political concept).<sup>22</sup> Olivieri’s work portrayed young athletes as key promoters of Perón’s policies. *Mundo Deportivo* praised the role of the Evita Championships in spreading the benefits of sports claiming that the investment in poor children constituted a legitimate effort to guarantee a political future for Peronism. As Carlos Aloé wrote in 1952, “the tournaments allow children to create a sense of community, kindness, and most importantly, they develop a collective soul aimed at the consecration of a national character.”<sup>23</sup> Certainly, most social reformers from the early twentieth century had also addressed the importance of children’s health, but Peronist reformers added that sports could both fortify the body and teach civic responsibilities to working-class children from an early age.

A photo published in *Mundo Deportivo* on October 4, 1951, to promote the Evita Championships of that year shows Eva Perón kicking a soccer ball in the middle of the field surrounded by teenage players who observe the opening ceremony (See Figure 3.4). The large image was accompanied by a caption: “Effectiveness at Work.” On the same page, the magazine included a smaller photograph of an unknown male runner along with three paragraphs that celebrate the Peronist state’s commitment to the working class. Although apparently unconnected to the main photo, all these elements represent the epic of Peronism and the multiple symbolic references about the historical break with which Peronism tried to identify itself: a young labor force pushing for national regeneration.

---

<sup>22</sup> G. Morel, “La única clase privilegiada,” *MD*, 4 August 1949, 20.

<sup>23</sup> C. Aloé, “Campeonato Infantil Evita: sus beneficios,” *MD*, 5 July 1951, 26.



EFECTIVIDAD EN EL TRABAJO



CADA día es más notorio en todos los sitios donde los obreros argentinos cimentan su labor cotidiana el progreso y la grandeza del país, el extraordinario y benéfico efecto que tiene sobre la capacidad de trabajo del hombre la práctica de cualquier deporte. Desde el punto de vista moral e intelectual, así como también en lo que se refiere a la efectividad física, los deportes ejercen una influencia decisiva en el individuo, según lo establecen los más modernos análisis y estudios en la materia.

Por eso el Estado Justicialista ha alentado todas las manifestaciones del deporte en nuestro país, teniendo en cuenta el beneficio inmenso que representa su práctica para la comunidad en la persona de cada uno de sus individuos. La Fundación Eva Perón, que preside y dirige la esposa del primer mandatario, ha hecho y hace muchísimo por el deporte en sus manifestaciones netamente populares. Esa obra, unida a las muchas realizaciones de la Fundación, constituye un positivo bien para el pueblo de la Nación, cuyos obreros contribuyen voluntariamente a la financiación de aquéllas.

El Estado, por su parte, por intermedio de la Lotería de Beneficencia Nacional y Casinos, dependiente del Ministerio de Hacienda de la Nación, destina una parte del producido del juego a esa financiación que produce constantes y acrecentados frutos.

Figure 3.4 Eva Perón inaugurating the Evita Championships. Photographs and written text. *Mundo Deportivo*, 4 October 1951, 57. Courtesy of the National Library of Argentina, Buenos Aires.

To some extent, Perón's fatherly image is comparable to the motherly representations of Evita. Although first as "Eva Duarte" she had first appeared in magazines embodying "coquetry" or "innocence," as "Eva Perón" since 1944 –the year she married Perón and became active in the political realm– she appeared more regularly as a devoted wife and protective mother.<sup>24</sup> Instead of having adult professional male players, the photograph featured young boys –girls were incorporated to the tournaments in 1953– to project the "New Argentina" and portray Evita as a maternal figure and protector of the poor. Considerably older than the children featured with Perón (See Figure 8) the teenage players show joy and self-assurance (expressed in their faces and hair cuts) for meeting the first lady, who is wearing a glamorous dress, jewelry, a female cap, and heeled shoes. While the team on the left side of the picture is wearing white jerseys with a grey horizontal stripe and black shorts, the team on the right is wearing white shorts and grey-black jerseys. Thanks to the "extraordinary will" and "love of Eva Perón," children were now dressed in sports outfits.

The power of this image lies in its performative dimension. The idea of performativity can serve as a productive lens through which to understand the affective appeals that photographs make to their viewers, reframing discussions about the role that photographs play in the production of civic responsibility and state action.<sup>25</sup> In that sense, Olivieri's image not only placed Evita as the unifying character between two teams but also evoked a form of participatory citizenship, an instance where the social contract was routinely made and unmade. Note the clear horizontal planes formed by the tops of everyone's heads, the clear divisions between the left and right groups, and the near-equal spacing between individual players. This symmetry symbolizes the sense of comradeship and solidarity among Argentines. Rather than sitting in orderly fashion

---

<sup>24</sup> M. Vasallo, "Figuraciones de Evita en las tapas de revistas," *Figuraciones*, 5 (2009).

<sup>25</sup> L. Levin, "The Performative Force of Photography," *Photography & Culture*, 2.3 (2009): 327-336.

for the photo, these young men stand informally facing the camera as if sharing a casual moment with Evita. They seem to protect her and she seems to protect them. Through these scenes, or what historian Eduardo Elena labels as “dramatizations of everyday encounters,” Peronist officials publicized social policies as a nonmarket means to satisfy desires for sports.<sup>26</sup>

The images of the Evita Championships were an important component of the regime’s social work because they represented the profound social mobility enabled by Perón. In the photograph, the faces of young players suddenly rescue the human dimension of the mass becoming the identity not only of children but also of workers. In Peronist terminology, they represent the “shirtless ones” (*los descamisados*).<sup>27</sup> The image also symbolizes the aspiration of national racial integration, as the boys featured here are both white and non-white players.

As modes of expression, images of Evita became central to the state-sponsored tournaments and to the broader Peronist imagery. In that sense, Olivieri needs to be understood as a “cultural producer” who contributed to the iconographic machinery of Peronism. Photographers like Olivieri constituted a “third line” of silent architects of political culture, often overshadowed by more visible leaders in the Peronist militancy.<sup>28</sup> Actually, Olivieri achieved ephemeral national recognition when he obtained first place in a photographic contest organized by the Government Press Service (*Subsecretaría de Informaciones*) in 1953.<sup>29</sup> As historian Marcela Gené argues in regard to Peronist propaganda, 1950 marked a turning point in the

---

<sup>26</sup> E. Elena, *Dignifying Argentina*, 131.

<sup>27</sup> First used as an insult by the Argentine elite to describe the followers of Perón, the term was later reclaimed as a term of pride, with Evita affectionately referring to their followers as “descamisados.” See: D. Viñas, *El peronismo clásico*; F. Vizcaíno, *Los descamisados*.

<sup>28</sup> Historians Claudio Panella and Raanan Rein describe the “second line” of Peronist leadership as the group composed by close collaborators of the Peróns, including Héctor Cámpora, John Cooke, and Carlos Aloé. See: C. Panella and R. Rein, *La segunda línea: liderazgo peronista*. Historian Silvia Mercado suggests a “third line” to describe “cultural producers” such as Raúl Apold, the propaganda chief and head of the Government Press Service (*Subsecretaría de Informaciones*). See: S. Mercado, *El inventor del peronismo*.

<sup>29</sup> “Nuestros reporteros gráficos obtuvieron significativos premios,” *MD*, 1 January 1953, 64.

regime's efforts to stress the figures of Perón and Evita in company of members from the civil society, a link between "leaders" and the "people," or between "parents" and "children," a trend that continued without interruption until 1955.<sup>30</sup> Accordingly, *Mundo Deportivo* positioned Argentine children in the Peronist pantheon, represented as the extension of the working class incorporated into national history.

### **The battle against *El Gráfico***

*Mundo Deportivo* became a serious rival for *El Gráfico*, the oldest and largest Argentine sports publication with a circulation of almost 200,000. Since the beginning of the publication in 1919, *El Gráfico* remained owned by the conservative publishing house Atlántida, which had refused to support Perón's rise to power. *Mundo Deportivo* represented the Peronist government's overt effort to displace *El Gráfico* and topple the oppositional press. Unlike *El Gráfico*'s strong focus on elite Buenos Aires sports clubs, *Mundo Deportivo* focused coverage on acclaimed players who had emerged from the most humble backgrounds, telling stories of how young men worked their way up from underfunded sports clubs in working-class neighborhoods and remote provinces to become national soccer stars. For instance, in February 1950, columnist Alicia Figueroa narrated her visit to the scrappy Club Ferrocarril Oeste in the working-class neighborhood of Caballito, Buenos Aires. Impressed by the talent of hundreds of children who participated in club activities, she also underscored that middle-class educators supervised young athletes closely.<sup>31</sup> In essence, Club Ferrocarril Oeste perfectly embodied the Peronist vision of working-class uplift through class collaboration and middle-class leadership, rather than class conflict.

---

<sup>30</sup> M. Gené, *Un mundo feliz: imágenes de los trabajadores en el primer peronismo*, 22-23.

<sup>31</sup> A. Figueroa, "Donde se cuida el presente del niño," *MD*, 23 February 1950, 46.

While *Mundo Deportivo* projected the regime's social agenda, *El Gráfico* made subtle but pointed criticism of Perón's interference in sports. Commenting on a match between Racing Club and Boca Juniors, two teams tied to the Peronist regime, journalist Félix Fráscara lamented the intrusion of the police onto the field as "a sign of political chaos."<sup>32</sup> During Perón's reelection campaign between 1950 and 1951, *El Gráfico* described stadium violence as "symbol of the dark times in Argentina," underscoring the editors' objection to Perón's reelection.<sup>33</sup> This criticism not only stressed Perón's heavy-handed style but also expressed a concern with the ways Perón's government had empowered workers and allowed modest soccer teams to displace more privileged ones. Stories about soccer violence became a way of illustrating how Perón had caused "class conflict" as a consequence of workers' empowerment.

*El Gráfico* engaged in a systematic practice of downplaying the regime's importance to sports. For example, it covered the Evita Championships with small notes, a few statistics, and referred them as "Children's Tournaments" (*Torneos Infantiles*) omitting Evita's name. In addition, one of the major differences between *Mundo Deportivo* and *El Gráfico* was the coverage of Eva Perón's death on July 26, 1952. *Mundo Deportivo* featured a black-and-white image of Evita on its front page as sign of mourning and devoted thirty seven pages to laudatory texts about the social work of the first lady.<sup>34</sup> Conversely, *El Gráfico* only published three pages about Evita's death with terse references and blurry images about her role as promoter of children's sports.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> F. Fráscara, "Se malogró un buen partido," *El Gráfico*, 4 November 1949, 5.

<sup>33</sup> F. Fráscara, "Salvemos el fútbol y sus instituciones," *El Gráfico*, 12 January 1951, 20-21

<sup>34</sup> "Hasta que llegara Eva Perón," *MD*, 31 July 1952, 3-40.

<sup>35</sup> "Evita en el deporte," *El Gráfico*, 1 August 1952, 4-7.



Figure 3.5 Ángel Labruna. Front cover. *El Gráfico*, 8 April 1955. Courtesy of Alejandro del Bosco and Revistas Deportivas S.A. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Readers of *El Gráfico* would scarcely realize that the Peróns were ruling Argentina despite the fact that Peronism dominated many aspects of sports. Only rarely did a picture of Perón appear in this publication. Articles about sports projects initiated by Perón were usually unsigned as though the Government Press Service had planted them.<sup>36</sup> Unconcerned with Perón's presence in the stadiums and sports programs, the covers and written content of *El Gráfico* focused exclusively on portraying the top scorers and leading teams of Argentina's National Tournament, particularly the world-class strikers of the wealthy Club River Plate, known as "The Millionaires" because of the high salaries paid to its players.

Published in *El Gráfico* on April 8, 1955, the front cover features the player Ángel Labruna from Club River Plate (See Figure 3.5). It shows Labruna sitting in the soccer field wearing the team's outfit: white jersey with a red strip, black shorts, grey socks, and soccer shoes with cleats. The black-and-white background packed with spectators and two policemen behind Labruna hinted at the likelihood of riots in the stadium. Photographers in *El Gráfico* usually took the pictures of the players on the field and then mounted backdrops to highlight the player's body. The improvements in the technical applications of glass and the implementation of new isolated chambers allowed higher standards of photographic portraits.

These portraits were not the result of a candid camera but recorded what sociologist Erving Goffman calls "the presentation of self," a process in which the artist and the sitter generally colluded.<sup>37</sup> Labruna looks confident, facing the sunlight, posing with his hands and legs crossed as a sign of balance and composure. His moustache and wrinkles constitute a sign of maturity and experience, especially considering what the caption reads: "Quality against Time." The phrase alluded to Labruna's successful career in the 1940s as member of the golden age of

---

<sup>36</sup> R. Rein, "El Primer Deportista: The Political Use and Abuse of Sport in Peronist Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15:2 (1998), 60.

<sup>37</sup> E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

Club River Plate.<sup>38</sup> Despite of his age (he was 37 years old in 1955), the idolatry for Labruna continued in the 1950s. Sports journalists defined Labruna as “Fireproof Player” (*jugador incombustible*) meaning that his age was not a problem.<sup>39</sup>

Labruna’s front cover in *El Gráfico* stressed that good players needed to possess experience and calmness instead of rebellious spirit. As a subtle critique of *Mundo Deportivo*’s assessment of children (and Peronist investment in childhood more broadly), *El Gráfico* argued that experienced players would make Argentina’s National Team great again. As part of the opposition to Perón’s intervention in sports, *El Gráfico* aspired to return to the golden age of “The Machine,” describing Labruna as “the only remnant of a glorious past.” The magazine questioned the abilities of Argentina’s National Team scheduled to compete at the 1955 South American Championship in Santiago, Chile, suggesting: “young players lack international experience.”<sup>40</sup> Despite the pessimistic tone, Argentines became champions in Chile.

*Mundo Deportivo* and *El Gráfico* interpreted Labruna’s performance in Chile differently. In March 1955, Horacio Besio, (correspondent in Santiago for *Mundo Deportivo*), assured that Labruna played as a true child “with a juvenile spirit.” One month later, Félix Fráscara (correspondent in Santiago for *El Gráfico*) replied that Labruna’s “control over his younger teammates” was the real reason for victory.<sup>41</sup> Although coverage of Argentina’s matches abroad was similar between the two publications, Besio and Fráscara represented a broader dispute

---

<sup>38</sup> Known as “The Machine” (*La Máquina*), Club River Plate won the national league in 1942, 1945, and 1947. Because of World War II prevented South American players from pursuing careers in Europe, Argentine teams were able to retain their best players. Labruna and his team earned the reputation as the best soccer athletes in the world, combining individual technical skill and team coordination just like a machine. Sportswriter Ricardo Lorenzo gave the nickname to them in *El Gráfico*, after Club River Plate defeated Club Chacarita Juniors 6-2 in a game of the 1942 season. R. Lorenzo, “Jugó como una máquina el puntero,” *El Gráfico*, 12 June 1942, 14.

<sup>39</sup> *MD*, 8 November 1951; *MD*, 26 November 1953.

<sup>40</sup> “El plantel de fútbol que llevamos a Chile,” *El Gráfico*, 25 February 1955, 38-39.

<sup>41</sup> H. Besio, “Ese es el fútbol argentino,” *MD*, 13 March 1955, 56-59; F. Fráscara, “El fútbol argentino y el seleccionado argentino,” *El Gráfico*, 22 April 1955, 4-8.

between the two sports magazines. Debates about iconic players like Labruna and his “age” as distinctive marker in soccer remained a way for sports journalists to talk about their nation and its politics. *El Gráfico* responded to the images created by *Mundo Deportivo* by placing older players, rather than “youths”, on its front covers. As such, it legitimized a discourse about soccer and national identity that contrasted the one offered by the Peronist weekly *Mundo Deportivo*.

With the fall of Perón in September 1955 *El Gráfico* praised the military regime headed by Generals Eduardo Lonardi and Pedro Aramburu, which was supported by conservative sectors and the Radical Party. Dante Panzieri, editor of *El Gráfico*, defended the military government known as the “Liberating Revolution” (*Revolución Libertadora*) and condemned the propagandistic uses of sports under Perón. As he wrote on January 6, 1956, “sports had been used as decoy to divert attention from critical issues.”<sup>42</sup> Similarly, the new board of *Mundo Deportivo*, immediately appointed by the military government, made a 180-degree turn to begin condemning Peronism. It agreed with *El Gráfico* that, for the last ten years, sports had been “infected” and used for political gain.<sup>43</sup> It also celebrated the arrival of social peace in stadiums and urged sports fans to be on their best behavior.<sup>44</sup>

With the imprisonment of several prominent Peronist leaders and Perón in exile, director Carlos Aloé was fired and went to exile. With Horacio Besio as director, *Mundo Deportivo* began to resemble *El Gráfico*. As he wrote in December 1955, “The last decade was a good demonstration of the impertinence of any regime that wants to use sport for its own benefit. Sport is a contest and in a contest you win or you lose.”<sup>45</sup> Thus, Besio adopted a decisively anti-Peronist discourse similar to the one expressed in *El Gráfico*. Besio turned away from

---

<sup>42</sup> “A los pecadores: ¿perdonarlos o castigarlos?” *El Gráfico*, 6 January 1956, 2.

<sup>43</sup> “Renovar es sanear,” *MD*, 13 October 1955, 1.

<sup>44</sup> “Paz en las canchas,” *MD*, 8 December 1955, 22.

<sup>45</sup> “Moral y material,” *MD*, 22 December 1955, 1.

celebrating “rebellious spirit” and “individual gameplay” in favor of emphasizing “self-control” and “maturity” as key concepts in soccer but also for “social order.”<sup>46</sup> Sportswriters like Besio – as well as José Olivieri who kept his job as photographic editor of *Mundo Deportivo*– adapted their “journalistic activism” during the years of the military regime (1955-1958) in order to survive after the overthrow of Perón. But without state funds, fewer pages, and purged of Peronist ideology, *Mundo Deportivo* reduced its sales against the competition of *El Gráfico* and ultimately closed in September 1959.<sup>47</sup>

### **The Chilean Gaze**

Like Perón, Ibáñez arrived in power in 1952 with most Santiago newspapers against him. However, unlike the more united coalition against Perón in Argentina, Chilean print media against Ibáñez was fragmented into multiple competing partisan camps. The publishing house Zig-Zag, affiliated with the oligarchic Liberal Party and publisher of the popular magazines *Zig-Zag*, *Vea*, *Topaze*, and *Okey*, vigorously opposed Ibáñez’s return to power. Editors of Zig-Zag remembered Ibáñez’s tense relationship with the press, particularly when he confiscated the privately-owned daily *La Nación* in 1927, placing it under the control of the government.<sup>48</sup>

During the 1952 presidential elections, Liberals (*Partido Liberal*) joined forces with the heavily Catholic Conservative Party (*Partido Conservador*) to support right-wing presidential candidate Arturo Matte, whose cause was also championed by *El Mercurio*, Chile’s oldest and

---

<sup>46</sup> “El rebelde en el deporte,” *MD*, 17 November 1955, 32.

<sup>47</sup> Many of the issues of this magazine could not be reviewed because they were in poor condition or under repair. Private collectors at Parque Rivadavia, a square with antique sellers, mentioned during the research process that many of these publications disappeared during different anti-Peronist waves, which included the burn of images produced by the regime.

<sup>48</sup> *La Nación* became the official government newspaper of whatever Chilean president was in power. Under the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990) *La Nación*’s name was changed to *La Crónica*, but served the same purpose. Following the return to civilian rule in 1990, it was changed back to *La Nación*.

largest circulating daily newspaper. Chile's Radical Party supported the candidacy of Pedro Alfonso through the periodical *El Debate*, a less virulently anti-communist publication. Left-wing publications such as *Última Hora* (affiliated with the Socialist Party) and *El Siglo* (affiliated with the outlawed Communist Party) denounced Ibáñez as a fascist and backed the socialist senator Salvador Allende for president. The only publications that openly supported Ibáñez were *La Escoba* and *Estanquero*, two papers affiliated with the Chilean military. Once he was sworn in as president, Ibáñez railed against right-wing and left-wing politicians for manipulating the news. He accused both mining companies and labor unions of spreading misinformation against his government.<sup>49</sup>

While explaining his views about press control, Ibáñez commented in 1955 that freedom of the press should always be subordinated to the national good: "In a society dominated by selfishness, the fear of war, and the great ideological quarrels, press freedom often becomes the monopoly of governments or economic groups that subordinate the interests of the people under to their own."<sup>50</sup> Ibáñez criticized both government and private monopolies over the press, thus distancing himself from Perón's vertical control of the press in Argentina. But in reality, Ibáñez made regular use of the law to crush his enemies on the left. The 1948 Law for the Defense of Democracy, enacted by the Popular Front government of Gabriel González under pressure from the United States to outlaw the Chilean Communist Party, gave Ibáñez the authority to arrest journalists accused of menacing democracy and public order. Despite the fact that Ibáñez's government received substantial U.S. aid, Chile's economic problems continued and Ibáñez frequently resorted to controlling the press to mitigate social conflict.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> L. Correa, *El Presidente Ibáñez, la política y los políticos*, 187.

<sup>50</sup> A. Valdebenito, *Historia del periodismo chileno*, 116.

<sup>51</sup> E. Santa-Cruz, *Análisis histórico del periodismo chileno*, 77.

Ibáñez relied on abrasive polemicists such as Darío Sainte-Marie to counter the attacks of the opposition press.<sup>52</sup> In 1955, Sainte-Marie became director of *La Nación* from where he supported the Chilean government's contract with the private U.S. economic consulting firm Klein-Sacks to reduce inflation through restriction of credit and exchange controls.<sup>53</sup> One year later, Sainte-Marie convinced Ibáñez to create a sensationalist tabloid, which he called *Clarín*, a direct parallel to the Argentine tabloid of the same name. Like *Clarín* from Buenos Aires, *Clarín* from Santiago featured covers with large sports, text in slang, and abundant illustrations, inviting the reader to look inside for more. But whereas the Argentine *Clarín* often criticized Perón and remained autonomous from the Argentine government, the Chilean version of *Clarín* functioned as an organ of the Ibáñez government. Its content focused mostly on sports news narrated in picaresque style with sprinklings of anti-U.S. slogans. Ironically, while Sainte-Marie used the official government newspaper *La Nación* to defend monetarist economic policies crafted by a U.S. firm, he used the tabloid magazine *Clarín* to whip up popular nationalist support for Ibáñez around the theme of U.S. imperialism.

Support and criticism aimed at political parties or government did not leave sport untouched. Founded in 1941 by the former soccer player Alejandro Jaramillo, the sports magazine *Estadio* was published in Santiago and distributed to the provinces through annual subscriptions with a circulation of 40,000.<sup>54</sup> Its editorial board had an all-male team of journalists, including Renato González, José Navasal, Antonino Vera, and Julio Martínez, along

---

<sup>52</sup> Sainte-Marie worked as editor of Associated Press since the 1930s, where he established several political connections with several leaders such as Getulio Vargas in Brazil and Juan Perón in Argentina. L. Franulic, "Quién es Sainte-Marie, el Gran Maquinista," *Ercilla*, 7 January 1955, 12.

<sup>53</sup> D. Bray, *Chilean Politics during the Second Ibáñez Government*, 107-110.

<sup>54</sup> *Estadio* published 2,043 issues from September 1941 to October 1982, the longest period for any sports magazine in Chile. In addition to morning papers *Estadio* competed against other less enduring publications, including: *Deporte Popular* (1941), *Barra Brava* (1943-1946), *Apronte* (1944-1945), *Ovación* (1948), *Barra Brava en el Match* (1951-1952) from Santiago. The most important competitor was *Gol y Gol* (1962-1969) edited during the context of the 1962 World Cup held in Chile.

with a team of illustrators, including the cartoonist Renato Andrade and the photographer Eugenio García. Its opening editorial for the first issue published on September 12, 1941, stated that the magazine's mission was "to contribute to the national campaign for racial improvement and patriotism led by the President of the Republic."<sup>55</sup> Throughout the 1940s, the magazine maintained close ties with governments of the Popular Front, even after the coalition broke up during the administration of Gabriel González Videla.<sup>56</sup> Echoing the broader physical education programs of the Chilean governments in the 1940s, *Estadio* reported on a range of athletic activities, including professional soccer, school competitions, radio broadcasts and film projects about sports, sports medicine conferences, and new libraries devoted to physical education.<sup>57</sup>

The most explicit link between the Popular Front and *Estadio* was the governmental support for *Estadio*'s campaign "The physically-fit Chilean" (*El Chileno Físicamente Apto*). Organized in 1942 to honor the magazine's first anniversary, the campaign urged readers and sports fans to demonstrate their athletic skills in a series of outdoor competitions. The campaign encouraged citizens to maintain their fitness and thereby increase the health and strength of the nation. In September 1942, president Juan Ríos met with the editorial board of *Estadio* to elicit formal sponsorship and offered a "team of experts" (physical-education teachers) to run the campaign.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, the magazine invited medical professionals to evaluate participants' ratio of fat and caloric intake and to provide dental examinations for children. By February 1945, the magazine concluded the campaign and acknowledged governmental subsidies for the granted for the campaign's success.<sup>59</sup> In an editorial in 1948, director Jaramillo argued

---

<sup>55</sup> A. Jaramillo, "Editorial," *Estadio*, 12 September 1941, 1.

<sup>56</sup> A. Jaramillo, "De un Gobierno realizador," *Estadio*, 14 November 1946, 1.

<sup>57</sup> E. Santa-Cruz, "Prensa deportiva y desarrollismo en Chile. El caso de la revista *Estadio*," *Mapocho. Revista de Humanidades*, 71 (2012) 261-283.

<sup>58</sup> A. Jaramillo, "Nuestra campaña: El Chileno Físicamente Apto," *Estadio*, 25 September 1942, 1.

<sup>59</sup> A. Jaramillo, "Deporte y Gobierno," *Estadio*, 2 February 1945, 2.

that sports modernization relied on the state more than the private sector, expressing gratitude for the Popular Front's efforts in the 1940s.<sup>60</sup> In the 1950s, *Estadio* celebrated Ibáñez's victory at the polls as an opportunity for expanding the national sports budget. As Jaramillo expressed in a September 1952 editorial, "We are pleased with the new ambitious projects of indoor stadiums for sports other than soccer."<sup>61</sup> In response, Ibáñez promised to accelerate land expropriation for more sports fields, grant more financial aid for international tours, and pass new physical education laws based on the recommendations of a team of experts.<sup>62</sup>

One of the unique aspects of *Estadio* was its emphasis on photography. Its front and back covers were full-page color pictures of individuals or teams. Being on the cover of *Estadio* was a great honor for athletes, comparable to winning a medal or trophy. Sport photography was especially important for a fan base that was only partially literate. According to the 1952 census, only 62% of Chileans could read.<sup>63</sup> In order to reach semi-literate audiences, the magazine employed eye-catching titles and multiple photographs. *Estadio* mainly worked to use soccer coverage as a way to expand readership among the thousands of poor men migrating from the countryside to Santiago. Most Chilean soccer fans were not able to regularly buy *Estadio*, so what was on the cover, or what kiosks displayed publically was really important.

*Estadio*'s leading photographer was Eugenio García, the son of Spanish immigrants who moved to Santiago in the 1930s. Known as "The Magician of the Lens," (*El Mago del Lente*), García was a talented self-taught photographer who covered all kinds of sports events. Before becoming a photographer, García played youth-division soccer in Club Unión Española but left

---

<sup>60</sup> A. Jaramillo, "El deporte, problema del Estado," *Estadio*, 3 January 1948, 1.

<sup>61</sup> A. Jaramillo, "Editorial," *Estadio*, 20 September 1952, 1.

<sup>62</sup> A. Jaramillo, "Editorial," *Estadio*, 15 November 1952, 1.

<sup>63</sup> For sociological interpretations about literacy rates and newspaper preferences, see: A. Mattelart, "Los Medios de Comunicación de masas y la ideología de la prensa liberal en Chile," *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional CEREN*, 3 (1970); D. Portales, *Poder económico y libertad de expresión*; A. Riquelme, *El debate ideológico acerca de la comunicación de masas en Chile*.

the team when club executives pledged allegiance to Francisco Franco after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).<sup>64</sup> García's pieces impressed many of his colleagues in *Estadio*, who wrote passionate odes to his talent. As *Estadio* columnist Carlos Guerrero described in an article from 1945, "García is a self-taught talented man with no studies in photography and lacking the necessary technical equipment. He has a tremendous artistic ability to capture extraordinary sports scenes in his Leica. No wonder why his pictures made it to the National Museum of Fine Arts."<sup>65</sup> Guerrero was not exaggerating. In addition to the exposition in the most prestigious Chilean museum, García's work won him the President of the Republic Award in 1950, granted personally by President Gabriel González. Because of his talent, the Argentine publication *El Gráfico* attempted numerous times to recruit him but García remained loyal to *Estadio* until he retired in 1973.<sup>66</sup>

García's work had a gender component. As *Estadio* columnist Renato González wrote in 1953: "The extraordinary accuracy of García is an admirable graphic expression of fleeting moments in sports. He is able to capture the violence and virility of athletes like nobody else."<sup>67</sup> This kind of commentary in *Estadio* emphasized that there was something new, exciting, violent, and fundamentally masculine about what their celebrity photojournalist was able to do that other publications were not doing. García's photographs ranged from unique moments of the game (like soccer balls hitting the crossbar) to carefully arranged individual portraits or team line-up formations, emphasizing muscular legs, arms, chins, and profiles.

---

<sup>64</sup> F. Mouat, *Cosas del fútbol*, 71-77.

<sup>65</sup> C. Guerrero, "Er mago del lente," *Estadio*, 20 October 1945, 4-5.

<sup>66</sup> "32 años haciendo la historia gráfica del deporte chileno," *Estadio*, 16 October 1973, 22-27.

<sup>67</sup> R. González, "Pegó en el travesaño," *Estadio*, 7 February 1953, 3.



Figure 3.6 Jorge Robledo. Front cover. *Estadio*, 3 June 1950. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

On June 3, 1950, *Estadio*'s cover featured a glamorous shot by García of Jorge Robledo, one of the most important Chilean players of the 1950s (See Figure 3.6). García's own celebrity status as a photographer gave him easy access to star athletes. The cover ran on the eve of the 1950 World Cup in Brazil and was accompanied by a featured article on Robledo's personal history, including details of his childhood as a Chilean growing up in England. The cover photo was typical of García's innovative photography style, combining the traditional portrait genre with heavy use of shadows and carefully chosen camera angles to maximize the desired emotional effect. Robledo appears wearing Chile's national jersey in red with the national shield over his heart. His head slightly curves to the right, emphasizing his slicked hair and eyes; his face is relaxed, offering a shy but shining smile.

Considering that *Estadio* profiled a diverse selection of athletes and allowed a close-up look at the personalities and games, Robledo attracted the attention of García as no other Chilean soccer player. In other photographs, García portrayed Robledo in different roles, from tying his shoes to dribbling the ball, demonstrating Robledo's strength and physical prowess. However, the 1950 cover shows Robledo off the field, apparently inside of a photographic studio with a blank background to accentuate the color of the jersey and the light on his face. Instead of focusing on his soccer skills or muscular body, García portrayed Robledo as a national sports celebrity and glowing example of masculine perfection. García's cover went beyond saying that, "soccer would help improve the race." His portrait argued that Robledo embodied the very best of the "Chilean race."

As reported in *Estadio*'s accompanying article about the featured athlete, Jorge Robledo was born in 1926 in the nitrate town of Iquique to a Chilean father and an English mother. The family moved to England in 1932, deeply affected by the economic crisis that hit the mining

economy of Chile during the Great Depression. With the beginning of World War II, Robledo signed his first contract with Barnsley FC, a second division English soccer club in which he impressed many other teams for his scoring skills. After three seasons, Club Newcastle United signed him in 1947 along with his younger brother Eduardo, also a soccer player. In 1950, Chile's National Team recruited the older Robledo for the 1950 World Cup in Brazil, in which Chile beat the United States but lost to Spain and England in the first round. Although the magazine readers already knew about Robledo's success in England, García's photograph served to connect the readers with a more tangible image of the player. When Robledo later returned to Great Britain, the magazine covered most of his performances in the English Premier League where he became the first South American to play (and win) the FA Cup (Football Association Challenge Cup), the oldest soccer tournament in the world first played in 1871.

Impressed with a Chilean's triumph in Europe, President Ibáñez facilitated a government loan to Colo-Colo in order to bring the Robledo brothers for the 1953 season in Chile. Colo-Colo brought the two brothers for £25,000, an unusually high figure for the Chilean league or any other South American league at the time.<sup>68</sup> In Chile, the Robledo brothers helped Colo-Colo win national championships in 1953 and 1956 and second place in 1954 and 1955. As an intuitive politician, Ibáñez became personally identified with a winning team as a result of the deal he helped cut to bring the Robledo brothers to Chile. As columnist José Navasal commented in 1953, Ibáñez's help was not an act of intervention but "the logical support of a government that has a commitment to national sports."<sup>69</sup> As in his first presidential term, Ibáñez's association with Colo-Colo players rendered him popular among sportswriters, especially considering that Robledo was often compared to David Arellano, the schoolteacher who founded Colo-Colo and

---

<sup>68</sup> E. Marín, *Centenario*, 157.

<sup>69</sup> J. Navasal, "Los Robledo," *Estadio*, 23 May 1953, 5.

died during the club's international tour of 1927. The allusions to Arellano were constant and notorious. As *Estadio* journalist Antonino Vera wrote in 1953, "Robledo will be the best teacher for young players who want to learn modern soccer tactics."<sup>70</sup> By describing Robledo's progressive image of an intelligent young player, Vera restored Arellano's mythical figure as an innovative man who advocated for professional training. Like Arellano, Robledo was featured as a disciplined and sober captain, always respectful of his teammates, as much as Ibáñez saw himself as leader of the masses. As two iconic players from the 1920s and 1950s, Arellano and Robledo symbolized how Ibáñez claimed to bring a modern spirit to politics that would result in order and prosperity.

Parallels between Arellano and Robledo were also made in racial terms. In the 1920s, *Los Sports* columnists argued that Arellano represented the purest expression of Chilean manhood and the best example of authentic Chilean mestizo race. In the 1950s, *Estadio* columnists debated about the meaning of an English-bred soccer athlete playing for Chile's National Team. They made extensive use of García's portrait to comment on Robledo's inherent nature and relationship to the Chilean ideal. As journalist José Navasal wrote in May 1950, "Robledo has big cheekbones, rebellious hair, and the picaresque smile of Chilean northern men. His shyness and humility contrast with the strong leadership he shows in the field. But after 18 years in England, where men are valued according to self-control, Robledo became a reserved man. He is a Chilean gentleman."<sup>71</sup> Nicknamed as "The Tough Gringo," (*Roto Gringo*) Robledo represented the contraposition of two elements that had been assumed as distinctive marks of Chilean-ness. Navasal argued that Robledo possessed intrinsic "Latin" attributes such as courage and craftiness but through his upbringing had acquired "European" attributes such as sportsmanship and

---

<sup>70</sup> A. Vera, "Profesor de fútbol," *Estadio*, 20 June 1953, 7.

<sup>71</sup> J. Navasal, "Roto Gringo," *Estadio*, 20 May 1950, 4-7.

moderation. Chile's claim to a unique racial heritage based on Visigoth-Mapuche blend hardened into strong men through the mining culture of Northern Chile (aka *Rotos*), and the "civilized" qualities attributed to the English who first invested in Chile's mining industry (aka *Gringos*). Englishness in Chile was commonly associated with the rule of law, reason, and industrial development. In García's portrait, Robledo's affectionate smile and polite attitude symbolize this dual sense of warmth and refinement. Thus, Robledo represented the perfect Chilean man because he was characterized as a "civilized mestizo."

García's photograph interacted with written articles by providing a sense of tangible proof about Robledo's physical features (and therefore his national identity). *Estadio* columnist Carlos Guerrero admitted in May 1950 that Robledo's arrival to Chile initially produced unwarranted anxiety: "We feared that Robledo looked like a gringo. Fortunately, in all the pictures we have seen, he looks more Chilean than many others."<sup>72</sup> For Guerrero, the portrait served as confirmation that Robledo not only "looked" Chilean enough but also that he represented the best of his native country and the best of the country that raised him. In that sense, the front cover overlapped with written word and made visible many ideas developed by sportswriters.

In terms of actually playing soccer, *Estadio* writers commented that the Robledo brothers practiced a very pragmatic and fast style of soccer, based on fast transitions and long-distance shooting, even using the head to propel the ball. Off the field, the two brothers were said to be devoted to their families and generous about sharing playing tips with their teammates. Unwilling to leave his family in England, Jorge Robledo later declared that he only accepted Colo-Colo's offer because the deal included the rest of his family (his brother Eduardo and his mother Elsa Oliver). At the same time, Robledo expressed disinterest in forming his own family

---

<sup>72</sup> C. Guerrero, "Migajas," *Estadio*, 27 Mayo 1950, 32.

with a wife and children. In a 1953 interview with José Navasal, Robledo stated: “We came here to work. Soccer and ladies are not good together. The rest will come later, after we finish our duties.”<sup>73</sup> Emphasizing his intention of not being distracted by women, Robledo ruled out the possibility of making family plans in the short term. He described himself more as a hard-working player and less as head of a nuclear family. But Robledo’s words were an exception. Most of the players featured in *Estadio* celebrated their positions as hard-working citizens who provided for their children and wives—not just for themselves. Sportswriters in *Estadio* sought in soccer a way to reaffirm the position of men at the top of the social hierarchy.

### **Framing the Athletic Family**

Publications such *Estadio* advocated for traditional gender norms, showing that the family was the bedrock of the nation and stressing the importance of discipline and obedience to paternal authority. The gendered nature of soccer elevated those men who were most influential within the sport: soccer coaches.

No longer treated as an entertainment or pastime of the elite, soccer in the 1950s was celebrated as a professional sport with mass appeal. It was also increasingly seen as a sport that required formal coaching and tactical training to successfully play. One of the most successful coaches of the 1950s was Luis Tirado. Former coach of Universidad de Chile in 1940 and Colo-Colo in 1944, he made it to the National Team in 1946 where he remained as coach until 1949. In that process, he made several innovative improvements implementing the “WM” system, in which players lined up on the field in a formation imitating the two letters. Tirado came back to the National Team in 1954 after a strong campaign initiated by *Estadio*, and stayed there for two

---

<sup>73</sup> J. Navasal, “Los Robledo,” *Estadio*, 23 May 1953, 5.

more years. As journalist Antonino Vera wrote in 1954, “Tirado understands that we must conceive soccer according to our national identity, which lacks individual talent but can work hard and play decently.”<sup>74</sup> In the words of many columnists, playing with honor was more important than winning.

Editorials in *Estadio* were especially keen to argue that it was more manly to lose honorably than to win through forcing the other team to foul or similar dirty tricks. In general, Chilean sportswriters of the 1950s praised Tirado as the embodiment of the respectable, morally upstanding man, contrasting the superiority of a carefully reasoned and methodically executed soccer strategy over messy, disorganized improvisation. As columnist Julio Martínez commented in July 1954, “Tirado prepares each game with great dedication without forgetting his role. In a certain way, he is a paternal figure who tells the players what to do and when to do it.”<sup>75</sup> *Estadio* claimed that Tirado represented the protective and affectionate father figure on and off the field.

Illustrators and cartoonists from non-sports publications drew parallels between the coach Tirado and President Ibáñez linking them as experienced leaders and efficient planners. Columnists from political newspapers frequently used soccer as a metaphor for national politics, invoking the voice of “sports experts” to comment on Ibáñez’s political “game.” *Topaze*, the satiric magazine edited between 1931 and 1970, led the attacks featuring Ibáñez as an erratic old man and his ministers as a lousy team.<sup>76</sup> On March 25, 1955, the back cover of the magazine *Topaze* published a cartoon with President Ibáñez in military uniform in the company of coach Tirado, positioned to his left in a red outfit, and player Manuel Álvarez positioned to the right, holding the ball (See Figure 3.7).

---

<sup>74</sup> A. Vera, “Verdades repetidas,” *Estadio*, 5 June 1954, 3.

<sup>75</sup> J. Martínez, “Metamorfosis,” *Estadio*, 31 July 1954, 25.

<sup>76</sup> “Mi General y el fútbol,” *Topaze*, 1 April 1955, 5.



Figure 3.7 President Ibáñez with coach Tirado and “Manolo” Álvarez. Back cover. *Topaze*, 25 March 1955. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

The cartoon underscored the importance of masculinity and sports to the Chilean media's discussion of national politics in the 1950s. First, the cartoon emphasizes exaggerated physical features. Its characters are portrayed in different sizes, with glasses, wrinkles, and big muscles as traditional masculine symbols of experience and strength. Second, the patriotic markers such as the pennant, sport outfit, and military clothes reflect authority of men who defend the nation. Third, the image underscored to Ibáñez's satisfaction with Tirado after Chile's good performances during the 1955 South American Championship held in Santiago.<sup>77</sup>

On the top-left of the image, a caption quoted Ibáñez exclaiming: "Thank you Tirado, many thanks Manolo. Thanks to you, my political fouls from last week were forgotten." In March 1955, the "fouls" referred to the public disclosure of Ibáñez's plans for a staging an internal coup within his own administration (*auto-golpe*) to establish a dictatorship, a scandal that rocked the nation when the press revealed meetings between Ibáñez and several army officers.<sup>78</sup> The *Topaze* illustration implied that Chile's soccer victories would be used by the Ibáñez regime to reduce public criticism of the government's blunders and authoritarian tactics.

The cartoon reflected the masculinized perception of sports and politics as activities performed exclusively by "experienced" and "strong" men. Although critical of Ibáñez's authoritarianism, the image is positive about the importance of sports to the nation. As a physical-education teacher, Tirado mandated intense physical conditioning in order to improve players' strength and discipline. Like President Ibáñez, Tirado constantly referred to efficiency as an important component of sports administration. He urged that the problems of Chilean

---

<sup>77</sup> Chile had beaten Ecuador (7-1), Paraguay (3-0), Peru (5-4), tied Uruguay (2-2), but lost to Argentina in the final match (0-1).

<sup>78</sup> Ultimately, Ibáñez cancelled the plot due to his lack of trust in the retired army officers and his final decision to respect the Constitution. Conspirators were a group of retired army officers called "Straight Line" (*Línea Recta*) who wanted to adopt a more authoritarian regime closing the congress and banning the political parties. See: E. Fernández, *Beyond Partisan Politics*.

soccer originated in the lack of solid institutions such as the government programs, sports associations, and club administrations. Tirado embodied many of the same personal qualities as Ibáñez. Both men epitomized paternal authority aimed at leading the nation to success, either in sports or in politics. Both Ibáñez and Tirado utilized a discourse of modernization that celebrated the benefits of methodical planning and centralized authority. And they both considered physical education essential for the transformation of Chilean society.

*Estadio* writers also employed tropes of masculinity to morally evaluate professional players and criticize inappropriate public behavior. During the 1957 South American Championship in Lima, Peru, sportswriters denounced the lack of manly discipline shown by Chile's National Team when several members got drunk and caused a scandal at the hotel where they were lodging. According to *Estadio*, the misbehavior resulted from Tirado's resignation as coach in 1956.<sup>79</sup> Journalist Edgardo Marín commented, "Players felt the absence of a paternal figure. The arrival of [the Argentine] José Salerno turned out to be a soft approach to lead young men."<sup>80</sup> By evoking Tirado's superior fatherly quality over a "soft" Argentine, Martínez explained the incident pointing the players as childish and disoriented. In consequence, the ideal of well-behaved soccer players fulfilling their patriotic duty under the tutelage of a strong father figure (the coach) contrasted with the masculine ideal for soccer players in Argentina, which tied Peronist masculinity to a strong and empowered working-class that would give loyalty to Perón (a father figure) in return for concrete benefits granted to them as patriotic men.

Sportswriters in *Estadio* frequently suggested that marriage could help soccer players overcome bad habits. In January 1956, *Estadio* featured an article about Chile's National Team's

---

<sup>79</sup> After two successful South American Championships as head of Chile's National Team (runners-up in March 1955 and February 1956), Tirado accepted an offer made by Club Sporting Cristal from Lima, Peru. Under Tirado's direction, the club won its first national tournament in December 1956.

<sup>80</sup> E. Marín, *La Roja de todos*, 113.

preparation for the 1956 South American Championship in Montevideo, Uruguay. Columnist Julio Martínez wrote approvingly about the fact that coach Tirado had allowed the players' wives and girlfriends to visit the summer training camp: "We celebrate the influence of soccer as an undeniable social benefit against social vices and indecency. A group of Chilean families have become united regardless of which part of the country they are coming from or what political party they support. Soccer gave these men the just reward they deserve: companionship with the opposite sex."<sup>81</sup> Players were admired not only because of their athletic prowess but also because they were "family men."

Soccer became increasingly linked to certain canons of male respectability such as forming a family and having children. Because professional athletes on the National Team represented the Chilean nation abroad, the masculinity associated with soccer had patriotic meaning. It both safeguarded heterosexual citizenship and provided guidance for young readers. Repeatedly, through individual stories of star players, journalists from *Estadio* claimed that working-class players needed to curb their rebellious tendencies and lofty dreams of wealth. Since the beginning of its publication, *Estadio* had run a special two-page section within the magazine that featured an in-depth interview with a player and multiple photos that highlighted the athlete's human qualities. In an interview on goalkeeper Sergio Livingstone published on April 1954, *Estadio* explained: "He is an example for the youth in our country. He does not drink or smoke. Livingstone is a happy head of household with a good wife and a beautiful son."<sup>82</sup> In this case, paternal authority appeared not only as something to imitate by younger men but also as something that depended on establishing relationships with women.

---

<sup>81</sup> J. Martínez, "Buena idea," *Estadio*, 6 January 1956, 16-19.

<sup>82</sup> A. Vera, "Vocación ante todo," *Estadio*, 10 April 1954, 4-5

*Estadio*'s celebration of soccer as an ideal expression of masculinity contributed to the marginalization of women's sports. Since most of *Estadio*'s content was dedicated to soccer, there were far less coverage of sports such as basketball and tennis which had higher proportions of women athletes. In the 1940s, *Estadio* had given at least some space to reporting on female athletes and physical education for women as they related to the national effort to "improve the Chilean race."<sup>83</sup> However in the 1950s, *Estadio* mostly relegated women to the passive role of being fans, wives, and spectators of male soccer players. But sports magazines' efforts to cultivate a female fan base were never robust. Although female athletes appeared considerably less often than male athletes on the front covers of *Estadio*, placing a female athlete on the front page (or sometimes in the back cover) of the magazine was also a strategy to attract more male readers and reassure their masculine identity. Photographic portraits of outstanding female athletes became raw material for the structure of gender representation in *Estadio*, adding a further layer demanded by the patriarchal order established during the Ibáñez period.

The female athlete who received the most attention by *Estadio* was Marlene Ahrens. Born in Concepción in 1933 to a family of German immigrants, Ahrens was seen as the ultimate ideal of Chilean womanhood and the living example of female physical perfection. Ahrens competed internationally in the javelin throw, becoming the only woman of the Chilean delegation at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, where she won the silver medal. To date, no other female athlete besides Ahrens has ever been awarded achieved an Olympic medal. Before the international competition, *Estadio* published a small note on Ahrens entitled: "The Athlete and the Woman," along with two photographs taken by Eugenio García and published on May 18, 1956 (See Figure 3.8).

---

<sup>83</sup> E. Santa-Cruz, *Las escuelas de la identidad*, 154-155.

# LA ATLETA Y LA MUJER



**H**E aquí una carta, una hermosa carta, que tiene el valor de mostrarnos en su delicada fase de mujer a la atleta que ha conmovido la fibra de los aficionados con sus proezas en la pista. A través de "ESTADIO", el lector ya ha conocido esa primera expresión de Marlene Ahrens; ahora es ella misma la que se da a conocer en el otro aspecto, en el de la niña gentil, sentimental, culta, modesta y agradecida, mediante estas líneas que dirigí a uno de nuestros redactores que la elogiara por sus triunfos en el Sudamericano último. Se las ofrecemos al lector, sin gustar ni agregar nada, seguros de que para ellos será, como lo fue para nosotros, un motivo más de admiración hacia esta exponente de la mujer chilena.

*My dear amigo:*  
 Llévese. No puedo hacer deporte. Me arrastré a la olimpiada, cebé un male y decidí conversar con usted.

Si, decidí conversar con usted, porque acabo de leer la revista "ESTADIO" y considero que es demasiado lo que me elogia. Yo, escudo, no. ¡Centro de escudo de este Sudamericano! Salud y alegría, sí, pero belleza y gracia, no. Y líneas y armonía, menos. Perdone usted, pero las apariencias engañan. Para mí, el escudo o astro, o Mérculo como quiera, de este Sudamericano de atletismo, fue, sin lugar a dudas, el gran Ramón Sasdoval. Él, a pesar de sus dos magníficos records, él, que posee una calidad innegable, siguió siendo el mismo Ramón, modesto, sencillo y honesto. ¡Eso es ejemplo, y por eso lo admiro! A mi juicio, él es el astro de este Sudamericano, y todos los demás somos satélites. Algunos más grandes y otros más pequeños.

Le agradezco sinceramente su gentileza y sus alabanzas, y le ruego perdona mi franqueza, pero no estamos de acuerdo. No fui yo el astro; fue Ramón Sasdoval. Y, ¿sabe a quién considero otro gran astro de este Sudamericano inolvidable? Ya lo he dicho, y es también mi opinión: el público chileno. Este público también conquistó un gran record sudamericano. Es sabido y he visto que en ninguna parte de este continente se ha reunido tanto público para una ocasión de atletismo. Él, con sus oraciones, sus aplausos y su "Chile... Chile... Chile", nos ayudó, nos animó y nos dio más bríos para pelear por este Chile nuestro. Así piensan muchos, y creo que así piensan muchos.

Antes de despedirme, quisiera agradecer, con todo mi cariño, a sus colegas: Pancho Aisina, Don Pampa, Ater, Jumar, y al señor director de esta magnífica revista, todas las alabanzas de que me han hecho objeto, y pedirles cariñosamente que no se olviden nunca de que las apariencias engañan. Yo, ¡centro del escudo de este Sudamericano! ¡No, eso no! Me falta mucho para ello. De todas maneras, por las intenciones de todos, ¡muchas gracias!

He conversado largo con usted, y si le he dicho algo que le ha doído o molestado, no fue en mi intención. Lo que pasa, como ya le dije, es que no estamos de acuerdo sobre mi persona, y creo que me conozco mejor de lo que me conoce usted.

Adiós, amigo, y muchas gracias.

MARLENE.

Figure 3.8 Marlene Ahrens. Photographs and written text. *Estadio*, 18 May 1956, 3. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

The top photo portraits Ahrens sitting at home near the window and dressed in a long skirt and white shirt. Below was a snapshot of Ahrens at the National Stadium wearing sports outfit and hoisting the Chilean flag under the watchful eye of an unidentified man. The large title at the top of the page minimizes the text: a letter signed by Ahrens herself thanked *Estadio* journalists who supported her but also called on them to recognize other athletes.

With these two intertwined images, *Estadio* sought to define femininity based on the same duality mentioned in the title: woman and athlete. First, Ahrens is featured as hostess, dressed elegantly and ready to face the interview. Without looking at the camera with a twisted position (elbow propped on the table and his head cocked), Ahrens seems to be talking to the reporter in the privacy of her home. Although it appears to be spontaneous, this portrait resembles the typical arranged shots by García. In the second shot, Ahrens is sitting upright with a straight posture, proudly representing her nation as a uniformed athlete. Pictured with the national shield and raising the flag, she is probably singing the national anthem. Between Ahrens and the flag, a man seems to watch the scene, with his eyes focused on the flag and arms extended in a pledge-of-allegiance-kind of posture.

Unlike the male portraits of García that extolled the face of soccer players, Ahrens's full body appeared on three other front covers of the magazine (two in 1956 and one in 1954).<sup>84</sup> One of Marlene Ahrens's photographs shows her with her shorts and her crotch exposed to the viewer. This was a typical sexualized image that had existed in *Estadio* since the beginning of the magazine. In that sense, *Estadio* reflected what feminist film critic Laura Mulvey has coined as "the male gaze," in which images of female athletes became displayed as erotic spectacle for

---

<sup>84</sup> See: *Estadio*, 24 April 1954; *Estadio*, 27 April 1956; *Estadio*, 24 April 1954; 23 December 1956.

men.<sup>85</sup> In the two images above, Ahrens is looking away from the camera. This was a stereotypical representation of womanhood that signified lack of confidence and shyness.

When journalists described Ahrens in physical terms, they usually tied ideals of gender and race. Although bewildered by her “exuberant natural condition” and “white skin,” journalist Julio Martínez attributed the first triumphs of Ahrens in 1954 to the fact she was married: “Far from being a drawback, her marriage, [with the hockey player Jorge Ebersperger], has been the basis for a career with unsuspected limits.”<sup>86</sup> For Martínez—who usually wrote just about soccer but often commented on Ahrens’ accomplishments—natural talent was not enough. The guidance of a man who “drives” the career of a female athlete was needed as much as soccer players needed the paternal figure of a coach.

Repeatedly, Ahrens was described as an exemplary wife. In addition to highlighting her physical characteristics, journalists identified her as the hope for the future of the nation. After winning the silver medal on November 28, 1956, columnist José Navasal wrote: “Class is not something that you use for sports victories. Class is reflected in life. This victory will not make her less simple, less cheerful, or less of a good wife or mother.”<sup>87</sup> In order to protect their femininity and to contain female presence in public, *Estadio* columnists argued that women’s sports were secondary to motherhood. After the Olympic achievement, *Estadio* delved into Ahrens’s private life and described her return to her home as even more important than the Olympic medal. For Navasal the privacy of home was a sacred space guarded by women and remained central in most of the articles about Ahrens. In an extensive interview of December 1956, Navasal also attributed Ahrens’s success to mental qualities:

---

<sup>85</sup> L. Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures*.

<sup>86</sup> J. Martínez, “Pura chispa,” *Estadio*, 10 April 1954, 6.

<sup>87</sup> J. Navasal, “El desmentido de Marlene,” *Estadio*, 7 December 1956, 3.

“Her physical health is only the inevitable consequence of her mental health [...] Ahrens is not a nerveless woman. She is the woman whose nerves work well. We have created the myth of the dumb athlete and the skinny intellectual, without thinking that the best would be the intelligent athlete. Marlene Ahrens is a close example of that ideal.”<sup>88</sup>

Echoing Victorian notions of the “female mental instability,” Navasal argued that Ahrens was the pinnacle of Chilean femininity. As white and upper class woman, commentaries about Ahrens became a key locus for debates about women’s role in society. Instead of being represented as emancipated women athletes, the stories about Ahrens sought to integrate women to sports away from positions of power. As feminist writer Sandra Lee Bartky wrote it, *Estadio* represented “the panoptical male connoisseur: women stand before his gaze and under his judgment.”<sup>89</sup> Both images portrayed female athletes as the new model of femininity but without challenging patriarchal assumptions about women’s roles in society.<sup>90</sup>

Like the pictures of Evita with children (See Figure 10), images of Ahrens symbolized a cult of national domesticity that shaped sports. Beyond their physical resemblance, both Ahrens and Evita appeared as protective mothers of the nation. As columnist Víctor Alonso published in the children’s magazine *Barrabases* in September 1959: “Ahrens accomplished his feat with the thought harbored in her daughter and her Chilean soul [...] From her blue eyes like the Chilean sky, she dropped a few tears of champion and mother.”<sup>91</sup> Although Ahrens was a female athlete and Evita a woman who never posed as an athlete, sports journalists from Chile and Argentina placed both of these iconic females in a motherhood sphere as saviors of the nation. Seen as

---

<sup>88</sup> J. Navasal, “Esta es Marlene,” *Estadio*, 28 December 1956, 4-6.

<sup>89</sup> S. Lee Bartky, “Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power,” in R. Weitz, *The Politics of Women’s Bodies*, 34.

<sup>90</sup> Following Foucauldian approaches, several labor historians have labeled this process as “modernization of patriarchy,” especially in the context of Latin America’s populist regimes. E. Dore and M. Molyneux, *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State*; J. French and D. James, *The Gendered Worlds*; S. Besse, *Restructuring Patriarchy*; K. Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises*; C. Ehrick, *The Shield of the Weak*; E. Hutchison, *Labors Appropriate to their Sex*; K. Kampwirth, *Gender and Populism in Latin America*.

<sup>91</sup> V. Alonso, “Campeona y madre,” *Barrabases*, 8 September 1959.

secular saints, sports columnists deployed a set of “invented traditions,” a series of photographic portraits and written comments that sought to inculcate gender values and norms of behavior by establishing conventions and repeated practices of representation of the “female body.”<sup>92</sup> Both Eva Perón and Marlene Ahrens became romanticized female heroes that announced the advent of a new order, one that compared the nation to a big family.

But if cartoonists and photographers created tropes about young men as dependent on marriage and femininity as inextricably linked to motherhood, visual representations of Argentine and Chilean children in the sports arena were significantly different. Whereas children photographed in Argentine publications such as *Mundo Deportivo* appeared included in the Peronist family, Chilean children in *Estadio* appeared as marginalized kids and stateless subjects, lacking access to sports entertainment and social reform. Published in *Estadio* on January 17, 1953, García’s snapshot shows two different viewpoints within a single soccer scenario (See Figure 3.9). From one perspective, goalkeeper Carlos Espinoza observes the game over the scoring line. Wearing a team uniform and padding but no gloves, he seems ready to intervene at any moment. From another perspective, an unidentified young boy observes the game with similar interest, but as a spectator leaning against the goal post. Espinoza played for Club Everton from Viña del mar, the first non-Santiago team that won Chile’s national tournament (1950 and 1952). The bare-footed youngster seems scruffy, with a rebellious hairstyle and a laid-back attitude. Despite the fact the game took place at night, García found the perfect angle from which shoot a complex dynamic between a fan and a soccer idol.

---

<sup>92</sup> E. Hobsbawm, *Invention of Tradition*, 1-14.



Figure 3.9 “The Hidden Treasure.” Photograph. *Estadio*, 17 January 1953, 3. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile, Santiago.

Promises of social mobility within a paternalist framework were common to the iconography of children’s images in many other *Estadio* photographs. They lent support to the idea that improving child welfare was a responsibility that state authorities should not ignore. Photographs frequently portrayed children in soccer as indicative of how much value they embodied. Sportswriters, who generally commented on García’s photographs, criticized wanton rebelliousness in youth and stressed hard work, abstention from alcohol, and moral restraint. In an accompanying text below the image titled “Hidden Treasure,” the journalist Renato González suggested that this picture symbolized the liminal frontier between children’s dreams and the reality of an adult world: “Sports have enriched poor kids with noble aspirations like nothing in the past. Soccer has opened opportunities to those who play in the street but also to those who play in their minds. Only working hard and tenaciously they will be able to accomplish their

goals.”<sup>93</sup> González underscored the image as a metaphor as well as an example of how children should grow up. Beyond the physical development of young bodies, successful maturity required dogged persistence and inspiring adult role models. In this photo, goalkeeper Espinoza represented that model.

As part of a larger process of national building, García’s photographs of children wavered between populism and social control. *Estadio* supported the political aspirations of the masses even as it tried to guard against the potentially negative outcomes of popular political participation. *Estadio* filled pages with many photographs of poor children who broke into stadiums during soccer matches but at the same time many expressed alarm for the amount of children unable to buy soccer tickets. As columnist Renato González lamented in 1950, “It is a shame to see children asking for cents outside the stadium. They deserve to enter for free. Sports must promote a culture of respect for children and their citizen formation.”<sup>94</sup> González claimed that granting Chilean adolescents greater access to the stadium could help channel their energies in more positive directions. In response to these calls, columnist Carlos Guerrero wrote an editorial in 1955 to encourage stadiums to provide free tickets to teenagers.<sup>95</sup> Using identical pictures taken by García, Guerrero claimed that in Argentina the state had ensured more opportunities and access for children.

Unlike the images created by José Olivieri in *Mundo Deportivo*, with children as protagonists of the Peronist spectacle, Eugenio García’s work in *Estadio* portrayed children as lonely spectators, never as players, without parents and constantly off the field. García’s snapshot also represents the absence of a social contract between the state and the working class

---

<sup>93</sup> R. González, “El tesoro escondido,” *Estadio*, 17 January 1953, 3.

<sup>94</sup> R. González, “Ellos tienen derecho,” 19 August 1950, 3.

<sup>95</sup> C. Guerrero, “Niños, pueden entrar,” *Estadio*, 4 June 1955, 3;

(here represented by children). With an eye to Argentina since the 1940s, *Estadio* celebrated the opening of the Evita Championships in 1948 and called for similar initiatives to be replicated in Chile. As Renato González wrote in 1948, “In contrast to what happens in Chilean stadiums, Argentine children not only watch the games for free thanks to the government but also they get to play in the halftime. They perform an excellent spectacle and dominate the public space at their will.”<sup>96</sup> While applauding the opportunities granted for Argentine children by Perón, *Estadio* criticized Chilean sports authorities for their severity on poor children.

## **Conclusion**

Even though Perón and Ibáñez implemented similar media policies and engaged in soccer to captivate more political support, sports magazines responded in different ways to populist regimes. In Argentina, Perón faced strong media opposition across the political spectrum but he managed to mobilize sports journalists for his cause by including them in his vision of social justice and delivered concrete benefits, including new jobs in exchange for positive comments about the government’s sports programs. In its attempt to counter the criticism and the omissions of *El Gráfico*, the Peronist magazine *Mundo Deportivo* not only served as a political platform of propaganda but also as a site for the production of Peronist subjectivities. Photographs of children participating in the Evita Championships, decked out in their brand-new sports outfits, symbolized the rise of a New Argentina. Olivieri’s photographs showed Perón and Evita as the protectors of the poor children, but most importantly, as the personification of the state. As political images, they expressed gratitude for making such transformations in material life,

---

<sup>96</sup> R. González, “Dejad a los niños,” *Estadio*, 9 October 1948, 20.

connecting individual improvements with membership in a national collectivity and mass political movement.

Unlike the symbolic battles between *El Gráfico* and *Mundo Deportivo* over the coverage of sports, the structure of Chilean print media consolidated the unique place of *Estadio* as the leading sports magazine in Chile. *Estadio*'s overwhelmingly male readers could project themselves onto idyllic scenes of male-headed families and bodily perfection. Both male and female athletes depicted by García became models of racial fitness and nationalism. García's images were an important part of *Estadio*'s effort to emotionally connect with male readers who were not able to afford a stadium ticket or read the magazine. Curious pedestrians on the sidewalk may have stopped in front of a kiosk to admire a cover of *Estadio* and see the carefully produced images created by García without necessarily reading the pages inside. As a photographic sub-genre loaded with symbolic meanings, sports photography in *Estadio* became extremely careful and strove for maximum dramatic and poetic effect.

## CHAPTER 4

### Playing in the Airwaves: Radio Broadcasting and Soccer Announcers

On February 25, 1945, the famous Uruguayan soccer announcer Joaquín Carballo (aka Fioravanti) narrated the penultimate match of the South American Championship in Chile. The following is the transcript of Carballo's narration of the winning goal (*gol*) with which Argentina beat Uruguay 1-0 at the National Stadium in Santiago.

“Sixty thousand spectators at the National Stadium. [The] first half [finished] zero-zero. We reached fifteen [minutes] of the second half. [Ángel] Perucca goes forward combining with [Rinaldo] Martino, who is a little behind. The midfielder pursues rapid run with the ball. Like an arrow, he skillfully eludes [Obdulio] Varela. He approaches to the penalty area, and then he overcomes [Agustín] Prado. [The Goalkeeper, Roque] Máspoli left his place and the Argentine player gently lifts the ball over his head. Goal! Goal for Argentina! It was a formidable finish, from an impossible angle after a remarkable individual run. Martino pulled the ball with a spoon-like shot over the Uruguayan goalkeeper, scoring a goal for history.”<sup>1</sup>

Carballo's accurate description of the events in short periods of time culminated with the climactic cry of *gol* scored by the Argentine player Rinaldo Martino in the second half of the crucial match. By stressing the “L” (*gollllllll*) for more than two seconds, instead of the “O” as it was common among other soccer announcers at the time, Carballo had less chances of creating sound distortion, allowing a more harmonic and solemn broadcast for listeners back in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Even though Carballo was Uruguayan, he narrated Argentina's victory with professionalism and impartiality, especially considering that he was working for an Argentine radio station (Radio Splendid) and his audience was majorly based in Buenos Aires. Carballo even conceded a sentimental value to the moment (“a *gol* for history”) with the intention of telling the fans that this *gol* was worthy of remembering. Carballo's style gave

---

<sup>1</sup> Original audio courtesy of J. Cantori, *Atento Fioravanti*. Translation by the author.

preference to descriptive details and metaphoric descriptions about the players and their movements, allowing listeners to get a better picture of where and how the actions occurred. For example, the “spoon-like shot” served to explain that the Argentine player Martino had lifted the ball with his foot over the goalkeeper similar to the way one uses the spoon.

This translated excerpt is one of the few radio records available to study soccer broadcasts in the 1940s. Its richness is extremely valuable for historians and collectors because it captures a small portion of the “transnational soundscape” of soccer.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it provides a glimpse of Carballo’s particular narrative style during the games. Considering that fans in the Rio de la Plata were hearing the live coverage of an international match from Santiago, Carballo’s excerpt also illustrates that sports narratives in radio were central to representing national epics across the border in an increasingly transnational context.

This chapter explores the political and cultural significance of soccer broadcasts on radio in Argentina and Chile between the 1920s and 1950s. By examining print media, radio records, sports films, and advertising, I explore the oral performances of soccer announcers (*locutores de fútbol*) who distinguished themselves through particular styles and phrases, either using passionate oratory or sober comments. Sports announcers (aka sportscasters) fully exploited radio with their relaxed or excited, colloquial, and evocative commentaries. They gave real-time coverage from an eyewitness reporter on the field. As sports communicators, they were valued for their articulate presentations, emotional rhetoric, precise language, and for their ability to describe each second of a fast moving sporting event. Because of their skills, radio commentators provided expert analysis including team strategies, physical characteristics of the athletes, and occasionally political comments.

---

<sup>2</sup> A soundscape is the sonic environment or aural landscape culturally constructed: both as we hear it in our daily lives and as it is heard on radio. H. Chignell, *Key Concepts in Radio Studies*, 105.

As Colombian media scholar Jesús Martín-Barbero explains, radio gave the people of the different regions and provinces their first taste of the nation.<sup>3</sup> Surprisingly, little has been written about the spread of radio and its role in forging political culture and nationalism. While soccer announcers contributed to the advances of radio as national medium, they also promoted strong international ties between Chilean and Argentine radio stations, constantly travelling, commenting, and even broadcasting games outside their own countries. They formed a cast that knew each other across borders, who shared broadcast booths in stadiums, microphones, and other radio equipment. In that sense, this chapter analyzes the intertwined trajectories of famous sportscasters who created a set of narratives that were central to representing national politics across the border. By exploring the careers and styles of soccer announcers, I analyze how radio created narrative understandings about sports that had broader political meanings.

Considering the scarcity of sources and the difficult access to national radio archives, print media serves as a useful a window into the world of radio. In that sense, this chapter suggests that the history of radio is intertwined with the history of the sporting press. Since the beginning of radio in the 1920s, sports magazines were filled with articles and advertising about radio, often containing sections teaching listeners how to build their own sets. This practice of reading about radio helped listeners to learn about the medium's novelty. Chileans and Argentines found ways of adapting to soccer broadcasts, of making it seem familiar, and of becoming comfortable with the idea that "some part of their knowledge of the world was now given to them in the form of sound emanating from a machine."<sup>4</sup> This chapter argues that, while radio certainly enabled new ways of imagining sports, it did not simply displace the longstanding

---

<sup>3</sup> J. Martín-Barbero, *Communication, Culture and Hegemony*, 164.

<sup>4</sup> M. Stamm, "The Sound of Print," in D. Suisman and S. Strasser, *Sound in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 223; C. Covert, "American Sensibility and the Response to Radio," in C. Covert and J. Stevens, *Mass Media Between the Wars*, 200.

practice of seeing soccer through print. Sportswriters often commented on the performances of soccer announcers and their own written chronicles were full of references from the soccer broadcasts. Both mediums constantly overlapped and borrowed from each other, allowing the fans to combine written information with play-by-play commentary. In fact, many sportscasters such as Joaquín Carballo initiated their careers as columnists of the most prestigious sports magazines, including *El Gráfico* in Argentina and *Estadio* in Chile.

Like sports photographs, radio was another mediated representation of the games. If soccer was subject to an abundance of images so too was it subject to a multiplicity of voices, crowds, screams, and interruptions. Radio offered a close, more realistic, and immediate experience to fans who were not able to physically attend soccer games. Unlike images, radio created a feeling of immediacy and permanent suspense. In addition, radio was far easier to understand and more attractive than reading (which in the 1940s few people did well). Fans felt that were part of the events and they could do other stuff while enjoying the radio. Listening to radio was intensely social and usually involved groups of family members, coworkers, or friends.

In addition to print journalism and images, soccer announcers drew heavily on other forms of popular culture such as radio soap operas and sports films, which also emerged in the 1920s. Radio's invisibility and absence of cameras facilitated the production of dramas as relatively cheap investments and job opportunities for actors. The ability to move rapidly from scene to scene is a key advantage that explains the quick success of radio dramas in Argentina and Chile around the 1930s and 1940s, respectively. Like radio soap operas, soccer broadcasts are staged "inside the head" and not on a set with costumes. Both need narrators and actors who converge and develop the story. In the case of cinema, sports films constantly featured soccer announcers in cameo appearances because many of them were professionally trained actors or

enjoyed a celebrity status that could bring more credibility and “realism” to the film. Drawing heavily on these forms of popular culture, I argue that soccer announcers crafted their own charismatic versions of populism and their accounts became a powerful vehicle for enacting nationalist fantasies about class unity and defining male citizenship.

Only a few historians such as Mathew Karush, Andrea Matallana, Richard Claxton, and Christine Ehrick have called attention to Perón’s debt to radio in Argentina, perceptible for example in his tendency to draw on the language of tango, cinema, and radio soap operas.<sup>5</sup> In Chile, radio has attracted less academic interest and works tend to emphasize structural dynamics such as ownership and technological innovations, without paying attention to its content.<sup>6</sup> Building on this scholarship, this chapter compares the national broadcasting policy of the two countries, especially the regulations issued by the populist governments of Juan Perón and Carlos Ibáñez and how these affected the work of soccer announcers. This chapter argues that, although radio was initially conceived as a commercial activity developed by private companies, both the Chilean and Argentine states showed interest in regulating from early on. However, the Chilean state failed in creating an official radio station controlled by the government. On the contrary, the authoritarian military regimes of Argentina in the 1930s set the tone of state-led broadcasts, tight censorship, and strict regulations on the language used in the airwaves.

Either reading or improvising speeches, both Perón and Ibáñez employed radio to communicate their policies or address the population through national broadcasts. As presidents during the golden age of radio, their voices of command became part of the “soundscape” of thousands of Argentines and Chileans who saw in radio either a symbol of democracy and modernity or an instrument of propaganda and control by the authorities. That Perón came into

---

<sup>5</sup> M. Karush, *Culture of Class*; R. Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*; A. Matallana, *Locos por la radio*; C. Ehrick, *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape*.

<sup>6</sup> S. Rinke, *Cultura de masas, reforma y nacionalismo en Chile*; R. Paredes, *Cuando Chile era radio*.

political existence is directly owing to radio. This is not to say that Perón used media to trick the masses or that radio was merely a tool of Peronist legitimization. Perón's famously lowbrow language –his use of sports metaphors and familiar tango tropes– expressed an overt affiliation and borrowing with soccer broadcasts, especially considering the celebrity status of announcers such as Tito Martínez, Ricardo Lorenzo, Eduardo Pellicciari, Luis Sojit, and Joaquín Carballo.

This chapter is especially interested in how the performances of soccer announcers on radio elaborated concepts of masculinity and male bonding that had broader political meanings. Historically speaking, male voices have been traditionally associated to dominant voices claiming authority and rationality. As Susan Douglas shows in the case of American baseball, announcers were often notorious for their wordplay, especially their vivid descriptive styles.<sup>7</sup> But in the case of soccer broadcasts in Argentina what predominated was a melodramatic and emotional overflow. Building on Christine Ehrick's thesis that radio was a place where women could assume "masculine" roles as commentators and men could vocally pose as women, this chapter argues that soccer announcers infused the political language of populism with the use of dramatic tones, sound effects, loud music, and extensive vocabulary.<sup>8</sup> Sports announcers –all men– were experienced, trained, and passionate observers of the game who not only embodied the *voz masculina* or masculine voice of the Argentine nation but also they heavily influenced Chilean soccer announcers, who openly recognized Argentine sportscasters as their "teachers." By promoting soccer as a unique form of recreation, soccer broadcasts and sports talk shows reflected broader campaigns of Perón and Ibáñez that made leisure, and particularly men's soccer, an issue of state.

---

<sup>7</sup> S. Douglas, *Listening in*, 201.

<sup>8</sup> C. Ehrick, "Radio Transvestism and the Gendered Soundscape in Buenos Aires," in A. Bronfman and A. Grant, *Media, Sound, and Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 33.

## Print Media and Radio

Sporting events were among the first live events that radio brought into people's homes. In Argentina, sports started on the radio a few years earlier than in Chile. In the early 1920s, radio rapidly expanded in Buenos Aires. An important cohort of technicians and newspaper entrepreneurs shaped the nation's mostly homegrown radio industry. The first broadcast of a sporting event in Argentina was held on September 14, 1923, and covered the international boxing fight between Luis Firpo and Jack Dempsey in New York. The boxing match had a decisive impact on radio broadcasting in both Argentina and Chile. In Buenos Aires, privately owned Radio Cultura broadcast the fight for the three thousand Argentines who had a radio receiver at that time, the majority imported from Europe.<sup>9</sup> In Chile, newspapers ran their own stations in order to fend off competition from independent radio stations as well as to take advantage of their stronger connections to Argentine newswires. In Santiago, Radio La Nación (owned by the daily of the same name) read the newswire from Argentina and re-transmitted with megaphones the boxing fight outside the newspaper building.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the rapid dissemination of radio in Buenos Aires, in 1923 Santiago had only 200 radio receivers imported from the United States.<sup>11</sup>

Enthusiasm for radio broadcasts of sporting events grew significantly in the following years. In 1924, about a year after the Firpo-Dempsey fight, Radio Argentina offered the first Argentine broadcast of a soccer game on October 2, 1924. Promoters such as Alfredo Tomazzi and Oscar Pédola felt that a broadcast match between the Argentine National Team and the Olympic champions Uruguay would enhance receiver sales. In anticipation of the game,

---

<sup>9</sup> S. Pujol, "Años veinte y radiofonía en la Argentina," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 546 (1995): 77.

<sup>10</sup> S. Rinke, *Cultura de masas: reforma y nacionalismo en Chile*, 57.

<sup>11</sup> M. Lasagni, *La radio en Chile*, 7.

newspapers printed layouts of the Sportivo Barracas field, subdivided into twenty numbered squares. Thus, broadcasters referred to particular square-numbers when talking about players' location on the field. With this imaginative device, listeners could clearly visualize the described movements of players and the ball. The Argentine team won on the field and Argentine radio won its first big international audience since Radio Argentina was heard in Montevideo as well as in Buenos Aires.<sup>12</sup>

The links between radio stations and newspapers marked the beginning of sports broadcasts in Chile as well. Chilean magazine columnists suggested that radio could improve education, including physical education. In 1925, *Los Sports* columnist Carlos Pérez spoke favorably about his experience in Buenos Aires, where Radio Cultura had created a program on physical education in which many listeners received gymnastic lessons in their homes. As Pérez wrote, "It was extremely interesting to observe the teacher with the piano and the microphone, which greatly facilitate the rhythmical execution of movements by the listeners. It is amazing how the voice on the air can make an excellent gym class aimed at thousands of receivers. I am confident that people at home are able to follow the movements with the same precision as the radio instructor."<sup>13</sup> According to Pérez, physical education had found an ally in radio. Following the development of radio in Buenos Aires, Pérez reproduced *Los Sports*'s broader attention to Argentina's sports organization as a model for Chile. Elsewhere in his description, he called the broadcast voice the "delicious nectar of wellness and fitness." Aware that not all Chileans possessed radio receivers to benefit from such innovative sports instruction, Pérez emphasized that this private initiative should serve as an example for governments to expand upon.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> R. Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 34.

<sup>13</sup> C. Pérez, "¿Contribuye la radio a difundir la Educación Física?" *Los Sports*, 16 October 1925, 2-3.

<sup>14</sup> C. Pérez, "La segunda audición por radio de nuestra revista," *Los Sports*, 1 July 1927, 2.

The boom of radio in the 1930s increased editorial production and entertainment journalism in both Argentina and Chile. By 1936, Argentines had 1.5 million radio receivers with 25 radio stations and 5 nationwide publications dedicated to radio programming, including the colorful *Radio Revista* (1927), *La Canción Moderna* (1928), *Sintonía* (1933), *Radiolandia* (1934), and *Antena* (1937). The most popular was the weekly *Sintonía*, which had a circulation of 30,000 and covered music, radio and the life of Hollywood celebrities. In charge of the cinema portion was the Chilean Carlos Borcosque, a film director appointed by President Carlos Ibáñez as consul in Los Angeles, California, between 1927 and 1931.<sup>15</sup> Combining his diplomatic responsibilities with journalistic tasks, Borcosque also founded the Chilean weekly magazine *Ecran* in 1930, which basically reproduced many of the articles published in *Sintonía*.

To some extent, sports broadcasts generated a technical fascination that reinforced positivist utopias. The very name of these publications was eloquent: “Antena” (or antenna) as an icon of technological imagery and “Sintonía” (or signal) as a synchronic exchange between two or more individuals in separate places. In the words of literary critic Beatriz Sarlo, radio amplified the discourse of “peripheral modernity,” (*modernidad periférica*), a connection to the “civilized world,” that combined the influence of print culture, the sequential images of cinema, and the sonic richness of music into one single device.<sup>16</sup> With one radio for about every 30 residents of Buenos Aires around the 1930s, radio became a profitable business that quickly adapted to technical progress, linking people from journalism, cinema, theater, and sports.

In Chile, filmmakers were among the first media producers who narrated sports on radio. In 1923, Carlos Cariola produced the first Chilean sports film called *Campeonato Sudamericano de Box*, a silent movie about the boxing fight between the Chilean Luis Vicentini and the

---

<sup>15</sup> A. Eujanian, *Historia de revistas argentinas*, 137

<sup>16</sup> B. Sarlo, *La imaginación técnica*, 115. See also: B. Sarlo, *Una modernidad periférica*; J. Barbero, *Communication, Culture and Hegemony*; N. García-Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*.

Uruguayan José Fernández, held in Santiago and with the presence of President Arturo Alessandri in the seats. The film culminated with Vicentini's victory and the muted clamor of the audience cheering for the national hero.<sup>17</sup> A progressive nationalist and advocate of social reform, Cariola challenged the hegemony of elite culture by celebrating stories about working-class heroes who exemplified true "Chileanness" (*chilenidad*).<sup>18</sup> In the late 1920s, Cariola became involved in soccer serving as president of the Chilean Soccer Federation (*Federación de Fútbol de Chile*) between 1925 and 1926 and then as director of Club Colo-Colo in 1929.<sup>19</sup> On the air, he created the show "Sports Clinic" (*Clinica del Deporte*) in 1936 at Radio El Mercurio, when the station still belonged to the newspaper of the same name. The show's name, "clinic" invoked the medical legitimacy of sports in parallel to the ways physical fitness programs were being championed by physicians in the 1930s. Commentators on the show regularly referred to each other in polite overtures as "doctors" but in reality most of them were lawyers and businessmen.<sup>20</sup> Based on his experiences as filmmaker, club leader, and sports commentator, Cariola celebrated working-class subjects (such as boxer Luis Vicentini and Club Colo-Colo) as the embodiment of the nation and middle-class subjects (himself) as teachers of the nation. By undermining the positions of elite's culture (opera, ballet, classical music) in favor of boxers and soccer players, Cariola offered a new portrayal of national life and a more "popular" version of sports that surpassed class barriers. Although sound records of the "Sports Clinic" are non-existent, Cariola's work in the 1930s played a key role in spreading the notion of Chileanness.

In little over a decade, radio's coverage of soccer in both Chile and Argentina had grown from one, or at most two, stations to five nationwide institutions offering competing coverage in

---

<sup>17</sup> M. Cánepa, *Carlos Cariola: el realizador en ensueños*, 37.

<sup>18</sup> P. Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile*, 77-78.

<sup>19</sup> S. Salinas, *Por empuje y coraje*, 19.

<sup>20</sup> C. Morel, *Historia de la radio en Chile*, Vol. 1, 88.

each country. By 1930, Argentina had more stations than any other Latin American nation, many of which offered different alternatives to broadcast soccer. Radio Rivadavia of Buenos Aires, owned by the popular tabloid *Crítica*, became known as the “the broadcaster of the athletes,” a label used to differentiate it from competing stations. The sport talk show “Sports Bulletin” (*Boletín Deportivo*), created by Edmundo Campagnale and run by the soccer announcer Alfredo Aróstegui, became an hour-long late afternoon show from 6:45 until 7:45 p.m.<sup>21</sup> Rapidly, Radio Rivadavia established a reputation as a broadcasting station for sports events, especially after the broadcasts of the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam. In parallel, Radio Porteña, another Buenos Aires station, attempted to get more legitimacy by incorporating columnists from *El Gráfico* as sports commentators, including Ricardo Lorenzo and Félix Fráscara, who elaborated vibrant and appealing broadcasts of soccer matches. As an Uruguayan living in Argentina, Lorenzo mixed the local slang (*lunfardo*) originating in the lower classes of Buenos Aires with some of the lyrics of tango, giving a musical flow to the game. Lorenzo purposely omitted consonants and placed accents on the wrong syllables in imitation of the phraseology of the popular classes, immigrants, and newcomers from the interior provinces. An article of magazine *Sintonía* published in 1933 celebrated his style: “We all like Lorenzo. He talks with wit and grace. Using a typical *porteño* charm, he seduces the listener, earning his affection and trust.”<sup>22</sup> Lorenzo’s voice crossed lines of genre, using tango lyrics and urban melodramas that presupposed a Manichean version of the world in which poverty was a guarantor of virtue and authenticity. The use of “porteño” slang

---

<sup>21</sup> R. Gallo, *La radio: Ese mundo tan sonoro*, 221.

<sup>22</sup> “Borocotó nos gusta a todos,” *Sintonía*, 24 June 1933, 5.

exploited the idea of the poor as teachers of the rich, a romanticized discourse of the socially inferior as morally superior.<sup>23</sup>

Argentine sports announcers of the 1930s drew heavily on popular culture to develop their styles. The best example of this is the career of Tito Martínez, one of the first broadcaster celebrities in both Argentina and Chile. Born in Buenos Aires circa 1907, Martínez was originally a jazz musician, screenwriter, and actor. In 1933, Martínez appeared as supporting actor in the film “The Three Whims” (*Los Tres Berrretines*) directed by Enrique Susini, which portrayed a middle class father who complained against the popular tastes of his family: his wife was addicted to cinema, his daughters to tango, and his son to soccer. Toward the end of the film, Martínez appeared in a long sequence narrating a soccer match in the Sportivo Barracas field in Buenos Aires. Considering that Martínez was portraying himself in the film, the scene is the only available record of his narrative style. The scene shows Martínez summarizing the actions of the second half of the match changing the speed and intonation to expedite the narration. Seated behind a fence and dressed in formal attire with the crowds behind him, Martínez conveyed the dramatic last minutes of the match. But before the scoring moment, a second commentator interrupts Martínez with publicity of cigarettes. By culminating the scene with this humorous action, the film outlined a subtle critique of excessive commercial advertising in the broadcast of sporting events.<sup>24</sup>

By the 1930s, Martínez worked for Radio Belgrano, which had a solid staff of regulars and contracts with radio stars. Martínez usually transmitted the games as sideline reporter,

---

<sup>23</sup> Mathew Karush’s exploration of Peronism’s roots in the melodramatic mass culture of the 1930s suggests that radio shaped the development of populism in Argentina even before the emergence of Juan Perón. See M. Karush, *Culture of Class*.

<sup>24</sup> The increasing audiences attracted advertisers and publicists who invested in radio programs consistently. According to Andrea Matallana, a listener could hear the name of the sponsor between 10 to 25 times in a radio broadcast of soccer or any other program that extended for one hour. A. Matallana, “Inventando la radio comercial: apuntes para una biografía de Jaime Yankelevich,” *Revista de Instituciones, Ideas y Mercados*, 58 (2013): 153.

making live updates on the field. As Radio Belgrano gradually incorporated more technology for its broadcasts, Martínez introduced two microphones on the field: one for the announcer, stationed somewhere high in the stadium or in the broadcast booth; and another closer to the fans with the intention of capturing the cheering crowds. Martínez also experimented with radio soap operas (*radioteatro*). In 1939, he created the show “Gran Pensión El Campeonato” in Radio Belgrano, which satirized the everyday life struggles of an immigrant neighborhood, full of actors that personified popular soccer teams. For example, the Argentine actor Tino Tori portrayed “Millonario” in reference to the wealthy Club River Plate, which paid high salaries to its players. The show mocked the upper-class sports clubs from Buenos Aires and romanticized those of proletarian origin (such as Boca Juniors), where players shouted with Italian accents. Martínez created love stories between supporters of rival soccer teams and different social status. Relying on sound effects, including the sound of the ball going to the net or the crowds in the stadium, Martínez helped the listener to imagine the story, achieving widespread popularity and elevating the sales of radio receivers.<sup>25</sup>

Martínez’s celebrity status brought him to Chile in the early 1940s. In 1942, he accepted an offer made by Radio Agricultura to broadcast the soccer matches of Chile’s National League. Martínez’s style seduced many Chilean listeners who celebrated his precise and vivacious style during the broadcasts. Martínez’s porteño accent, which sounds different in cadence, pitch and flow to the Chilean accent, was not obstacle to his popularity in Chile. The magazine *Ecran* published several good reviews of Martínez’s performance. On March 6, 1945, an anonymous reviewer wrote: “Unlike other announcers, who fire off their voices so quickly, Tito Martínez employs a magnificent language and pronunciation. The best quality is that he gives listeners an

---

<sup>25</sup> Martínez’s boss, the Bulgarian radio entrepreneur Jaime Yankelevich, made a fortune importing microphones and radio receivers in the 1930s. A. Matallana, *Jaime Yankelevich*.

exact idea of the location of the players.”<sup>26</sup> Despite competing against national announcers, listeners highlighted the superiority of Martínez’s work on Radio Agricultura over that of his Chilean colleagues. Another fan identified as Carlos Villarroel from Santiago, went on to criticize Chilean announcers of other stations such as Darío Verdugo (Radio Cooperativa) and Gustavo Aguirre (Radio Corporación), describing them as good commentators but bad narrators who lacked the emotional style and good diction of Martínez.<sup>27</sup> The fan’s criticism of Chileans for not being emotional and clear enough suggests that one of the things that Chileans liked about Martínez was his combination of expressiveness and accuracy, his capacity of capturing the feel of being at the game, its excitement, its moments, and its social atmosphere. Martínez narrated soccer games in ways that were new and attractive to Chileans. Undoubtedly, his prior work in music and acting career helped him recreate the experience of being at the game.

As an acclaimed sportscaster in both countries, Martínez promoted collaborative broadcasts during international soccer tournaments. In February 1945, he helped to cut a deal between the Chilean Radio Agricultura, the Argentines Radio Mitre and Radio Splendid, and the Uruguayan station Radio Sports for the broadcasting of the 1945 South American Championship (*Campeonato Sudamericano*) celebrated at Santiago’s National Stadium.<sup>28</sup> This tournament was the first sports event transmitted internationally from Santiago to the Río de la Plata. In fact, the stations had to adjust the higher seats of the stadium in order to fit the technological equipment for three simultaneous sportscasters.<sup>29</sup> Although Chile’s National Team achieved third place behind Brazil and the champions Argentina, Chilean radio won thousands of new listeners all over the country.

---

<sup>26</sup> “Es Tito un locutor deportivo que describe muy a lo vivo,” *Ecran*, 6 March 1945, 22.

<sup>27</sup> “Pilatunadas,” *Ecran*, 4 December 1945, 23.

<sup>28</sup> For a history of radio broadcasts of soccer in Uruguay, see: J. Rosenberg, *Un grito de gol*; R. Barbero, *De la galena al satélite*; R. País and C. Rama, *Industrias culturales en el Uruguay*.

<sup>29</sup> “Un acontecimiento radial,” 27 February 1945, *Ecran*, 21.

But Chilean sportswriters also challenged Martínez's influence as a radio show host. A few months after the tournament, magazine *Estadio* criticized Chile's Soccer Association (*Asociación Central de Fútbol*) for granting exclusive broadcasting rights to Radio Agricultura. As *Estadio* columnist Renato González complained in May 1945, "It is unpleasant and annoying to hear the same voice all the time. For our national tournament, it is critical to find good announcers that translate the spectacle on the field to the radio receiver at home. The competition of several radio stations and sportscasters in our stadiums, besides being economically beneficial, broadens our notion of freedom to choose what we want to hear."<sup>30</sup> Without explicitly naming Tito Martínez, the quote implied that broadcasting rights needed to be granted for other radio stations besides Radio Agricultura. Although González was speaking about the national league as distinct from an international tournament, his criticism advocated for free competition in radio. Therefore, González's opinion was not necessarily about Martínez's style per se but a commentary against the monopolistic structure of soccer broadcasts in Chile. Considered by many as the best sports journalist in Chile at the time, González was also a radio announcer who commented on soccer and boxing for Radio Prat and Radio Corporación, both in Santiago. Only days after the publication of González's article, Chile's Soccer Association revoked Radio Agricultura's privileges and established freedom to broadcast the games of Chile's National Tournament for all stations without exclusion.<sup>31</sup>

With more Chilean radio stations interested in soccer, including Radio Corporación (Gustavo Aguirre), Radio Prat (Renato González), Radio Americana (Raimundo Loézar), and Radio Cooperativa (Darío Verdugo), Martínez began to lose ground among the Chilean public, particularly within the pages of magazine *Estadio*. Although other publications such as the short-

---

<sup>30</sup> "Las transmisiones radiales en el fútbol," *Estadio*, 19 May 1945, 2.

<sup>31</sup> E. Marín, *Centenario*, 139.

lived magazine *Radio Sports* (April-June 1947) considered Martínez the best play-by-play announcer in Chile, *Estadio* refused to accept Martínez's popularity on the airwaves.<sup>32</sup> Without the support of Chile's most popular sports magazine, Martínez finally returned to Argentina in 1948, where he continued his film career and later became a television producer in the 1950s.

### **Broadcasting Policy**

Although radio was initially conceived as a commercial activity developed by private companies, both the Chilean and Argentine states showed interest in regulating it from early on. In 1925, the military junta that deposed President Arturo Alessandri (1920-1925) in Chile enacted the first Law of Electric Services (*Ley General de Servicios Eléctricos*) and supervised the creation of stations and the importation of broadcast technology.<sup>33</sup> The same year, the government of Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear (1922-1928) in Argentina issued an Executive Decree granting the first licenses to stations operating in Buenos Aires. The Argentine government transferred the supervision of radio from the Ministry of Navy to the Postal and Telegraphic Service (*Oficina de Correos y Telégrafos*), which granted permits and technical support in the late 1920s with an estimated audience of 60,000 radio sets in the country.<sup>34</sup>

Chilean radios could not escape Carlos Ibáñez's authoritarian rule. In 1927, Ibáñez issued a formal ban on Radio El Diario Ilustrado, a station run by the newspaper of the same name, because its editorial line was oppositional to the government. Only days before his resignation, Ibáñez created the National Service of Broadcasting (*Servicio Nacional de*

---

<sup>32</sup> "De micrófono a receptor," *Radio Sports*, 12 April 1947, 17. Directed by the Chilean journalist Benedicto Flores, *Radio Sports* published a total of nine issues between April and June 1947. Its content combined information about soccer and boxing with reviews on the performance of soccer announcers. Unfortunately, most of the copies at Chile's National Library are cropped and in delicate state.

<sup>33</sup> R. Paredes, "Trazando los primeros tiempos de la radio en Chile (1922-1944)," *Revista Brasileira de História da Mídia*, 2.1 (2013): 177-190.

<sup>34</sup> O. Bosetti, *Radiofonías*, 26-29.

*Radiodifusión*), a state agency under the Interior Ministry that regulated the work of electricians, radio operators, and broadcast reporters. Ibáñez decreed that radio “could contribute to cultural uplift through educational and recreational broadcasts.”<sup>35</sup> However, he made it clear from the beginning that political propaganda would not be accepted. Similarly to what occurred with sports policy, broadcasting policy also developed during Ibáñez’s authoritarian state.

The subsequent administrations of Arturo Alessandri (1932-1938) and Pedro Aguirre (1938-1941) failed in their attempts to create a radio station run by the state. In 1933, Alessandri enacted a decree to reserve an exclusive frequency for the state. The launching of the radio station was delayed until 1938 but the unexpected triumph of the Popular Front that year changed these plans. Similarly, the devastating 1939 earthquake in Chillán, a town in south-central Chile, limited public resources to invest in state broadcasting. In July 1940, Aguirre introduced three new requirements for radio stations: a daily hour of information related to the government; a 15 minute per hour cap on advertising (no more than 25% of daily broadcasts); and standardized program content with preference for music, radio soap operas, news, and sports.<sup>36</sup> In this way, the Popular Front attempted to use radio in order to communicate its program without changing the commercial nature of Chile’s broadcasting system.

In the mid 1940s, the Chilean government expanded its formal presence on the airwaves. The Popular Front created the General Directorate of Information and Culture (*Dirección General de Informaciones y Cultura*) under the Interior Ministry to monitor all the stations and frequencies in the country. In 1944, the government of Juan Ríos (1942-1946) enacted a decree entitled Regulation of Broadcasting Transmissions (*Reglamento de Transmisiones de Radiodifusión*). The decree established full state supervision of broadcast content throughout the

---

<sup>35</sup> Ministerio del Interior, *Proyecto de Servicio Nacional de Radiodifusión*, Decree No. 220, 15 May 1931.

<sup>36</sup> R. Paredes, *Explorando los primeros tiempos de la radio en Chile*, 71.

country. It prohibited the transmission of war propaganda, limited foreign content, and sanctioned obscene language. In addition, the decree required that 70% of all cultural content (music, soap operas, sports) feature Chileans.<sup>37</sup> It also stipulated that radio announcers “must show birth certificates, age, and secondary education; [and] in the case of foreigners, they must attach two letters by [Chilean] nationals who are not government officials.”<sup>38</sup> The decree attempted to promote nationalism and keep war propaganda out of the country. In the context of World War II and under strong pressure by the United States, the decree appeared around the same time as the intense national debate that preceded the declaration of war on Japan in 1945.

Unlike the failed attempts to create a state-led radio station in Chile, Argentines succeeded in creating one. The Argentine military government of Agustín Justo (1932-1938) offered a deal to the private sector: a broadcast license in exchange for the lowest bid to construct a central government station. Editorial Haynes, owner of Radio El Mundo, was the successful bidder. Relatively new and modern, Radio El Mundo was the most powerful station in Argentina. Using the technology provided by Haynes, Radio del Estado commenced to broadcast nationwide on July 6, 1937. The programming emphasized cultural and intellectual improvement for Argentines and information about Argentina for foreign listeners.<sup>39</sup> Argentine broadcasting policy monitored the contents of the airwaves, limiting commercial advertising to a maximum of one hundred words between programs and with a single mention of the product (approximately 5% total daily broadcast)—considerably less than the amount granted in Chilean broadcasting policy. According to the Radio Regulations (*Reglamento de Radiodifusión*) enacted in 1934, the Argentine government sought to eliminate the use of “inappropriate language,” which mostly

---

<sup>37</sup> M. Lasagni, *La Radio en Chile*, 10. See also: S. Castillo, “El estado y el control de la radiodifusión en Chile,” *Estudios de comunicación y sociedad*, 8 (2007): 71-94.

<sup>38</sup> Dirección General de Informaciones y Cultura, *Reglamento de Transmisiones de Radiodifusión*, 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> R. Claxton, *From Parsifal to Perón*, 85-86.

referred to slang and bad Spanish grammar that was thought to set a bad example for the Argentine population.<sup>40</sup>

The government's concern with language encouraged Argentine intellectuals to debate about broadcasting and suggest remedies to existing problems. In 1943, the nationalist intellectual Pedro de Paoli published a brief history of Argentine radio titled *Función social de la radiotelefonía* that criticized stations that depended on advertising revenue. He blamed the “liberal approach” of policymakers in the 1920s because of their focus on commercial rather than educational uses of media. Although de Paoli's report did not explicitly address the issue of sports broadcasting, it devoted a great deal of attention to language, tone, and voice. It was the task of announcers to use perfect diction and pronunciation regardless of the way in which those individuals actually spoke.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, de Paoli criticized tango music as “too loud” calling male voices “sticky” and female singers “manipulative” and generally “annoying.”<sup>42</sup>

However, de Paoli never commented on the equally loud and emotional narrations of soccer. In the name of decency, reformers like de Paoli criticized cabarets, movies, radio, theater, and other forms of entertainment where music was played and lower-class values were extolled—but notably, not soccer. For moral reformers of the early 1940s, male sports did not appear as threatening in comparison with social activities that included women and the whiff of sex. Soccer had a particular appeal during World War II because it bolstered Argentina's floundering sense of community in a period when more and more public spectacles were suspended or policed. Soccer broadcasts functioned to keep the men's spirits high and their mind

---

<sup>40</sup> Presidencia de la Nación, Dirección Nacional de Correos y Telecomunicaciones. *Reglamento de Radiodifusión*, No 21585, 1934.

<sup>41</sup> P. de Paoli, *Función social de la radiotelefonía*.

<sup>42</sup> A. Vardaro, *La censura radial del lunfardo*.

on something other than tango or cabarets.<sup>43</sup> As an all-male spectacle of bodies in uniforms, soccer broadcasts not only reinforced nationalism but also became a social equivalent to the military spectacle of 1940s Argentina. Soccer embodied a language of aggression and opposition (conquest, attack, defense, rivals, etc.) where the supremacy of macho triumphed over the feminized other.

Radio became the object of more intense regulation in the 1940s. During the rule of General Pedro Ramírez (June 1943 to March 1944), a series of decrees restricted ownership of radio stations to Argentines, limited the amount of foreign music transmitted, and insisted that lyrics be linguistically “pure”. Gradually, English terms, which early radio promoters had incorporated into their vocabulary, gave way to Spanish equivalents. Thus, “speakers” (announcers) became *locutores* and “broadcastings” were turned into *radiodifusoras*. Drawing on de Paoli’s guidelines, the Argentine military government issued the Instructional Manual for Radio Stations (*Manual de Instrucciones para las Estaciones de Radiodifusión*), a governmental decree enacted in May 1946, that sought to regulate every aspect of radio broadcasting.<sup>44</sup> Seeking to eliminate “deformations” of the language, the Argentine state assumed a policing status of “grammar guardian,” limiting the number of conversational programs, soap operas, news bulletins, call-in shows, and diminishing the overall time of spoken word in favor of recorded music.<sup>45</sup>

### **Soccer Announcers and Peronism in Argentina**

---

<sup>43</sup> Cf. D. Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires*; C. Ehrick, *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape*.

<sup>44</sup> P. Sirvén, *Perón y los medios de comunicación*, 56; O. Bosetti, *Radiofonías*, 27.

<sup>45</sup> A. Matallana, *Locos por la radio*, 143-152.

Until Perón, no Argentine politician used mass mobilization as a political tool even if radio was available to implement that approach. Like authoritarian governments before him, Perón protected national media production and defended Argentine national culture. The Peronist government also censored films, soap operas, books, and magazines. According to historian Elizabeth Fox, exiled Argentine politicians had to resort to broadcasting to their supporters on radio stations located across the river in Uruguay.<sup>46</sup> In 1947, Peronist authorities created a virtual monopoly and commanded the principal national radio networks either through state ownership or through puppet intermediaries. Perón nationalized three private stations (Radio Belgrano, Radio Splendid, and Radio El Mundo) by forcing their owners to sell them to the government at reduced prices. Radio Belgrano was owned by Jaime Yankelevich, one of the pioneers in radio and television in Argentina; Radio Splendid was owned by the Peralta-Ramos family, owners of newspaper *La Razón*; and Radio El Mundo was linked to the Haynes publishing house.<sup>47</sup> In 1953, the Peronist administration issued the first Law of Broadcasting Service (*Ley del Servicio de Radiodifusión*) enacted in a democratic government. Under the Ministry of Communications, headed by Óscar Nicolini, this legislation maintained many of the 1946 instructions, sanctioning any type of anti-Argentine expression and limiting publicity to the 5% total daily broadcast.<sup>48</sup>

Before assuming his role as Minister of Communications, Nicolini had served as head of the Argentine Soccer's Association or *Asociación del Fútbol Argentino* between 1947 and 1949, where he established close ties with soccer announcers who supported Perón. One of them was the Uruguayan sportscaster and Peronist sympathizer Eduardo "Lalo" Pellicciari. In the early 1940s, Pellicciari moved back and forth from Montevideo to Buenos Aires working in stations on

---

<sup>46</sup> E. Fox, "Latin American Broadcasting," in L. Bethell, *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Vol. 10, Latin America since 1930: ideas, culture and society*, 526.

<sup>47</sup> E. Fox, *Media and Politics in Latin American*, 40.

<sup>48</sup> S. Arribá, "El peronismo y la política de radiodifusión (1946-1955)," in G. Mastrini, *Mucho ruido, pocas leyes*, 91-100.

both sides of the Rio de la Plata. Like Tito Martínez and Ricardo Lorenzo, Pellicieri narrated the games with unadorned and passionate oratory relying on nicknames for the players and emotional style. He could make listeners sitting at home or in a neighborhood bar feel like they were in the stadium. Pellicieri employed a variety of high tones, volumes, and popular expressions that revealed enthusiasm or disappointment with the games. For example, when the players were tired he yelled at them: “Come on, boys! Come on!” (*¡Vaaaamos, muchachos! ¡Vamos!*) expecting that the players would react to his plea.<sup>49</sup>

Pellicieri was a self-declared Peronist who loudly shouted out his support on several occasions. In 1951, he participated in Perón’s reelection campaign by repeating popular slogans during soccer matches, including the famous cry “Boca! Perón! One single heart!” (*¡Boca! ¡Perón! ¡Un sólo corazón!*) in reference to the popular club Boca Juniors.<sup>50</sup> Pellicieri also extolled the virtues of Eva Perón whom he met during the relief efforts for the 1944 San Juan earthquake, when a group of radio celebrities traveled with Perón to support the victims. The energetic voice of Evita might have inspired Pellicieri as much as Pellicieri might have inspired Perón. In the early 1940s, Evita worked at Radio Belgrano, where she appeared in a popular historical-drama program called “Great Women in History,” in which she played Elizabeth I of England among other famous women.<sup>51</sup> As director of Radio Mitre in 1951, Pellicieri promoted the Evita Championships as a unique opportunity for children and recruited the young singer Luis Aguilera (aka Luis Aguilé), who sang the “March of the Evita Championships” during the halftime of soccer broadcasts or between commercials:

---

<sup>49</sup> C. Ulanovsky, *Días de radio*, 184.

<sup>50</sup> J. Sebreli, *La era del fútbol*, 270. For Perón’s relationship with Boca Juniors, see: A. Galarza, “Boca Juniors, su dimensión social y el pueblo trabajador,” in R. Rein, *La cancha peronista*.

<sup>51</sup> C. Ehrick, “Savage Dissonance: Gender, Voice, and Women’s Radio Speech in Argentina, 1930-1945,” in D. Suisman and S. Strasser, *Sound in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*.

We owe Evita our club  
 That is why we are grateful to her  
 [Bridge:]  
 We fulfill the ideals, we fulfill the mission  
 Of the New Argentina of Evita and Peron!  
 [Chorus:]  
 We'll go out on the pitch with a happy singing  
 We'll go out on the pitch eager to win  
 We will be athletes wholeheartedly  
 To form the great and new generation!  
 Whether we win or lose we will not offend our opponents  
 Whether we win or lose we will keep up our morale  
 [Chorus]  
 We will know how to loyally defend  
 The soul of our Argentinean-ness.  
 [Bridge]  
 [Chorus x2]  
 [Bridge].<sup>52</sup>

Aguilé's march propagandized children's tournaments making extensive use of Peronist phraseology, including "New Argentina," "New Generation," "Loyalty," and adding some new concepts such as sportsmanship ("we will not offend our opponents") and gratitude ("We owe Evita our club"). As an enthusiastic celebration of the tournaments, the anthem was aimed at both parents and children, especially considering that the government gave large sums of money to participate in the competitions. Aguilé's anthem guaranteed that the Peronist state could educate future citizens. As cultural historians Mariano Plotkin and Alberto Ciria argue, Peronist propaganda not only was manifested through educational textbooks but also through "informal mechanisms," such as the organization of sports competitions, the publication of children's magazines, and the broadcast of promotional spots and songs through radio.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Original audio in courtesy of Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Históricas Eva Perón. Translation by the author.

<sup>53</sup> M. Plotkin, *Mañana es San Perón*, 165-193; A. Ciria, *Política y cultura popular peronista*, 282-287.

Like Evita, Pellicciari was heralded as “the voice of the people” and by 1939 he was already considered the most popular soccer announcer of Argentina.<sup>54</sup> Like President Perón, Pellicciari was casual, energetic, and spontaneous. When a player scored, he sang the “goal” or *gol*, drawing out the “O” vowel in ways similar to an opera singer (*Goool*). Pellicciari’s falsetto-like *gol* symbolized the climactic moment of his narration. The cry of *gol* itself was a very powerful and theatrical appeal that distinguished soccer announcers from other radio hosts.<sup>55</sup> None of the other sports on radio (car races, boxing, basketball) had a similar climactic moment of excitement. In an all-male sport full of sexual metaphors, *gol* simulates the very expression of masculine victory and dominance over the other. In that sense, Pellicciari’s soccer broadcasts staged the melodrama of masculine national heroes (i.e. Perón), represented by players who scored goals, team captains, and coaches—all paternal and heroic figures who embodied national aspirations of grandeur.

Writing in 1981, the Marxist sociologist Juan Sebreli proposed the thesis that Perón might have gotten his own oratory style from Pellicciari. According to Sebreli in his book *Fútbol y masas*, “Pellicciari rejected any rationality in addressing the feelings of the audience, considered a moldable mass, to which one must impress more than convince. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that Perón may have taken into account Pellicciari’s style while creating his own unique oratory.”<sup>56</sup> Sebreli defined Pellicciari as a showman who attracted the “irrational masses,” and also as an architect of foundational narratives of social manipulation and collective myths. Although Sebreli’s approach echoes the structuralist literature that sees Perón as a tyrannical manipulator of a “passive” working class, there is some overlap between Peronist rhetoric and

---

<sup>54</sup> R. Gallo, *La radio: Ese mundo tan sonoro*, 237.

<sup>55</sup> D. Guinazú, “El gol es un relato imaginario,” *Página 12*, 29 November 2004. Available online at: <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/cultura/7-44191-2004-11-29.html>

<sup>56</sup> J. Sebreli, *Fútbol y masas*, 181.

the way that Pellicciari narrated soccer. Regardless of his Uruguayan citizenship, Pellicciari was strongly nationalist (pro-Argentine and pro-Peronist) and his talk show purposely included little of the foreign content as established by the radio legislation of the 1940s. In 1941, he created the daily sports talk show “The Fan’s Tribune” (*La Tribuna del Hinchista*) at Radio Rivadavia from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m., in which fans from Buenos Aires exchanged rumors about club transfers, opinions about controversial referee calls, or announce club meetings through phone calls. By letting fans express their own ideas on radio, Pellicciari was far from being a manipulative voice of a “moldable mass.” Fans were expected to participate in the show as much as players, providing a symbolic stage of democratic debate.

Pellicciari’s work on radio served to make broader claims about the progress of radio under Perón. In 1951, the magazine *Mundo Deportivo* published an article celebrating ten years of live broadcasts of “The Fan’s Tribune”: “The progress of sports broadcasts has been possible thanks to our General Perón, a sports lover who wants to forge the soul of the New Argentina in an ethical concept of work and peace. Perón wants radio to serve these purposes. The union between sports and radio has been, undoubtedly, helpful.”<sup>57</sup> Presented as champion of both sports and radio, Perón was seen as the ultimate reason of radio’s success, despite of the fact that Pellicciari’s show and soccer broadcasts had started years before Perón took office.

Another sportscaster who publicly expressed Peronist sympathies was Luis Sojit, a famous Argentine actor and play-by-play announcer of Radio Splendid, Radio El Mundo, and Radio Belgrano. Like Pellicciari, Sojit forged a close relationship with Perón, who in 1953 commissioned him to interview U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower in Washington DC. Moreover, Sojit had an intimate friendship with Eva Perón, whom he met in 1943 when both

---

<sup>57</sup> “La radiofonía ha servido a los altos fines del deporte,” *Mundo Deportivo*, 17 December 1951, 58-59.

worked at Radio Belgrano. In many auditions, Sojit assumed a staunch pro-regime tone when describing sporting events. For example, after a victory of an Argentine team competing abroad, he used the phrase: “Today is a Peronist day!” In addition, he promoted several toiletries. Combining his narration with publicity, he advertised the “Jabón Federal” soap in 1946:

“Good night, friends. Today I say this as if I were in front of the handheld microphone installed in the stadium. Because the game has already started. First half. Fifteen minutes of the match. The *center-forward* receives a pass in the middle of the *field*. Now, he advances in possession of the ball. [He] eludes the intervention of an opponent, does the same with other, and keeps advancing. Now [he] is facing the pair of *backs* [defenders]. He gets through and shoots! *Goal! Goal!* It has been a *goal* of an amazing quality, which enshrines the champion. The champion of cleaning, the unrivaled champion, and the one that shows class and quality. It has been a *goal* scored by “federal,” the great Federal Soap.”<sup>58</sup>

Sojit’s narration expresses three characteristics of Argentine broadcasts under Perón. First, it shows that publicity merged with soccer broadcasts. In light of the limited time assigned for advertising, Sojit managed to communicate 115 Spanish words in only 35 seconds. This implies that he could perform more commercials per day. With impressive creativity, Sojit promoted “Jabón Federal” in the same way that he narrated a soccer match. The idea was to favor local producers and have more people buy those goods already produced domestically. Second, Sojit had a passionate, outgoing, histrionic style that contrasted with the “anti-emotional” tone prescribed in the legislation of the 1940s. Like Pellicciari, Sojit also prolonged the “O” vowel and exaggerated players’ actions on the field. Third, Sojit’s narration ignored the regulations that prohibited communicating in languages other than “pure Spanish.” The repetitive use of English words such as “center-forward,” “field,” “backs,” and “goal” shows that soccer escaped the tight restrictions on radio broadcasts. Although these terms had been used since the 1920s, sportscasters gradually replaced them with Spanish terms in the 1960s.

---

<sup>58</sup> Original audio courtesy of M. Merkin and C. Ulanovsky, *Días de radio*. Translation by the author.

Sojit's success in radio commercials revitalized his acting career. As supporting actor, he appeared in the sports film "Fangio, the Demon of the Tracks" (*Fangio, el demonio de las pistas*), directed by Román Viñoly and released on October 27, 1950. The film narrates the life of Juan Fangio (portrayed by Armand Bó), the most successful Argentine car racer (and one of world's best in in the late 1940s), who also was a Peronist sympathizer. Produced by the Independent Filming Society of Argentina (*Sociedad Independiente Filmadora Argentina*), the movie shows Fangio's victories in Europe and in the United States, where Sojit followed him as sportscaster for Radio El Mundo between 1947 and 1949. In the beginning of the film, Sojit is portrayed in a close-up facing the camera and expressing great satisfaction for representing Argentine sports media abroad. The deafening noise of cars and the passionate account of Sojit during the ongoing race functioned as realistic elements for the narrative. In one of the final scenes, Sojit complains about the mechanical challenges faced by Fangio, who loses the final race. In the broadcast booth, Sojit baptizes Fangio as "moral champion" because "he competed honorably until the end" and "accepting his defeat with dignity." This type of dramatic plot, with tragic heroes who confront unfortunate events and overcome tragic fates, was typical of Peronist discourse. With boastful references to state support of sports, Sojit's narration symbolized Perón's commitment to achieve national victory based on the spirit of dignity and sportsmanship.

The relationship between the state and the film industry was different from the relationship between the state and radio. According to historian Mathew Karush, Argentine radio entrepreneurs never confronted the crisis faced by their counterparts in cinema who competed against foreign productions from Mexico and the United States. With no foreign competitors, Argentine radio hardly needed the protection of the state.<sup>59</sup> With films deemed to be of "national

---

<sup>59</sup> M. Karush, *Culture of Class*, 184.

interest,” filmmakers easily accessed to government credit. With the designation of Raúl Apold as head of the Secretariat of Information and Press (*Secretaría de Informaciones y Prensa*), Perón controlled a film industry in which every artistic decision was subject to political control, including sports films. Thus, the government sponsored stories with a repetitive theme: the triumph of an individual or team who prevail despite the difficulties.

The best example of that type of film was “Rough Ball” (*Pelota de Trapo*), directed by Leopoldo Torres-Ríos and released on August 10, 1948. The film narrated the story of a poor boy called Eduardo Díaz (portrayed by Armando Bó) who became a professional player but had to retire due to heart disease.<sup>60</sup> Faced with such a tragic outcome and disobeying the doctor’s instructions, Díaz nonetheless goes out onto the field one last time to score crucial goals for Argentina’s National Team. Although he has chest pains, he resists his seemingly inevitable fate and does not die. Also produced by the Independent Filming Society of Argentina, the film celebrated working-class subjects as the embodiment of the nation.<sup>61</sup> Considered a classic piece of postwar neorealism in Latin American cinema, the film represented the hopes of a social class for whom soccer had become a mechanism for social mobility.<sup>62</sup> But the film also appealed to middle-class citizens, who wanted to pursue careers in communications or medicine. Physicians and sportscasters share a similar role in the movie: they provide expertise and “moral guidance” to the unfortunate athlete. Similar to Sojit’s cameo appearance in “Fangio, the Demon of the Tracks,” “Rough Ball” featured three famous Argentine sportscasters of the 1940s: Enzo Ardigó, Félix Fráscara, and Joaquín Carballo.

---

<sup>60</sup> The cast included Andrés Poggio as Díaz’s best friend (Toscanito), Santiago Arrieta as the municipal priest, Gracuela Lecube as Díaz’s girlfriend (Blanquita), Guillermo Stábile as Díaz’s coach, and the soccer stars Ángel Labruna and Tucho Méndez as Díaz’s teammates.

<sup>61</sup> V. Andrade de Melo and M. Drumond, “Esporte, cinema e política na Argentina de Juan Perón,” *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, 35.1 (2009): 56-72.

<sup>62</sup> P. Alabarces and M. Rodríguez, “Football and Fatherland: The crisis of national representation in Argentinian soccer,” *Culture, Sport, Society*, 2:3, 124.



Figure 4.1 Joaquín Carballo. Shot in the film *Pelota de Trapo*, 1948.

Portrayed in a medium close-up, Carballo appears in profile looking at the soccer field from the broadcast booth (See Figure 4.1). Speaking to the handheld microphone and next to a telephone –used to communicate with the sideline reporter on the field–, Carballo appears in three scenes of the film narrating the games in which the player Eduardo Díaz takes part: one for Club Atlético in the National Tournament and a second one for Argentina’s National Team in the South American Championship against Brazil. Unlike the short appearances of Enzo Ardigó and Félix Fráscara during the film, Carballo performed longer scenes and more demonstrations of his narrative style. Dressed in formal attire, with glasses, moustache, and slicked hair, Carballo exemplified a less melodramatic style than his colleagues Sojit and Pellicieri. By crosscutting shots between Díaz and Carballo, the film positioned the voice of the narrator as leading the actions on the soccer field. Throughout the film, Carballo seems unmoved and dispassionate by the events. His solemn cry of *gol* contrasts with those performed by Sojit or Pellicieri.

Emphasizing the figure of the sportscaster, the film illustrated the role of radio in elaborating narratives about sports as national epics. In fact, Ricardo Lorenzo wrote the film's screenplay based on many of his own narrations at Radio Rivadavia and written columns in *El Gráfico*.<sup>63</sup> But unlike his histrionic narrations of the 1930s, the soccer announcers featured in "Rough Ball" were considerably calmer. In the film, Ardigó and Fráscara speak slowly, smoke cigarettes, and seem completely emotionless and unmoved by the story (or perhaps they were just bad actors). In turn, Carballo was portrayed as more eloquent, considerably faster, but not too emotional. Combining simple metaphors, English-terms (*field, match, score*) and impressive accuracy, Carballo symbolized the evolution of play-by-play narration and the fusion of opposing styles.

Undoubtedly, the film "Rough Ball" catapulted Carballo into a successful career. In fact, he became the most famous soccer announcer in the 1950s and 1960s. Born in 1911 in Montevideo, Uruguay, Carballo moved with his family to Santa Fe, 500 kilometers northwest from Buenos Aires, where his father worked for the Telephone & Telegraph Company (*Compañía Telegráfica Telefónica*). Carballo received a privileged education at the Pueyrredón School, an upper-class establishment for boys where he developed a passion for sports. He was a talented student with a taste for literature. Despite pressure from his father to study medicine, Carballo started a journalistic career in the local newspaper *La Provincia*, where he wrote his first soccer reports. In 1928, he adopted the pen name "Fioravanti," after one of the fictional characters (an Italian immigrant in Santa Fe) that he performed during a school play years earlier. As an amateur journalist in the early 1930s, he excelled among peers due to the richness of his vocabulary. In 1932, Carballo arrived in Buenos Aires to work as editor of the sports

---

<sup>63</sup> M. Méndez, "Las apiladas de Borocotó," in A. Ford, *Intelectuales, escritores e industria cultural*, 343.

section in the tabloid *Noticias Gráficas*. Here, he wrote about soccer, boxing, swimming, and tennis. His prose emphasized the poetic expression of each sport as well as its technical aspects.<sup>64</sup> In the 1940s, Carballo expanded his audience in Chile, where he served as Argentine correspondent for the magazine *Estadio* between 1945 and 1948.

Carballo's broadcasting career began 1941, when he became a sideline reporter at Radio Splendid. The station sought to develop a new approach in soccer broadcasts that aimed to compete with Radio Rivadavia's famous broadcaster, Eduardo Pellicciari. Radio Splendid hoped to broaden its audience beyond the popular classes by offering more "refined" language. Carballo was considered the perfect man for the job. In 1950, Carballo accepted an offer made by Radio El Mundo and Radio Libertad, two stations controlled by the Peronist government. In Radio El Mundo, Carballo introduced telephonic connections with other stadiums to keep fans updated on different matches being played at the same time (simulcast). In Radio Libertad, Carballo announced 70% of the total soccer broadcasts on the National Tournament.<sup>65</sup> In 1953, with Perón in the seats, Carballo narrated the memorable friendly match between Argentina and England at the Monumental Stadium of Club River Plate in Buenos Aires.

"Goal kick for England. [Ted] Ditchburn takes it. [Ernesto] Mouriño with the head. He passes to [Carlos] Lacasia, who advances toward [José] Ceconato, who immediately returns the ball to Grillo. Quick turn. Now Grillo eliminates the first man, and then he disarms the second. He is getting inside the box but the angle is very difficult. Grillo goes again, he approaches [to the goal line], and he shoots! Goal! Goal for Argentina! Magnificent play from the Argentine midfielder, extraordinary skill to beat Ditchburn in 42 minutes of the first half, only one minute after England's first goal. This brings a lot more justice to the *score*, which was unfair in the first moments of this match. Great joy."<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> J. Cantori, *Atento Fioravanti*, 39.

<sup>65</sup> "Radio Libertad hizo vivir al país toda la emoción," *Mundo Deportivo*, 15 February 1951, 25.

<sup>66</sup> Original audio courtesy of J. Cantori, *Atento Fioravanti*. Translation by the author.

The transcript describes the *gol* scored by Ernesto Grillo with which Argentina beat England by 3-1 on May 14, 1953. Carballo's narration was significantly faster than the one in 1945. His precise account of the movements and location of the players made imaginable an invisible story for listeners. Like in 1945, Carballo stressed the "L" while screaming the *gol*, differing from the operatic voice of Eduardo Pellicciari, who emphasized the "O." Though subtle, this difference might have mattered considering that *gol* rhymes with Perón. In addition, Carballo used the term "justice" after Argentina's equalizer, implying that the score was deserved according to the development of the game. Carballo's nuanced style earned praise from the sporting press. As *Mundo Deportivo* columnist Horacio Besio wrote in 1954: "It is important that voices who narrate the events for the whole country are clear, with a perfect balance between technical expertise and richness of vocabulary."<sup>67</sup> Besio celebrated Carballo's voice as the best of two different styles: the "emotional" and the "solemn." Carballo embodied the archetypal image of the "objective journalist," with informed opinions and without political commitment.

### **Soccer Announcers and Ibañismo in Chile**

The powerful frequencies of Argentine radio stations of the 1950s reached many listeners in Chile. Most of the attention focused on Sundays, when Radio El Mundo broadcast soccer matches from Argentina's National Tournament. However, this seemingly harmless quotidian practice raised suspicion among Chilean politicians. On August 14, 1953, the Radical Party Congressman Julio Durán wrote an editorial in the Santiago newspaper *El Debate*, denouncing

---

<sup>67</sup> H. Besio, "El equipo de Radio Libertad," *Mundo Deportivo*, 30 December 1954, 174.

what he called “Peronist propaganda” on Chilean airwaves.<sup>68</sup> Although Durán did not directly accuse Chilean radios of airing political speeches by Perón or his followers, the congressman argued that some stations, including Radio El Mercurio (which had been independently owned since 1945 by the Chilean businessman Mauricio Arnoff and the Argentine engineer Miguel Ruiz), were creating sympathy for the Argentine president through “cultural broadcasts” and “positive news” from Argentina, by which they meant broadcasts of soccer games. Durán’s concern on the content of radio programming was seen as having political relevance. By 1958, Chile had approximately 80 radio stations, 20 of which were in Santiago.

With 18 stations broadcasting for nearly half a million receivers in 1950, ownership of radio stations in Chile was both domestic and foreign. The U.S. mining company Braden Copper and the National Agricultural Association owned the largest radio stations in the country: Radio Minería and Radio Agricultura, respectively. Facing increasing public opposition from these groups, Ibáñez did not hesitate to repress who criticized him publicly. In October 1954, Ibáñez ordered the detention of the journalist Luis Hernández, a popular host at Radio Minería and a prestigious columnist in the *Ercilla* political magazine. Hernández was detained because of statements he made during his radio program “Political Tribune” (*Tribuna Política*), in which he strongly rejected Ibáñez’s attempt to expand his presidential powers (*facultades extraordinarias*) and criticized the high inflation of the country. Hernández’s detention for two days provoked greater enmity between Ibáñez and the press. The excuse given by Ibáñez speaks clearly about the anxieties that radio aroused among Chilean politicians. As he declared in 1954, “Hernández is poisoning society with radio commentaries and, unfortunately, the whole country believes in

---

<sup>68</sup> “Penetración peronista,” *El Debate*, 14 August 1953.

radio.”<sup>69</sup> By attributing such an influential role to radio, Ibáñez became suspicious and distrustful of broadcasts, limiting the number of radio stations that could operate nationally.<sup>70</sup> Without government subsidies or state ownership, Chilean broadcasting developed a commercial character in the 1950s, catering to the demands of the growing urban markets with limited space for political debate.

One of the most recognizable voices in radio coverage of soccer in Chile during the early 1950s was that of Raimundo Loézar. Former goalkeeper of Colo-Colo in 1934, Loézar created the sports talk show “Sports Synopsis” (*Sinopsis del Deporte*), aired first by Radio Santa Lucía in 1944 and by Radio La Americana after 1947. The show usually went from 8:00 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. on weekdays and from 8:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. on Sundays. Known as “El Caballero del Deporte,” Loézar commented on Chile’s National Tournament, advertised commercial goods (cigarettes, soccer shoes, cleaning supplies, radio receivers), and exchanged opinions with fans through phone calls. Loézar cleverly fashioned a sportswise persona in which his raspy voice and independent opinions set him apart from other announcers of the 1940s. Unlike any other call-in program of the time, Loézar’s show taught basic soccer tactics with the coach Hugo Tassara and the journalist Hugo Sainz-Torres. As commentators, this group clarified doubts about the rules of the game, training methods, and offered nutritional advice for youth and amateur players.<sup>71</sup> “Sports Synopsis” acted as an initiation rite in which children entered into the camaraderie of the group. In addition, children gained the notion that learning soccer through radio should be entertaining rather than just the result of discipline.

---

<sup>69</sup> J. Hott and C. Larraín, *Veintidós Caracteres*, 36.

<sup>70</sup> M. Pastene, “La radio en Chile,” in A. Merayo, *La radio en Iberoamérica*, 118.

<sup>71</sup> On the eve of the 1962 World Cup in Chile, the Braden Copper Company published two books written by Sainz-Torres to be distributed among workers at El Teniente copper mine. See: H. Sainz-Torres, *Fútbol: pasión de multitudes*; H. Sainz-Torres, *Breve historia del deporte*.

In addition to teaching soccer, Loézar boosted international broadcasts. He became part of the Chilean delegation that covered the 1950 World Cup in Brazil. Loézar helped to cut a deal between Radio Agricultura, Radio Minería, and Radio La Americana to broadcast all the games of the National Team.<sup>72</sup> In March 1951, Loézar was the only Chilean reporter who covered Perón's Pan-American Games in Buenos Aires. According to an article published by the magazine *Ecran* in February 1951, Loézar befriended the Argentine sportscaster Luis Sojit whom he lent equipment of Radio Belgrano and granted pass to broadcast Perón's inaugural speech in the stadium.<sup>73</sup> Thus, Loézar not only commented on the development of the games but also on the massive sports infrastructure built by Perón. The Sojit-Loézar encounter speaks of how radio announcers shaped visions of other nations as they traveled and also had long-term friendships across the Andes. Considering that Loézar was the only Chilean radio announcer covering the games, much of what Chilean listeners received was carefully supervised by a radio station that had been nationalized by the Peronist government.

Other Chilean soccer announcers followed Loézar's example and sought inspiration in Argentina. Perhaps the most important example is Julio Martínez (not related to Tito Martínez). Julio "Jumar" Martínez [henceforth Jumar as his pen name] was born in the southern city of Temuco in 1923 and specialized in soccer in the 1940s. His career began in the show "Sports Clinic" when Carlos Cariola recruited him in 1945 as a one of the commentators of the show. By the late 1940s, Jumar divided his time between the tabloid *Las Últimas Noticias* and the magazine *Estadio*. In 1951, he joined Radio Agricultura where he became one of the fastest soccer announcers in the country.

---

<sup>72</sup> C. Arcos, *Evolución del periodismo deportivo radial en Chile*, 129.

<sup>73</sup> "La Americana y los Juegos Panamericanos," *Ecran*, 27 February 1951, 18.

Like Carballo in Argentina, Jumar introduced telephonic connections with other stadiums (simulcast) and invented the “Goal Alarm” (*Alarma de Gol*), a brief interruption of the game in which a sideline reporter relayed information about a simultaneous match taking place at another stadium.<sup>74</sup> In terms of style, Jumar was very similar to Carballo. As himself explained on September 6, 1953, “My favorite soccer announcer is Fioravanti [Joaquín Carballo] but Chileans are not doing it bad at all.”<sup>75</sup> Jumar acknowledged the superior technical level of Argentine sportscasters and recognized the notorious influence of them among Chileans. In 1962, Jumar became the main sportscaster of Radio Agricultura.<sup>76</sup> At the FIFA World Cup hosted by Chile, Jumar narrated the quarterfinal match between Chile and the Soviet Union at Carlos Dittborn Stadium in Arica:

“The referee calls the foul outside the penalty box. [But] Sánchez was toppled inside the box! One meter! The referees of this tournament only call penalties against Chile [Second voice: Undoubtedly!]. A softer foul was given to [West] Germany [in the previous game against Chile] the other day. Free kick for Chile... [Leonel] Sánchez is going to take it. [The referee] blows the whistle, here it comes the shot, violently... Goal! Gol for Chile! Gol for Chile! A stunning free kick by Leonel Sánchez and the ball goes straight to the net. Divine justice! Divine justice my dear listeners! It should have been a penalty kick but Sánchez served it perfectly. An impressive goal! Chile: one; the Soviet Union: zero.”<sup>77</sup>

The transcript describes the *gol* scored by Chilean striker Leonel Sánchez with which Chile beat the Soviet Union by 2-1. Jumar’s plaintive, shrill, and quick voice echoed many features of Carballo’s style, such as the prolonged “L” of the *gol* and the sense of “justice” (“divine justice”) as fairness in the score after a mistaken referee call. Like Carballo, Jumar’s quick summations gave listeners a mental map of different plays or referee calls that made listeners generate their own visual spectacle and moral evaluation. Jumar’s language was

---

<sup>74</sup> “Conozca a: El programa Deporte al Día,” *Ecran*, 5 November 1953, 18.

<sup>75</sup> “Conozca a Julio Martínez,” *Ecran*, 6 September 1953, 18.

<sup>76</sup> “El cine, la tv y la radio se preparan para el mundial,” 12 February *Ecran*, 1962, 14-15.

<sup>77</sup> Original audio courtesy of Marcelo San Martín, ARCHI. Translation by the author.

strongly denunciatory, even coming to think that international referees conspired against Chile in favor of the Soviet Union. The similarities between Carballo and Jumar speak about the ways in which Chilean soccer announcers borrowed heavily from their Argentinian counterparts.

At the same time, Jumar tried to create his own style. Unlike Carballo's individual narration in the broadcast booth, Jumar usually exchanged opinions with a lively co-commentator (in this case, José Donoso) who corroborated his assumptions ("undoubtedly!"). Unlike the Argentinians Sojit and Pellicciari, Jumar avoided political commentaries and emphasized a depoliticized conciliatory style. Jumar's impartiality in *Estadio* and radio strengthened his image as an "objective" journalist.<sup>78</sup> In 1958, Jumar served as moderator of the first presidential debate on radio between the presidential candidates: the Liberal Jorge Alessandri, the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei, and the Socialist Salvador Allende.<sup>79</sup> This illustrates the respectability and social status that soccer announcers had attained in the 1950s. Until the end of his career in radio and television around the early 2000s, Jumar enjoyed the respect of his peers obtaining numerous recognitions such as the National Award of Journalism in 1995. After his passing in 2007, the National Stadium changed its name to Estadio Nacional Julio Martínez in recognition of his long trajectory in sports media—a recognition rarely given to other sportswriter and soccer announcer in the world.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that radio cannot be understood without a grasp of print media. While soccer broadcasts appeared as a novelty in the 1920s, radio did not replace newspapers or sports magazines. In fact, print media promoted the consumption of radio by

---

<sup>78</sup> E. Marín, *La selección de Julio Martínez*.

<sup>79</sup> P. Arancibia, "La elección presidencial de 1958," in A. San Francisco, *Camino a la Moneda*. C. Catalán, "Mass Media and the Collapse of a Democratic Tradition in Chile," in E. Fox, *Media and Politics in Latin America*, 47.

explaining how to follow the game through radio receivers. Many sportscasters started their careers as columnists of sports magazines, including Ricardo Lorenzo (*El Gráfico*), Félix Frascara (*El Gráfico*), Joaquín Carballo (*El Gráfico* and *Estadio*), and Julio Martínez (*Estadio*). The world of print journalism contributed heavily to their oral performances and extensive vocabulary during the narrations. Although writing a chronicle took days considering the writing and printing process after the weekend matches, radio forced announcers to improvise in real-time at the precise moment of action on the field. Thus, their styles were not only the result of transnational encounters facilitated by international tournaments but also a permanent dialogue between transnational printing cultures. Soccer announcers not only listened to each other but also they read to each other.

Another group of sportscasters drew heavily on music, radio soap operas, and cinema. Argentine announcers such as Carlos Cariola, Tito Martínez, Luis Sojit, and Eduardo Pelliciani borrowed heavily on their professional careers as filmmakers, screenwriters, actors, and singers. Their experiences in the vibrant Argentine film industry, for instance, taught them how to move from scene to scene. They translated dramatic tones of theatre into sports and high tones to the cry of *gol*. Through advertising products manufactured in Argentina, singing songs about the Evita Championships, and acting in films about working-class sports heroes, these announcers provided a multi-vocal version of Argentine culture that sounded very similar to the rhetoric of Peronism.

The broadcasts analyzed in this chapter represent a crucial piece to understand Peronism and its roots in mass culture. As historian Mathew Karush argues, part of Perón's achievements lay in his ability to appropriate the language of mass culture, full of melodramatic oppositions (for example: poor-rich, national-foreign) that remained central to narrating sports, and most

importantly, to Argentine national identity.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, announcers such as Tito Martínez and Joaquín Carballo established important networks in Chile. As I discussed in the chapter, Chilean fans and local announcers such as Raimundo Loézar and Julio Martínez openly admired their Argentine peers. They employed their tones, adapted techniques, used metaphors, and imitated their charismatic styles. However, Chilean sportscasters avoided political comments, distancing themselves from their Argentine colleagues, who heavily promoted the achievements of Perón's New Argentina.

Both Peron and Ibáñez attempted to control radio broadcasts and inherited a strict broadcasting policy that restricted advertising time and limited foreign content to the minimum. In Chile, consecutive governments stretching from the 1920s to the 1950s failed in creating an official radio station run by the state. In contrast, the authoritarian military governments in Argentina quickly established a state-led broadcasting station and monitored the language used on radio. By policing loud music and spoken word, the Argentine state led a crusade against bad Spanish grammar and slang. Nonetheless, I have shown that soccer broadcasts escaped these regulations, especially considering the unrestrained and emotional behavior of sportscasters, which involved the constant use of slang and frequent use of English words. In that sense, these state regulations were limited and did not correlate with the soundscape of soccer.

---

<sup>80</sup> M. Karush, *Culture of Class*, 207.

## EPILOGUE / CONCLUSIONS

The military revolt that ousted Juan Perón in 1955 not only had tremendous effects on Argentine politics but also on sports. Led by the high-ranking military officers Eduardo Lonardi and Pedro Aramburu, and supported by conservative sectors and the Radical Party, troops rebelled against Perón on September 15, 1955. The military junta, which adopted the name of the “Liberating Revolution” (*la Revolución Libertadora*), governed Argentina autocratically until new elections were held in 1958. In January 1956, the new regime established an “Investigating Commission on Irregularities of Sports Associations, Federations, and Clubs” (*Comisión Investigadora sobre Irregularidades en Asociaciones Deportivas, Federaciones y Clubes*) to account for the economic and political management of sports institutions during the rule of Perón. The commission froze the budget of CADCOA and the National Council of Physical Education, forcing the termination of the Evita Championships, the Ateneos Femeninos, and the funding (loans and subsidies) for many amateur and professional clubs throughout the country. Hundreds of amateur athletes who had declared support to Perón received life-long suspensions, including the entire men’s national basketball team, the boxer Pascual Pérez, the tennis player Mary Terán, the rower Eduardo Guerrero, and the runner Osvaldo Suárez. These prominent athletes were prohibited from attending to the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne, Australia. According to the commission, they had violated their status as “amateurs” by receiving money from by the Peronist government.<sup>1</sup>

Commissioners also made accusations against Perón concerning the pressure on teenagers to join sports organizations. They argued that sports activities for teenagers were accompanied

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Scher, *Deporte Nacional*, Tomo II, 358.

by incessant political indoctrination. More concerned with eradicating Peronism from sports than proposing new sports programs, commissioners favored the promotion of educational gymnastics within schools over mass sports competitions. Gilda Lamarque, a member of the commission, charged that under Perón boys and girls had been incited to rebel against the traditional values of Argentine society, particularly against parents and schoolteachers.<sup>2</sup> Lamarque was widely known for her teaching career and family ties to national medical experts, including her father-in-law the physician Enrique Romero, one of the first advocates of physical education in Argentina. In April 1956, she published a series of recommendations “to heal the young minds of our nation after years of anarchy in physical education.”<sup>3</sup> Lamarque insisted that competition in team sports should be restricted to school age boys and only until 21 years-old, the age of majority. After that, both men and women should turn their attention to sports only as spectators and not actors, contradicting Perón’s desire of having “an entire nation of athletes.” Moreover, social activities associated with sports, particularly women’s sports, were to be restricted to the minimum in favor of instruction on literature, cooking, drama, and dancing.

Other writers expressed similar ideas. As the Argentine essayist Orestes Confalonieri wrote in 1956: “Perón attempted to win the youth through sports—a matter that he understood well.”<sup>4</sup> For Confalonieri, Peronist sports competitions had not been designed to promote youth education and wellbeing, but to that corrupt and deceive the pupils in order to serve the political aims of Perón. Confalonieri condemned the fact that rather than investing state funds to meet the population’s basic needs, such as housing and healthcare, the Peronist government had spent over 270 million pesos in sports. Confalonieri’s heaviest criticism were reserved for what he saw

---

<sup>2</sup> Comisión Nacional de Investigaciones, *Documentación, Autores y Cómplices de las Irregularidades Cometidas durante la Segunda Tiranía (Tomo 2)*, 217-222.

<sup>3</sup> G. Lamarque, *Bases para la elaboración del programa de educación física*, 8.

<sup>4</sup> O. Confalonieri, *Perón contra Perón*, 167.

as inappropriate relations between Perón and the girls who signed up in the sports competitions. He declared that Perón “treated the girls with too much familiarity and some of them were invited to the presidential house for parties.”<sup>5</sup> Accusing Perón of assaulting female adolescents, Confalonieri charged that Peronist sports were morally as well as financially corrupt.

With the imprisonment of several prominent Peronist union leaders and Perón in exile (first in Paraguay, later in Nicaragua, Panamá, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, and finally Spain) the military regime executed a policy of “De-Peronization” (*Des-peronización*) of society. The political reforms in Argentina resembled those established in the Soviet Union after the death of long-time leader Joseph Stalin in 1953, called De-Stalinization. As in the Soviet case, Argentine reformers removed and changed key institutions that had helped Perón hold power, particularly the cult of personality that surrounded him and Evita.<sup>6</sup> On March 6, 1956, the military issued a decree that prohibited the use and reproduction of Peronist images and symbols, and even the mere mention of “Perón” or “Evita” in public places.<sup>7</sup> Publishing photographs of Perón with children at the Evita Championships in *Mundo Deportivo* or using Peronist musical slogans on radio became legal infractions. Sanctions included prison time for a maximum of six years and heavy fines. According to the commissioners, the Peronist government had issued a total of 2,132,273 posters; 14,404,000 pamphlets; 2,859,000 portraits; 6,747,000 post cards; and 252,745 books between 1949 and 1950.<sup>8</sup> Seeking to demonize Peronism as a hysterical egomaniac, commissioners exhorted Argentine society to get rid of “false idols.”

In order to eradicate the vestiges of Peronism, the military returned newspapers to their former owners but kept the radio stations under government control. However, the military

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 174-175.

<sup>6</sup> P. Jones, *The dilemmas of de-Stalinization*.

<sup>7</sup> Vicepresidencia de la Nación, Dirección General del Registro Nacional, Decree No. 4161, 5 March 1956.

<sup>8</sup> Comisión Nacional de Investigaciones, *Documentación, Autores y Cómplices de las Irregularidades Cometidas durante la Segunda Tiranía (Tomo 2)*, 435.

licenced new commercial radio stations through an executive decree issued on February 27, 1957.<sup>9</sup> The government increased persecution and repression of media personalities who were Peronist sympathizers. For example, the soccer announcer Luis Sojit was forced into exile in Brazil from 1958 to 1960.<sup>10</sup> By then, the number of radio stations grew to 154: 30 state-owned and non-commercial stations, 48 state-owned and commercially operated stations, and 76 privately owned and commercially operated. In that sense, the successive military regimes that followed Perón strengthened control of media but reduced state support and protection to national productions.<sup>11</sup>

As part of the clean-up, federal supervisors (*interventores*) installed by the military took control of the Argentine Soccer Association (*Asociación de Fútbol Argentino* or AFA). Despite receiving large sums of state money under Perón, professional clubs quickly aligned with the new government and escaped surveillance and repression.<sup>12</sup> According to the military commissioners, club owners argued, “The deposed tyrant [Perón] not only used sports for demagogic purposes but also failed in the administration of resources.”<sup>13</sup> Professional soccer clubs demanded a quick restoration of the national tournament (*Primera División*), a petition that was welcomed by the military. As federal supervisor of CADCOA, Colonel Fernando Huergo, declared in *Mundo Deportivo* in October 1955, “Soccer should continue as soon as possible. Therefore, it is necessary to re-establish its governing institutions with absolute disregard for political motives.”<sup>14</sup> As a symbol of the restoration of everyday life, the 1955 season resumed in early October. *Mundo Deportivo* also published police edicts and recommendations for good

---

<sup>9</sup> Vicepresidencia de la Nación, Dirección General de Radiodifusión, *La Revolución Libertadora y los Servicios de Radiodifusión*, 50-51.

<sup>10</sup> G. Blanco, “Automovilismo y motores: a 30 años de la muerte de Sojit,” *Página 12*, 23 July 2012.

<sup>11</sup> E. Fox, *Media and Politics in Latin America*, 42.

<sup>12</sup> A. Scher and H. Palomino, *Fútbol: pasión de multitudes y de elites*, 103-105

<sup>13</sup> Comisión Nacional de Investigaciones, *Libro Negro de la Segunda Tiranía*, pp. 155-60.

<sup>14</sup> “Gestión inmediata de la Confederación,” *Mundo Deportivo*, 13 October 1955, 57.

behavior in the stadiums as signs of obedience and public order. By December 1955, the federal supervisor of AFA, Arturo Bullrich, condemned the political intervention in soccer during the Peronist era and promised institutional autonomy for the following years.<sup>15</sup>

Club River Plate became champions of the 1955 season by earning the most points over Racing Club and Boca Juniors (two teams that had been strongly favored by the Peronist government). Thanks to legendary players like Ángel Labruna, Amadeo Carrizo, and Enrique Sívori, Club River Plate also won the title in 1956. Sívori had been spotted in one of the Evita Championships. In 1957, he became part of the formidable offensive line of Argentina's National Team together with Humberto Mascio and Antonio Angelillo, which won the 1957 South American Championship (*Campeonato Sudamericano*) in Lima, Peru. The 21-year-old young man later moved to Italy where he defended the colors of the Italian National Team, due to revelations about his past as Peronist sympathizer but also motivated by a good salary at Club Juventus of Turin. Playing with Mascio and Angelillo –who also moved to Italy as *oriundi*– they became known as “The Angels with Dirty Faces” (*Ángeles de Cara Sucia*) in reference to the 1938 American gangster film but also in allusion to the way they played the game, like dirty faced, mischievous, and ethnically dark-skinned children.<sup>16</sup> The racial connotation of this nickname also resembled the anti-Peronism in vogue. “Dirty Face” (*cara sucia*) was similar to “Little Black Heads” (*cabecita negra*), two terms used pejoratively to refer to internal migrants and working-class subjects from the interior provinces of Argentina that arrived to Buenos Aires in the 1930s. The term was commonly referred to the Peronist rank and file in association with

---

<sup>15</sup> “La reestructuración del fútbol,” *Mundo Deportivo*, 1 December 1955, 56-57.

<sup>16</sup> *Oriundi* is an Italian noun describing an immigrant of native ancestry. In the 1930s, European clubs recruited Latin American players they had seen during international competitions. Vittorio Pozzo, manager of Italy's National Team, selected several Argentine players for the victorious 1934 World Cup. The recruitment of dual internationals was greatly reduced by FIFA, which ruled in 1964 that a player could not represent more than one country. See: P. Lanfranchi and M. Taylor, *Moving with the Ball*; L. Dubois, *Soccer Empire*.

indigenous physical features (brown hair, short size) as contrast to the “Europeanized” city of Buenos Aires.

Sívori was not the only soccer player who became associated with Perón after the military takeover. Perón’s exile in Colon, Panama, coincided with the tour of the Argentine professional soccer Club Huracán to Central America in December 1955. One of the best players of the team was Elio Montaña, a skillful striker and fervent admirer of Perón. In the middle of the tour, Montaña requested permission to visit Perón over Christmas. After a week, he returned to Buenos Aires without the team. Suspicious of Perón’s plans for return, the military officers arrested and interrogated Montaña at the airport for several hours, but later they released him thanks to the intervention of the club. The stigma of being a “Peronist player” marked his career even when he moved to Uruguay. In 1959, Montaña accepted an offer made by Club Peñarol, one of the most popular teams in Montevideo. When Uruguayan journalists learned about the club transfer they warned about Montaña’s political affinities. Deeply concerned with the spread of Peronism across the Río de la Plata, newspapers scandalized fans by saying, “Peñarol brings a Peronist striker!” (*¡Peñarol trae un delantero Peronista!*).<sup>17</sup> Although these players migrated because they were offered good salaries in foreign clubs, the label of “Peronists players” remained attached to their identities and playing styles.

According to sociologist Roberto Di Giano, the fall of Perón also affected the way in which soccer was played.<sup>18</sup> Once established, the new military government launched a campaign to reorder the country, including its sports. The efforts included Argentina’s return to the international soccer arena after a decade of isolation ordered by Perón himself. The 1958 World Cup in Sweden was seen as a suitable opportunity to show the world how good Argentina was at

---

<sup>17</sup> J. Ponsico, “Montaña, el fútbol y Perón,” *Revista Peronistas* (2009) 146-150.

<sup>18</sup> R. Di Giano, *Fútbol y cultura política en la Argentina*, 13-18.

the game and how civilized the country was. Despite of carrying a strong team to Sweden, Argentina's National Team was eliminated in the first round, defeated by Czechoslovakia with a score of 6-1.<sup>19</sup> The reasons of Argentina's failure were to be found in the long Peronist decade. The fact that a Communist country (member of the Warsaw Pact) defeated the long-unbeatable Argentines provoked a wave of criticism to Perón's decision of isolating the National Team from international competitions. To avoid another "Swedish disaster," as the press called it, columnists in *El Gráfico* questioned the idea of "creole style" (*estilo criollo*) deeply rooted in the soccer culture since the 1920s and spread by sportswriters who founded the magazine. What had hitherto been regarded as a rich and unique playing style based on the playfulness and individuality of players gave way to a style that favoured physical training, defensive tactics, and "modernization" of soccer institutions.<sup>20</sup> In that sense, the "creole style" became directly associated with Perón, because it relied on the necessity of a national sports hero, a superman, a superior individual who can "lead the nation to victory." This sounded very similar to how Perón portrayed himself.

Convinced by the failure of the "creole style," the anti-Peronist columnist Dante Panzeri led a crusade to more strictly regulate players, including everything related to their private lives such as a monitoring their calorie intake and sexual activity.<sup>21</sup> The result was a radical shift from "creole style" to "anti-soccer" (*anti-fútbol*), a hard-hitting physical style of play, many times celebrated by the military authorities ruling the country that discouraged the cult of the star performer. Coined by *El Gráfico* columnist Carlos Fontanarrosa in 1968, *anti-fútbol* referred to the extremely defensive and aggressive playing style of soccer where one team deploys their

---

<sup>19</sup> O. Bayer, *Fútbol argentino*, 85-87.

<sup>20</sup> D. Panzeri, "No caigamos en el snob," *El Gráfico*, 11 July 1958, 31.

<sup>21</sup> D. Panzeri, *Burguesía y gangsterismo en el deporte*, 103.

whole team, except the striker, behind the ball. In doing so, they try their best to stop the opposition from scoring, rather than to win the game themselves.<sup>22</sup> In the 1960s, Argentine athletes gained huge notoriety as “dirty” players who practiced *anti-fútbol* tactics in physically out-muscling, out-running, and outlasting opponents, including through the use of tricks and by provoking fights with fans and players. As English coach Alf Ramsey famously put it in 1966, Argentine players behaved like “animals” on the pitch.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the debate about soccer playing styles symbolized a broader political dichotomy between Peronism and anti-Peronism.

Perón’s overthrow in 1955 also affected the course of Ibáñez’s presidency in Chile. On the eve of the military coup in Argentina, the theme of Peronist infiltration in Chile regained force, especially after that Perón hinted at the possibility of seeking exile in Chile in a letter sent to the former Senator María de la Cruz.<sup>24</sup> The Chilean anti-Peronist sectors reacted fiercely against this possibility, particularly the journalist Raúl González, who published several articles in the Radical newspaper *El Debate*, accusing Chilean leaders associated with Ibáñez of accepting money from Peronist exiles in exchange for political refuge.<sup>25</sup> The articles triggered a congressional investigation of “anti-Chilean activities” (*Comisión Investigadora de Actividades Anti-Chilenas*), which in reality was a euphemism to investigate Peronist maneuvers in Chile.<sup>26</sup> A group of three congressmen headed by the Socialist Florencio Galleguillos went to Buenos Aires to gather information. Upon completion of its interrogations the Chilean commission issued a report, which was presented to the Congress on June 26, 1956. The report established that several politicians, journalists, and labor leaders, had accepted Argentine money for

---

<sup>22</sup> P. Alabarces, *Fútbol y patria*, 98.

<sup>23</sup> R. Sibaja, *Civility, Modernity, and Constructions of Identity in Argentine Soccer*.

<sup>24</sup> S. Amaral, “Feminismo y Peronismo en Chile: ascenso y caída de María de la Cruz,” *Todo es Historia*, 321 (1994) 90.

<sup>25</sup> R. González, “Personajes del Peronismo en Chile,” *El Debate*, 26 September 1955.

<sup>26</sup> G. Maggi, *Patria y traición*, 211

propagandizing on behalf of the Peronist government. Not surprisingly, the commission concluded that there was a deliberate action to “subordinate our independence, our sovereignty and put our country to the service of the hegemonic purposes of Peronism.”<sup>27</sup>

The Chilean commission declared that Peronist propaganda not only entered through pamphlets and public speeches but also through “informal mechanisms,” such as music, cinema, and sports. The commission presented a strong case against the Ibañista Congressman Sergio Ojeda, signaled as one of the most fervent sympathizers of Peronism in Chile, particularly during Perón’s diplomatic visit to in February 1953. A few days later, Ojeda was removed from his congressional office. A fervent Ibañista and amateur boxer in the 1930s, Ojeda was one of the members of the Commission of Physical Education and Sports created by Ibáñez in 1953. In his memories, written in 1986, Ojeda argued that he became the target of the Galleguillos report “only because of the paranoia of leftwing politicians over the spread of Peronism throughout the continent.”<sup>28</sup> According to the report, Ojeda was accused of receiving payments from the Argentine Embassy in 1952, as incentive for publishing favorable articles about Argentina. Ojeda also argued that the Investigating Commission blamed Ibañista militants without considering Peronist infiltration before 1952, especially during the Alessandri regime in the 1930s and during the governments of the Radicals in the 1940s, in which high-ranking military officers, also with the support of the Argentine Embassy, conspired to overthrow Gabriel González in 1948. Ojeda attributed his expulsion from Congress to his active participation in the Commission of Physical Education and Sports, in which he constantly used Perón’s example as a successful model of sports policy.

---

<sup>27</sup> L. Machinandierena de Devoto, *Las relaciones con Chile durante el peronismo*, 635.

<sup>28</sup> S. Ojeda, *Recuerdos de 80 años*, 197.

Still fearful of the spread of Peronism in Chile, political commentators weighed on the dangers of soccer and popular mobilization. In May 1958, Chile's Soccer Association (*Asociación Central de Fútbol* or ACF) penalized the modest Club San Luis from the city of Quillota for including two Argentine players that were not registered in the team's roster. The sanction prevented Club San Luis from playing in the 1958 season of the national tournament (*División de Honor*). The decision provoked a wave of popular outrage in Quillota (75 miles from north of Santiago). Although Club San Luis appealed immediately, Chile's Soccer Association refused to revoke the verdict. On May 8, 1958, five thousand San Luis fans from Quillota traveled to the capital and marched in Santiago, requesting that President Ibáñez himself intervene in the matter. The demonstration awakened fears of opposition parties such as the Christian Democrats, who warned against the risks of "soccer fever" and its effects on politics. As columnist Ricardo Boizard wrote in the Radical newspaper *El Debate* on May 16, 1958:

"What began as a healthy activity that separated the masses from alcoholism became a frenzied passion and soporific opium. Soccer makes people to forget reality. We have in Argentina a recent example of the imbalance between sports prowess and sports madness caused by an ominous tyranny. The fact that San Luis fans organized a demonstration in the middle of a terrible economic crisis makes no sense. It may happen again that an ambitious turn toward soccer fever brings back despotic leaders in both Chile and Argentina.<sup>29</sup>

Boizard expressed concern that soccer turned fans into irrational and alienated masses. Without mentioning Perón explicitly, but alluding to his regime in Argentina as an "ominous tyranny," Boizard criticized the demonstration of San Luis fans as a dangerous sign of popular mobilization. For Boizard, soccer was becoming an occasion for unwarranted mass protest that could lead to "despotism." In his view, citizens should be political subjects concerned with the economic situation of the country, especially in times of crisis. Boizard's quote also reflected

---

<sup>29</sup> "Marcha sobre Santiago," *El Debate*, 9 May 1958.

that soccer fever could unleash harmful forces, categorizing the demonstration as pernicious to democracy. The march reflected a shift in soccer discussion. According to Boizard, the traditional way to debate about soccer issues was sports media, not the street and certainly not the popular protest.

In response to the demonstration, Ibáñez ordered the suspension of sports activities in Santiago until the issue of San Luis was resolved. Supporting the fans, Ibáñez sent the police to block the entrance to the stadiums and thus prevent the start of the national tournament.<sup>30</sup> In consequence, the first matches of the 1958 season were suspended at the direct request of the government. Such heavy-handed action was strongly criticized by print media, in particular by the sports magazine *Estadio*, which labeled Ibáñez's action as "interventionist" and "demagogic." As columnist Alejandro Jaramillo observed, "This governmental intervention is unusual for a country of democratic traditions. Not even a Minister may intervene in the internal affairs of a private institution or soccer club."<sup>31</sup> Columnists in *Estadio* also argued that professional soccer was constitutionally protected as an autonomous activity in which players and journalists had the right to work. Facing the pressure of other professional soccer clubs that wanted to start the season, Ibáñez stepped back and eventually accepted ACF's decision to demote Club San Luis to the second division of the national tournament.<sup>32</sup>

The San Luis incident had a symbolic value for leftwing print media. In contrast to the Christian Democrats, the Communist Party newspaper *El Siglo* celebrated the unprecedented protest of San Luis fans as a symptom of "victory of the masses."<sup>33</sup> Although the demonstration did not change ACF's decision, it showed that soccer constituted a place to reclaim popular

---

<sup>30</sup> "Clausurados los estadios," *La Nación*, 11 May 1958.

<sup>31</sup> A. Jaramillo, "Editorial: Así pensamos" *Estadio*, 16 May 1958, 2-3.

<sup>32</sup> Beginning in 1953, the Chilean national tournament had two simultaneous tournaments, divided by tier: First Division (*División de Honor*) and Second Division (*Segunda División*). D. Matamala, *Goles y Autogoles*, 29-31.

<sup>33</sup> "En son de guerra Quillota invadió Santiago," *El Siglo*, 9 May 1958.

demands and capture the attention of authorities in the streets—not the media. The march of the fans in Santiago was seen as a moment of genuine “popular expression” that contested the centralized leadership of professional soccer. It also anticipated the necessity to repeal the law that proscribed the Communists from political activity. On August 2, 1958, only two months after the San Luis incident, Ibáñez signed the law that restored the Communist Party to full legality. This does not mean that Ibáñez legalized the Communist Party because of soccer fans but it provides a glimpse of the changing attitudes of Ibáñez towards mass mobilization.

While Ibáñez came to power thanks to a “credibility crisis” of political parties, by the end of his administration, parties became stronger than ever. After the San Luis incident, political parties hoped to benefit from the popularity of soccer. They recruited active and retired players to run for political office and lead workers’ unions. For example, the Communist Party recruited the Colo-Colo defender Caupolicán Peña to lead the first Union of Professional Soccer Payers (*Sindicato de Futbolistas Profesionales*), established in 1960. Similarly, the Christian Democrats recruited the former Universidad de Chile goalkeeper Eduardo Simián to run for a congressional seat in the 1958 parliamentary election. In 1964, President Eduardo Frei appointed Simián as Mining Minister. The same year, Peña became coach of Chile’s National Team. As sports celebrities with notorious militancy, they both supported the enactment of the Sports Law of 1970 (*Ley del Deporte*), which increased the funds for professional sports by a tax on alcohol sales—a project that had been initially promoted by Ibáñez’s Commission of Physical Education and Sports.

Part of Ibáñez’s failure to promote sports legislation in the 1950s was caused by adverse political and economic circumstances, particularly the high inflation in the country. Based on recommendations from the U.S. Klein-Sacks mission in 1955, the Ibáñez administration

restricted public spending, credit and currency supply and imposed ceiling on wages and salaries. It also lifted tariffs and other controls on foreign trade. The drastic measures reduced expenditure on education, including everything related to sports policies and physical education programs. They also triggered the worst recession since the 1930s. The years 1956 and 1957 were particularly harsh and found explosive street demonstrations, including the violent riots on April 2, 1957, provoked by widespread disapproval of bus fare rises. As it occurred during the late 1920s, the failure of Ibáñez's economic policies produced social discontent in the late 1950s.

As the 1955 military coup put an end to the Peronist government, but not to the omnipresence of Perón in sports, soccer continued to be part of a contested ideological terrain. The overthrow of Perón also unleashed anxieties about the spread of Peronism in Chile, nurtured by the political vacillations of Ibáñez. The stories of Enrique Sívori, Elio Montaña, "The Swedish disaster," and the march of Club San Luis fans in Santiago, represented examples of the cultural battlegrounds that played out in the aftermath of populist regimes. Even though the post-1955 scenario was marked by repression of Peronism in both Argentina and Chile, sports remained a productive ideological terrain where political meanings were constantly shaped and re-shaped.

The history of soccer and sports media in Argentina and Chile illustrates particularly clearly the enduring political tensions of the 1940s and 1950s. In their attempts to morally and physically uplift the working and middle classes, Perón and Ibáñez designed sports institutions and programs that aggressively promoted soccer and other sports among men, women, and children. Soccer became a significant but not the exclusive component of the larger sports policy enacted during the populist regimes. Although Perón and Ibáñez attracted thousands of adherents through soccer, it is unquestionable that these governments expanded the access to sports and

physical education. Nonetheless, their regimes received important criticism for not showing full commitment to women's sports in comparison to the state support granted for men's.

As I have argued in this dissertation, several sportswriters, physicians, photographers, and announcers exploited political alliances that populism made possible to celebrate or criticize those policies. Although the promotion of sports was engineered by the state, it was decisively by sports media actors, who were anything but passive recipients of official ideology. As cultural producers, they became involved in political discussions off the field and deliberately contested political regimes on both sides of the Andes. Through their written, visual, and oral repertoires they offered multiple discourses over the meanings of populist citizenship and established dialogues with their international neighbors. In that sense, soccer became a space to discuss the nation and its politics and not the opium of the people or a mere tour of class struggle. Chilean and Argentine sports advocates debated about the incorporation of women into amateur sports and produced distinct meanings about racial identity in the sporting press, creating a space of debate and reformulation of the nation. Sports magazines and radio, in particular, became sites for the production of popular subjectivities and not mere platforms for official propaganda. Photographers and soccer announcers provided a multi-vocal version of sports culture that looked and sounded very similar to the rhetoric of populism but one that was produced by non-state actors. The fall of Perón and Ibáñez saw the increasing power of the military in Argentina and of political parties in Chile, two institutions that would also promote soccer as part of their state projects using many of the strategies employed by populist regimes.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Periodicals

*Barrabases* (Chile)  
*Clarín* (Argentina)  
*Clarín* (Chile)  
*Crítica* (Argentina)  
*Ecran* (Chile)  
*El Debate* (Chile)  
*El Monitor de la Educación Común* (Argentina)  
*El Gráfico* (Argentina)  
*El Laborista* (Argentina)  
*El Mercurio* (Chile)  
*El Mundo* (Argentina)  
*El Siglo* (Chile)  
*Ercilla* (Chile)  
*Estadio* (Chile)  
*La Cancha* (Argentina)  
*La Nación* (Chile)  
*La Nación* (Argentina)  
*La Prensa* (Argentina)  
*La Razón* (Argentina)  
*La Vanguardia* (Argentina)  
*Las Noticias Gráficas* (Chile)  
*Las Últimas Noticias* (Chile)  
*Los Sports* (Chile)  
*Mundo Deportivo* (Argentina)  
*Mundo Infantil* (Argentina)  
*Mundo Peronista* (Argentina)  
*Mundo Radial* (Argentina)  
*Noticias Gráficas* (Argentina)  
*Página 12* (Argentina)  
*Radio Sports* (Chile)  
*Radiolandia* (Argentina)  
*Revista Chilena de Educación Física* (Chile)  
*Sintonía* (Argentina)  
*Topaze* (Chile)  
*Última Hora* (Chile)  
*Zig-Zag* (Chile)

### Filmography

*Campeonato Sudamericano de Box* (Carlos Cariola, 1923)  
*Los Tres Berretines* (Enrique Susini, 1933)  
*Pelota de Trapo* (Leopoldo Torres-Ríos, 1948)  
*Fangio, el demonio e las pistas* (Román Viñoly, 1950)

## Primary Sources

- Argentina. Dirección General de Educación Física, *Anexo al programa de educación física (para niñas)*. Buenos Aires, 1944.
- . Comisión Nacional de Investigaciones, *Libro Negro de la Segunda Tiranía*, Buenos Aires, 1956.
- . Comisión Nacional de Investigaciones, *Documentación, Autores y Cómplices de las Irregularidades Cometidas durante la Segunda Tiranía*. Buenos Aires, 1958.
- . Presidencia de la Nación, Dirección Nacional de Correos y Telecomunicaciones, *Reglamento de Radiodifusión*. Buenos Aires, 1934.
- . Presidencia de la Nación, Secretaría del Trabajo, *Estatuto del Periodista profesional*. Buenos Aires, 1944.
- . Servicio Internacional Publicaciones Argentinas, *Synthesis of Argentine Sports*. Buenos Aires: SIPA, 1952.
- . Servicio Internacional Publicaciones Argentinas, *Confraternidad Chileno-Argentina*. Buenos Aires: SIPA, 1953.
- . Servicio Internacional Publicaciones Argentinas, *Palabras Magistrales: 6 Al 10 De Julio De 1953*. Buenos Aires: SIPA, 1953.
- . Presidencia de la Nación, Subsecretaría de Informaciones, *Discurso de Perón ante la Magna Asamblea de clausura del Primer Congreso Nacional De Periodistas*. Buenos Aires: 1951.
- . Presidencia de la Nación, Subsecretaría de Informaciones, *Los anhelos de dos pueblos hermanos en la palabra de Perón e Ibáñez*. Buenos Aires, 1953.
- . Presidencia de la Nación, Subsecretaría de Informaciones, *Manual Práctico del Segundo Plan Quinquenal*. Buenos Aires, 1953.
- . Vicepresidencia de la Nación, Dirección General del Registro Nacional, Decreto No. 4161. Buenos Aires, 1956.
- . Vicepresidencia de la Nación, Dirección General de Radiodifusión, *La Revolución Libertadora y los Servicios de Radiodifusión*. Buenos Aires, 1958.
- Boizard, Ricardo. *Cuatro retratos en profundidad: Ibáñez, Lafertte, Leighton, Walker*. Santiago: El Imparcial, 1959.
- Cabezas, Joaquín. *The Slöyd Teaching in Chile: A Sketch of Manual Training in Chile*. Santiago: Imprenta Moderna, 1901.
- . *La enseñanza de la gimnasia. Cómo debe adaptarse a la edad fisiológica del niño: trabajo presentado a la IV sección del Congreso de Enseñanza Secundaria*. Santiago: Universitaria, 1914.
- . *Manual de gimnasia educativa*. Santiago: s.n., 1915.
- . *Los juegos olímpicos: desarrollo histórico*. Santiago: Universitaria, 1918.
- Chile. Ministerio del Interior. *Proyecto de Servicio Nacional de Radiodifusión*. Santiago, 1931.
- . Presidencia de la República. *Defensa de la Raza y Aprovechamiento de las Horas Libres*. Santiago, 1939.
- . Dirección General de Informaciones y Cultura, *Reglamento de Transmisiones de Radiodifusión*. Santiago, 1944.
- . Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Acta suscrita por los Presidentes de Chile y Argentina*. Santiago, 1953.
- Confalonieri, Orestes, *Perón contra Perón*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Antyguá, 1956.

- Contreras, Víctor. *Bitácora de la dictadura: administración Ibáñez, 1927-1931*. Santiago: Imprenta Cultura, 1942.
- De Paoli, Pedro. *Función social de la radiotelefonía*. Buenos Aires: Editorial El Ateneo, 1945.
- Fresco, Manuel A. *La Educación física: una innovación de mi gobierno: sus fundamentos y su Aplicación*. Buenos Aires: Imprenta Damiano, 1940.
- Filadoro, Tomás. *Educación física y trabajo*. Buenos Aires: Tabca y cia, 1946.
- Gómez, Eliana. *Contribución al estudio de la obra y personalidad de don Joaquín Cabezas: Memoria de prueba para optar al título de Profesora de Educación Física. Año 1950*. Santiago: Escuela Nacional de Artes Gráficas, 1950.
- Ibáñez, Carlos. *Lo que haremos por Chile*. Santiago: Santa Mónica, 1952.
- Jenschke, Francisco. *Guía de gimnasia escolar: para el use de los liceos i escuelas de ambos sexos*. Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1894.
- Lamarque, Gilda. *Bases para la elaboración del programa de educación física*. Dirección General de Educación Física, Buenos Aires, 1956.
- Maggi, Ginna. *Tres presidentes en un andén*. Santiago: Talleres Gráficos Bustos y Letelier, 1954
- . *Patria y Traición: confabulación Ibáñez-Perón*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Gure, 1957.
- Magnet, Alejandro. *Nuestros vecinos Justicialistas*. Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1955.
- Marín, Raúl. *La caída de un régimen: julio 1931*. Santiago: Universitaria, 1933.
- Mátus, Leotardo. *Los Ejercicios Físico de los antiguos araucanos*. Santiago: Litografía y Encuadernación Barcelona, 1908.
- . *Antropometría de los niños chilenos*. Santiago: s.n, 1909.
- . *El problema de la educación física en Chile y el embrujamiento sueco*. Santiago: Imprenta y Encuadernación La Republica, 1932.
- Melkonian, Enrique. *Intervención del estado chileno en materia de educación física*. Santiago: Yáñez hermanos, 1943.
- Montero, René. *Ibáñez, un hombre, un mandatario. Estudio psicológico moral del ex-Presidente de la República*. Santiago: Imprenta Cóndor, 1937.
- Palacios, Nicolás. *Raza Chilena: libro escrito por un chileno i para los chilenos*. Valparaíso: Gustavo Schäfer, 1904.
- Porras, José. *La educación física en Chile*. Buenos Aires: Berensohn, 1932.
- Romero Brest, Enrique. *Educación física de la mujer*. Buenos Aires: Las Ciencias, 1903.
- . *La educación física en la escuela primaria: su organización y sus resultados*. Buenos Aires: La Semana Médica, 1909.
- . *Planes tipos de clases fisiológicas de ejercicios físicos y rondas escolares (sistema Argentino)*. Buenos Aires: Cabaut y cia, 1929.
- . *Pedagogía de la educación física*. Buenos Aires: Librería del Colegio, 1938.
- . *El sentido espiritual de la educación física: evolución de una escuela argentina*. Buenos Aires: Librería del colegio, 1938.
- . *Elementos de gimnástica fisiológica*. Buenos Aires: Librería del Colegio, 1939.
- Sainte-Marie, Darío. *El Presidente Ibáñez*. Santiago, Chile: Sociedad impresora Merino y cia, 1957.
- Salas, Rosauero and Jorge Bravo, "Physical Education in Chile," *The Journal of Health and Physical Education*, 19.7 (1948): 478-511.
- Schwarz de Morgenroth, Ruth. *Gimnasia para la mujer. Ejercicios durante el embarazo y la edad crítica*. Buenos Aires: Librería de la Salud, 1938.

- Torres, Isauro. *Cómo tener y criar hijos sanos y robustos*. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1926.
- Valdebenito, Alfonso. *Historia del periodismo chileno, 1812-1955*. Santiago: Imprenta Fantasía, 1956.
- Würth, Ernesto. *Ibáñez, Caudillo enigmático*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial de Pacifico, 1958.

### Secondary Sources

- Agüero, Abel. "Enrique Romero y los inicios de la Educación Física escolar," in N. Sánchez, *Historia de la niñez en la Argentina: una mirada médica y socio-cultural, 1880-1930*. Buenos Aires: Dunken, 2011.
- Aisenstein, Ángela, and Pablo Scharagrodsky. *Tras las huellas de la educación física escolar argentina: cuerpo, género y pedagogía, 1880-1950*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2006.
- Alabarces, Pablo and María G. Rodríguez. *Cuestión De Pelotas: Fútbol, Deporte, Sociedad, Cultura*. Cap. Federal, Argentina: Atuel, 1996.
- . "Football and Fatherland: the Crisis of National Representation in Argentinian Soccer," *Sport in Society*, 2.3 (1999): 118-133.
- Alabarces, Pablo, Roberto Di Giano, and Julio Frydenberg, eds. *Deporte y Sociedad*. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1998.
- Alabarces, Pablo. *Peligro de gol: estudios sobre deporte y sociedad en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2000.
- . *Fútbol y patria: el fútbol y las narrativas de la nación en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2002.
- Alegría, Román. *Del General de la esperanza a la desesperanza general*. Santiago: Hoy, 1987.
- Althusser, Louis, and Ben Brewster. *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.
- Amaral, Samuel. "Feminismo y peronismo en Chile: ascenso y caída de María de la Cruz," *Todo Es Historia*, 27.321 (1994): 78-91.
- Amaral, Samuel and William Ratliff, *Juan Domingo Perón: Cartas del Exilio*, Buenos Aires: Legasa, 1991.
- Anderson, Patricia. "Debating Female Sport in Argentina: 1900-46," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 26.5 (2009): 640-653.
- Andrade de Melo, Víctor and Mauricio Drumond, "Esporte, cinema e política na Argentina de Juan Perón," *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, 35.1 (2009): 56-72.
- Appelbaum, Nancy, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin A. Roseblatt. *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Arancibia, Patricia. "La elección presidencial de 1958," in Alejandro San Francisco et al. *Camino a La Moneda: las elecciones presidenciales en la historia de Chile, 1920-2000*. Santiago: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2005.
- Arbena, Joseph, ed. *Sport and Society in Latin America: Diffusion, Dependency and the Rise of Mass Culture*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Archetti, Eduardo. "Estilo y virtudes masculinas en *El Gráfico*: la creación del imaginario del fútbol argentino," *Desarrollo Económico*, 35.139 (1995): 419-442.
- . "Playing Styles and Masculine Virtues in Argentine football," in M. Melhuss and K. Stolen, *Machos, Mistresses, Madonnas: Contesting the Power of Latin American Gender Imagery*. New York: Verso, 1996.
- . *Masculinities: Football, Polo, and the Tango in Argentina*. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

- . *El potrero, la pista y el ring: las patrias del deporte argentino*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001.
- Arcos, Cristián. *Evolución del periodismo deportivo radial en Chile*. Tesis para optar al grado de Licenciatura en Ciencias de la Comunicación. Universidad de Chile, 1998.
- Arellano, Alberto. *David Arellano Moraga: el deportista mártir*. Santiago: Atenas, 1929.
- Armstrong, Gary and Richard Giulianotti. *Football Cultures and Identities*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.
- Armus, Diego. *The Ailing City: Health, Tuberculosis, and Culture in Buenos Aires, 1870-1950*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Arriba, Sergio. "El peronismo y la política de radiodifusión (1946-1955)," in Guillermo Mastrini, *Mucho ruido, pocas leyes. Economía y políticas de comunicación en la Argentina, 1920-2007*. Buenos Aires: La Crujía Ediciones, 2009.
- Barbero, Raúl. *De la galena al satélite: crónica de 70 años de radio en el Uruguay, 1922-1992*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Pluma, 1995.
- Barnes, John. *Evita, First Lady: A Biography of Eva Peron*. New York: Grove Press, 1978.
- Barr-Melej, Patrick. *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Bayer, Osvaldo. *Fútbol argentino: pasión y gloria de nuestro deporte más popular*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990.
- Beasley-Murray, Jon. "Peronism and the Secret History of Cultural Studies: Populism and the Substitution of Culture for State," *Cultural Critique*, 39 (1998): 189-217.
- Bergel, Martín and Pablo Palomino, "La revista *El Gráfico* en sus inicios: una pedagogía deportiva para la ciudad moderna," *Prismas*, 2 (2000): 103-122.
- Bernedo, Patricio. "Prosperidad económica bajo Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, 1927-1929," *Historia*, 24 (1989): 5-105.
- Besse, Susan K. *Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Bickelman, Brian. "Between the Gaucho and the Tango: Popular Songs and the Shifting Landscape of Modern Argentine Identity, 1895-1915," *American Historical Review*, 116.3 (2011): 577-601.
- Booth, Douglas. *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Bosetti, Oscar. *Radiofonías: Palabras y sonidos de largo alcance*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones Colihue, 1994.
- Boyle, Raymond and Richard Haynes. *Power Play: Sport, the Media and Popular Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.
- Bray, Donald. *Chilean Politics During the Second Ibáñez Government, 1952-58*. Stanford University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1961.
- . "Peronism in Chile," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 47.1 (1967): 38-49.
- Brennan, James, ed. *Peronism and Argentina*. Wilmington: SR Books, 1998.
- Campione, Daniel. *Orígenes estatales del peronismo*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila, 2007.
- Cane, James. *The Fourth Enemy: Journalism and Power in the Making of Peronist Argentina, 1930-1955*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.
- Cánepa, Mario. *Carlos Cariola Villagrán: el realizador en ensueños*. Santiago: Ediciones Mauro, 1990.
- Cantori, José. *Atento, Fioravanti*. Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2000.

- Carrington, Ben and Ian McDonald, eds. *Marxism, Cultural Studies and Sport*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.
- Castillo, Silvia. "El Estado y el control de la radiodifusión en Chile," *Estudios de comunicación y sociedad*, 8 (2007): 71-94.
- Caudwell, Jayne, ed. *Sport, Sexualities and Queer/Theory*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Chaponick, Héctor. *Historia del fútbol argentino*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Eiffel, 1955.
- Chignell, Hugh. *Key Concepts in Radio Studies*. London: Sage, 2009.
- Ciria, Alberto. *Política y cultura Popular: la Argentina peronista, 1946-1955*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor, 1983.
- Claxton, Robert. *From Parsifal to Perón: Early Radio in Argentina, 1920-1944*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007.
- Conniff, Michael. *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.
- Correa, Luis. *El Presidente Ibáñez, la política y los políticos: apuntes para la historia*. Santiago: Editorial Orbe, 1962.
- Covert, Catherine and John Stevens, *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918-1941*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984.
- D'Arino, Guillermo. *La propaganda peronista, 1943-1955*. Ituzaingó: Editorial Maipue, 2006.
- Da Orden, María and Julio Melón, *Prensa y peronismo: discursos, prácticas, empresas, 1943-1958*. Rosario: Prohistoria Ediciones, 2007.
- De Ipola, Emilio. *Ideología y discurso populista*. Ciudad de México: Folios Ediciones, 1982.
- Di, Giano Roberto. *Fútbol y cultura política en la Argentina: identidades en crisis*. Buenos Aires: Leviatán, 2005.
- Di Tella, Torcuato. *Perón y los sindicatos: el inicio de una relación conflictiva*. Buenos Aires: Ariel, 2003.
- Deutsch, Sandra M. G. *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, 1890-1939*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Dore, Elizabeth, and Maxine Molyneux. *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Douglas, Susan. *Listening In. Radio and the American Imagination, from Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern*. New York: Times Books, 1999.
- Drake, Paul. *Socialism and Populism in Chile*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.
- "Chile's Populism Reconsidered," in M. Conniff, *Populism in Latin America* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.
- Dubois, Laurent. *Soccer Empire: The World Cup and the Future of France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Dujovne, Alicia and Shawn Fields. *Eva Perón*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Dull, Harry. *The Influence of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and the military on Chilean politics, 1924-1931*. MA Thesis. University of Arizona, 1965.
- Duke, Vic and L. Crolley "Fútbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18.3 (2001): 93-116
- Elena, Eduardo. *Dignifying Argentina: Peronism, Citizenship, and Mass Consumption*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011.
- Elsy, Brenda. *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Chile*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011.
- Ehrick, Christine. *The Shield of the Weak: Feminism and the State in Uruguay, 1903-1933*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

- . "Savage Dissonance: Gender, Voice, and Women's Radio Speech in Argentina, 1930-1945," in David Suisman and Susan Strasser, *Sound in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- . "Radio Transvestism and the Gendered Soundscape in Buenos Aires," in Alejandra Bronfman and Andrew Grant, *Media, Sound, and Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- . *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930-1950*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Eujanian, Alejandro. *Historia de revistas argentinas, 1900-1950: la conquista del público*. Buenos Aires: Asociación Argentina de Editores de Revistas, 1999.
- Fernández, Elisa. *Beyond Partisan Politics in Chile. The Carlos Ibáñez Period and the Politics of Ultra-Nationalism between 1952-1958*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1996.
- Fernández, Ezequiel. *Breve historia del deporte argentino*. Buenos Aires: Editorial El Ateneo, 2010.
- Fernández, Joaquín. "Nacionalistas, antiliberales y reformistas: las identidades de la militancia Ibañista y su trayectoria hacia el populismo, 1937-1952." In: Olga Ulianova, *Redes Políticas y militancias: la historia política está de vuelta*. Santiago: Ariadna, 2007.
- . *El Ibañismo, 1937-1952: un caso de populismo en la política chilena*. Santiago: Instituto de Historia, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2007.
- Fiorucci, Flavia. *Intelectuales y peronismo: 1945-1955*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2011.
- French, John and Daniel James. *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Ford, Aníbal, Jorge B. Rivera, and Eduardo Romano. *Medios de comunicación y cultura popular*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Legasa, 1984.
- Fox, Elizabeth. *Media and Politics in Latin America: The Struggle for Democracy*. London: SAGE, 1988.
- . "Latin American Broadcasting," in Leslie Bethell ed. *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Vol. 10, Latin America since 1930: Ideas, Culture and Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Frascara, Félix, "Deportes," in Paita, Jorge. *Argentina 1930-1960*. Buenos Aires: Sur, 1961.
- Frydenberg, Julio, *Historia social del fútbol. Del amateurismo a la profesionalización*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 2011.
- Fuller, Linda, ed. *Sport, Rhetoric, and Gender: Historical Perspectives and Media Representations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Galasso, Norberto. *Perón: Tomo I: Formación, ascenso y caída, 1893-1955*. Buenos Aires: Colihue, 2005.
- Gallo, Ricardo. *La radio: ese mundo tan sonoro. Vol. 2: Los años treinta*. Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2001.
- García-Canclini, Néstor. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- Gené, Marcela. *Un mundo feliz: imágenes de los trabajadores en el primer peronismo, 1946-1955*. Victoria: Universidad de San Andrés, 2005.
- Germani, Gino. *Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1978.
- Giulianotti, Richard. *Sport and Modern Social Theorists*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959.
- Grugel, Jean. "Populism and the Political System in Chile: Ibañismo (1952-1958)," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 11.2 (1992): 169-186.
- Goldblatt, David. *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2006.
- González, Carlos and Braian Quezada Jara, *A Discreción. Viaje al corazón del fútbol chileno bajo la dictadura militar*. Santiago: Forja, 2010.
- Guy, Donna. *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.
- Haimovich, Perla. *Ibáñez, Ejército y Populismo En Chile*. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1984.
- Hammond, Gregory. *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Feminism in Argentina from Roca to Perón*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011.
- Hargreaves, Jennifer. *Sport, Culture, and Ideology*. London: Routledge, 1982.
- . *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Hargreaves, Jennifer and Patricia Vertinsky, eds. *Physical Culture, Power, and the Body*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Hargreaves, John. *Sport, Power, and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986.
- Henry, Ian and the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy, *Transnational and Comparative Research in Sport: Globalisation, governance and sport policy*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Herrera, Eduardo. *Historia y efemérides del Internado FC y de la "U": Fundación del Club Deportivo de la Universidad de Chile, 20 de mayo de 1902*. Santiago: Editorial Herrera Celis, 1986.
- Hobertman, John. *Sport and Political Ideology*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Horowitz, Joel L. *Los sindicatos, el Estado y el surgimiento de Perón: 1930-1946*. Tres de Febrero: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, 2004.
- Hott, Jacqueline and Consuelo Larraín. *Veintidós caracteres: homenaje a figuras del periodismo chileno desde la perspectiva de quienes se inician en el oficio*. Santiago de Chile: Aguilar, 2001.
- Hundley, Heather and Andrew Billings. *Examining Identity in Sports Media*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2010.
- Hutchison, Elizabeth Q. *Labors Appropriate to Their Sex: Gender, Labor, and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900-1930*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Imaz, José, "El Tratado Económico Argentino-Chileno," In J. Fernandois and F. Luna. *Nueva Mirada a la Historia*. In Joaquín Fernandois and Félix Luna, *Nueva mirada a la historia*. Santiago: Editorial Ver, 1996.
- James, Daniel. *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946-1976*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . "October 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>, 1945: Mass Protest, Peronism and the Argentine Working Class," *Journal of Social History*, 12.3 (1988): 441-461.
- . *Doña María's Story: Life History, Memory, and Political Identity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

- Jones, Polly. *Dilemmas of Destalinization: A Social and Cultural History of Reform in the Khrushchev*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Kampwirth, Karen. *Gender and Populism in Latin America: Passionate Politics*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Karush, Mathew. "National Identity in the Sports Pages: Football and the Mass Media in 1920s Buenos Aires," *The Americas*, 60.1 (2003): 11-32.
- Karush, Mathew. *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920-1946*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Karush, Matthew and Oscar Chamosa, eds. *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Keys, Barbara J. *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Klubock, Thomas. *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904-1951*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Laclau, Ernesto. *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism*. London: NLB, 1977.
- Lanfranchi, Pierre and Matthew Taylor. *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.
- Lasagni, María and Josiane Bonnefoy. *La radio en Chile: historia, modelos, perspectivas*. Santiago: Centro de Indagación y Expresión Cultural y Artística, 1985.
- Lavrin, Asunción. *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Lee Bartky, Sandra. "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power," in Rose Weitz, *The Politics of Women's Bodies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Lever, Janet. *Soccer Madness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Levin, Laura. "The Performative Force of Photography," *Photography & Culture*, 2.3 (2009): 327-336.
- Luna, Félix. *Perón y su tiempo*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1984.
- Lupo, Víctor F. *Historia política del deporte argentino, 1610-2002: biografías, legislaciones, hechos históricos*. Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2004.
- Machinandiarena de Devoto, Leonor. *Las relaciones con Chile durante el peronismo, 1946-1955*. Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires: Lumiere, 2005.
- Macor, Darío and Eduardo Iglesias. *El peronismo antes del peronismo: memoria e historia en los orígenes del peronismo santafesino*. Santa Fe: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Centro de Publicaciones, 1997.
- Mangan, J.A. and Roberta Park. From "Fair Sex" to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras. London: F. Cass, 1987.
- Mangan, J.A. and Lamartine DaCosta, eds. *Sport in Latin American Society: Past and Present*. London: Frank Cass, 2002.
- Marín, Edgardo and Julio Salviat. *De David a "chamaco": medio siglo de goles*. Santiago: Gabriela Mistral, 1975.
- Marín, Edgardo. *La roja de todos: selección chilena de fútbol, 1910-1985*. Santiago: publisher not identified, 1985.
- . *Centenario: Historia Total del Fútbol Chileno*. Santiago: REI, 1995.
- . *Historia del Deporte Chileno: Entre la Ilusión y la Pasión*. Santiago: Cuadernos Bicentenario, 2007.

- . *La selección de Julio Martínez: sus columnas sobre la Roja desde 1947 hasta 2003*. Santiago: Planeta, 2009.
- Markula, Pirkko and Richard Pringle. *Foucault, Sport and Exercise: Power, Knowledge and Transforming the Self*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Martín-Barbero, Jesús. *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*. London: SAGE Publications, 1993.
- Martinez, Felipe. "Hacia una pedagogía del cuerpo. La educación física en Chile, 1889-1920," *Ágora*, 14.3 (2012): 320-331.
- Mason, Tony. *Passion of the People? Football in South America*. New York: Verso, 1995.
- Matallana, Andrea. *Locos por la radio: una historia social de la radiofonía en la Argentina, 1923-1947*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2006.
- . Jaime Yankelevich: la oportunidad y la audacia. Buenos Aires: Argentina Capital Intelectual, 2013.
- . "Inventando la radio comercial: apuntes para una biografía de Jaime Yankelevich," *Revista de Instituciones, Ideas y Mercados*, 58 (2013): 147-166.
- Matamala, Daniel. *Goles y autogoles: la impropia relación entre el fútbol y el poder político*. Santiago: Planeta, 2001.
- Matamala, Daniel. *1962: El mito del mundial chileno*. Santiago: Ediciones B, 2010.
- Mattelart, Armand. "Los Medios de Comunicación de masas y la ideología de la prensa liberal en Chile," *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional*, 3 (1970).
- Méndez, Marcelo. "Las apiladas de Borocotó," in Romero, Eduardo. *Intelectuales, escritores e industria cultural en la Argentina (1898-1933)*. Buenos Aires: La Crujía Ediciones, 2012.
- Merayo, Arturo. *La radio en Iberoamérica: evolución, diagnóstico y prospectiva*. Sevilla: Comunicación Social, 2007.
- Mercado, Silvia D. *El inventor del peronismo: Raúl Apold, el cerebro oculto que cambió la política Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2013.
- Merkin, Marta and Carlos Ulanovsky. *Días De Radio: Historia De La Radio Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editora Espasa Calpe Argentina, 1995.
- Milanesio, Natalia. *Workers Go Shopping in Argentina: The Rise of Popular Consumer Culture*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013.
- . "Juan D. Perón and the Politics of Attraction," *Gender & History*, 26.1 (2014): 84-104.
- Miller, Rory and Liz Crolley, eds. *Football in the Americas: Fútbol, Futebol, Soccer*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007.
- Miranda, Marisa and Gustavo Vallejo. *Darwinismo Social Y Eugenesia En El Mundo Latino. Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno de Argentina Editores*, 2005.
- Modiano, Pilar. *Historia del deporte chileno: orígenes y transformaciones, 1850-1950*. Santiago: DIGEDER, 1997.
- Morel Consuelo, Isabel Zegers, and Ignacio Vicuña. *Historia de la radio en Chile*. Santiago: Centro de Comunicaciones Sociales UC, 1974.
- Morgan, William. *Leftist Theories of Sport: A Critique and Reconstruction*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Mouat, Francisco. *Cosas Del Futbol*. Santiago: Pehuén Editores, 1989.
- Moulian, Tomás. *El gobierno de Ibáñez, 1952-1958*. Santiago de Chile: Programa FLACSO, 1986.
- Mulvey, Laura. *Visual and Other Pleasures*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Muñoz, Cristián. *Historia de la Dirección General de Deportes y Recreación: Las Políticas Estatales de Fomento al Deporte, 1948-2001*. Santiago: DIGEDER, 2001.

- Nadel, Joshua. Fútbol. *Why Soccer Matters in Latin America*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014.
- Núñez, Iván. *Reforma y contrarreforma Educacional en el primer gobierno de Ibáñez, 1927-1931*. Santiago: Servicio de Extensión de Cultura Chilena, 1978.
- Ojeda, Sergio. *Recuerdos de 80 años*. Santiago: Universitaria, 1986.
- Ortega, Luis. “De pasión de multitudes a rito privado,” in: Rafael Sagredo and Cristián Gazmuri, *Historia de la vida privada en Chile*. Tomo 3. Santiago: Taurus, 2006.
- Pais, Ronald and Claudio Rama. *Industrias culturales en el Uruguay*. Montevideo: Arca, 1992.
- Panella, Claudio, et al. *La prensa y el peronismo: crítica, conflicto, expropiación*. La Plata: EDULP, 1999.
- Panella, Claudio and Marcelo Fonticelli. *La prensa de izquierda y el peronismo (1943-1949): socialistas y comunistas frente a Perón*. La Plata: EDULP, 2007.
- Panella, Claudio and Raanan Rein, *Peronismo y prensa escrita: abordajes, miradas e interpretaciones nacionales y extranjeras*. La Plata: EDULP, 2008.
- Panella, Claudio and Guillermo Korn, *Ideas y debates para la Nueva Argentina. Revistas culturales y políticas del peronismo (1946-1955)*. La Plata: EDULP, 2010.
- Panzeri, Dante. *Burguesía y gangsterismo en el deporte*. Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2011.
- Paredes, Ricardo. *Explorando los primeros tiempos de la radio en Chile. 1922-1944*. Tesis para optar al grado de Doctor en Historia, Universidad de Chile, 2010
- . *Cuando Chile era radio*. Santiago: Editorial Acad Mica Espa, 2012.
- . “Trazando los primeros tiempos de la radio en Chile (1922-1944),” *Revista Brasileira de História da Mídia*, 2.1 (2013): 177-190.
- Park, Roberta. “Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative,” *Journal of Sport History* 14.1 (1987): 44-45.
- Pavón, Enrique and Juan D. Perón. *Coloquios Con Perón*. Madrid: Editores Internacionales Técnicos Reunidos, 1973.
- Perón, Juan D. *Obras Completas*. Buenos Aires: Fundación pro Universidad de la Producción y del Trabajo, 1998.
- Phillips, Murray. *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Pignatelli, Adrián. *El Espía Juan Domingo Perón: La operación de espionaje de Perón y Lonardi en Chile*: Buenos Aires: Vergara, 2014.
- Plotkin, Mariano B. *Mañana Es San Perón: A Cultural History of Peron's Argentina*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002.
- Ponsico, José. “Montaño, el fútbol y Perón,” *Revista Peronistas* (2009) 146-150.
- Portales, Diego. *Poder económico y libertad de expresión: La industria de la comunicación chilena en la democracia y el autoritarismo*. México D.F: Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales, 1981.
- Portantiero, Juan and Miguel Murmis. *Estudios Sobre los orígenes del peronismo*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Argentina Editores, 1971.
- Pronger, Brian. *The Arena of Masculinity: Sports, Homosexuality, and the Meaning of Sex*. New York: St. Martin's, 1990.
- Puiggrós, Adriana, and Jorge L. Bernetti. *Peronismo: cultura política y educación (1945-1955)*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1993.
- Pujol, Sergio. “Años veinte y radiofonía en la Argentina,” *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 546

- (1995): 73-88.
- Rama, Angel. *The Lettered City*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Ramos, Julio. *Los cerrojos a la Prensa*. Capital Federal: Editorial Amfin, 1993.
- Rapoport, Mario and Claudio Spiguel. *Estados Unidos y el peronismo: La política norteamericana en la Argentina, 1949-1955*. Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1994.
- Rein, Raanan. "El Primer Deportista: The Political Use and Abuse of Sport in Peronist Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 15.2 (1998): 54-76.
- . *Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- . *La cancha peronista: fútbol y política (1946-1955)*. San Martín: UNSAM Edita, 2015.
- Rein, Raanan and Claudio Panella, *La segunda línea: liderazgo peronista, 1945-1955*. Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, 2013.
- Rinke, Stefan. *Cultura de masas, reforma y nacionalismo en Chile 1910-1931*. Santiago: Dibam, 2002.
- Riquelme, Alfredo. *El debate ideológico acerca de la comunicación de masas en Chile, 1958-1973*. Santiago: CENECA, 1984.
- Rojas, Jorge. *La dictadura de Ibáñez y los sindicatos (1927-1931)*. Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1993.
- Roseblatt, Karin A. *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920-1950*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Rosenberg, Joel. *Un grito de gol: la historia del relato de fútbol en la radio uruguaya*. Montevideo: Ediciones Santillana, 1999.
- Rowe, David. *Critical Readings: Sport, Culture and the Media*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004.
- Sainz-Torres, Hugo. *El fútbol, pasión de multitudes*. Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1960.
- . *Breve historia del deporte*. Santiago: Braden Copper, 1961.
- Salinas, Sebastián. *Por empuje y coraje: los albos en la época amateur 1925-1933*. Santiago: CEDEP Central de Estadísticas Deportivas, 2004.
- Santa-Cruz, Eduardo. *Análisis histórico del periodismo chileno*. Santiago: Nuestra América Ediciones, 1988.
- . *Crónica de un encuentro: fútbol y cultura popular*. Santiago: Ediciones Instituto Arcos, 1991.
- . *Origen y futuro de una pasión: fútbol, cultura y modernidad*. Santiago: LOM, 1996.
- . *Las escuelas de la identidad: la cultura y el deporte en el Chile desarrollista*. Santiago: LOM, 2005.
- . "Prensa deportiva y desarrollismo en Chile. El caso de la revista *Estadio*," *Mapocho. Revista de Humanidades*, 71 (2012) 261-283.
- Sarlo, Beatriz. *La imaginación técnica: sueños modernos de la cultura argentina*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión, 1992.
- Scharagrodsky, Pablo. "El padre de la Educación Física Argentina: fabricando una política corporal generizada (1900-1940)," *Perspectiva*. Número Especial (2004): 83-119.
- Scher, Ariel and Héctor Palomino. *Fútbol, pasión de multitudes y de Elites: un estudio institucional de la asociación de fútbol argentino (1934-1986)*. Buenos Aires: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales sobre el Estado y la Administración, 1988.
- Scher, Ariel. *La patria deportista*. Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1996.
- Scher, Ariel, et al. *Deporte nacional: dos siglos de historia*. Buenos Aires: Deportea, 2010.

- Scherer, Jay, and David Rowe. *Sport, Public Broadcasting, and Cultural Citizenship: Signal Lost?* New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Sebreli, Juan. *Fútbol y Masas*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1981.
- . *La Era del Fútbol*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1998.
- Sheinin, David. *Argentina and the United States: An Alliance Contained*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006.
- Shukla, Sandhya and Heidi Tinsman, eds. *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Sibaja, Rwanj, ¡Animales! *Civility, Modernity, and Constructions of Identity in Argentine Soccer, 1955-1970*. Ph.D. Dissertation. George Mason University, 2013.
- Silva, Josefina and Alejandra Concha, “La fuerza de la patria: educación física y ritos cívicos,” in Sol Serrano et al, *Historia de la educación en Chile*. Tomo 2. Santiago: Taurus, 2012.
- Silva, Patricio. “State, Public Technocracy and Politics in Chile, 1927-1941,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. 13.3 (1994): 281-297.
- . *In the Name of Reason: Technocrats and Politics in Chile*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.
- Sirvén, Pablo. *Perón y los medios de comunicación, 1943-1955*. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1984.
- Snow, Peter. *The Radical Parties of Chile and Argentina*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia Press, 1963.
- Solberg, Carl E. *Immigration and Nationalism, Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914*. Austin: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 1970.
- Stamm, Michael. “The Sound of Print: newspapers and the public promotion of early radio broadcasting in the United States,” in David Suisman and Susan Strasser, *Sound in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Stanton, Jordan F. *The Divided Center: Middle-class Parties and Political Realignment in Chile, 1948-1958*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Irvine, 2010.
- Stepan, Nancy. *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991
- Stern, Alejandra. “From Mestizophilia to Biotypology: Racialization and Science in Mexico, 1920-1960,” in N. Appelbaum, A. Macpherson, K. Roseblatt, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Subercaseaux, Bernardo. “Raza y nación: el caso de Chile,” *A Contra Corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 5.1 (2007): 29-63.
- Sufryn, Gabriel. *El grito sagrado: historia de los relatores del fútbol argentino*. Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2010.
- Tamarin, David. *The Argentine Labor Movement, 1930-1945: A Study in the Origins of Peronism*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.
- Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Tomlinson, Alan, and Christopher Young, ed. *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Torre, Juan. *Interpretando, una vez mas, los orígenes del peronismo*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, 1989.

- Torres, Carlos. "Tribulations and Achievements: The Early History of Olympism in Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18.3 (2001): 59-92.
- . "Peronism, International Sport, and Diplomacy," in H. Dichter and A. Johns. *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014.
- Valdivia, Verónica. *Nacionalismo e Ibañismo*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica Blas Cañas, 1995.
- Vardaro, Pascual. *La censura radial del lunfardo, 1943-1949: con especial aplicación al tango*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken, 2007.
- Varela, Mirta. "Le Péronisme et les Médias: Contrôle Politique, Industrie Nationale et Goût Populaire," *Le Temps Des Médias*, 7.2 (2006): 48-63.
- Vasallo, María. "Figuraciones de Evita en las tapas de revistas," *Figuraciones*, 5 (2009).
- Vial, Gonzalo. "Chile y Argentina: Ibáñez y Perón, 1952-1954." In Joaquín Fernandois and Félix Luna, *Nueva mirada a la historia*. Santiago: Editorial Ver, 1996.
- Viñas, David, et al. *El Peronismo Clásico (1945-1955): Descamisados, Gorilas Y Contreras*. Buenos Aires: Fundación Crónica General, 2007.
- Vizcaíno, Fernando. *Los Descamisados*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1998.
- Wagg, Stephen and David Andrews, *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Weinstein, Barbara. *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920-1964*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Zanatta, Loris. "The Rise and Fall of the Third Position: Bolivia, Perón and the Cold War, 1943-1954," *Desarrollo Económico*, 1.6 (2006): 1-27.
- . *La Internacional Justicialista: auge y ocaso de los sueños imperiales de Perón*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2013.
- Zimmermann, Eduardo. "Racial Ideas and Social Reform: Argentina, 1890-1916," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 72.1 (1992): 23-46.