ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Sr. Salvador Vergara, of the Instituto Cervantes in Chicago, for his untiring assistance in providing the most current and pertinent sources for this study. Also, Mrs. Nicia Irwin, of Team Expansion in Granada, Spain, made it possible, through her network of contacts, for present-day Spaniards to be an integral part in this research. Dr. Katherine Carroll gave me invaluable advice in the writing of the manuscript and Dr. John Cicero helped in the area of data analysis.

I would also like to thank Dr. Erwin H. Epstein for giving me this opportunity, and my family, especially Wayne and Rebecca, whose support, encouragement, and prayers sustained me during this time.
For my mother, Providencia Sciara Cicero
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

LIST OF TABLES vii

LIST OF FIGURES viii

ABSTRACT ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1
  History of Church-state Affiliations 1
  Global Influences on the Generación del ‘98 4
  Church-state Affiliations in Germany 6
  Civil War and the Catholic Church 8
  Civil War and the Spanish Government 11
  Fascism and Textbooks 11
  Theoretical Framework 17
  Scholarly Contribution 20

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN SPAIN DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES 22
  Nineteenth Century 22
  Twentieth Century 29
  Twentieth Century Literacy 30

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 48
  Structural Functionalism 48
  Structural Functionalism and Political Socialization 49
  Structural Functionalism and Recruitment 54
  Structural Functionalism and Communication 56
  Nationalism 58
  Nationalism and Fascism 61
  Filter-effect Theory 70

CHAPTER 4: THE RIVALRY AND CONSOLIDATION OF FALANGIST CATHOLIC CURRENTS 73
  Fascism 75
  Clerical Fascism and Education 83
  Pedagogy and Vitalism 88
  Ministry of Education 90
  Textbooks 94
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Falangism and Textbooks</th>
<th>95</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Catholic Church and Textbooks</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Design</th>
<th>107</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demography</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey Design</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural-Functionalism</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filter-effect Theory</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerging Design and Validity</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical Measures</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 6: RESULTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Data</th>
<th>118</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Results</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hypotheses</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Comments</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholarly Contribution</th>
<th>140</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Further Study</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**APPENDIX A: SURVEY**

| APPENDIX A: SURVEY       | 143 |

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

| BIBLIOGRAPHY             | 145 |

**VITA**

| VITA                    | 155 |
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Nineteenth Century History
Table 2. Percent of Illiterates by Province, 1900, 1910, 1920
Table 3. Twentieth Century History
Table 4. Statistical Table 1
Table 5. Statistical Table 2
Table 6. Statistical Table 3
Table 7. Statistical Table 4
Table 8. Statistical Table 5
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Spain in the Form of a Cross 13

Figure 2. El Cristo de Velázquez 15
ABSTRACT

Societies in transition are vulnerable to strong forces for political change. When Franco’s fascist government defeated the socialist party that had taken control from 1931 to 1936, it aligned itself with Spain’s Catholic Church. For most of Spain’s history, the established Church culture had been inseparable from Spanish identity and Catholicism was taught in all schools, private and public. Therefore, under the guise of religion, the government used the educational system as a means of socialization, connecting nationalism and religion to promote their fascist agenda. The purpose of this historiographic study is to examine the relationships among the school, government, and Church in Spain during the Franco era (1939 – 1975) in the context of that nation’s social, economic, political, and cultural forces. An examination of school textbooks written and used in the Franco era will be analyzed as to their reflection of State and Church policies. Interviews of Spaniards that attended school during and after the Franco era will also be included and examined under the lens of the conceptual frameworks of structural-functionalism, nationalism, and filter-effect theory.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present study investigates whether the alliance of two divergent ontological systems: the fascist government of Francisco Franco (1939 – 1975) and the Roman Catholic Church, interfaced with education to foster a nationalism that was antithetical to Spain’s traditional religious roots and culture. To explore this question, this study examines primary pedagogical and policy materials used during the Franco regime. In addition, it presents an analysis of the results of a survey developed for the present study of contemporary Spaniards who were educated during and after this period. The survey was constructed to explore the impressions of historical participants about the ways in which educational approaches may have advanced the perspectives and power of Fascism in Spain. The analyses of the primary materials and survey responses are then triangulated to formulate a response to the present study’s central inquiry about the nature and effect of the interface of Franco’s government and the Catholic Church with education during this period. The study concludes with a discussion of this research, its limitations, and its relevance in the fields of history and comparative education.

History of Church-state Affiliations

Historically, Church-state affiliations were linked at many levels of policy and governance in Spain. Yet, despite these linkages, the Church remained conservative
during the nineteenth century while the state was influenced by the modern liberal ideas that were sweeping Europe. According to historian Stanley Payne, liberalism helped to create the first split between the Spanish Catholic Church and Spain’s governance since the eighth century. This alteration in the conceptual and political relationship the Church and the state had maintained weakened the economic security of the Church and served to alter the fundamental framework of religious thought in the nation.¹

While liberalism in nineteenth century Europe was a reform movement that differed in each country it most often refuted existing frameworks of belief. This opposition produced a schism between the Spanish middle- and upper-class elites that embraced liberal ideas, such as limiting royal power and forming a parliamentary government, and religious leaders who fostered an emergent nationalistic backlash. In Roman Catholic countries such as Spain, liberals generally opposed the Church’s political aims.² Liberal governance was introduced into Spain during the French occupation of 1808 to 1814 that followed the Napoleonic Wars.³


³ From 1810 – 1814 the French occupied Spain. Napoleon jailed Spanish King Charles IV and his son, and appointed his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte as monarch. Subsequently, local committees or juntas were formed in the unoccupied regions of Spain as an attempt to regain some political power. After some military defeats, the groups fled from Seville and first met as a one house parliament, called the Cortes, on September 12, 1810. They wrote the Spanish Constitution of 1812, basing it on democratic principles and similar in many respects to the French Constitution of 1791. See Albert P. Blausetin, *Constitutions of the World* (Nashville: Carmichael and Carmichael, Inc., 1993), 22 and John Cowans, *Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 14.
As Payne writes, resistance to these ideas and the occupation was headed by priests and monks who became the leaders of guerrilla groups that sought to drive French ideas and the French military from Spain. Throughout the nation, monks who had been discredited in the preceding century, and priests called on religious adherents to restore Spain’s “divine calling” with a resolution that was unique among the nations conquered by Napoleon.4

The Napoleonic wars forced Spain to focus on problems at home, resulting in the loss of Spanish colonies in Central and South America. Although victorious against Napoleon, less than a century later in the Spanish American War of 1898, Spain lost its remaining territories — Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Over this period these defeats generated a deep crisis of identity and moral authority in Spain. By the end of the century, the Generación del ‘98, a group of Spanish novelists, poets, essayists, and philosophers, who came of age in 1898, confronted these societal problems in their writings. The same term, Generación del ‘98, also describes a cultural movement that sought to change Spanish ethics.5 This group of Spanish intelligentsia described above viewed Spain as an archaic country that could not move into the twentieth century. It opposed the narrowness and limitations of rural, superstitious religiosity and attempted to make Spain intellectually vigorous through education. The Generación del ‘98’s effort to hasten Spain’s regeneration affected literature, science, medicine, and education. The impetus for this movement came from all over Spain. Miguel de Unamuno (from the

4Payne, 72.
5Sánchez, 7.
Basque region), Azorín [pseudonym for José Martínez Ruiz] (from Valencia), Valle-Inclán (from Galicia), and Antonio Machado (from Andalusia) were known especially for their criticism of the Spanish literary and educational establishments. Although they were all Spaniards, their ideas had roots in the writings of non-nationals, most notably, Danish theorist, Søren Kirkegaard. Miguel de Unamuno (1864 – 1936) was the key figure of this group; he undertook the study of Danish in order to read Kierkegaard’s writings in the original language.6

Global Influences on the Generación del ‘98

A critically influential philosopher and theologian, Kierkegaard, was born in 1813 and lived in Copenhagen most of his life. His writings were not highly regarded during his lifetime and were relatively unknown outside of the Danish Church. But after his death in 1855, many of his works were translated into several languages including Spanish. The Generación del 98 embraced Kierkegaard’s ideas, which they associated with the German Enlightenment.7 Kierkegaard asserted that human beings by themselves are incapable of knowing anything that is certain; only through a miraculous event in their lives can they ever acquire such knowledge.8 After developing a type of

6 Steven Schroeder, Tragic Sense of Life (Barnes and Noble Library of Essential Reading) by Miguel de Unamuno, (New York: Barnes and Noble Publishing, Inc.), 2006, Introduction and Suggested Reading; (Original published in 1913), XII.


8 In Philosophical Fragment, (translated from the Danish by David F. Swenson, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936). Kierkegaard begins with the Socratic paradoxical theory in Meno, which asks, “How far does the Truth admit of being learned?” Instead of coming to Plato’s conclusion that we cannot acquire knowledge through learning, Kierkegaard’s solution was that if one cannot “learn” something, then
complete skepticism, he maintained that the solution to man’s fundamental ignorance lies first in recognizing his tragic plight and then seeking a way out of that predicament through a faith that can be a form of contact between man and God. However, in view of the limitations of human knowledge, we have no way of proving the existence of God as an object in our historical world. If we define God as many theologians do, as an eternal, unchanging Being, it may be possible to posit that the exact opposite of God exists, that is, that everything we experience is temporal and changing. However, we can take “the leap into absurdity” and make a decision to “believe,” that is to have faith that there is some agent called “God.” Kierkegaard used his theory to advocate a novel interpretation of Christianity. He claimed that the miracle of enlightenment took place through the Incarnation of Jesus, which is God’s appearance in human form in history, rendering salvation to those who believe. The crucial issue in Kierkegaard’s version of Christianity was that each individual must find his own solution, since truth exists solely in the subjective, personal certainty of the believer.9

Kierkegaard’s philosophy was not accepted by the Catholic Church, but it was embraced by many intellectuals of early twentieth century Spain. The Generación del 98, introduced relativism into Spain as a world view in contrast to the centuries old traditional Church belief of absolutism, that values such as truth and morality are absolute.

---

and not conditional upon human perception. Unamuno and others built on an individualistic direction of thought that led them to the idea of a Spanish “soul” that excluded foreigners, defined as Semites, that is Jews and Muslims. This view was very similar to the nationalistic ideas in Germany of the Volksgeist, put forward by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744 - 1803). Herder believed “that each nation has its own particular ‘special genius’. Thus, what is right for one nation may not be right for another nation, and each nation should strive to express its individual ‘Volksgeist’. ’”

Church-state Affiliations in Germany

In Germany in the 1930s, some Catholic bishops pleaded with their constituents to uphold older, more orthodox ideals in the schools, risking retaliation from their fascist

---

10 This stance has not changed throughout the centuries. Even very recently, shortly before being elected Pope, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger delivered a withering denunciation of relativism. However, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Spain, there was an intellectual movement called regeneracionismo. The word was of medical origin and was used politically to signify the opposite of corruption. The term also stands for the time period between the years 1898, when Spain lost the rest of its colonies, and 1923, the beginning of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Influenced by other intellectuals at the time, including Krausist, supporters of this movement, they advocated freedom of speech in the universities as well as modeling Spanish schools after those in Western Europe. Regeneracionismo and the Generación de 98 were essentially different movements, but they had in common pessimism toward Spain. The former group used objective, documented, and scientific methods to affect change, whereas the latter expressed their criticism through more subjective means, such as literature and the arts. However, some overlaps are seen in, for example, the collaboration of Miguel de Unamuno with the regeneralist magazine, España Moderna (1889 – 1914) See Lucas Mallada, La Futura Revolución Española y Otros Escritos Regeneracionistas (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, Editorial S.L., 1998), Introducción [Introduction].

11 In one of Unamuno’s novels, Abel Sánchez, the main character identifies with the biblical figure, Cain, and calls envy “the plague of society, the intimate gangrene of the Spanish soul, a fatal cancer that engenders a virulent complex of persecution and victimization” (Introduction and translation by Susan G. Polansky in the series, European Masterpieces Cervantes & Co., Spanish Classics N° 35, Carnegie Mellon University, 2008, “Abel Sánchez”, by Miguel de Unamuno, OC III 284-85).

government. The *New York Times* reported on a pastoral letter read to Catholic congregations in Germany on two consecutive Sundays in September 1936:

The National Socialist party has released to the German press for tomorrow morning’s newspaper a bitter attack on the Catholic Bishops in Germany and particularly on their pastoral letter defending the sectarian schools, which is expected to be read from Catholic pulpits this Sunday and the Sunday following. The article appeared first in the *Frankfurter Volksblatt*, a leading party organ. It was written by Gustav Staebe, the newspaper’s editor and former Hitler Youth press chief, and the government news service is giving it national distribution. It states in brief:

“Can there possibly be any other theme at a conference of the German clergy than Spain and Bolshevism? Must not all good Catholics expect, in view of this terror, that all other discussions be abandoned and all the laity be directed from the pulpits to join some organization of the National Socialist party as the best defense for churches, cloisters, priests, monks and nuns?

The Fulda Bishops’ conference has other troubles, however. The Pope does not weep [for Spain] like his predecessor in wartime. The German Bishops do not weep. They have no time for that at the present moment. They sit and sit and sit over the theme of non-sectarian or sectarian schools. That is supposed to be the all-important question in September 1936. And, naturally enough, they issue another pastoral letter.

They refer therein to ‘the battle waged over the holiest and most sacred possession’, but not in Soviet Russia or in Spain but in Germany. They speak of ‘holy martyrs who went joyful to their death’, not in Soviet Russia, not in Spain, but in Germany, for the preservation of the sectarian school.”

In a sarcastic manner, Germany’s fascist government chided the Catholic bishops for fighting for their schools to be a means to preserve their way of life against government incursions. At the end of the same article, the Bishops are quoted as saying to the laity,

Dear Diocesan: Do not be led astray by slogans. How have Germany and the German people become great? Was it not the marriage of German character and Christianity that created the unified German nation and made the German people capable of great cultural accomplishments that the whole world respects and admires? Today as ever, as the Fuehrer has so effectively said,

---

Christianity is the ‘indestructible foundation of the moral life of our people’. How shall Christianity fulfill the important duty to which it has been called if it does not remain in unspotted purity in the hearts of German men and women, if it is not impressed on the souls of children from earliest youth? That is the purpose of the sectarian school, the Catholic school. It is indeed no enemy of national unity. Where is love of the fatherland, home, and people more deeply rooted? Where is the sense of responsibility for the people as a whole and the State more firmly established?

In contrast, the majority of the Spanish bishops did not criticize their country’s fascist government nor call for Catholic parents to monitor Catholic schools or education. In fact, as an internationally defeated country, Spain’s narrow nationalism continued to become stronger.

**Civil War and the Catholic Church**

After army general Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship failed in 1931 and King Alfonso XIII fled the country soon afterward, the Second Spanish Republic was formed without bloodshed by a coalition of factions. However, radical elements such as anarchists and communists, as well as Catalan Nationalists, infiltrated the liberal Republican Party, and petty tyrannies emerged. Discontent grew and bloody clashes broke out as early as 1934. The conflict between those who held the more liberal ideas of the intelligentsia and those who followed the Catholic Church’s doctrine peaked in the Spanish Civil War of 1936. The Nationalists’ victory over the Republicans in 1939, aided by Mussolini and Hitler, resulted in the reshaping of Spain into a semi-fascist

---

14 Payne, 175.


The clergy were targeted so ruthlessly that the bloodshed could only be compared to that of the Russian Civil War of 1917, the communist revolution. Nearly 7,000 clergy were killed in a massacre that exceeded the carnage of the French Revolution. Within thirty days of the outbreak of the war, Church leaders spoke in favor of the military movement. Shortly after that, Spanish Archbishop Pla y Deniel offered Franco the archdiocesan residence in Salamanca for his official headquarters. On September 30, 1936, Bishop Pla, in a pastoral sermon, said that the Church could not be criticized,

because it has openly and officially spoken in favor of order against anarchy, in favor of establishing a hierarchical government against dissolvent communism, in favor of the defense of Christian civilization and its bases, religion, fatherland and family, against those without God and against God, and without fatherland.

With only three (out of fifteen) dissentions, a “Collective Letter” endorsing General Franco’s struggle in the Civil War was signed by the Spanish church hierarchy, though the letter did not endorse a specific form of government. While not wanting to publicly

---

17 According to Payne, the Spanish nation was so heterogeneous that the term ‘semi-fascist’ more accurately described Franco’s government than ‘fascist’. “Core Falangists (the Spanish fascist party) . . . played only a small role in the new state and held only a small minority of positions in the new system. They did not even control much of the administration of the new state party, the Falange Española Tradicionalista. Addition of the last adjective, reflecting the nominal fusion with the Carlists, underscored the major right-wing limitations to the fascism of the new regime. That early Franquism contained a major component of fascism is undeniable, but it was so restricted with a right-wing, praetorian, Catholic, and semipluralist structure that the category of ‘semifascist’ would probably be more accurate.” Stanley G. Payne, Fascism, Comparison and Definition, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 153.

18 Payne, Spanish Catholicism, 167-8.


20 One bishop (or archbishop) represents each of Spain’s fifteen dioceses.
support authoritarianism, some clergy insisted that Spanish totalitarianism would be distinct and that Spanish nationalism could only be exclusively Catholic. Thus, to them, totalitarianism represented a form of an authoritarian system that fostered cultural and religious unity. This position was supported in an Encyclical Letter given at Rome on March 19, 1937 by Pope Pius XI. Much of the encyclical was a warning of the spread of “Bolshevistic and atheistic Communism, which aims at upsetting the social order and at undermining the very foundations of Christian civilization.” Specifically, this document mandated that the State must fight against any form of communist or ungodly forces. Regarding governments it stated:

This means that all diligence should be exercised by States to prevent within their territories the ravages of an anti-God campaign which shakes society to its very foundations. For there can be no authority on earth unless the authority of the Divine Majesty be recognized; no oath will bind which is not sworn in the Name of the Living God. We repeat what We have said with frequent insistence in the past, especially in Our Encyclical Caritate Christi: “How can any contract be maintained, and what value can any treaty have, in which every guarantee of conscience is lacking? And how can there be talk of guarantees of conscience when all faith in God and all fear of God have vanished? Take away this basis, and with it all moral law falls, and there is no remedy left to stop the gradual but inevitable destruction of peoples, families, the State, civilization itself.”

Throughout this period, Catholic leadership in Spain had capitulated to totalitarian nationalism. Nationalism had overtaken Catholicism.


Civil War and the Spanish Government

In Spain between 1933 and 1936, the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightist Groups (CEDA) became the country’s largest political party. Its ultimate goals were vague, but the party moved toward a more authoritarian and corporate Catholic republic. CEDA had its own youth movement, and a half-raised arm salute, in imitation of the German and Italian salute, was officially adopted. Spanish fascism developed from two separate groups: one, the Falange Española (FE) founded by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, espoused a return to the days of grandeur when Spain had its empire. The second group, Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista (JONS), founded in October of 1931 by Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, was composed of workers and students. Ledesma intended to create a new state using trade union forces as his base of political power. Although not in total agreement, the two groups merged to become Spain’s fascist movement called, the Falange Española de las JONS.

Fascism and Textbooks

During this time, a young literary figure, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, wrote España Nuestra, El Libro de las Juventudes Españolas, (Our Spain, The Book of Spanish

---

24 The Juventudes de Acción Popular (JAP) used a modified fascist salute. “(T)he right arm raised only halfway, then drawn back against the chest.” Payne, The Franco Regime, 1936-1975 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 46. But the fascist salute, official in Spain since 1937, was outlawed in 1945 as the Falangist party became weaker after the decline of Nazi Germany. Payne, A History of Fascism, 1914-1945, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 435.

Youth).  Published in 1943, the book was central to the social studies curriculum used in elementary schools during the Franco regime.27 Caballero, one of the first major proponents of fascist doctrine in Spain, tried to instill Falangist ideological values in Spanish youth through this school textbook. Caballero’s beliefs were closer to Italian than German fascism. Not only was he married to an Italian, but after a trip to Italy in 1929 when he declared himself a fascist, he wrote that he believed a Latin Catholic fascist culture was the “main hope for cultural renewal of the heartlands of historic Latin Christendom.”28 It is worth noting that the introduction of España Nuestra, was written “to the teachers and family members of our youth” [“a los maestros y familiares de nuestras juventudes.”]29 More than fifty percent of Spain’s teachers were purged from their positions when the Nationalists came into power in 1939. Hence, the introduction to this textbook served to alert instructors that one of the main themes of the book was the

26 Caballero Giménez was a prolific Spanish author during the course of his life (1899-1988). Since his family owned a printing company, some of his works are self-published. Others have been released posthumously. His works include Notas marruecas de un soldado, Imp. Ernesto Giménez (autoeditado) [self-published], Madrid 1923; Carteles [por Gecé], Espasa Calpe, Madrid 1927; Los toros, las castañuelas y la Virgen, Caro Raggio, Madrid 1927; Yo, inspector de alcantarillas; Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 1928, Hércules jugando a los dados, La Nave, Madrid 1928; Julepe de menta, La Lectura, Madrid 1929; Genio de España, Ediciones de La Gaceta Literaria, Madrid 1932; Lengua y literatura de la hispanidad, (Tres volúmenes) Síntesis, Madrid 1953; Memorias de un dictador, Planeta, Barcelona 1979; Retratos españoles (bastante parecidos), Planeta, Barcelona 1985; Cartageneras, Ediciones Isabor, Murcia, 2007; Sprinters, Ediciones Isabor, Murcia, 2008.

27 Giménez Caballero was an advisor to Franco and was commissioned by him to write school textbooks. For more details on España Nuestra, see Chapter 4.


29 Ernesto Giménez Caballero, España Nuestra, el Libro de la Juventudes Españolas (Madrid: Ediciones de la Vicesecretaria de Educación Popular, 1943), 5. [This and all following translations from the original Spanish are by Joan Domke, unless otherwise noted.]
For Giménez Caballero and other Spanish fascists, fascism was intricately intertwined with Catholicism. Children were taught in school that Christ’s and Spain’s destinies were one and the same. For example, on an outline map of Spain in España Nuestra, a crucified Christ is imposed with outstretched arms from the Pyrenees to Galicia, and the foot of the cross extending south to Gibraltar (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Spain in the Form of a Cross.

Caballero tells Spanish youth to suffer and sacrifice as Christ did:

La figura de España tiene la forma de una Cruz. Y recuerda al Cristo que pintó Velázquez: al Redentor del Mundo y de los hombres. Por eso el destino de España es cristiano y universo. Pero para cumplir este sublime Destino debió España siempre, a imitación del divino Salvador, sufrir martirios, sacrificios, sangre derramada, infinitas amarguras. Y duras luchas.

Por eso – niños míos – es preciso imaginéis a España como un perpetuo combate y miréis su vida con mirada militar. Y sólo así comprenderéis su vida de alerta implacable contra la Naturaleza y contra los Hombres, esos dos tremendos enemigos.

---

30 Giménez Caballero, Introducción [Introduction], 5.

31 Ibid., 30.
[The figure of Spain has the form of a Cross. And remember the Christ painted by Velázquez: The Redeemer of the World and of men. Because of that the destiny of Spain is Christian and universal. But in order to complete this sublime Destiny that has always been Spain’s duty, to (be an) imitation of the divine Savior, to suffer martyrdom, sacrifices, spilt blood, infinite sorrows. And long fights. Because of that – my children – it is important (that) you all imagine Spain like a perpetual battle and look at your life with (a) military view. And only then will you be able to understand your life of implacable vigilance against Nature (inclination, instinct) and against Men, those two terrible enemies.]32

On close observation of the map accompanying the above admonition, it is plausible to see Spain geographically as resembling a cross. Thus, if children were not taught to question what they read in school or to think critically, then a spurious meaning could easily be visually attached to the country’s form. And since teachers were persecuted immediately after the Civil War in 1939, they might have been reluctant to correct this deliberate visual association. Moreover, Velázquez’ work of art painted in 1630 depicts Christ on a cross without any visions of agony (Figure 2). If the students had seen this painting prior to its inclusion in España Nuestra, they might have missed the point that Caballero was trying to impress on them about suffering martyrdom and split blood.

32 Ibid., 30. (Italicized words in original. All translations by Joan Domke unless indicated otherwise.)
In 1920, Miguel de Unamuno wrote a lengthy poem entitled, “El Cristo de Velázquez” (Velaázquez’ Christ) in which he used parts of Kierkegaard’s Existentialism as a way of weaving existentialism into his own interpretation of Velázquez’ painting. Uniting Spain and the figure of Christ in his poetry, Unamuno reexamined his country’s traditional values. In “El Cristo de Velázquez,” he wrote that he wanted “una nueva visión de la realidad; una reinterpretación de la tradición” [a new vision of reality; a reinterpretation of tradition.”] These concepts were based on German Idealism, primarily on what Wilhelm Dilthey called verstehen (an internalized understanding). This is one of the principal ideas of postmodernist thought that emphasizes some instinctive connection between the individual and the nation. Dilthey believed that there are no universal values and that each individual has the center of happiness inside

33 Painting by Diego Velázquez, 1632, entitled Cristo crucificado [Crucifixion of Christ], presently located in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.

34 Victor G. de la Concha, El Cristo de Velazquez (Madrid: Espasa – Calpe, 1987), 44.

35 “Postmodernist politics is a politics of difference, of continuous deconstructions of hitherto commonsense constructs which had served to structure implicitly the compliance of marginalized groups. But now these different groups each ‘voice’ their own cause. This is not longer class-based politics all neat and tidy.” See David Hartley, Re-schooling Society, Educational Change and Development (Routledge: Abingdon, UK, 1997), 38.
himself. Additionally, every society contains the ideal of its own perfection independently of other countries. Since Dilthey believed that “life is an enigma” and that man is “ineffable,” there is no objectivity because everything is dependent on one’s own will. Therefore, he rejected metaphysical reasoning as knowledge. Dilthey reasoned that we can reach *verstehen* when the Spirit rediscovers the “life of the soul” which is relative and is not universal or united with anything else.\(^{36}\)

A second example from *España Nuestra* is a portrayal of General Francisco Franco as a modern day *El Cid*, Spain’s classic hero\(^{37}\)

> Franco: es el héroe de romance como el *Cid* - y así le llaman también sus queridos moros: Sidi -, que siguió la ruta de Burgos a Valencia. Y tiene Franco destino de reconquista, como los primeros reyes cristianos que salieron de su propia tierra natal.\(^{38}\)

> [Franco: is the romance hero as the *Cid* – and thus his dear Moors also call him: Sidi\(^{39}\) –, the one that followed the route from Burgos to Valencia. And Franco has the destiny of the reconquest, like the first Christian kings who left their own native land.]

Thus capitalizing on the popularity throughout the centuries of El Cid as a war hero who fought to unify Spain, Caballero emphasized Franco’s actions during the Spanish Civil War as an echo of the greatness of the earlier hero. The adaptation of these and many other artifacts that were held deeply in Spanish consciousness to develop a fascist sensibility in education forms a central element of the analytical framework of the

\(^{36}\) Epstein and Carroll, 70 – 75.

\(^{37}\) El Cid, whose real name was Rodrigo Díaz, was born circa 1040 in Vivir, which is located in what is now Castile.

\(^{38}\) Giménez Caballero, *España Nuestra*, 172.

\(^{39}\) The name *El Cid* comes from the Arabic *sidi* which means “lord”.
present study. A qualitative, non-mathematical method was used to examine both documentation found in archival collections of the Spanish Catholic Church and the Spanish government in various cities and textbooks used in Spanish schools during the period under study.

Theoretical Framework

Grounded theory originally developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, provided the research structure for the current study. This approach allows the researcher to modify his or her hypotheses as the evidence is uncovered, developing a “theory that is derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another” through the process of emerging design.40 This approach combined an inductive mode, through which patterns and major dimensions were revealed, with a more deductive emphasis on verification and clarification of the conclusion.41

Structural-functionalism, nationalism, and filter-effect theory are the conceptual frameworks for the research in this study. Comparative political scientists, Gabriel Almond, et al. define structural-functionalism as a process by which a culture passes down its values and beliefs to successive generations. Vehicles for this process include

---


families, schools, communities, and political parties. One structural-functionalism function, political socialization, is a critically important concept for the present study because since school textbooks reflect ideas that are approved by the existing culture they are instrumental in establishing the desired political socialization in each upcoming generation. The examination of textbooks, such as España Nuestra, and other pedagogical materials afforded an understanding of the degree to which key values, such as nationalism, were interjected with the purpose of social control. Filter-effect theory is an important concept in comparative education, served as the third analytical framework to investigate pertinent elements of this study. Developed by Erwin H. Epstein, this theory proposes that the degree of internalization of nationalism by schoolchildren is dependent, in part, by the distance of the school from a “cultural center”. These three frameworks are relevant to an investigation of Franco’s Spain because they provide tools to examine the ways historical traditions and current political structures can be intertwined to control and manipulate the development of educational policies in a nation and coerce schools to produce patriotism in their students.

Previous studies have interpreted schooling during the Franco years through a variety of lenses. For example, although there are many explanations for the causes of the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent move toward fascism, one theory that has gained considerable scholarly attention is that this conflict was essentially a class war.

---


Those who support this position assert that the political left dominated the wealthier provinces of Spain (i.e. those with the highest per capita income) while the nationalist movement was based primarily in the poorer and agrarian regions whose predominant religious perspective was Catholic.\(^{44}\) A theory that might explain this phenomenon more effectively than a strict class warfare analysis is the filter-effect theory. Proposed by Erwin H. Epstein, the filter-effect theory takes into account where schools are located in relation to a “cultural center.”\(^{45}\) Epstein posited that children in poor, rural areas were more likely to support a national agenda than those who lived in urban areas. That is, schools more efficiently teach patriotism and assimilation when children have less exposure to a broad political environment, as they have in cities. Because of limited mainstream cultural influences, schools in rural areas can present favorable myths about national life as part of the national curriculum since children are exposed to few competing contrary images and stimuli. In this way, rural schools perform more effectively as a filter for reality.\(^{46}\)

A survey of contemporary Spaniards that attended school anytime from the Franco regime (1939 – 1975) until the present provided important original data for the present study. Recollections of these respondents were compared with the written directives from the Ministry of Education and the records of actual implementation of these directives in the schools. Results of this comparison were then classified, based on


\(^{46}\) Ibid., 350.
several criteria. One criterion classified respondents by whether their schools had been located in villages or cities. Respondents were also divided by their recollection of the amount and intensity of Catholic religion they were taught in school. Respondents were asked if this content supported or conflicted with what was taught in their home. Questions for the study were designed to determine if participants experienced conflict between the government-sponsored curriculum and their home culture and/or religion. Further questions sought to explore possible relationships between political affiliation and the educational level of the respondents. These findings were then triangulated, a method of collecting data from a variety of sources to reduce biases or limitations that might be embedded when using only one source or method. Triangulation is a “strategy that reduces the risk of chance associations and systematic biases due to a specific method, and allows a better assessment of the generality of the explanations that one develops.”

Scholarly Contribution

This study of the educational system during Franco’s reign makes a significant contribution in the field of comparative education because few comparative studies of fascist education in Spain have been published. Franco’s effort to nationalize Spain through education provides the core element of interest to the present study. Nationalist


Catholicism connected the Church with the fascist government. Although much has been written on Spanish Catholicism and Spanish fascism, there is a paucity of information and analysis regarding the part the educational system played during the Franco regime. Thus, *Education, Fascism, and the Catholic Church in Franco’s Spain* helps to remedy this situation. In the conclusion, suggestions are provided for further study in this rich and important area of political and educational research.
CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN SPAIN DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Nineteenth Century

After the death of the Bourbon king, Fernando VII in 1833, many prominent liberals who had lived in exile in the later years of Fernando’s reign, returned to Spain, and liberal and conservative differences escalated into three civil wars in the nineteenth century. The First Carlist War (1833 – 1839) broke out when Fernando VII’s infant daughter, Isabella II, became heir to the throne instead of Fernando’s brother, Don Carlos. Fernando VII’s four marriages resulted in only two living children, both from his last wife, María Cristina. Though Salic hereditary law\(^1\) stated that a female could not inherit the throne, María Cristina convinced Fernando to abrogate the law, three years before his death. María Cristina thus ensured that her daughter, Isabel II would be the next ruler, while María Cristina became Spain’s queen regent on behalf of her infant child. Fernando VII died on September 29, 1833, and in 1834 María Cristina designated

\(^{1}\) “In the legal history of those Western societies that have passed through feudalism, Succession to Property and Succession to Thrones are intimately connected together . . . but nevertheless, the theory of sovereignty and government called Legitimism, which is still a factor in French and Spanish politics, is ultimately based on the assumption of a sort of sacred and infeasible law regulating succession to the Crown, and placing it beyond competition and above popular sanction . . . As it was first conceived it was called the Salic law . . . which not only excluded females from succession to thrones, but denied the royal office to the nearest male kinsman if his connection with the royal house was through a female.”, Sir Henry Sumner Maine, *Dissertation on Early Law and Custom* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1891), 125 – 145.
moderate liberals to form a new government and represent Isabella. In the meantime, when Fernando’s brother, Don Carlos opposed the queen’s power and declared himself the rightful successor to the throne on October 1, 1833, traditionalists and Catholics banded together and revolted against this new leadership. Unable to take power, Don Carlos’ claim to the throne was handed to his eldest son, Carlos VI, who also failed in his bid to be king.

Due to María Cristina’s (mother of the new infante Queen Isabel II) influence, several changes took place in the secular educational system. At the urging of María Cristina, the new liberal government began making changes in education and in 1834, established provincial commissions of primary instruction. In 1835, the state took over the universities, and the curriculum in the secular universities was made more rigorous. The first educational law, La Ley de Instrucción Primaria [The Law of Primary Instruction] was enacted on July 21, 1838. New oversight provisions were launched by the Reglamento de 1838, a by-law intended to begin the close regulation of primary schools. The Reglamento provided that school days were to consist of three hours in the morning and three hours in the afternoon; holidays and vacation days were lessened, and subjects for both boys and girls were to include reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar,

---

1 Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism*, 80.

2 Payne, 80 – 81. The papacy was officially neutral but Church hierarchy supported the Carlists, along with the working class in rural conservative regions such as Aragon and Catalonia.

3 Carlos VI bid for the throne resulted in the Second Carlist War, (1846 - 1849). When Carlos VI was unsuccessful, Don Carlos then attempted to make his younger son, Juan III, king. But Juan III was forced to abdicate his claim to the throne in 1860 and left Spain shortly afterwards. See Payne, *Spain’s First Democracy, The Second Republic, 1931 – 1936*, 5.
and sacred history (essentially Christian doctrine). In rural communities, boys were also required to take agriculture instruction, while girls were taught domestic skills such as knitting and sewing. By 1845 the Universidad Central began to confer doctoral degrees. In 1846, the queen instituted La Dirección General de Instrucción Pública, [General Directorship of Public Instruction] a centralized professional review of primary education through secondary school, and also oversaw the Ministry of Public Instruction. By 1849, a body of inspectors was appointed to oversee primary teaching. However, with the signing of the Concordat of 1851 by Pope Pius IX in agreement with Queen Isabel II, the relationship between the Spanish government and the Catholic Church was formally reestablished. Now, Roman Catholicism was not only the official religion in Spain, it was again intimately involved in education. Regarding schools, the Concordat stated:

Art. 2.° En su consecuencia, la instrucción en las Universidades, colegios, seminarios y escuelas públicas ó privadas de cualquiera clase, será en todo conforme á la doctrina de la misma Religión Católica; y á este fin no se pondrá impedimento alguno á los Obispos y demás prelados diocesanos, encargados por su ministerio de velar sobre la pureza de la doctrina de la fe y de las costumbres, y sobre la educación religiosa de la juventud, en el ejercicio de este cargo, aun en las escuelas públicas.

[Article 2. As a consequence, the instruction in the Universities, high schools, seminaries and public or private schools of whatever type, will be in total conformity to the doctrine of the same Catholic religion; and to this end there will

---


6 D. Carlos Ramón Fort, El Concordato de 1851 Segunda Edición (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundación de Eusebio Aguado, 1853), 6.
be no impediment put on any of the bishops and the other diocesan prelates, charged by his ministry to watch over the purity of the doctrine of the faith and of the customs, and over the religious education of the youth, in the exercise of this command, even in public schools.]

Some Spaniards considered the Concordat of 1851 to be a step backward from the liberal and more revolutionary ideas introduced into Spain during the early nineteenth century French occupation. Liberals saw the Church’s influence in education as an instrument of social control and believed this influence amounted to indoctrination since it admonished Catholics to cooperate with the state. The second Ley de Instrucción Pública approved on September 9, 1857, also called the Ley Moyano, articulated the liberal position that was advanced by two of the returning exiles, Pablo Montesino and Antonio Gil de Zárate. Another group of inspectors was appointed by the government in 1858 to supervise secondary education. These men became central figures in the new educational system, which in theory was a centralized, uniform, and relatively secularized organization. Although some aspects of these laws were never applied, some elements were still in effect at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Strong opposition to the clergy again resulted in anticlerical riots in 1868. In that year, an armed revolt of radicals, who became known as the Progressives, gained power over the government, making notable changes, including confiscating church

---

8 Ibid., Escuela para todos, 15 – 16.
9Viñao, 16.
property and prohibiting secondary instruction of lay students in Church seminaries.\textsuperscript{11}

As urban growth and economic prosperity expanded in this period, Spanish society became more stratified. Together, the new urban working class, the middle class, and those who embraced liberal ideas opposed the wealthy and the Church.\textsuperscript{12} Many Catholic schools closed during these disturbances and some Jesuits were exiled or went into hiding.\textsuperscript{13} Though traditionalists and liberals continued their fierce opposition, the military became the “inevitable arbiter” since both sides were relatively weak.\textsuperscript{14} While many revolutionary ideas borrowed from French novels continued to circulate in Spanish society at this time,\textsuperscript{15} the conservative military steadfastly supported the Church. Since religious education in both public and private schools was obligatory, university

\textsuperscript{11} Payne, Spanish Catholicism, 89 – 90. The two-year period of time that the Progressives were in power was called the Progressive Biennium, lasting from 1854 – 1856.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 17.

\textsuperscript{13} Paradoxically, some Jesuit instructors, pretending to be lay people, continued to teach in “free” schools during this time and were not questioned as to their methods or curriculum. (See R. Alberdi, Historia de la Educación en España y América, Volumen 3, La Educación en la España Contemporánea (1789-1975), Buenaventura Delgado Criado (Coordinadora [Coordinator]), Fundación Santa María: Madrid (1994): 292-293. According to Payne, “The outstanding educators among the Spanish clergy, and the greatest of teaching orders, were the Jesuits” (see Spanish Catholicism, 103).


\textsuperscript{15} “The greatest diffusion of foreign ideas in Spain came from the novel itself. The French novelists Sand, Sue, and Hugo, committed to social reform and emphasizing a certain religious spirituality which often conflicted with the actual practice of the Church, found many readers in Spain. In the eyes of the traditionalist Cándido Nocedal, these French ideas represented a threat to established society, as he explained on entering the Real Academia Española: not only, he claimed, did these novelists contradict the other-worldly emphasis of the Church by taking as their ideal earthly happiness; they were also destroying society and religion by justifying adultery, by portraying marriage as slavery, and by stirring up the poor against the rich.” See Brian John Dendle, The Spanish Novel of Religious Theses, 1876 – 1936 (Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, S.A., 1968), 14.
professors who attacked the Catholic Church were expelled and books were scrutinized to make sure they complied with Catholic dogma and “sana moral” (moral health).\textsuperscript{16}

In 1875, the Bourbon dynasty was restored in Spain after a military coup, led by Don Carlos as part of the Third Carlist War (1872 – 1876), and control of education reverted back to the Church. The Ministry of Public Works regulated education, ordering that curricula must now be approved by Church rectors, and any form of education that was contrary to Church doctrine or critical of the throne was prohibited.\textsuperscript{17} In this same period, however, Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839 – 1915)\textsuperscript{18} helped to plan and implement an innovative program of national education for Spain. Giner was a close friend of Nicolás Salmerón, one of the presidents of the first Spanish Republic (1873 – 1874)\textsuperscript{19} and with two fellow professors at the Universidad Central de Madrid [Central University of Madrid], Gumersindo de Azcárate and Julián Sanz del Rio, established the Institución Libre de Enseñanza [Free Institution of Education] in 1876. Influenced by philosopher Llorens y Barba, positivist and professor at the University of Barcelona, the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{16} Viñao, 17.


\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 1 – 4. Giner was awarded a chair in philosophy at Madrid’s Central University in 1867, but resigned two months later, in solidarity with other colleagues, as a protest about the government’s control over public universities. The professors refused to sign papers saying they supported the throne and the Catholic Church. Although the protestors, including Giner, received their positions back in September of 1868, they continued to fight to reform the educational system in Spain. Giner never had an official post, but he was considered by his contemporaries to be a leader in the field of education and of the reform movement in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{19} There were four presidents in the two years of the First Spanish Republic. See Payne, \textit{Spain’s First Democracy}, 18, for more details on this period.
\end{footnotesize}
German philosopher Immanuel Kant, and French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, Giner was also part of “an enlightened inner circle, known as ‘Spanish Krausists.’ Krausism, based on the theories of German philosopher Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1731 – 1832), was introduced to Spanish university intelligentsia in courses taught by philosophy professor Julián Sanz del Río (1814 – 1869) in the 1850s and the ‘60s. Krausism was a type of pantheism that stressed academic freedom and liberal political principles. Educational practice based on these concepts emphasized individualized instruction and methods geared to generate experimentation and initiative in students.

Table 1. Nineteenth Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>19th Century Government</strong></th>
<th><strong>19th Century Education</strong></th>
<th><strong>19th Century Catholic Church</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberal European influences</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• French occupation (1808 – 1814)</td>
<td>• Article 25 – All citizens to master reading and writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Spanish Constitution of 1812</td>
<td>La Ley de Instrucción Pública (1838) – first regulation of primary schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Liberal government – (1834) (Isabel II/Mara Cristina)</td>
<td>La Dirección General de Instrucción Pública</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supported limiting royal power, parliamentary government</td>
<td>First Carlist War (1833 – 1839)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Guerrillas headed by priests and monks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Nationalistic backlash and support of government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


21 Ruiz Berrio, 545 – 546.

22 Payne, Spanish Catholicism, 103.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event/Period</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1845) – centralized, primary, secondary, Ministry of Public Instruction</td>
<td>• Bishops oversaw education in all public and private schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Carlist War (1846 – 1849)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordat (1851) – Pope Pius IX – Reestablished Church-state relationship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ley Moyano (1857) – first comprehensive public education plan</td>
<td>• School obligatory to age nine; funded by municipalities; curriculum and instruction established by central government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive control of government and anticlerical riots (1868)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Spanish Republic (1873 – 1874)</td>
<td>• Control of education by Church (1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourbon dynasty restored – (1875)</td>
<td>• Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE) (1876) (Giner/Spainsh Krausists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of remaining colonies (Spanish-American War of 1898)</td>
<td>Catholic schools closed and Jesuits exiled or went into hiding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Carlist War (1872 – 1876)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativism - influenced by Generación del '98 – Kierkegaard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish “soul” (Volksgeist - Germany)</td>
<td>Absolutism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because school had not been compulsory in Spain, many, especially rural children, were uneducated prior to 1900. After its military defeat of 1898 in the Americas, Spain was no longer a world power. As a result, the beginning of the twentieth century brought a period of “introspección y autoexamen” [“introspection and self-examination.”]

**Twentieth Century Literacy**

Data collected from the 1900 *Censos de la población de España* [Census of the population of Spain] indicated that the number of “analfabetos” [illiterates] in the capital cities of each province ranged from thirty to seventy percent:

---

23 Antonio Viñao, 11.

24 Theoretically, a law in 1857 (Ley Moyano) made school compulsory for children from six to nine years of age. But according to the census taken in 1900, over 75% of the Spanish population still did not know how to read or write. See José María Borrás Llop, *Historia de la infancia en la España contemporánea, 1834 – 1936* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1996), 353.

25 Viñao, 19.
Table 2. Percentages of Illiterates by Provinces, 1900, 1910, 1920

Data was further disaggregated showed that women and those living in the southern Spanish provinces in the early part of the twentieth century were significantly more likely to be illiterate than men and those women living in the north.

---


27 Borrás Llop, 353 – 354.
In 1900, the Spanish government, still under the Bourbon monarchy, created the Ministry of Public Education and Fine Arts. On October 26, 1901, a royal decree made school attendance compulsory for children from age six to twelve. This was an ambitious decree for a still predominantly agricultural country. Influenced by the liberal ideas of Krausism introduced into the Spanish society at the end of the nineteenth century (see previous section)\textsuperscript{28}, the curriculum was also amplified, “al incluir en el plan de estudios algunas nuevas como la fisiología e higiene, la química, los trabajos manuales, la música y el canto, el derecho y los ejercicios corporales” [“to include in the plan of studies some new (subjects) such as physiology and hygiene, chemistry, manual work, music and singing, law and corporal exercises.”]\textsuperscript{29} To pay for this expansion in secular education, the “Real Decreto” (Royal Decree) of October 26, 1901 directed that funds be provided by each municipality, not by the central government. But without federal funds to support it, many of the poorer areas were not able to comply.\textsuperscript{30} Importantly, as these policies were being put into place, a Catholic revival occurred in Spain reaching a zenith between the 1880s and 1890s. Payne explains that while liberal ideas held by the elite generated institutional takeover in Spain in this period, modern democratic and capitalist conceptual structures were not incorporated by the populace. Traditionalist thought still prevailed throughout much of the society.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{28} Payne, \textit{Spanish Catholicism}, 103.

\textsuperscript{29} Viñao, 11.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 20.

\textsuperscript{31} Payne, \textit{Spanish Catholicism}, 97.
This revival, coupled with an extreme shortage of secular schools due to a scarcity of resources, returned the Church to its position as the principal educator, which served to reinforce a schism that had already begun in education and that flowed into the political arena. A new wave of anticlericalism among the elite and educated middle classes, particularly the youth, resulted from a revolt against what was judged to be regressive and inadequate education provided by Catholic pedagogy.32

Between 1915 and 1930, the Spanish population began to change from a predominantly agricultural society to an increasingly urban and industrialized labor force. For the first time in Spanish history, less than half of the population (45.5 percent) was engaged in agriculture or fishing. Concurrently, major changes in education resulted in a decline of the illiteracy, dropping by almost nine percent in the 1920s. These factors raised social and political expectations among a more educated urban, industrial and farm labor workforce, who increasingly sought the benefits of democratization.33

Unfortunately, however, as Spain began to embrace democracy, the world was headed into an economic depression. Initially, after World War I ended, parts of Spain, such as Catalunya, experienced prosperity. But wages did not increase as rapidly as prices and many in the working and lower middle classes suffered. Poverty and unemployment rose, and between 1916 and 1929 there were over five thousand strikes in Spain.34

32 Ibid., 104.

33 Payne, Spain's First Democracy, 23 – 24.

(that is the legislature) seemed unable to handle the public upheaval brought on by these problems. As a result of this instability and turmoil, in 1923, General Miguel Primo de Rivera began his dictatorship by “temporarily” dissolving parliament in a bloodless revolt. A popular General among the people, Primo de Rivera had emerged a hero after putting down an insurgency in the former Spanish Morocco; his apparent leadership served to enhance the reputation of a country that had just lost the last of its empire less than twenty years before. As he assumed office, Primo was quoted as saying, "Our aim is to open a brief parenthesis in the constitutional life of Spain and to re-establish it as soon as the country offers us men uncontaminated with the vices of political organization.”

Martial law quickly helped restore public order that was needed as a result of the growing factions of industrial workers clashing with farm laborers and the middle class. Primo’s new dictatorship also aided economic growth in Spain, since a segment of the wealthy population supported the general for his strong nationalism. Maintaining good relations with the Catholic Church and the middle class, Primo also established a rapport with the Spanish Socialist party that represented organized labor. But this optimistic period did not last, and by 1928, many were criticizing the government. One of these critics was

---


36 Payne, *The Spanish Revolution*, 16. “Leon Trotsky (temporarily exiled to Spain in 1916) advanced the concept that Spain had become the ‘Russia of the west,’ a backward society now trapped in hopeless developmental contradictions that was ripe for revolution.”

37 Ibid., 20 – 21.
Miguel de Unamuno, who along with several other intellectuals including José Ortega y Gasset, was banished from the country.³⁸

Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship restricted some of the educational reforms that the liberal and Krausist regeneracionistas³⁹ had advanced prior to the Church’s resurgence in 1923. (See Chapter One). Academic freedom in the universities was curtailed. El Real Decreto was passed in 1928, a law that permitted the government to inspect and control all education, public and private.⁴⁰ King Alfonso XII had hand-picked Primo de Rivera to be prime minister in 1923, but when the parliamentary government resigned on January 24, 1930, King Alfonso XIII abdicated his throne. Two days later, in ill health and without the full support of the military, Miguel Primo de Rivera also resigned. A coalition based on an alliance between the Republican left, the Republican center-right, and the Socialists attempted a transition to a democratic, republican form of government between 1930 and 1931.⁴¹

As the effort to form the fledgling Republic faltered, it became clear to the Republican leadership that Spain’s education was the central impediment to the nation’s political and economic modernization.⁴² The new Spanish Republic was established, and, in the same year the Krausist organization Instituto Libre de Enseñanza (ILE) [Free

---

³⁸ Unamuno was sent to the Canary Islands in 1924 for his public criticism of the government. He managed to escape to France, and remained there until the fall of Primo de Rivera in 1930.

³⁹ See footnote 10 in Chapter 1.

⁴⁰ Viñao, 26.

⁴¹ Payne, Spain’s First Democracy, 36.

⁴² Ibid., 86.
Institute of Teaching] formed El Museo Pedagógico Nacional de Madrid [The National Pedagogical Museum of Madrid]. On May 29, 1931, the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública [Ministry of Public Education] decreed that provincial commissions and local delegates were

encargadas de difundir la cultura general, la moderna orientación docente y la educación ciudadana en aldeas, villas y lugares, con especial atención a los intereses espirituales de la población rural.

[charged with diffusing (extending) to the general culture, the modern educational orientation and the education (of) the citizen in small villages and places, with special attention to the spiritual interests of the rural population.] 43

When Spain’s Second Republic came into power in April of 1931, the new government partnered with the Museo Pedagógico Nacional [National Museum of Pedagogy] on an ambitious educational reform measure, the Misiones Pedagógicas [The Educational Missions]. Spanish pedagogue and Krausist, Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, had been appointed director of the Museo in 1883; during his tenure, Cossio put a Board of Trustees into place. Members of the Board included intellectuals, writers, and poets, among them, Antonio Machado. In conjunction with the Krausist ILE 44, the Museo’s goals were to bring culture, entertainment, and progress to the rural villages throughout Spain. 45 Using government funds, organizational leadership developed traveling

---


44 Manuel Bartolomé Cossío was the director of the ILE after the death of Giner de los Ríos who had led the Spanish Krausist movement.

‘schools’ that brought books, movies, and music to children and adults, most of whom had never been exposed to these materials. Many of the staff were teachers who were retrained and taught a new teaching and learning style that incorporated more freedom for the students, including more outside activities. Rote memorization was de-emphasized while a movement making secular education devoid of any religious (that is Catholic) influences was established. In a 2007 Spanish documentary, Misiones Pedagógicas 1934 – 1936, República Española, various Spaniards who were either students or teachers associated with Misiones Pedagógicas were interviewed and asked about their recollections of the period. One of the former teachers who was also a university professor, Gonzalo Anaya, explained the reason behind the initiative to secularize instruction:

Y sobre todo hacer ver una cosa, la cultura española no es la educación cristiana española; sino es la cultura española. Es una educación civilizada en vez de una educación religiosa. Esa era las Misiones Pedagógicas: acercar al pueblo al tesoro de sabiduría nacional. No precisamente que hagan novenas y que recen (y cantan.)  

Es otra cosa. Es una educación ciudadana.

[And above all, to demonstrate one thing, that Spanish culture was not Spanish Christian education; it was Spanish Culture. It was a civilized education instead of a religious education. That’s what the Educational Missions were for: to bring the people closer to the treasure of national wisdom. Certainly not to get them to say novenas and pray. It was something else. It was to give them a citizen’s education.]

46 Not translated in subtitles. (Translation by authors.)

In the parliamentary elections in June of 1931, the Socialists garnered the largest vote, becoming Spain’s strongest political contender. In the same year, a coalition of Socialists and various Republican groups wrote a new liberal, democratic constitution that ensured an electoral voting process, civil rights, and due process of law.\(^\text{48}\) Intense confrontations in the Cortes over the preliminary draft of the constitution occurred, but the most heated arguments were about the status of religion, eventually resulting in the 1936 resignation of the Republican Party’s first president, Niceto Alcalá Zamora (December 11, 1931 – April 7, 1936). A debate on July 14, 1931 over the preliminary version of Article 24 stated:

\text{Art.}^{\circ} 24. \text{Todas las confesiones religiosas serán consideradas como asociaciones sometidas a las leyes generales al país.}

\text{El Estado no podrá en ningún caso sostener, favorecer ni auxiliar económicamente a las iglesias, asociaciones, e instituciones religiosas.}

\text{El Estado disolverá todas las órdenes religiosas y nacionalizará sus bienes.}

[Article 24. Everything related to religion will be considered as an association submitted under the general laws of the country.

The State cannot in any case sustain, favor nor economically help churches, associations, and religious institutions.

The State will dissolve all religious orders and nationalize their goods.]\(^\text{49}\)

\(^\text{48}\) Payne, \textit{Spanish Catholicism}, 153.

\(^\text{49}\) Gonzalo Redondo, \textit{Historia de la Iglesia en España, 1931-1939} (Madrid: Ediciones RIALP, 1993), 159. Article 24 was revised several times and eventually became Article 26 in the final version of the Constitution. It was rewritten as follows: "<Todas las confesiones religiosas serán consideradas como asociaciones sometidas a una ley especial. El Estado, las regiones, las provincias y los municipios no mantendrán, favorecerán ni auxiliarán económicamente a las iglesias, asociaciones e instituciones religiosas. Una ley especial regulará la total extinción, en un plazo máximo de dos años, del presupuesto del clero. Quedan disueltas aquellas órdenes religiosas que estatutariamente impongan, además de los tres votos canónicos, otro especial de obediencia a autoridad distinta de la legítima del Estado. Sus bienes serán nacionalizados y afectados a fines benéficos y docentes. Las demás órdenes religiosas se someterán a una ley especial votada por estas Cortes Constituyentes y ajustada a las siguientes bases:

1ª Disolución de las que, por sus actividades, constituyan un peligro para la seguridad del Estado.

2ª Inscripción de las que deben subsistir en un registro especial dependiente del Ministerio de Justicia.

3ª Incapacidad de adquirir y conservar, por sí o por persona interpuesta, más bienes de los que, previa justificación, se destinen a su vivienda o al cumplimiento directo de sus fines privativos.

4ª Prohibición de
Alcalá Zamora had declared himself the provisional president of the Second Spanish Republic on April 14, 1931, in a bloodless change of power after King Alfonso XIII abdicated the throne and left the country. Considered a political moderate, Zamora had advocated for a separation of Church and state in Spain’s new government. But he also stated that, in schools

La enseñanza ha de ser evidentemente religiosa y el símbolo de la Cruz debe presidir las escuelas públicas para inculcar la moral cristiana, a la par que el patriotismo, en las nuevas generaciones, tarea que incumbe a los párrocos, a los que el Estado debe ayudar y proteger.\(^{50}\)

[Education has to be evidently religious and the symbol of the Cross must preside over the state schools to instill Christian morals, jointly with patriotism, in the new generations, tasks that are incumbent on the parish priests, to whom the State must help and protect.] [Emphasis in original.]

In 1945, Zamora wrote a book entitled Régimen político de convivencia en España: Lo que no debe ser y lo que debe ser [Political regime of coexistence in Spain, What it should not be and what is should be] to explain his actions during this period, stating:

---

ejercer la industria, el comercio o la enseñanza. 6 Sumisión a todas las leyes tributarias del país. 6 Obligación de rendir anualmente cuentas al Estado de la inversión de sus bienes en relación con los fines de la asociación. Los bienes de la órdenes religiosidad podrán ser nacionalizados.\(^{50}\) [All the religious sects will be considered as associations subject to a special law. The State, the regions, the provinces and the municipalities will not maintain, favor or help economically the churches, associations and religious institutions. A special law will regulate the total extinction in a maximum term of two years, the budget of the clergy. Those religious orders that impose statutes will remain dissolved, moreover, that statutorily impose, besides the three canonical votes, another special one of obedience to authority different from the legitimate one of the State. Their goods will be nationalized and assumed for benevolent ends and educational aims. The other religious orders will be put under a special law voted by these Constituents of the Cortes and adjusted to the following basis: 1 Dissolution of which, by their activities, they constitute a danger for the security of the State. 2 Record that they can subsist in a dependent special registry of the Ministry of Justice. 3 Incapacity to acquire and to maintain, by themselves or by interposed person, more goods of those that, previously justified, are destined to their lodging or the direct fulfillment of their particular aims. 4 Prohibition to perform industry, commerce or teaching. 5 Submission to all the tributary laws of the country. 6 Obligation of annually rendering accounts to the State of the investment of its goods in relation with the aims of the association. The goods of the religious orders could be nationalized.\(^{50}\)

---

\(^{50}\) Alcalá Zamora, April 14, 1931 in Redondo, Historia de la Iglesia en España, 151.
Escribo este libro para el español sereno, desapasionado, de posición centro, para el que la separación de la Iglesia y del Estado no significa la quema de conventos.\footnote{Ibid., 151, quoting Niceto Alcalá Zamora, \textit{Régimen político de convivencia en España: Lo que no debe ser y lo que debe ser}, (Buenos Aires, 1945).}

[I am writing this book for the fair Spaniard, impartial, positioned in the center, because the separation of Church and State does not mean the burning of convents.]

Alcalá Zamora had tried to position himself in the center, far from the extremes of either the political Right or the Left. Although he was a member of one of the Republican Parties (\textit{Derecha Liberal Republicana}), he considered himself a Catholic and refused to sign the new constitution.\footnote{Redondo, 149 -151.} Losing the support of the majority of the Cortes, Alcalá Zamora’s resigned and Manuel Azaña became the second president of the Republic on May 10, 1936 by a majority vote of the Cortes. Azaña had been appointed the Minister of War for the new Republic by Alcalá Zamora, and then became very vocal against the former president. In a speech to the Cortes on March 13, 1931, defending the articles dealing with religion, Azaña said, “España ha dejado de ser católica.” [Spain has quit being Catholic.]\footnote{Ibid, 163. It is important to note that according to later comments by Azaña himself (\textit{Obras completas}, t.IV, 178) and other scholars (such as Ricardo de la Cierva), Azaña was not saying that there were not anymore Catholics in Spain, because those identifying themselves as Catholics were still the majority of the population. He was saying that as a state, Spain had ceased being a Catholic country, that is, there was now to be a separation of Church and state.} After his speech, Azaña received “thunderous applause “from the members of the Continental Congress of the provisional government. However, not everyone was in agreement with him, including Ernesto Giménez Caballero, (author of...}
España Nuestra - see Chapter 1). In 1932, Giménez Caballero published an essay entitled, “Manuel Azaña,” which said:

La República ha venido a España para sustituir la religión católica por la religión de la cultura. La cultura significa para la República española una Escuela única, una Universidad única, una Prensa única, que enlacen a España a los designios o ideales ginebrinos (la cultura del protestantismo). Todo cuanto se aparte de ellos no es útil para la cultura republicana. Esto ha llevado a la política cultural de la República a decisiones monstruosas y a injusticias indecibles.  

[The Republic has come to Spain to replace the Catholic religion by the religion of the culture. The culture means for the Spanish Republic a singular School, a singular University, a singular Press that connects Spain to the aims or ideals of the Genevans (the culture of Protestantism). Everything aside from them is not useful for the Republican culture. This has brought the cultural policy of the Republic to monstrous decisions and unspeakable injustices.]

Azaña’s presidency was not without turmoil and two months after he was installed as president, on July 17, 1936, Spain’s Civil War began. In his 2006 book, The Collapse of the Spanish Republic, 1933 – 1936, Origins of the Civil War, Stanley Payne recounts many fierce debates in the Cortes. Minutes from Azaña’s presidency from May 1936 until April 1939 document repeated and escalating conflicts among those in power - -- not only between the two major parties, the Nationalists and Republicans, but importantly, within the ruling party which was made up of Republicans, varying from moderate to liberal, as well as Socialists, and Communists.

Oppositional factions existed within all of the political groups. Azaña repeatedly called publicly for unification during this period. But members of the many parties feared that Azaña was not only losing control over the Left, he was changing his position.

---

to a more moderate one. As a result, government officials such as the Prime Minister, Casares Quiroga, and the new minister of public instruction, Francisco Barnes, embarked on the enforcement of reactionary procedures based on the new Constitution. On February 28, 1936, inspectors visited churches and religious schools and many schools were shut down for failing to follow the state system. In addition, priests were increasingly harassed, making parishioners fear to attend services. As a response to these types of actions, on June 4 of that same year, CEDA (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas) [Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right] temporarily withdrew from the Cortes, announcing that the language of the minister was insulting and his policy gave “intolerable offense to the Catholic conscience” of Spain. In their turn, liberal politicians became just as reactionary and different factions were calling their opponents fascists, whether they were or not.

Not only was Spain’s Republican government divided and in opposition to the Nationalists, who were then out of power, but as CEDA leader, Gil Robles said, there was also the “great neutral masses” in between the two positions. The European industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had all but

---


56 CEDA spokesperson speaking to the Cortes, July 28, 1933 when all Catholic schools were taken over per decree, as quoted in Payne, The Collapse of the Spanish Republic 1933 – 1936 (Devon, PA: Duke & Co., 2006), 251-252.

57 Ibid., 64.

bypassed Spain. Except for the northeastern province of Catalunya, which in 1931 accounted for forty-five per cent of Spain’s total industry, three-quarters of Spain’s population were still peasants who maintained a feudal, agricultural lifestyle.\(^{59}\) Large landowners and the Church owned the majority of Spain’s territory. To alleviate this apparent inequity, Republican president, Alcalá Zamora, and the Cortes passed a Land Reform Law in 1931 mandating help for the landless to purchase specified parcels of land with government bonds. However, when very little land turned over, the peasants tried to seize the land themselves, and a bloody confrontation with the federally appointed Civil Guard ensued. This incident was then used by the right-wing parties and CEDA fought for the loyalty of the peasants, attacking the government and holding it responsible for the murders by the Guard.\(^{60}\)

On July 17, 1936, a military rebellion began that was intent on re-establishing economic and social order and removing the left from power.\(^{61}\) In the next two days, Azaña hastily tried to reorganize the government, reforming the cabinet and local municipalities, and holding new elections. But the leader of the army revolt, General Miguel Mola, rejected this compromise, and the Spanish Civil War began. Though Mola headed the Nationalist revolution, he admitted that a general of higher rank, Francisco Franco Bahamonde enjoyed more prestige and possessed greater diplomatic skills. On

\(^{59}\) Ibid., 116.

\(^{60}\) The Civil Guard is a mobile police force which was founded in 1844 under Queen Isabella II’s reign. It is an arm of the federal government and has been employed mainly to suppress uprisings of the peasantry. During Spain’s Civil War it was considered a “grim rulers of the villages of Spain”. See “Background of War II: Spain”, 116-117.

\(^{61}\) Payne, The Spanish Revolution, 218.
October 1, 1936, Azaña officially appointed Franco as the Generalissimo of the Armed Forces. 62

Azaña continued in the presidency until the Second Spanish Republic (1931 – 1936) was defeated by the Nationalists. Church and state were reunited by law and religious instruction and curriculum were mandated in March of 1938 throughout Spain’s public schools. 63 On April 1, 1939, the bloody three-year war ended, and a military dictatorship, headed by Francisco Franco, began. 64

During the Franco regime, 1939 to 1975, the Spanish population grew approximately forty percent though the number of primary schools only doubled. Secondary schools quadrupled however, and higher education increased eighty per cent. 65 The minister of education from 1939 to 1951 was José Ibáñez Martín, a prestigious professor at several universities, including the University of Seville, the University of Oviedo, and the University Pontificio of Salamanca. Though Ibáñez Martín was not a Falangist, 66 during his period in office, the Republican educational system was

__________________________________________________________________________

62 Ibid., 130.

63 Payne, *Spanish Catholicism*, 173, 179.


66 Ibid., 850. Apparently Franco made it clear to Ibáñez Martín that he was to cooperate with the Falangists in the other sectors of the government. Also, while Falangist influence was weaker at primary and secondary level schooling, it was strong at the university level.
dismantled. Ibañez’ successor, Joaquín Ruiz Giménez had stronger ties to the Falange, but as Minister of Education from 1951 to 1956, Ruíz Giménez attempted to incorporate some elements of liberalization in higher education and to promote some communication between liberal Catholics and “Left Falangists.” Under Ruiz Gimenez prominent Falangists such as Pedro Laín Entralgo, Antonio Toval, and Joaquín Fernández Pérez Villanueva were given university positions.

The Franco regime had given the Catholic Church a large influence in the education of children. Catholicism was taught in non-secular schools as well and the curriculum was monitored by the Catholic Church. During the Franco tenure, literacy in Spain increased, but the nation never caught up with the rest of Western Europe. According to 1940 census figures, twenty-three percent of the Spanish population was illiterate. By 1950 that number had dropped to seventeen percent and by 1960, it was under fourteen percent.

With the death of Franco in 1975, King Juan Carlos began the process of moving Spain from a dictatorship to a democracy. In 1978, a new constitution was written,

---


68 Payne, Franco’s Spain, 98.

69 Spanish Catholics were divided on their support of the Falange. Moderate Catholics did not want ties with Nazi Germany, but there were other Catholic sectors that supported a pro-Nazi policy. Although there was, at times, antagonism between the Church and the government, the Franco regime was able to avoid major confrontation. See Payne, Spanish Catholicism, 181. Also, see Chapter 3 for an extended analysis of the differences between rightist Catholic, fascist, and Falangist thought.

70 See Chapter 1 and results of survey in the present study.

71 Viñao, Escuela para todos, 72.
restoring many of the rights taken away by the Franco regime. However, the percentage of Catholic schools remained unchanged and Catholic influence in education was as strong as ever, especially in the universities.\(^\text{72}\) Since that time, various educational reforms have been made, and by the year 2006, Spain’s literacy rate was over ninety-seven percent.

Table 3. Twentieth Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20(^{th}) Century Government</th>
<th>20(^{th}) Century Education</th>
<th>20(^{th}) Century Catholic Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constitutional Monarchy (1874 – 1931)</td>
<td>30 % - 70% of population illiterate in cities (1900)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Public Education and Fine Arts (1900)</td>
<td>Compulsory attendance from six to nine (1901) and amplified curriculum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Decreto (1901) – provided funds</td>
<td>El Real Decreto (1928) – Government inspection of schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship (1923 – 1931)</td>
<td>Ministerio de Instrucción Pública (1931) – Arm of (ILE)</td>
<td>Quadragesimo anno (1931) – Social corporatism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Spanish Republic (1931 – 1936) Anarcho-syndicalism</td>
<td>Secularization of schools Separation of Church and state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Civil War  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1936 – 1939)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan Nationalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anarchists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Civil War  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1936 – 1939)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supported Nationalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlists (Catholics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDA (Spanish Fascists –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falange Española and JONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– National Syndicalists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aided by Mussolini and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Nationalism - Pope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pius XI’s Encyclical Letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1937)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This present study used multiple comparative models to explore the question: Did Franco’s government and the Roman Catholic Church form an alliance between the years 1939 and 1975 to promote a Spanish nationalism antithetical to traditional Spanish religion and culture that is evident in Spanish pedagogy and texts from this period? To explore this question, the study examined political and education policy documents of the Catholic Church and the Spanish government from this period to discover whether education ministers and high level clergy proposed to configure school curricula congruent with their goals. Combined with these primary documents, a survey of present-day Spaniards educated between 1939 and 1975 contributed first-hand impressions and information about respondents’ educational experiences, bringing original research to further the present study’s analysis of the role of the school, curriculum, and textbooks. Chapter 3 presents the analytical frameworks chosen to investigate this question. As stated in Chapter 1, these frameworks were based on the concepts of structural functionalism (including political socialization), nationalism, and filter-effect theory.

Structural Functionalism

Comparative political scientists, Gabriel Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Kaare Strom, and Russell Dalton applied the concept of structural functionalism to explain how
a political system interfaces with a country’s institutions. They proposed that we must not only examine a country’s structures, but how these structures perform functions. This model can be used to compare political structures in different countries or to assess the relationships of functions and structures within a single society, noting that more than one structure may perform the same function.¹ Further, Almond and Powell divided structural functionalism into three parts: political socialization, recruitment, and communication.

**Structural Functionalism and Political Socialization**

Political socialization explains a culture’s allegiance to a particular belief system. This occurs when cultures pass down their values and beliefs to successive generations through institutions (or structures), such as families, schools, communities, churches, interest groups, political parties, branches of government, and communications media.² For the purposes of the present study, an example political socialization defined this way could be the mutual support that the northeastern regions of Spain and the Catholic Church shared in fighting Spain’s liberalized central government (1820 – 1823). The cultural and political structures of the Church and in the northeastern regions of Spain had been attacked by Royalists and centralizers since the eighteenth century, when the

---

¹ Almond, et al, 33. Classical functionalist theories can be traced back to political philosophers such as Rousseau, Durkheim, and Herbert Spencer and are defined by a tendency towards biological analogy and social evolutionism while Schumpeter and Parsons brought structural functionalism to the center of sociology in the middle of the last century. However Almond and Powell were the first political scientists that used the structural-functionalist approach to compare political systems. See Scott London, “On Structural Functionalism”, [http://www.scottlondon.com/articles/almond.html](http://www.scottlondon.com/articles/almond.html), 1/17/2011.

Bourbon monarchy assumed jurisdiction over the Church and the government in 1796.\textsuperscript{3} Thus, while Spain’s liberal government moved toward a more centralized state, the Basque Communities and Navarre fought to retain the historical regional rights, exemptions, and privileges that they identified with their religious heritage.\textsuperscript{4} Though the crown and the central government periodically attacked these provinces throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were largely successful in defending their independence. Likewise, the institutional Catholic Church resisted criticism aimed at it for centuries by those who advocated that national or regional governments should distribute the Church’s property. Functionally, northeastern Spain and the Catholic Church had similar political responses; and for the same reason, namely, each group defended its legitimacy based on traditional privilege.\textsuperscript{5} Therefore, it was expedient for these areas of Spain to defend their regional rights based on religion, although their actions do not seem to have a religious origin. Also, each of these interest groups defended rights to which they had been trained to allegiance to their culture, as posited by Almond, et al., which ties political socialization to structural functionalism.

The introduction of modern liberalism into Spain in the early nineteenth century resulted in critical divisions in Spanish society. One was the breach between the Catholic Church and the government. The Basque Communities, the Navarrese, and the Catholic Church were all fighting for their own version of legitimacy and tradition. The Basque Communities and the Navarrese were particularly resistant to the liberal government’s attempts to centralize power, as they had a long history of regional autonomy. The Catholic Church was also resistant to the liberal government’s attempts to reform its property laws, as these laws were seen as a threat to the Church’s traditional privileges.

\textsuperscript{3} Payne, \textit{Spanish Catholicism}, 63.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., 81.

\textsuperscript{5} “Since local laws and institutions were more directly threatened by liberalism than were those of any other part of Spain, the defense of what [the Basques and the Navarrese] interpreted as legitimacy and tradition in the royal succession was all the more important. Even the liberal assault on traditional privilege might be perceived as a general threat, for it meant the leveling of institutions and rights and a change in economic values, the more menacing to a region where property was less ill-distributed than in other parts of Spain.” (Payne, \textit{Spanish Catholicism}, 81.)
Church and the government, which heretofore had enjoyed a mutually supportive relationship (see Chapter 2). This schism, however, may have been more related to geographical, historical, and cultural upheaval than to religious disagreements. During the First Carlist War (1833 – 1840), when conservative supporters of Don Carlos fought against the liberal government put into place by the Queen Mother and Regent, María Cristina, the papacy remained politically neutral. Most of the Spanish Catholic hierarchy, excepting clergy in the regions of the conservative non-Castilian northeastern regions of Spain, that is, the rural areas of Aragon and Catalonia, the Basque Communities, and Navarre, submitted to this new governmental authority. In these regions, clerics took up arms against the government to fight the “enemies of God” as in the days of the Crusades.6 Interestingly, other than in the Basque region that had been directly influenced by Jesuit founder, Ignatius de Loyola7, northeastern Spain was the least Christianized part of the peninsula due to their late conversion to Christianity, approximately a thousand years after the rest of the country. Although peasants living in these provinces considered themselves Catholic, the identification was more social and regional than spiritual.8

While the Catholic revival of the Carlist war period during the mid-nineteenth century had reestablished the bond between the Church and the parliamentary

---

6 Payne, *Spanish Catholicism*, 81.

7 Ignatius de Loyola was born in Gipuzkao, one of three Autonomous Communities (the other two being Bizkaia and Araba) located in the western Pyrenees. Along with the province of Navarre, they compose the Basque Country (or, in Spanish, *País Vasco*).

8 Ibid., 81.
government resulting in mandatory religion (Catholicism) classes in secondary education, this policy was not popular with the middle class.⁹ Decades of anticlericalism followed, with the outbreak in 1834 of estimates of between fifty and one hundred murders of Spanish nuns and priests, unparalleled in Spanish history. Although there were periods of moderation, anticlericalism was revived again in the Progressivist Biennium, 1854–56, in 1899 as a reaction to a quickly produced regulation that required religious instruction in state secondary curriculum, and during the year 1901 to 1912 when the Conservatives ruled the Spanish government. By the time the Republican decade began in 1931, both the middle class, who were now politically liberal, and extremists, following after the *Generación del ’98*, whose ideas were rooted in the Enlightenment were firmly anticlerical (See Chapter 1). Nevertheless, though liberal philosophy permeated the public institutions, it did not completely transform the culture. Liberals never achieved democratization and fell short in their attempts to reorganize Spanish society. As a result, Spanish society retained its traditional, conservative core values.¹⁰ Viewed from a structural-functional approach, political socialization was never fully achieved, possibly because the structures of the family and Church were too deeply ingrained to be changed by what was perceived as a “foreign movement” (See Chapter 2.)

Yet, in the early years of the twentieth century, anarcho-syndicalism in the Republican movement gained numerous adherents in Spain who sought to gain

---

⁹ Payne, *Spanish Catholicism*, 133, 150.

¹⁰ Ibid., 97.
simultaneous control of the cultural and educational structures. \(^{11}\) Especially in the larger cities, workers perceived Catholic schools as an extension of the wealthy and landed class, which they detested. These workers, along with many in the middle class, believed that the solution to Spain’s national problems lay in the restructuring of education, culture, and politics. \(^{12}\) Therefore, it is plausible that the Republican coalition (liberals, neo-Marxists, and anti-clerics who were eventually defeated in Spain’s Civil War) demanded a separation of Church and state, not primarily for religious freedom, but in order to gain political control. For example, as they sought power in 1931, one of the party platforms of the Republicans was tolerance for all religions. However, the anticlericalism of the Republicans against the Church was so intense and destructive before the Civil War began in 1936, that it precipitated the counter-revolt among Catholics, leading to the breakdown of the Republic and its eventual defeat. \(^{13}\) Similarly, Franco’s support of the Catholic Church (institutionally) could be seen as an expedient means to maintain political control over a large segment of the population instead of one related to religion. In, *Franco, Un Balance Histórico*, Pío Moa stated that Franco embraced the Catholic Church because of his hatred for liberals, whom he saw as enemies of Spain and Christian civilization. Moa concludes by quoting Francisco


\(^{12}\) Payne, *Spanish Catholicism*, 133, 150.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 151.
Franco’s last Will and Testament which pleas for the exaltation of Spain with God’s help, and not vice versa. Its final words are:

Mantened la unidad de las tierras de España, exaltando la rica multiplicidad de sus regiones como fuente de la fortaleza de la unidad de la Patria. Quisiera, en mi último momento, unir los nombres de Dios y de España y abrazaros a todos para gritar juntos, por última vez, en los umbrales de mi muerte: ¡Arriba España! ¡Viva España!

[Maintain the unity of the lands of Spain, exalting the rich multiplicity of its regions as a fountain of the strength of the unity of the Country. I would hope, in my last moment, to unite the names of God and of Spain and to all hug each other in order to shout together, for the last time, on the thresholds of my death:
Up with Spain! Long live Spain!] 

In summary, while political socialization to establish new ideas was often haphazard in Spain due to the strength of the tradition of the Church, it could be used for the purposes of the increasingly numerous political factions.

**Structural Functionalism and Recruitment**

The second part of Almond’s, et al.’s interpretation of structural functionalist theory, recruitment, refers to how citizens become active players in the political system. In a democracy, for example, elections play a large role in this process. However, in an authoritarian system, recruitment may be dominated by unelected religious leaders. For much of Spain’s history, the government was under the power of the Spanish bishops. Concordats, or written agreements that were made between the Holy See and Spain’s rulers made it clear that the papacy appointed Spanish bishops and other Church

---


15 Almond, et al., 34.
officials. Major concordats with Spain were made in 1757, 1851, 1946, and 1953. The August 27, 1953 concordat legitimized the Franco regime in the eyes of many Spaniards, since it provided full Papal recognition of the fascist government and “was instrumental in strengthening Franco’s hold over the country.”

Article one of the 1953 concordat proclaimed that Catholicism was the sole religion of Spain and gave the Church considerable rights:

The Apostolic Roman Catholic Church will continue to be the sole religion of the Spanish State and will enjoy the rights and prerogatives due to it under Divine and Canon Law.

Article nineteen of the concordat mandated that the Spanish State provide a yearly endowment to the Church:

1. The Church and the State will look at the creation of an appropriate Church patrimony which will ensure a fitting endowment for the religion and the clergy.

2. Meanwhile, the State, by way of compensation for previous confiscations of Church assets and as a contribution on behalf of the nation to the work of the Church, will allot an appropriate annual endowment. In particular, this will include appropriations for the Archbishops and diocesan Bishops, the Assistants, Auxiliary Vicar Generals, the Cathedral Chapters and the Collegiate Churches, the Parish clergy, as well as allowances for the seminaries and Church universities and the practice of the religion. In respect of the endowment for non-consistorial livings and the grants for seminaries and Church universities the rules laid out in the Agreements of July 16th and December 8th 1946 respectively, will continue to apply. (R.1141 and 1741 and Book 2376 and 17553) If in the future there is a notable change in general economic conditions, the aforementioned payments will be adjusted to the new circumstances and sufficient to ensure the maintenance of the religion and the fitting support of the clergy.

3. The State, faithful to the national tradition, will pay annual grants for the construction and maintenance of parish churches, rectories and seminaries; for the promotion of Religious Orders, Congregations and Church institutions dedicated to missionary activity and to the care of historically important monasteries in

---

16 Payne, Spanish Catholicism, 63.

Spain, as well as sustaining the Spanish College of St Joseph and the Spanish Church and Montserrat Residence in Rome.

4. The State will collaborate with the Church to create and finance institutions to assist elderly, sick or incapacitated clergy. The State will also provide an adequate pension in favour of resident Prelates who, for reasons of health or age, have retired from their posts.¹⁸

**Structural Functionalism and Communication**

The last element of Almond et al.’s interpretation of structural functionalism theory, communication, refers to how a government disseminates information to its citizens through various structures. Thus, if authoritarian leaders want to continue to dictate to the populace, control of information systems such as newspapers, radio, schools, and educational materials is crucial.¹⁹ H. E. Chehabi and Arang Kesharzian use the Islamic Republic of Iran, established as a theocracy in 1979, to show how state-controlled institutions such as the education system and the military have tried to transmit political values and norms to the Iranian society through information technologies such as newspapers and personal computers. However, they point out that the private sphere can influence communication as well. Systems such as family practices, neighborhoods, and other social groups can undermine a government’s efforts. According to Chehabi and Kesharzian, Iran’s new regime used the education system as the principal agent of socialization by having Islamic religious studies, classes on the Iranian revolution, and mandatory Arabic language courses dominate in the primary and secondary school


¹⁹ Almond, et al., 34.
curriculum. The government also rewrote textbooks to present a state-sanctioned history of Iran. These new books describe the clergy as being supportive of the government-led uprisings and depicted women as veiled, even inside their own homes. But the authors’ research indicated that older family members often indoctrinated the younger generation in ways that did not agree with the state. This has led to a greater pluralism and contestation by counter-elites and popular voices reflecting the presence of ethnic and linguistic diversity in Iran for centuries.20 Similarly, although Franco’s government tried to control communication to schoolchildren by using Catholic teachings to support Spanish Falangism in the primary and secondary schools’ curriculum and textbooks, the diversity of the population and the lack of consensus among Catholic groups themselves resulted in a growing antagonism between the Church and the Falangist ruling party during Franco’s regime.21

Lastly, according to comparative sociologists Almond and Verba, most people acquire their fundamental political values and behavior patterns by the time they reach adolescence22 with family and the school as the two most important institutions in the socialization of the child.23 M. Kent Jennings, et al., concur, writing that with the exception of some cases of rebellion, most children enter adulthood having the same


21 Payne, Spanish Catholicism, 181.


23 Ibid., 274.
political views as their parents. Thus, it can be posited that the structures of the Church and schools in Spain played important roles in political socialization, which may explain why the Republicans and the Nationalists were so intent on controlling education. The Second Spanish Republic (1931 – 1936) briefly introduced the New School (see Chapter 2) as part of an international education movement originated in Geneva, Switzerland earlier in the century, and embraced the ideas of religious neutrality, coeducation, and other liberal concepts, derived in part from Rousseau’s theory of naturalism, that man is good in his original state of nature. After the Republican defeat, Catholic educators dismissed ideas of freedom and child spontaneity in children as attempts to mimic Rousseau’s Émile. They rejected the curriculum as coming from bourgeois ideas that were antithetical to traditional values and educational discipline.

Nationalism

Franco’s government tried to build a strong Spanish and Catholic nationalism that took regional authority away from Spanish institutions such as local schools. The New (Geneva) School was dismantled when Franco came to power since it was seen as fostering the “de-Christianization” of Catholic Spain. It was shortly replaced with the Spanish New School which stressed a return to the educational traditions of the sixteenth


25 Émile or On Education (1762), by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is a discourse on the nature of education and the nature of man that stimulated the beginnings of a new educational system during the French Revolution.

century that accompanied the period of the greatest expansion of the Church in Spain and
the acquisition of the Spanish territories. These events also linked nationalism with
religion. Catholic pedagogues based their curriculum on the directives in Pope Pius XI’s
Papal Encyclical on Christian education, *Divini Illius Magistri*, delivered in Rome on
December 31, 1929. Although the encyclical never mentioned Rousseau by name, it
inveighed against many of the New (Geneva) School’s principles. For example, Article
60 reads:

> Hence every form of pedagogic naturalism which in any way excludes or
weakens supernatural Christian formation in the teaching of youth is false. Every
method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of
original sin and of grace, and relying on the sole powers of human nature, is
unsound. Such, generally speaking, are those modern systems bearing various
names which appeal to a pretended self-government and unrestrained freedom on
the part of the child, and which diminish or even suppress the teacher's authority
and action, attributing to the child an exclusive primacy of initiative, and an
activity independent of any higher law, natural or divine, in the work of his
education.²⁷

Interestingly, Spanish Catholic educators named nationalism, rather than religion
as their reason to denounce the New Education movement. Men appointed inspectors or
professors, such as Antonio Gil Alberdi, Antonio J. Onieva, Antonio Fernández
Rodríguez, and Alfonso Iniesta Corredor proclaimed it was necessary to create a
“Spanish School” to remove foreign, elitist, and exotic influences in the field of
education.²⁸

²⁷ Pope Pius XI, *Divini Illius Magistri, Encyclical on Christian Education*, December 31, 1929,
http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_31121929_divini-illius-

²⁸ Pozo and Brastier, 111.
Union) was formed in Spain. Its members, estimated to number between 500,000 and 1,700,000,\(^{29}\) were primarily middle-class, Catholic conservatives who hailed from all of Spain’s provinces. Espousing the slogan “Monarquía, Patria, y Religión” (Monarchy, Country, and Religion) (similar to the Carlist “Dios, Patria, y Rey” (God, Country, and King) the group attempted to recreate historic, Spanish Catholic ideology and foster a positive nationalism. The Unión Patriótica gained strength as it supported Miguel Primo de Rivera’s military dictatorship (1923 – 1930), endorsing his hierarchical and authoritarian government and becoming Spain’s first twentieth-century nationalist force.\(^{30}\) After the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, Franco brought nationalism formally to the schools, commissioning Catholic educators to write all new pedagogical materials. Franco’s education administration had identified the Republic’s pedagogy as based on ideas of “foreigners,” such as Dewey, Kerschensteiner, and Claparède.\(^{31}\) The new Spanish school would offer a classic Spanish education based on papal directives and Franco’s fascist political leanings.\(^{32}\)

\(^{29}\) The Unión Patriótica claimed to have 1,700,000 members, but skeptics said the number was only a third of this amount. See Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 29.


\(^{32}\) Pozo and Braster, 112.
Nationalism and Fascism

During the nineteen twenties, other southern and eastern European countries moved toward some form of nationalism. Beginning in 1922, Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, Poland, Lithuania, and Yugoslavia had, at least for a period of time, various forms of national authoritarian states. Despite the efforts of the Unión Patriótica, however, Spain’s national identity was weak compared to neighboring countries. Its position of international powerlessness after losing the last of its empire immediately before the turn of the twentieth century, its underdeveloped economy, and its neutrality in World War I kept Spain self-absorbed with divisive internal political and social issues. Sluggish economic growth after World War I discouraged the development of any clear sense of the new nationalistic, social, or economic interests that neighboring countries promoted. Historians identify the end of World War I as the time when a new radical force called fascism was set in motion. A vague political term, fascism is often defined by what it is opposed to, that is, it is antimarxist, antiliberal, and anti-conservatavist and often considered to have stemmed from opposition to the Enlightenment. Its ideology was

33 Payne, Fascism in Spain, 30.


36 Ibid., 7 – 10. After asserting this idea, Payne contradicts it by saying that “(fascist ideas were) a direct byproduct of aspects of the Enlightenment and were derived specifically from the modern, secular, Promethean concepts of the eighteenth century. The essential divergence of fascist ideas from certain aspects of modern culture probably lies more precisely in fascist anti–materialism and its emphasis on philosophical vitalism and idealism and the metaphysics of the will (whose) goal was the creation of a new man, a new style of culture . . that engaged the whole man. Fascists hoped to recover the true sense of the natural and of human nature – a basic eighteenth century idea – on a higher and firmer plane than the
based on the creation of a new nationalist, authoritarian state with traditional principles or models.\textsuperscript{37} Thus, since a central component of fascist positioning in this period was a conservative and exclusionary nationalism, fascism was slow to prevail in Spain until the arrival of intellectuals and activists from outside the country who promoted this system.\textsuperscript{38}

Married to the sister of an Italian consul who introduced him to fascism, Spaniard Ernesto Giménez Caballero established foundational fascist elements in the program of Spain’s Nationalist Party.\textsuperscript{39} (See Chapter 1.) Born in Madrid in 1899, he was a lucid and prolific writer; his publications focused on political topics concerning Spain and cultural reductionist culture of modern materialism and prudential egotism had yet achieved.” (Fascism, 10 – 11).

The six-point “fascist minimum” was first postulated by Ernst Nolte in Die Krise des liberalen Systems und die fashistischen Bewegungen (Munich, 1968), 385. The six points were antimarxism, anticonservativism, antiliberalism, the leadership principle, a party army, and the aim of totalitarianism. These have been criticized for explaining what fascism is not rather than what it is.

\textsuperscript{37} Payne, Comparison and Definition, 7. See also Fascism: A Readers’ Guide: Analysis, Interpretations, Bibliography by Walter Laqueur for a comparative study on fascism. The term fascism is from the Latin fæces which signified a bundle of rods tied around an axe suggesting strength in unity. The Falange symbol (Spain) is a bundle of arrows joined together by a yoke.

\textsuperscript{38} In a comparative analysis of political movements, Payne makes a distinction between fascism and authoritarian nationalism during the early twentieth century. “The fascist movements represented the most extreme expression of modern European nationalism, yet they were not synonymous with all authoritarian national groups; (however) . . . it would be grossly inaccurate to argue that this process (i.e. nationalism) preceded independent of fascism.” See, Stanley G. Payne, A History of Fascism, 1914 – 1945 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 14 – 15. For contradictory views on this subject, see Arno J. Mayer, Dynamics of Counterrevolution in Europe, 1870 - 1956 (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), John Weiss, The Fascist Tradition (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), or Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf, Fascism (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973). These scholars often combine various fascist and right authoritarian movements, opposing Payne’s premise that, “the general tendency to lump the phenomena together, which has been reinforced by subsequent historians and commentators who tend to identify fascist groups with the category of the right or extreme right. Yet to do so is correct only insofar as the intention is to separate all authoritarian forces opposed to both liberalism and Marxism and assign them the arbitrary label of “fascism” while ignoring the basic differences between them. It is a little like identifying Stalinism and Rooseveltian democracy because both were opposed to Hitlerism, Japanese militarism, and west-European colonialism.” See Payne, Comparison and Definition, 15. See also the extended discussion of fascism and Falangism in Chapter 4 of this study.

nationalism. Giménez Caballero was preoccupied with revitalizing his backward nation and restoring it to one at the forefront of the European powers — as it once was. Originally, he had embraced pluralism, taking an interest in the Sephardic culture in Morocco\(^{40}\) and promoting the modernization of Catalonia, suggesting that Barcelona could be the ‘Milan’ of Spain. However, on a trip to Rome in 1928, he became overwhelmed with the Italian fascist political system. Viewing it as avant-garde, Caballero asserted that fascism was more in keeping with Spain’s Latin and Catholic identity and rejected any further attempt to try to copy northern European national models. He, therefore, reversed his course from advocating pluralism to teaching fascism.\(^{41}\)

In 1929, Giménez Caballero became director of *La Gaceta Literaria*, a Spanish literary journal with an international audience. This publication provided him a platform to expound his new political views to contemporaries.\(^{42}\) Franco’s *Nuevo Estado* [New State] ideology,\(^{43}\) developed to solidify his victory, provided government initiatives to instill ideological values into children through the schools. A key work in the new fascist curriculum, Giménez Caballero’s social studies textbook for elementary schools, *España Nuestra*, promoted fascist ideology, and endorsed national syndicalism\(^{44}\) and

---

\(^{40}\) Giménez Caballero served in Spain’s military and was stationed in Morocco for a number of years.

\(^{41}\) Payne, *Fascism in Spain*, 51-53.


\(^{44}\) See note on following page for definition of national syndicalism.
España sintió a Roma, no como un invasor más, sino como a una madre. Una madre que la bautizó con el nombre de Hispania (España). Que la enseñó a hablar el romance, el español a la romana. Pues antes hablaba lenguas bárbaras y difíciles, parecidas algo a lo que hoy es el vascuence. Roma enseñó a España a gobernarse, a tener respeto a las leyes y a administrarse, estableciendo la nomenclatura de las regiones, conventos jurídicos, diócesis, provincias, municipios. Roma enseñó a España a contar el tiempo, a partir de la Era de Augusto. (Y luego la de Cristo.) Roma enseñó a España cultivos de agricultura, técnicas industriales, métodos comerciales. Roma enseñó a España el defenderse internamente, creándola una milicia o guardia civil que tenían sus cuarteles en los caminos, llamados mesones (mansiones). Roma enseñó a España a guerrear táctica y disciplinadamente, encuadrando su maravillosa infantería celtíbera en la “Falanges de combate”.

[Spain felt toward Rome, no more like an invader, but like a mother. A mother that baptized her with the name of Hispania (Spain). She taught her to speak the romance (language), the Spanish of the Roman. Since, before she spoke barbarian and difficult languages, something similar to today’s Basque (language). Rome taught Spain to govern herself, to have respect for the laws and to administer itself, establishing the nomenclature of the regions, legal convents, diocese, provinces, and municipalities. Rome taught Spain to consider the time, as in the Era of Augustine. (And then that of Christ.) Rome taught Spain to cultivate agriculture, commercial techniques, and commercial methods. Rome taught Spain to defend itself internally, creating a militia or Civil Guard that had their quarters by the roads, called inns (habitations). Rome taught to Spain to fight with tactics and discipline, incorporating its wonderful Celtic infantry in the “Phalanges of battle”.

The idea of a past and present connection with Rome only furthered the fascists’ argument that Spain’s history was one of unity to the exclusion of “foreign” influences.

---


46 Ernesto Giménez Caballero, 50.
Another proponent of Spanish fascism was Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, director of a weekly newspaper called *La Conquista del Estado* [The Conquest of the State], a name copied from a well-known Italian fascist publication. After studying philosophy at the University of Madrid, Ledesma Ramos published essays on German thought in the late nineteen-twenties. Identifying with the Spanish Left rather than the international Left, he supported both nationalism and collectivism, which he later called “National Syndicalism.” With a small following of young students, he eventually formed the first Spanish fascist political organization on March 14, 1931, called the Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (JONS). Although he hoped to develop a fascist nationalism, he never had more than two thousand members and never was able to politically mobilize them.

However, the most successful proponent of Spanish fascism was José Antonio Primo de Rivera, a son of the late dictator, General Miguel Primo de Rivera. Politically, José Antonio evolved from being a proponent of an authoritarian monarchy to supporting a more radical type of nationalist authoritarianism. By 1933, he finally

---

47 Stanley G. Payne, *Falange, A History of Spanish Fascism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 12. Ledesma wanted to embrace both nationalism and collectivism. Rejecting the term anarcho-syndicalism because Spain was neither a corporatist nor a national socialist country, he coined the term “National Syndicalism” in 1930 to describe the neo-leftist and nationalist qualities of the movement.

48 Payne, *Spain’s First Democracy*, 175.

49 Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship (1923 – 1930) was not a fascist regime but instead focused on supporting workers while at the same time trying to eliminate anarcho-syndicalism. The dictator resigned on January 26, 1930 when he realized he had lost the support of the military. He died in France less than two months later. After the Republicans won the elections in April, 1931, King Alfonso XIII, abdicated his throne. But after the Republican defeat by the Nationalists in the subsequent civil war (1936 – 1939), Franco assumed control of the country and the ruling parties. For more details, see Chapter One and James H. Rial, *Revolution from Above, The Primo de Rivera Dictatorship, 1923 – 1930* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1986).
proclaimed himself to be a fascist. As his following grew, Primo de Rivera decided to call the political party that he officially began in October of 1933 by the name Falange Española [Spanish Phalanx]. Soon afterward, the Falange merged with Ledsma’s organization, the JONS, and by 1935 the newly consolidated organization was receiving support from the Italian government. Since this assistance lasted for only a few years, Spain’s official fascist party could not sustain itself during the period of national and world-wide depression. 50 When the Nationalists won the Civil War in 1939, the state party became the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS with Francisco Franco as its leader. 51 In an effort to extend his support throughout the nation, Franco shrewdly included as many factions as possible into his organization. This included members of the Comunión Tradicionalista party who were originally Carlists (i.e. monarchists and Catholics) and were unquestionably antifascist. 52 But Franco never gave real power to the Falange party nor did he originally have an ideological direction for it except that it would unify Spain. 53 Franco’s “New State” included institutionalizing traditional values in public and private schools by means of new curriculum and textbooks (e.g. España Nuestra). Patriotism, militarism, Catholicism, and civic-mindedness became required subjects that the new government claimed was needed to defend Spain against its enemies, commonly defined as communists, Jews, and Masons. Although it is estimated

50 Ibid., 177.

51 José Antonio Primo de Rivera was executed by the Spanish republican government in 1936 during the Civil War.

52 Wilhelm, España Nuestra, 260 – 261.

53 Payne, Falange, 200 – 201.
that there were no more than six thousand Jews in Spain during the 1930s,\textsuperscript{54} the Spanish youth learned in schools during the Franco regime, that in order to uphold the traditional values of the sixteenth century, they needed to defend themselves against a “Communist-Jewish-Masonic Conspiracy.”\textsuperscript{55} In explaining the loss of Spain’s empire beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century, Giménez Caballero again connected Spain to its Roman roots, and wrote in the second unit of \textit{España Nuestra}, “El Destino de España”:

\begin{quote}
A España le sucedió entonces lo mismo que al Imperio romano en su decadencia. Eran demasiado grandes las fronteras, demasiado pocos los españoles buenos para defenderlas y demasiado abundantes los enemigos que acechaban. Lo mismo que al Imperio de Roma en su decadencia se le echaron al español le atacaron los franceses, los ingleses, los holandeses. Y los judíos; los indios y mestizos de América; los indígenas de África.\textsuperscript{56}

[It happened to Spain just like to the Roman Empire in its decay. There were too many large frontiers, too few good Spaniards to defend them and too many abundant enemies who watched. Just like the Empire of Rome in its decadence they threw out the Spanish (when) the French attacked him, the English, (and) the Dutch. And the Jews; the Indians and mestizos of America; the natives of Africa.]
\end{quote}

Hence, nationalism was equated with a Spanish identity that the fascists defined based on their perception of history.

Thus, Franco built a unified government (political system) through the use of the schools and Church (structures) to enforce his fascist policies (functions).\textsuperscript{57}

\begin{flushleft}

\textsuperscript{55} Wilhelm, \textit{España Nuestra}, 261 – 262.

\textsuperscript{56} Giménez Caballero, \textit{España Nuestra}, 61.

\end{flushleft}
For the purposes of comparative analysis, the fascist movement in Franco’s Spain most resembled the Mussolini regime in Italy. In both cases, the dictators subordinated the monarchists, religious right, and modernism, merging them with state fascist parties and their respective country’s national syndicalism movements. However, Falangism differed from Italian Fascism in its identification with Catholicism that included its own version of the concept of the “new man” who had many of the qualities of the traditional Catholic hero.

In addition, in 1942, Franco’s regime moved in the opposite direction of Mussolini’s and began the first phase of defascistization, which spanned from 1942 to 1957 to 1959. Due to the strength of several strong rightist and Catholic sectors, the doctrine of caudillaje [chief’s power], equivalent of ducismo in Italy, became more restrained. By 1945, Spain was in transition from a semi-fascist state to a corporative, bureaucratic, authoritarian government. Corporativism (or corporatism) is a concept of collective action, surrounding the workplace with the political realm to involve people in political decision making. It is a highly organized hierarchical, compulsory, and noncompetitive system, usually including industry-state cartels that are recognized by the state which grants it certain controls. The nineteen fifties were signified by a new

---

58 Payne, Fascism, 153.

59 Payne, A History of Fascism, 1915–1945, 263. Mussolini’s concept of the “new man” was a man who believes that the human will dominates the material world by refashioning it, that is producing. See Anthony James Gregor, Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism (Berkeley: University of California, 1979), 177.

60 The structure of fascism is corporatism, or the corporate state. See David D. Roberts, The Totalitarian Experiment in Twentieth-Century Europe: Understanding the Poverty of Great Politics (New York:
social democratic era called the Movimiento Nacional, and the second and last phase of defascistization was precipitated in 1956 by a fatal incident involving activists at the University of Madrid. By 1957, Franco chose a new cabinet that dismantled what remained of the national syndicalist autarchy and moved Spain’s economy in a more laissez-faire direction. However, during the years 1960 – 1975, Spain encountered some of the economic prosperity of the rest of Western Europe was experiencing due, in part, to an increase in Spanish tourism which brought more outside influences into the country. Concurrent with this economic growth, Franco abolished the censure of the press. The Twenty-Seven Points of Falangism were replaced in 1958 with the ten “Principles of the Movement” that embraced values such as unity, justice, and well-being. After the death of Franco in 1975, King Juan Carlos returned and began the process of democratizing Spain; in that same year the Falange Movement was officially dissolved.


61 Moa,169, 171. See also Spanish author, Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, “Franco, ¿dictador?”, in El legado de Franco (Madrid: VV:AA, 1997) which traces the changes in the latter years of the Franco regime from a dictatorship to a more liberal form of government, albeit, still traditional.

62 The Falange developed an official program, the Twenty-seven Points, in December of 1934 that was a classic fascist formulation. The 27 Point Program rejected sources of division such as regional separatism, class warfare, the existence of political parties, or a parliamentary system, believing in a single-party totalitarian government. The 27 Point Program called for the development of a complete national syndicalist state where private property was to remain intact but banking and credit facilities were to be nationalized and large landed estates expropriated and divided. This program is detailed in Programme of the New Spain: the 26 points of Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S., authored by Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas Ofensivas Nacional-Sindicalistas in 1938.


64 Ibid., 155 - 156.
In summary, fascism is often associated with an authoritarian, nationalist type of government in combination with socialism or corporatism. However, due to several factors, including a largely rural society, a relatively small middle-class, and a diverse population with several language groups, nationalism in early twentieth-century Spain was not evident until the coup in 1923 headed by General Miguel Primo de Rivera. Spaniards such as Miguel de Unamuno and Antonio Machado introduced ideas about a traditional nationalist spirit, but Ernesto Giménez Caballero wrote about fascism during Primo’s regime. In addition, the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists and their founder, Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, did not wish to be labeled as fascists nor did their organization have any connection with any branch of international Socialism. Therefore, Spain never experienced a true fascist movement due to the absence of a strong sense of Spanish nationalism.

**Filter-effect Theory**

In his 1997 study on schools in St. Lucia, Erwin H. Epstein examined how schoolchildren learn to internalize the concept of nationality. He concluded that schools act as a filter for reality and the success or failure of this filter depends in part on the distance of the school to the “cultural center.” Epstein showed that children who lived in rural areas were more susceptible to being acculturated to idealized myths that they learned in school because of their limited exposure to the broader political environment. He also posited that schools “filter” out unfavorable aspects of the dominant culture so

---

that those least assimilated are more susceptible to appeals of patriotism. Antonio Viñao makes a similar observation noting that children in rural areas of Spain have a lack of “non-formal” education such as public libraries, means of communication, popular recreational or informal education or instruction, local musical performances, and centers or clubs for excursions or sports. Viñao asserts that the lack of non-formal and informal education limits the socialization of children into the broader society. Thus, schoolchildren and the population in general in rural areas have been more susceptible to exhortation to support dictators and authoritarian governments.66

Sociologists and economic theorists have posited that human society creates several forms of capital, including symbolic, economic, cultural, and social.67 Omar Lizardo devised a systematic study that would analyze the broader forms of subjective citizenship. Conducted by the Center for Research on Social Reality (CRSR) in Spain from April, 1994 through February 1995, the study surveyed a random sample of twenty-four hundred Spaniards aged eighteen and older. Lizardo categorized the respondents by their identification with their citizenship, i.e. Spain (national citizen), Europe (European citizen), or the world community (world citizen). National citizenship was broken down further to note if the subjects identified primarily with their autonomous community, province, or town (subnational). The CRSR study found that “education has the most statistically significant effect on subnational citizens (t=11.37), and the weakest (but still

66 Antonio Viñao, Escuela para Todos, 12.

67 L. Judson Halifan actually coined the term “social capital” in 1916, using it in a similar way to the usages today. See Clinical Knowledge Management: Opportunities and Challenges by Rajeev K. Bali, p. 300.
substantial) effect on world citizens ($t=4.30$) with nation citizens in the middle.”

Lizardo’s results were consistent with Epstein’s filter-effect theory which showed that schools acculturate students on a continuum that generally corresponds with the student’s background and geographical location. In summary, Spain’s heavily rural population during Franco’s regime reflected Epstein’s findings – that the education created by Franco and the Church instilled a Catholic nationalism that was integrated more completely in these children than it was in the students in larger urban areas.

---


69 Lizardo, 104 – 106. Both studies established a connection between the degree of identification to the world polity with elements such as subjective citizenship. Lizardo’s results showed that identification with transnational world entities, such as the European Union and the world, served as an independent predictor of broader patterns than traditional factors such as gender, religion, and ethnicity.
CHAPTER 4

THE RIVALRY AND CONSOLIDATION OF CATHOLIC AND FALANGIST CURRENTS

En este país no se lee porque no se escribe, y no se escribe porque no se lee.

[In this country they don’t read because they don’t write, and they don’t write because they don’t read.]

– M. J. de Larra, 1832

Larra’s quote in El pobrecito hablador (The Poor Little Talker) referred to the failure of both liberal and conservative governments in the early nineteenth century in Spain to solve the problem of illiteracy due to the fact that many children did not attend school. The Spanish Constitution of 1812, considered by Europeans to be the most advanced on the Continent since the French Constitution of 1791, was an attempt to establish revolutionary principles in Spain based on democratic ideology. The authors of the Constitution were men appointed by the newly-elected Cortes of 1810. This body of officials, comprised of representatives from all parts of Spain, modeled this document

---


after the American and French governing documents of that time.\footnote{John Cowans, Modern Spain: A Documentary History (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 14. Elections were held in the areas of Spain unoccupied by the French, but representative citizens living in Cádiz, who were originally from the occupied regions, represented their home territories.} Article Twenty-five stated that by 1830, citizens were to master reading and writing so they could exercise their rights in the society. The Constitution also provided that the government would establish schools in all of the towns to integrate the Spanish nation.\footnote{Julio Ruiz Barrio, Política escolar de España en el siglo XIX (1808 – 1833) (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1970), 55.} Between 1800 and 1830, Spain’s government was unstable, with power vacillating between the absolutism of King Ferdinand VII and the Holy Alliance, versus the more egalitarian governments led by the Cortes and the short-lived Junta Suprema Central (1808 – 1810), a legislative body comprised of delegates representing Spain’s provinces. Due to the volatility of the political situation, including the Napoleonic Wars waged in Europe from 1803 to 1815, no official polls were taken in Spain from 1797 until 1857, when a new census of the population was performed.\footnote{Instituto Nacional Estadistica, http://www.ine.es/censos2011/censos2011_aranda.htm.} However, modern educational researchers, Julio Ruiz Barrio, Augustín Escolano, and Antonio Viñao have projected that less than ten per cent of Spain’s total population in 1841 knew how to read and write.\footnote{See Barrio, Políticos escolar de España, 352 – 3, Escolano, Leer y Escribir en España, 31, and Viñao, History of Education Quarterly, “The History of Literacy in Spain: Evolution, Trends and Questions”, 30-4 (1990), 21-40 as well as original statistics at http://www.ine.es/inebaseweb/pdfDispatcher.do?td=118645&ext=pdf. When broken down by sex, literate males totaled 17.1 per cent while only 2.2 per cent of the females were literate.} By 1860, the number had doubled to almost twenty per cent, and by the turn of the twentieth century, one-third
of the population was literate. In 1940, the year after Franco assumed power, two-thirds of the people could read and write.¹

Spain’s history has been replete with struggles over the control of teachers, textbooks and curriculum. Even near the end of the Franco regime, the Cortes battled bitterly before agreeing to replace the over-one hundred year-old Moyano Law of 1857 which instituted the country’s school system and was in force for most of Franco’s tenure (see Chapter 2). This law made schooling obligatory through age nine; schools were to be operated and funded by the municipalities, though the curriculum and textbooks were established by the central government.² When the Nationalists came into power in 1939, one of the first items on their agenda was to take control of the educational system out of the hands of the Republicans, who were in charge of education from 1931 - 1939. They believed that the “red revolution” was developed with the help of the educational system and that “the new Spain will not triumph if it does not conquer the School.”³

**Fascism**

As was discussed earlier in this study, some scholars assert that the ruling party in post Civil war Spain under Franco did not reflect “classic” fascist ideology. Ron Wilhelm, for example, writes that the ideological elements in Francoist Spain were an uneven mixture of moderate, corporative authoritarianism represented by the political

---

¹Escolano, 31. Subsequently, this number continued to grow, so that by 1981, only 6.3 per cent of the total population was considered illiterate.


Catholicism of the largest party before the Civil War, C.E.D.A. (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas) [Confederation of Autonomous Rightist Groups], monarchists who had been supporters of the ousted King Alfonso XIII, conservative military officers, and neo-traditionalists of the radical right, represented by the CT (Comunión Tradición) [Traditional Political Party]. In addition, much animosity existed between C.E.D.A. and the fascists, who claimed that C.E.D.A. was composed of the “political bourgeois” who accepted parliamentary methods with a clericalist equanimity and did not favor a strong central authority. Fascist belief coincided more closely with the Acción Española (A.E.), a monarchist party that broke off from C.E.D.A. in 1931, asserting that C.E.D.A. looked to the past while they looked to the future. Among the eleven-member cabinet that Franco appointed on January 31, 1938, only three described themselves as Falangists and they were given positions of lesser importance. That said, elements of fascism permeated the new regime and were present in many groups aside from the Falange, “who no longer had a monopoly on fascism.”


5 Gonzalo Redondo, 342 – 343.

6 Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936 – 1975*, 181. “The only positions given to Falangists were the Ministry of Agriculture, for Fernández Cuesta (who had no qualifications whatever in that area – an indication of the low priority given agriculture in the new regime), and the inevitably Falangist Ministry of Syndical Action and Organization, which went to the neo-Falangist Pedro González Bueno.” In addition, probably the most powerful was Ramón Serrano Súñir, Ministry of the Interior, who was considered the “Goebbels” of Spanish fascism and became a “thorn in the side for General Franco”. See [http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/2003/sep/04/guardianobituaries.spain](http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/2003/sep/04/guardianobituaries.spain), 6/28/10.

However, the arenas controlled by various fascist groups became a “balance of power”, astutely orchestrated by Franco and not tied to specific ideologies. In 1940, shortly after Franco declared Spain’s neutrality during the Second World War, he dismissed General Juan Yegüe Blanco, whom he had appointed a little over a year previously to a newly created position of Minister of the Air Force, and replaced him with General Juan Vigón Suerodíaz. Franco discharged Yegüe when the general publically stated that Spain should intervene in the war in support of the Axis countries, and secondly, because intelligence discovered he was planning a coup. In order to pacify Hitler, Franco replaced him with Vigón, a moderately pro-German Falangist, but who supported Franco’s neutral position and was not a “mouthpiece” for Hitler. And although Franco never dismissed his brother-in-law, Ramón Serrano Súñer, who was Minister of the Interior, supervisor of the police and local government, and head of the Press and Propaganda arm of the Falange, he replaced many of Serrano Súñer’s appointments with Carlists and monarchists, to politically balance the cabinet and avoid a takeover by his increasing popular relative. Shrewdly, Franco dismissed Serrano Súñer’s friend, Pedro Gamero del Castillo, secretary general of the Falange Tradicionalista Española (FET) and replaced him with José Luis de Arrese y Magra, a Falangist, competitor of Serrano Súñer with Franco’s support, he quickly undermined the Minister

---

of the Interior by appointing his own men. As general secretary, Arrese drew a
distinction between falangism and fascism, defining falangism as a Catholic movement;
as opposed to fascism (and Nazism), which he said were pagan ideologies. Arrese
transformed the Falange party by infusing it with more religion to make it appear less
radical, and then converting it into a highly centralized, bureaucratic organization that
was loyal to Franco.

While most historians define Falangism as Spanish fascism, there is no
consensus on the definition of fascism. According to George L. Mosse, fascism lacked a
common founder, but by the 1930s, there was no nation in Europe without a native fascist
party. Originating as a counter to positivism and liberalism at the end of the nineteenth
century, fascism became a revolt against the increasingly popular bourgeois movement
which opposed traditional morals and security. And although fascism initially gave the
impression that it was “open-ended,” it eventually had limits of nationalism, racism, and
morality. Eugen Weber concurs with Mosse that the late nineteenth century European

---


10 Lewis, 87.


intellectual climate precipitated the origin of fascism. Additionally, Mosse, along with Zeev Sternhell and others such as Ernst Nolte specifically pinpoint France in the 1880s and 1890s as the beginning of an ideological fascism, which worked to fuse nationalism and socialism together to birth a new movement that Sternhell described as a political force. Payne also wrote that fascism stems from intellectual thought, but traces its origins to a strand of the Enlightenment that combined metaphysical idealism and vitalism. While Payne and Sternhell agree that nationalism is inherent in the definition of fascism, the latter stresses that it is the synthesis with socialism that characterizes its uniqueness. In time, the terms “fascist” and “fascism” were less common and were replaced by “National Socialism.” Weber gives the example that one of the slogans of the B.U.F.N.S. (British Union of Fascists and National Socialists) was, “If you love your country, you are a National, if you love her people, you are a Socialist – Be a National Socialist.”

However, a question that is germane to this discussion of fascism in relation to Franco’s government and the Catholic Church is their beliefs and practices of anti-Semitism. In Spain, as well as in countries such as Belgium and Romania, fascism

---


14 Roger Griffin and Matthew Feldman, Fascism: The Nature of Fascism (London: Routledge, 2004), 293 – 296. This idea originated with French fascist, Georges Valois’ theory that nationalism plus socialism equals fascism.

incorporated the aspect of moral revolution with Christianity. In contrast, Germany and Austria substituted racism for religion.\(^\text{16}\) In the latter examples, this eventually led to anti-Semitism, which according to Mosse, was not a necessary component of fascism, nor a part of the early years of the movement. Particularly in Spain, which had a very small percentage of Jews in the 1930s, the early Falange was free from this idea. It wasn’t until 1936, when the youth in Spain and Italy began to be disillusioned, that Mussolini and Franco looked to Germany, and made a more powerful appeal to the lower classes by infusing the movement with anti-Semitism giving it a new emphasis.\(^\text{17}\) As discussed in Chapter One, fascism was associated with youth and ironically, many of its supporters were bourgeois – young people that revolted against parents and school. Not concerned with economic or social change, they craved a feeling of community possessed by their ancestors, and as a result, supported national unity.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 18 – 19.

\(^{17}\) Mosse, *The Genesis of Fascism*, 23 – 24. According to Mosse, “By 1936 Mussolini had turned racist, and not merely because of German influence. Through racism he tried to reinvigorate his aging fascism, to give a new cause to a youth becoming disillusioned with his revolution. The Italian reversal of attitude on this question seems to have affected the Falange as well, in spite of the absence of a native Jewish population. But here also a need coincided with this change of attitude – namely to make a more powerful appeal to the lower classes. As in Italy, so in Spain, anti-semitism helped to give the movement a greater and renewed dynamic. However, the Falange always rejected secular racism and based itself on the militant Catholic faith of Spain’s crusading tradition.” However, a recent article about Franco’s secret list of Spanish Jews uncovers his attitude toward “this notorious race”. See http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jun/20/franco-gave-list-spanish-jews-nazis. 8/16/2010.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 23. According to Mosse, “It was only in central and eastern Europe that racism was from the beginning an integral part of fascist ideology. Here were to be found the masses of Jewry, and still under quasi-ghetto conditions. They were a wholly distinct part of the population and vulnerable to attack. Moreover, in countries like Rumania of Hungary, the Jews had become the middle class, forming a distinct entity within the nations as that class which seemed to exploit the rest of the population through its commercial activities. . . . After the First World war, the masses of east European Jewry began to emigrate into the neighbouring countries, predominantly Germany and Austria. The account in *Mein Kampf* of how Hitler reacted to the sight of such strangers in Vienna may well have been typical. However that may be,
Maurice Bardèche, a fascist and French writer before the Second World War, believed that true fascism should not be confused with Nazism, that is, racism and extermination policies, which he said were “deviations” from its basic doctrine. Robert J. Soucy wrote that Bardèche’s analysis had some shortcomings and pointed out that *Action Française*, the extreme right-wing French group founded in 1898 and associated with Charles Maurras was (citing Mosse) closer to pre-fascism that some (e.g. Nolte) admit.

In 1927 the Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome strongly denounced anti-Semitism which had spread to many European countries. Pope Pio XI had planned to write an Encyclical on condemning anti-Semitism, but died in 1939 before having written it. However, fascism did enter the Church by way of Pio XI’s support of corporatism, which he outlined in his 1931 encyclical, *Quadragesimo anno*. The title refers to the forty year period since the subject of social order was addressed by a former pope, Leo XIII, who on March 3, 1891 delivered an Encyclical “On the Condition of Workers”. To address the current problems, Pius XI, quoted Leo XIII, saying that, “no satisfactory

---


solution" is found "unless religion and the Church have been called upon to aid". Pius XI maintained that, he, holding the guardianship of religion that has been bestowed upon him, and under “Divine Revelation” declare:

the rights and duties within which the rich and the proletariat - those who furnish material things and those who furnish work - ought to be restricted in relation to each other.\textsuperscript{22}

in regard to what the Church, state and people should do.

Written during the Great Depression, this encyclical endorsed social corporatism as an appropriate Catholic approach to the societal problems, but without supporting a strong centralized state. However, various corporatist theories had emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, including ones that held to statist doctrines that embraced a secular, national, authoritarian government. In Spain, the majority of corporatists in the 1930s were secular nationalists and authoritarians, with only a small group of Carlists, headed by theoretician Juan Vázquez de Mella, whose primary doctrine was Catholic societal corporatism.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{23} Stanley G. Payne, \textit{Spanish Catholicism, An Historical Overview} (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 161 – 162. Payne refers to corporatism as the “other ism” because of its vague and varied doctrine. “Its root concept propounds the harmonious internal organization of individual sectors of society or of economic function in broad, organically associated structures of representation and cooperation. Economic corporatism differs from syndicalism in combining the organization of both capital and labor within the internal association of each major economic sector. Political corporatism adopted the theory of representation by functional groups or economic and professional units in an “organic” (functionally and structurally related) system, as distinct from the atomistic, individually separated mutually competitive parliamentary system of liberalism.” According to Payne, the official position of the Church supported the decentralization of function and group.
Clerical Fascism and Education

The educational system in Spain during the Franco years was the locus of a political power struggle between the government and the Church. The Falangists wrote the laws and state policy regarding education in an attempt to influence the attitudes, beliefs and values of Spain’s youth. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, controlled what many of the children were learning in schools through religious curricula, hoping to undo whatever ideological changes had been made during the Republic while simultaneously vying for power with the Falangists. Since the national political culture in Spain immediately after the Civil War was dominated by a strong Catholic ruling party, many Catholics supported the Franco government, supposing it to have stopped the process of secularization that was rampant during the Second Spanish Republic. They hoped to prevent the separation of the concepts of church and state, the pattern adopted by many nation-states in Western Europe after the Second World War. However, as Franco’s dictatorship became stronger, the Church began to lose its political influence, and became subservient to the government.24

The Falange plan for schools was included in Qué es ‘lo nuevo’ ...

Consideraciones sobre el momento español presente [What is the new (state) … Considerations about the present Spanish moment], an attempt by José Pemartín to write a Spanish manifesto for Franco’s “New State.” Acción Española, the right-wing, fascist arm of CEDA that took its name from Action Française attempted to define a National

Catholic ideology in terms of religion, history, and culture, and included fascist principles such as militancy, authoritarianism, and nationalism. As a foundation for political directives, including education, this book explained the basis of the Falange policies. For example, in Chapter Six, entitled “La Cuestión Religiosa” [The Religious Question] and subtitled “La Iglesia y el Estado” [The Church and the State] Pemartín explained that:

The first of these (conclusions) refers to the First sustaining Principle of the Spanish nationality and simultaneously the new Spanish State. The Spanish nationality was founded with its Catholic ideal. Fascism is, briefly, the supreme fusion of the Nation and the State. Consequently, if Spain has to be national, and has to be fascist, the Spanish state has to necessarily be Catholic. Not only to recognize that Catholicism is the Religion of the majority of the Spaniards, and as such, it protects her; not only that it recognizes, that it only accepts, or respects, or reverences, or proclaims …None of those verbs is sufficient. It is precisely the verb To Be. That the Spanish State be Catholic.

In Chapter Nine, titled, “La Instrucción Pública” [Public Instruction], Pemartín then explained the important connection among Lo Nuevo, Catholicism, and Fascism, particularly in public education. Pemartín reiterated that the Spanish nation must first, above everything, be Catholic, and then quoting Mussolini, stated that Fascism should be “el alma del alma” [the soul of the soul] and “la religión de la Religión” [the religion of...


26 José Pemartín, Qué es <<Lo Nuevo>>...Consideraciones sobre el Momento Español Presente (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1938), 55. “La primera de éstas (conclusiones) se refiere al Primer Principio sustentador de la nacionalidad española y a la vez del Estado Español nuevo. La nacionalidad Española se halla fundida con su ideal Católico. El Fascismo es, en pocas palabras, la fusión hegeliana de la Nación y el Estado. Por consiguiente, si España ha de ser nacional, y ha de ser fascista, el Estado español ha de ser necesariamente Católico. No sólo que reconozca que el Catolicismo es la Religión de la mayoría de los españoles, y como tal, la proteja; no que sólo reconozca, que sólo acepte, o respete, o reverencie, o proclame… Ninguno de esos verbos es suficiente. Es preciso el verbo Ser. Que el Estado Español sea Católico.” (English translation by Joan Domke.)
Religion]. Pemartín warns that nothing should be taught in schools that is opposed to orthodox Catholicism, and that a body of teaching inspectors (Cuerpo de Inspectores de Enseñanza) would be selected to ensure compliance. In addition, teaching should not contradict Spanish politics, which, according to Pemartín, is “de personas y no de masas —‘carlyliana’ y no ‘rousseauniana’—, de héroes y no de mediocridades; de desigualdad valorativa y no de igualitarismo nivelador.” [of people (individuals) and not of masses --- “Carlist” and not Rousseauian” ---, of heroes and not of mediocrity; of inequality related to value and not an egalitarian leveler.] Pemartín acknowledged that there have been times when the Church and fascist governments had experienced friction, but does not stray from his fascist beliefs:

> It is true that here in Spain, with the intensive Fascism essentially Catholic that we advocate, these frictions would be annulled completely. But we have wanted to cite this Doctrine that we can call personal, of defense to the essential primary rights of the person, as an evident confirmation of the Principles that we sustain and that emanates, for us Catholics, of the highest authority.  

Pemartín described the type of science to be taught in the schools quoting extensively from the writings of Dr. Alexis Carrel. During the 1930’s, Carrel, a well-known French surgeon, developed an interest in philosophy and social issues, supporting

---

27 Ibid., 55, quoting Mussolini, La Doctrina Fascista, Florence.

28 Pemartín, 117. “Cierto es que aquí en España, con el Fascismo intensivo esencialmente Católico que propugnamos, estas fricciones se anularían por completo. Pero hemos querido citar esta Doctrina, que podemos llamar personalista, de defensa de los derechos primarios esenciales de la persona, como confirmación evidente de los Principios que sustentamos y que emanan, para nosotros los Católicos, de la más alta autoridad.” (English translation by Joan Domke.)
many aspects of German National Socialism and fascist education. In 1935 Carrel published a book, *L’Homme Cet Inconnu* [Man, the Unknown] that described man as a human being and not a fabricated machine. From this, Pemartín concluded that since people are individuals, they cannot be educated *en masse*. However, this view contradicted the Fascist’s view of a “Nación-Estado” [Nation-State] which, interestingly, Pemartín acknowledged:

On the one hand, the person has to be submitted to the common good, to a national idea, to the service of the Country; on the other hand, the person has in himself his own purpose, with immanent rights. The problem of this *duality* cannot be ignored; on the other hand, *neither can it be resolved*, we believe, in an *absolute way*. (but) abstractly. . . The Church fundamentally recognizes this double personal function, since *in the political order* it prescribes the *submission of the person to the communal good*; but in the *moral order* it puts in front of everything, including that social communal good, the salvation of the soul, *its main undertaking*, that is *its personal essential undertaking*. It is the *person that is saved* and not the Society or the Nation, those that, with respect to salvation, do not take personal but legal qualities. For that reason the Church, has always maintained the existence of duties and rights of the person, inalienable, previous and superior to those of the State, that have sometimes provoked frictions between the Church and a too absorbent Fascist statism. It is true that here in Spain, with essentially intensive Catholic Fascism that we advocated, these frictions would be annulled completely. But we have wanted to mention this Doctrine that we can call *personal*, in defense of the essential primary rights of the person, as an evident confirmation of the Principles, which we sustain and that emanate, for us Catholics, of the highest authority.

---

29 In 1904, Carrel accepted an appointment at the University of Chicago; two years later he moved to the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, where he became a member, and by 1912, he won the Nobel Prize in Medicine for his work on suturing blood vessels. Also known as a eugenicist, Carrel advocated that under the guidance of a group of intellectuals, deviant types should be eliminated, “in small euthanistic institutions supplied with the proper gases” which was later to be adopted by the Nazis. See John G. Simmons, *Doctors and Discoveries: Lives that Created Today’s Medicine, from Hippocrates to the Present* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 2002), 199 – 204.

30 “Por un lado, la persona ha de estar sometida al bien común, a la idea nacional, al servicio de la Patria; por otra parte, la persona tiene en sí misma su finalidad propia, con derechos inmanentes. El problema de esta *dualidad* no puede ser ignorado; por otra parte, *tampoco puede ser resuelto*, creemos, de *modo absoluto*, en abstracto. . . La Iglesia reconoce fundamentalmente esta doble función personal, puesto que *en el orden político* prescribe la *sumisión de la persona al bien común*; pero *en el orden moral* antepone a
Though Pemartín appears to allow for the glimmer of an acknowledgement of the individual in this “Catholic Fascism,” his opposition to liberal and Republican educators is vivid:

A general "nationalization" of Education in Spain at the present time would be in addition a totally impossible thing, since a considerable part of the official teacher personnel has betrayed — openly, others slyly, they are the most dangerous — to the National cause. An inevitable purification is going to diminish considerably, without a doubt, the amount of the official Education personnel. In these circumstances there is a practical impossibility for the total nationalization of Spanish Education; practical impossibility that, added to the very important considerations previously set out, they mark to us, in precise and doubtless terms, the solution that one has to adopt.31

todo, incluso a ese bien común social, la salvación del alma, su principal empresa, que es empresa esencialmente personal. Es la persona la que se salva y no la Sociedad o la Nación las que, con respecto a la salvación, toman un carácter de principal. Por eso la Iglesia, ha sostenido siempre la existencia de deberes y derechos de la persona, inalienables, anteriores y superiores a los del Estado, que han provocado a veces fricciones entre la Iglesia y un estatismo Fascista demasiado absorbente. Ciertamente que aquí en España, con el Fascismo intensivo esencialmente Católico que propugnamos, estas fricciones se anularían por completo. Pero hemos querido citar esta Doctrina, que podemos llamar personalista, de defensa de los derechos primarios esenciales de la persona, como confirmación evidente de los Principios, que sustentamos y que emanarán, para nosotros los Católicos, de la más alta autoridad.” (English translation by researcher.) Pemartín, 118 – 119.

31 Ibid., 124 – 125. “Una ‘estatificación’ general de la Enseñanza en España en el momento actual sería además cosa totalmente imposible, puesto que una parte considerable del personal oficial enseñante ha traicionado - unos abiertamente, otros solapadamente, que son los más peligrosos - a la causa Nacional. Una depuración inevitable va a disminuir considerablemente, sin duda, la cantidad del personal de Enseñanza oficial. En estas circunstancias hay una imposibilidad práctica para la estatificación total de la Enseñanza española; imposibilidad práctica que, agregada a las consideraciones tan importantes anteriormente expuestas, nos marcan, en términos precisos e indudables, la solución que se ha de adoptar.” (English translation by Joan Domke.) This “purification” was put into force, as chronicled by many historians and other authors, including well-known Spanish educator, Josefina Aldecoa. Intertwining history with collective memory and individual testimonies, her trilogy, Historia de una maestro, Mujeres de negro, and La fuerza del destino is the media Aldecoa used to express her own experience as a ten-year old, whose instructor was killed on July 18, 1936 for teaching the works of Federico Garcia Lorca.31 With education as a backdrop, these three novels follow the lives of fictional characters Gabriela, a teacher, and her daughter, Juana, from the time of the Second Spanish Republic through the death of Franco. Aldecoa’s trilogy focused on the school as a social institution, and showed how in the year 1939, education became a tool of the state, limiting the dissemination of information to an “official” history that was void of Spain’s nineteenth century more revolutionary tendencies and centering on its triumphs over infidels and communists. See Sara Brenneis, La batalla de la educación: Historical Memory in Josefina Aldecoa’s Trilogy (Berkeley, University of California, 2004), 5 – 6.
Pedagogy and Vitalism

While Catholics and Falangists were united in their opposition to liberalism, they disagreed in many other areas, one of which was pedagogy. Both groups opposed the more “progressive” ideas such as naturalism, rationalism, and materialism that the Republicans instituted in education. But traditional, religious teaching included memorization and repetition of the classics as well as rote learning, whereas the ruling party wanted a “restricted liberty” that would consist of pedagogy with a more political quality reflecting the New State.³² In the area of science, Falangists aligned themselves more closely to vitalism, one of the pillars in nineteenth century German thought, than to the rational, empiricist-based science taught in the Anglo-French nations. The central doctrine of vitalism was that living matter contains an essence of living force and that the principles underlying the properties of inert matter are not enough to explain life.³³ Vitalism was the basis of German Idealist thought, based on Paracelsus and brought forward by Boehme. It was pervasive in most of German schooling from the nineteenth century through the 1930s. Paracelsus, whose given name was Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493 – 1541), believed that man has a two-fold nature: the visible, that is the body, and the invisible, which is his spiritual component. But then somewhat inconsistently, he added a third part, the soul, which he defined as the living breath of

³² Boyd, 168, 237, 245.

The theory of vitalism countered the pure intellectualism of Plato and the materialism of the Renaissance, and held that there was a mysterious force that worked in living matter that transforms it and leaves when that matter dies. Jacob Boehme (1575 – 1624), was the greatest expositor of vitalism, believing that science was neither idealistic nor materialistic, but vitalistic. Vitalism has been ignored by many historians of philosophy and science, since it was considered to by a mystic ideology, but this philosophy reappeared in the twentieth century.35

Geoffrey Jensen examined nationalism as it related to the military during the Franco regime, proposing that particular ideological viewpoints, such as vitalism, could have permeated Spain’s intellectual movements through the armed forces. Observing that the military was a longstanding, powerful, and political force, he opines that it had its own intellectual culture. Jensen studied four military figures that were prominent during the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries and concluded that they were a cultural-intellectual force that helped sustain Francoist nationalism. One of these men, Ricardo Burguete Lana, was a highly-decorated general in the Spanish army who supported vitalism, believing it was a movement that rejected nineteenth century science and positivism. In his military travels, Burguete Lana was influenced by broader intellectual currents including the ideas of Nietzsche and D’Annunzio, and espoused


European ideas inspired by Charles Maurras, who opposed the Enlightenment. Burguete was a member of Spain’s Royal Academy of History and the author of numerous books, pamphlets and periodical articles that attacked bourgeois values such as capitalism, industrialism, and scientific progress. He also was part of literary circles that included famous Spanish writers such as Ramiro de Maeztu, Miguel de Unamuno, and Pío Baroja. In addition to Burguete, Jensen linked Miguel A. Espina and Francisco Villamartín, fellow military officers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to the promotion of vitalism.

**Ministry of Education**

Spain’s Ministry of Education was re-organized in April 18, 1900 by Maria Cristina of Austria as part of the creation of a Ministry of Public Instruction and the Arts. During the period of the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939), there were four ministers of education. In 1939, after the war ended, the Instituto de España, an arm of

---


37 Ibid., 31.

38 María Cristina of Austria was the Queen consort of King Alfonso XII of Spain and was regent of Spain before her son, Alfonso XIII, was legally old enough to rule (November 25, 1885 – May 7, 1902). See Chapter 2. http://www.educacion.es/cide/jsp/plantilla.jsp?id=arch03a&contenido=/espanol/archivo/docheducacion/adeducativa11.htm.

39 Throughout the war, both sides had their own Ministers of Education. The Republicans considered popularly elected Jesús Hernández Tomás, and Segundo Blanco González, later appointed by President, Juan Negrín, (when Hernández’ term ended) Spain’s official ministers. Both of these men were militants, and the former, a member of the Communist Party, implemented legislation to suppress religious teaching in primary schools. See Pedro F. Alvarez Lázaro, *Cien Años de Educación: en Torno a la Creación del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura, y Deporte, 2001), 133. However, right-wing Andalusian journalist, poet, essayist, and dramatist, José María Pemán Pemartín, one of Primo de Rivera ideologues, was part of a counter-revolutionary movement during
the now Falangist Spanish government, paid for the publication of several levels of school history textbooks written by former Minister of Education and fascist, José María Pemán Pemartín (see f.n. 42), including *La Historia de España Contada con Sencillez* [The history of Spain told with Simplicity]. An integral part of this present study, this history textbook teaches that throughout the centuries, Spain and its kings fought for unity and a racial and religious purity, expelling Jews and those who wouldn’t convert to Christianity.40 Besides authoring children’s textbooks, Pemán Pemartín was a Spanish journalist who also wrote poetry. In one of his poems about Spain’s Civil War, *El Poema de la Bestia y El Ángel*, Spanish myths were combined with German propaganda which personified the Republicans as the “Jewish Satan” and the Nationalists as God. Clearly anti-Semitic, this poem was compared with Goebbels’ speech in September, 1937 to the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg that said the “Bolshevik-Jewish Satan” was responsible for the atrocities committed by the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War.41

---


One of Pemán’s books for upper primary students, *Manual de historia de España* [Manual of Spanish history] included many of the same themes, which are elements common to other fascist educational programs: a continuous struggle to make Spain “one” by ridding itself of foreigners and alien ideas, a nationalist mission to make Catholicism the only faith for the Spanish people, and the repeated deceitfulness of foreigners and bad Spaniards. In addition, many Falangist books, such as *España Nuestra* by Ernesto Caballero (see Chapter 1), include the theme of a Spanish caudillo or an *El Cid* prototype emerging in history to save the Spanish people. The ultimate link, as seen in *España Nuestra*, is a messianic connection to Spain’s heroes throughout history. A popular Catholic teaching was that the Church had become the new “chosen people”, therefore Spain’s leaders tried to identify themselves as Spain’s “Savior” or a type of Christ [Messiah]. *Acción Española* chose Franco to lead the Nationalist movement during Spain’s Civil War because “Parece que fue el propio Yanguas Messiah”. [“It seems that he was Yanguas’ (province in Spain) own Messiah.”] Spain’s Civil War was presented in texts as the ultimate battle that in which only the Falangists upheld all the traditional Spanish ideals. Pemán compared it to, among other things, the authority of the Kings against the heretics in the Inquisition, calling this the “eternal line of Spanish history.”

42 Boyd, 264 – 265.

43 Alvarez, 87.

44 Boyd, 265.
Pedro Sainz Rodriguez, considered the first Francoist Minister of Education, only served from January 30, 1938 to August 9, 1939, due to an agreement with Franco that he would resign as soon as the war was over. Sainz Rodríguez, a monarchist and staunch Catholic, prominently demonstrated in his writings and speeches his opinion that liberals and foreigners had contributed to Spain’s “decadence,” and the solution was to reunite the “two Spains” to achieve a “national conscience” through the common element of the past, Catholicism, and by the teaching of Spain’s singular history. The elements of a Spanish unity in conscience and religion have some similarities to the Falangist position and are seen in some of the textbooks examined in the present chapter below.

After the resignation of Sainz Rodríguez, leadership among the Catholic factions passed to the ACN de P [National Catholic Association of Propagandists], and one of its members, José Ibáñez Martín, was appointed Spain’s new Minister of Education. During his twelve-year tenure (August 9, 1939 – July 18, 1951), Ibáñez Martín, like his predecessor, had a strong Catholic outlook, but also supported some nationalist doctrines.

---

45 Although earlier documents show that Sainz Rodriguez intended to resign at the end of the war before he even accepted the position, certain discrepancies with Franco became apparent as the two men worked together. Some believe that when it became clear that Franco intended to be Spain’s caudillo “permanently”, Sainz Rodriguez resigned, unfortunately in disgrace, as he was accused of being a Mason. See Clotilde Navarro García, La Educación y el Nacional-Catolicismo (Cuenca: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1993), 86.

46 Boyd, 183.

47 The ACN de P was a conservative Catholic organization founded by Jesuits for the purpose of “re-Catholicizing” the nation, and because of its ability to network with various lay, peasant, and military groups, the ACN de P was able to incorporate and control the Patriotic Union (the official party of the Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship.) The new members challenged the original propagandist doctrine, which subsequently was modified to include right-wing nationalists’ and quasi-fascists’ ultimate political value, that is, “the nation”. See Boyd, 234.
of the Falange. During his ministry, Ibáñez Martín approved several laws, including submitting the universities to Catholic morals and dogma, and putting the control of the primary and secondary schools in the hands of the Church.

Following Ibáñez Martín, six Ministers of Education were appointed during Franco’s administration spanning from Falangists to liberal Catholics and Opus Dei members to Christian Democrats. Nevertheless, as broad as this spectrum was, even when the agencies were controlled by fascists or Falangists, the foundation of official Spanish culture was conservative Catholicism, promulgated most specifically through the Church.

**Textbooks**

Textbooks have traditionally been a major means to transmit tradition to the next generation; thus, they are a critically important media for propaganda. For example, according to social psychologist, Leonard W. Doob, a patriotic interpretation of history can be a “concealed type of unintentional propaganda. . . Much of what the vast majority

---

48 Ibáñez Martín has also been associated with the group *Opus Dei*.

49 Alvarez Lázaro, 108.

50 Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez Cortés (July 18, 1951 – February 16, 1956) initially supported Franco, but eventually became a member of the Spanish Christian Democratic party, at which time he left office. His successor, Jesús Rubio García-Mina (February 16, 1956 – July 19, 1962) was a conservative Falangist. Manuel Lora-Tamayo Martín (July 10, 1962 – April 18, 1968) was a member of the ACN de P, and José Luis Villar Palasi (April 18, 1968 – June 9, 1973) was a Christian Democrat. Julio Rodríguez Martínez (June 9, 1973 – January 3, 1974) was a Catholic and member of Opus Dei; and Cruz Martínez Esteruelas (January 3, 1974 – December 12, 1975), who served during the transition period after the death of Franco, was a member of the Popular Alliance Party. See Alvarez Lázaro, 106 – 114.

calls ‘education’ is propaganda from the point of view of the minority.”52 From the children’s standpoint, the content of school books is often taken as the “truth” because it is integrated into the classroom learning experience.

Falangism and Textbooks

Spanish Falangism originated with the writings of Ernesto Giménez Caballero, who was an advisor to Franco and continued to influence the culture through his literature, including España Nuestra, a history text written for elementary-age schoolchildren. (See Chapter 1 f.n. 26 for additional works by Giménez Caballero.) In addition to previous citings of Giménez Caballero’s anti-Semitic stance, España Nuestra is replete with such examples. For example, the section teaching children about the Spanish Civil War states,

Rusia y el judaísmo de habían apoderado de nuestras masas operarias y campesinas, llenándolas de odio social, de separatismos regionales, haciéndolas cerrar el puño de rancor.53

[Russia and Judaism had empowered our masses (of) workers and farmers, filling them (with) social hatred, regional separatisms, filling them with resentment.]

After the Spanish Civil War, school textbooks written by Nationalists contained one or more essential tenents of Falangist doctrine, including national unity, anti-individualism, and militarism.54 España Nuestra contained all three. In this book’s

---


53 Giménez Caballero, España Nuestra, 66.

54 See Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, Educación y cultura en la guerra civil (Valencia: Imprinta Martín, 1984).
preface, Giménez Caballero clearly explained his underlying motives in writing this volume. He stated:

Dos Sentimientos Fundacionales
Entre los secretos de su íntima construcción diremos a los maestros y mayores que las bases de esta ESPAÑA NUESTRA son dos sentimientos fundacionales: el religioso y el heroico. Cuyas consecuencias llevan a una exaltación incesante de los valores católicos y militares de España. Únicos capaces de justificar con exactitud y grandeza el Destino universal de España, la clave de su Paisaje, el genio de su Lengua, el impetu de su Fundadores y el fruto de sus Obras.

Por eso va evitado todo cuanto significa <<desmembraciones>> y >>particularismos>>. No hay ninguna concesión para el terrible enemigo que ha conducido a nuestro pueblo a la guerra civil más espantosa: al separatismo de dos Españas y de dos castas de españoles. En cambio, hasta los más remotos sucesos de nuestra Patria están siempre referidos al Movimiento unificador de nuestro Falangismo, a toda aquella ansia cohesiva en que se mueve el alma española de hoy y se moverá toda auténtica España. Este Libro podrá leerse siempre. Siempre que lo lean corazones genuinos de España.

[Two Foundational Perceptions

Among the secrets of its intimate (interior) construction we will say to the teachers and adults that the bases of this OUR SPAIN are two foundational perceptions: the religious and the heroic. Whose consequences carry an unending glorification of the catholic and military values of Spain. Uniquely capable of justifying with exactitude and greatness the universal Destiny of Spain, the key of its Landscape, the genius of its Language, the impetus of its Founders and the fruit of its Works. For that reason it avoids everything that signifies “division” and “individualism.” There is no concession for the terrible enemy who has led our people to a more frightful civil war: to the separatism of two Spam and two castes of Spaniards. However, until the most remote events of our Mother country are always referred to as the unifying Movement of our Falangism, to all that one cohesive anxiety in which the Spanish soul of today moves and all authentic Spain will be move. This Book will be able to be always read whenever they read (about) the genuine hearts of Spain.

In his opening sentence, Giménez Caballero indicates this book concealed a motive – to exalt religious and military values through Spanish national unity. The

55 Giménez Caballero, España nuestra, 8.
preface also lists all the chapter titles, except for the first, “La imagen de España [The Image of Spain;] the rest being, “El destino de España” [The Destiny of Spain], “El paisaje de España” [The Landscape of Spain], “La lengua de España” [The Language of Spain], “Los fundadores de España” [The Founders of Spain], and “Las obras de España” [The Works of Spain.] At first glance, these titles seem innocuous for a history text. But the contents, as the author relates (“los secretos de su íntimo construcción”) contain a hidden agenda. For example, when explaining the terms “la cumbre” [the peak] and “una sierra” [a mountain range], Giménez Caballero associates them with the destiny of Spain. In a section titled “Como la Cumbre de Una Sierra” [Like the Peak of a Mountain Range] he concludes:

Pues el Destino de España, en la Historia, tenéis que pintarlo así: como una Sierra donde hay una cumbre ideal, un vértice triunfal: el de nuestra Unidad y nuestro Imperio.56 (Vea figura 1.)

[Therefore the Destiny of Spain, in History, you have to paint thusly: like a Mountain Range where there is an ideal peak, a triumphal vertex: that of our Unity and our Empire.] (sic) (See Figure 1.)

Giménez Caballero also composed speeches for Franco. In doing so, he sometimes wrote material with which Franco was not in agreement. In his 1981 memoirs, Memorias de un dictador [Memories of a Dictator], Giménez Caballero recalled a conversation on November 7, 1936 with Franco in Salamanca. The civil war had just begun, and the General intended to build as broad a base of support as he possible could. He writes that he said to Franco,

56 Giménez Caballero, 42.
(Giménez Caballero): ¿No cree que nuestra bandera internacional debe de ser la del Catolicismo? ¿Hacerlo nuestro una vez más en la historia? Si ha leído mi Genio de España, verá que es la bandera alzada. Nosotros no podemos ser cesáreos a lo italiana ni racistas a la germana, que son hoy las dos enseñas desplegadas ante las juventudes aquí en Salamanca y que traerán graves preocupaciones a Su Excelencia. Claro que nuestro Catolicismo no podrá nunca abanderar el que ha venido ondeando la C.E.D.A., las derechas autónomas y vaticanistas. Sino una fe más heroica y mística.

[Giménez Caballero: Don’t you believe that our international flag should be one of Catholicism? To make it ours one time more in history? If you have read my Genio de España (Genius of Spain) you will see that it is the raised flag. We cannot be Italian Cesars nor German racists, that are today two teachings on display before the youth here in Salamanca and that will bring grave worries to His Excellency. Of course our Catholicism will never be able to recruit that which has come waving C.E.D.A., autonomous rights and those supporting the Vatican. But rather a faith more heroic and mystic.]

Nevertheless, in 1938, Franco took a more pluralistic approach. He gave the Minister of Education, Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, a Catholic monarchist appointed by Franco in 1938, the power to make educational decisions that had been in the hands of the bishops since the nineteenth century, while pronouncing that Spain would be culturally Catholic. Sainz Rodríguez instructed the teachers to “revive Spanish national feeling.”58 Textbooks were to be aligned with the directives of the Minister, who immediately began a “counter-offensive national initiative,” but resigned in 1939 at the


58 José Sainz Rodríguez, “La escuela y el Nuevo Estado,” in MEN, Curso de orientaciones 1:58. Sainz Rodríguez was originally a professor of language and literature at the University of Oviedo and had been a monarchist deputy under both Alfonso XIII and the Republic. Although he disagreed politically with the Carlists, he was able to establish the Catholic Church’s dominance in education while countering the Falangists’ posturing of superiority in the new government. See Paul H. Lewis, Latin Fascist Elites: The Mussolini, Franco, and Salazar Regimes (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 82.
end of Spain’s Civil War. However, the principles of the Educational Reform Act of October 20, 1938, which he put into place, continued to be followed for the next thirty years. In a letter written after the reform act was initiated, Sainz Rodríguez explained the intent of this new law:

Tras la formación del primer gobierno, los dirigentes del Ministerio de Educación acometieron la tarea de reorganizar la educación y la enseñanza, sobre la base de la doctrina tradicionalmente sostenida por la Iglesia. Nuestro invicto Caudillo ha dicho que España será católica en lo cultural. Hay que imprimir a la Enseñanza española en el sentido de la Ortodoxia Católica; tanto por la Enseñanza de la Religión en todos los grados, como por la prohibición absoluta y total de la difusión proselitista de las Doctrinas anti-católicas. Sobre esto último iba a insistir al rebatir con “mentalidad científica” lo que decían algunos, “incluso católicos bienintencionados,” “de que hay que tolerar y ser respetuosos con las opiniones ajenas;” “Intolerancia absoluta para las doctrinas y opiniones discrepantes de la Religión Católica verdadera; compasión y caridad cristiana para las personas que las sustentan.”

[After the formation of the first government, the directors of the Ministry of Education undertook the work of reorganizing education and teaching, based on the doctrine traditionally maintained by the Church. Our unconquered Caudillo (dictator) has said that Spain will be culturally Catholic. One must impress the Spanish Teaching in the sense of Catholic Orthodoxy; as much as for the Teaching of Religion in all the grades, as for the absolute and total prohibition of the spreading proselytizer of anti-Catholic Doctrines. On this last one it used to insist when refuting “scientific mentality” that which some used to say, “including well-intentioned Catholics.” “that one must tolerate and be respectful with foreign opinions;” “Absolute intolerance for the doctrines and discrepant doctrines of the true Catholic Religion; compassion and Christian caring for the people that sustain them.”]

By the 1940s, the Church continued to be influential in the educational system, as attested by popular Catholic pedagogical journals such as Atenas, El Magisterio Español, and Escuela Española. These provided precise methodological guidelines for teachers


60 Redondo, 522 – 523.
about how to apply principles of “Spanish pedagogy” to various disciplines.

Simultaneously, Franquist educators did not replicate the teaching of the sixteenth century, as they had intimated that they would, but instead adapted teaching to coincide with the current political environment. However, on July 18, 1945, when Spain’s government officially transitioned to national Catholicism, Franco gave the majority of key positions to Catholic politicians. By 1948, fifty percent of all secondary school students in Spain attended private colegios (high schools), with three-quarters of these being religious institutions. The Falange viewed this negatively, considering it as a decentralization and privatization of the school system.

The Catholic Church and Textbooks

Catholic textbooks written in the 1940s for younger students were less fact-oriented and more story-based, using anecdotes, poetry, and extracts from the works of various religious writers such as Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and Ramiro de Maeztu y Whitney. Authors mingled accounts of the nation’s history with emotional renditions of folklore, using the past to motivate students into a traditional-style loyalty to the present. A set of digests that combined all the primary subjects (math, history, sacred

---

61 Other scholars have pinpointed the beginning of national Catholicism with the beginning of Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship (1923 – 1930) – see Boyd, Historia Patria (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), Chapter 6.

62 Boyd, 242, 259.

63 Ibid., 250. Menéndez y Pelayo was a professor of Spanish literature and a devoted Catholic who defended national tradition against political and religious reformers. Maetzu, a member of the Generación de ‘98, was born in Spain, the son of a Basque father and an English mother. A journalist and literary critic, he supported the authority and tradition of the Roman Catholic Church and Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship. He was killed during the Spanish Civil War in 1936 by Republican soldiers.
history, geography, language, etc.) called *Enciclopedia Álvarez, Intuitiva, Sintetica y Practica*, was an inexpensive alternative to the former readers. The *Enciclopedia* series published by the Jesuits consisted of one volume for each level, first through third grades. A history section in the second grade level called “Alzamiento Nacional” [The Rise of the Nation], rationalized Spain’s Civil War:

Las aspiraciones del Movimiento Nacional ya han sido logradas en parte; la lucha de clases ha terminado; el espíritu religioso ha vuelto a resurgir; la justicia social ha sido implantada, y actualmente se está procediendo a la industrialización de España, pero aún es mucha la tarea que queda por realizar, y todos debemos contribuir con nuestro esfuerzo para que los grandes ideales de Franco y la Falange, iniciadores del Movimiento Nacional, no se malogren.

[The aspirations of the National Movement already has been obtained in part; the fight of classes has ended; the religious spirit has resurged again; social justice has been implanted, and at the moment industrialization is coming to Spain, but still there is a lot of work that remains to be done, and we all must contribute with our strength so that the great ideals of Franco and the Falange, initiators of the National Movement, do not fail.]

A history text for upper elementary students, *El Libro de España*, by María del Pilar Ibáñez de Opacua combined the feats of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (1043 – 1099), the legendary *El Cid* who helped the reconquest of Spain against the Moors, with the rationale for Castile as the beginning of Spain’s nationalist movement. In a section on the Middle Ages, Pilar Ibáñez writes:

¡Castilla, escenario de las gestas heroicas de la raza, cuando cabalgaba el Cid y libraban batallas los príncipes cristianos en la lucha secular de la Reconquista! ¿Cuándo nace Castilla?
En los primeros siglos de la Reconquista . . . ¡Es la Castilla heroica, corazón impulsivo, corazón grande, corazón de España! ES LA CASTILLA DE HOY,

---

PALPITANTE DE EMOCIÓN, QUE SE INCORPORÓ DESDE LOS PRIMEROS MOMENTOS AL GLORIOSO MOVIMENTO NACIONAL.

[Castile, scene of the heroic gestures of the race, when el Cid rode and fought battles (for) the Christian princes in the secular fight of the Reconquest! When is Castile born?
In the beginning centuries of the Reconquest . . . It is the heroic Castile, impulsive heart, big heart, heart of Spain! IT IS THE CASTILE OF TODAY, PALPITATING WITH EMOTION, THAT WAS INCORPORATED FROM THE FIRST MOMENTS OF THE GLORIOUS NATIONAL MOVEMENT.]

The last section of Pilar Ibáñez’s book, called “Glorioso Movimiento Nacional”

[Glorious National Movement], again reverts to the past, saying that Spain had died (cuando España se moría) until the triumph of the Crusades. It then details the victory of the Republicans in 1931 that brought:

irreligiosos y revolucionarios, hicieron causa común con los agents pagados por Rusia. Descatolizar a España fué su primer intent. Y a ello tendieron los atentados contra la Iglesia, traducidos en nefastas leyes, trágicos incendios de templos y conventos, atropellos a los religiosos, a los religiosos a la prensa católica y a los particulares, que no comulgaban con los principios revolucionarios.

[irreligious and revolutionaries, they made a common cause with agents paid by Russia. De-Catholicizing Spain was their first intent. And to it they laid the attacks against the Church, translated in ominous laws, tragic fires of temples and convents, upsetting the religious, the religious of the Catholic press and individuals, which did not agree with the revolutionary principles.]

Older students who attended colegios received more fact-related textbooks, since they had to pass final state exams in order to graduate. Feliciano Cereceda, a professor at a Jesuit school in Vigo, Spain composed books for private Catholic schools. Among his

65 María del Pilar Ibáñez de Opacua, El Libro de España (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Institución Teresiana, 1941), 98 – 99.
66 Ibid., 294.
writings are two history textbooks, *Historia y Geografía de España* [History and Geography of Spain] and *Historia del Imperio Español y de la Hispanidad*, [History of the Spanish Empire and Hispanicity], published in 1941 and 1943 respectively. His books upheld traditional Spanish values taught by examining the lives of past heroes, but in addition, they gave room for students to evaluate Spanish principles, which led to lessons on national identity and purpose.\(^{67}\) For example, in the Introduction to the second edition of *Historia del Imperio Español y de la Hispanidad*, Cereceda says,

\[
\ldots \text{las páginas que siguen, no se ha descendido a contar las guerras y sucesos con la minuciosidad que debe hacerse en un Manual. } \ldots \text{Las críticas apasionadas de nuestros enemigos nos han hecho aparecer a nosotros mismos tímidos, cuando escribíamos nuestra historia. Es hora ya de relatarla como fue; realizada por españoles y escrita también por ellos.} \(^{68}\)
\]

[... the pages that follow have not lowered themselves to tell about the wars and events with the meticulousness that should be in a Manual. The passioned criticisms of our enemies have made us appear afraid, when we wrote our history. It is time to relate it as it was achieved by Spaniards and also written by them.]

But Cereceda continued to emphasize the “glorious” past in order to point to an equally splendid future. In *Historia del Imperio* he wrote,

\[
\text{¡El porvenir de España unido después de tres siglos al destino del pasado! Porque nuestras ansias de ahora coinciden con las realidades pasadas, proclamamos la continuidad histórica del imperialismo actual don el que llenó los días gloriosos de Felipe II. } \ldots \text{Esta es la gran tarea que Dios nos ha guardado para la España de ahora. } \ldots \text{¡Por el Imperio, a Dios!!} \(^{69}\)
\]

---

\(^{67}\) Boyd, 250 – 251.

\(^{68}\) Feliciano Cereceda, *Historia del Imperio Español y de la Hispanidad*, (Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1943), Introducción.

\(^{69}\) Ibid., 273 – 274.
[After three centuries, the future of Spain is united with our past. Because our current desires coincide with past realities, we proclaim the historical continuity of today’s imperialism with that which filled the glorious days of Phillip II . . . This is the grand task that God has saved for the Spain of today . . . For the Empire, to God!! ]

Textbooks used in schools were required to be approved, initially, by an ad hoc ministerial review commission, first set up by the Ministry of Education and then by the Council of National Education, established by Franco in 1941. The commission was also an arm of the administration and a formal part of the government. These committees made sure that the textbooks supported the prevailing regime’s religious and patriotic values and disallowed “liberal” or “positivistic” tendencies.

Summary

Throughout the Franco regime, tensions existed between Catholic educators and the Falangists, as both groups vied for control of the school system. Catholics traditionally opposed state interference believing in “natural” educational rights for the family and the Church. However, after the secularism that dominated schools during the Second Republic, many were willing to support the dictatorship as a means to return to the teaching of traditional values and to preserve Catholic cultural unity, morality, and canon law. Falangists believed that they could benefit from this union with the Church, as they were eager to “nationalize” Catholicism in order to legitimize their political and economic power in the authoritarian state. Both the Catholics and Falangists rejected the “free market” of ideas that they believed was responsible for Spain’s Civil War, and proposed to return to a type of Spanish “Golden Age” or an “Hispanization” of the
Thus at the core of these two strands, together called Franquist National Catholicism, was the common goal of reliving the imperial past for a two-fold purpose: for Catholics, the goal was to create a “Spanish totalitarian humanism” while the Falangists’ intent was to enhance political socialization and syndicalization of the country. Thus, books such as *España Nuestra, Historia y Geografía de España*, and *Historia del Imperio Español y de la Hispanidad* venerated the past to instill in students a sense of patriotism, social discipline, and national solidarity, as well as a monarchistic and Empire orientation.

70 Beginning in the 1920s, a movement of the National Catholic right was formed to return to the imperialistic ideas of the sixteenth century where a spiritual community of Spanish nations would unite with Spain as its head to re-instill traditional values such as courage, sincerity, temperance, etc. This, they said, represented the Spanish soul and was a counter-offensive to modern, “European” principles infiltrating society. For further study, see Frederick B. Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898 – 1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and Their Relations with Spanish America* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).

71 Boyd, 236, 253.
CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

The present study examined the political power struggle between the government and the Church in Spain during the Franco years (1939 – 1975) as it was played out, in part, within the educational system. To ascertain the level of influence Catholic and Falangist leaders and thinkers exerted in schools in this period, Chapters Two and Four investigated Vatican encyclicals and concordats from the years 1851, 1891, 1927, 1931, 1948, and 1950. Chapter Four also analyzed data from the Spanish Ministry of Education during the years 1931, 1938, and 1940 and examined Spanish textbooks used in these years. All of these primary materials were then assessed using the definitional frameworks of prominent scholars in the fields of fascist and Falangist studies, such as Stanley Payne, George L. Mosse, and Eugene Weber, which provided a reliable support for this aspect of the study’s research.

These analyses were then triangulated with the results of a survey developed for the present study that compared the responses of present-day Spaniards who participated in education in Spain during the Franco regime with those who matriculated after 1975. By exploring these Spaniards’ own assessments of the education in this era, this survey provided unique and valuable qualitative research component for the present study. The construction and analysis of the survey are described in the following section.
The employment of Glaser and Strauss’ method of \textit{emerging design} classified the relevance of the survey questions; all of the research elements were then triangulated to enhance the reliability of the present study’s findings. Finally, some research questions put forward in Chapter 1 were not supported by the data due to low correlations or insufficient responses to certain problems, which are also reported in the findings in the following chapter.

\textbf{Research Design}

Between October 21, 2010 and January 20, 2011, forty-five Spaniards took part in an online survey designed to test the present study’s theoretical frameworks of structural-functionalism, nationalism, and filter-effect theory as they related to the interface of education and the Catholic Church and the government during and after the Franco Regime. The majority of the respondents live in Madrid, Salamanca, or Granada, or these cities’ surrounding communities; a minority resides in the United States.\footnote{Contacts were made beginning in October, 2010 with several key people in Chicago. In January, 2011 the next contact was made in Granada followed by Madrid and Salamanca; these contacts then promoted the survey to the eventual participants. Because of the dates that the contacts were made, the researcher is highly certain that only as many as four respondents presently live in the United States, while the majority (forty-one) lives in Spain.}

\textbf{Demography}

The areas of Spain noted above represent distinct regions with populations of varied backgrounds, education, and languages, taking into account Spain’s diverse inhabitants. This gives the survey more credibility since it represents a broader range of the population than if the respondents had been from only one city or a single autonomous community. Prior to the twentieth century, Spain was predominantly an
agricultural nation with a history of waves of migrations that brought diverse cultures and religions (including Christianity, Islam, and Judaism) to various regions of the country. Spain’s scarcity of industrialization and urban centers resulted in a lack of a strong national identity and centuries of conflict as provincialism continued throughout the regions. Though certain cities in present-day Spain are metropolitan and highly industrialized, an enormous diversity remains within the Spanish population. Madrid is Spain’s capital and largest city (population 3,275,049), and second largest industrialized city (after Barcelona). It is centrally located in the autonomous community also called Madrid, and is the seat of Spain’s political and religious establishments. According to official figures compiled by the Spanish government in 2007, approximately eight percent of the population aged sixteen and over were illiterate. In comparison, Salamanca is a mid-sized city with a population of 154,462 located in western Spain in the autonomous community of Castile and León. Due in part to the presence of the University of Salamanca, Spain’s oldest institution of higher learning, this city enjoys an international reputation as one of the most prestigious academic centers in Europe. However, government data from 2007 shows that Salamanca also has an eight percent illiteracy rate for those aged sixteen and older. Representing southern Spain is Granada, population 154,462, and located in the autonomous community of Andalusia which

---


3 Spain’s previous census method was based on a ten-year cycle, but on May 1, 1996, the municipalities began a computerized system to register residents and update the population count every year on January 1. All data in this section are from the Spanish government’s official website, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft20/e260&file=inebase&L=1.
borders the Mediterranean Sea. This area’s history includes over seven hundred years of Moorish rule, the longest of any other region in Spain; it is also one of the least industrialized parts of Spain, with an economy largely based on agriculture and tourism.\(^4\) In 2007 there was over sixteen percent illiteracy, twice the rate of Madrid and Salamanca. In that same year, Granada had close to a five percent long-term unemployment rate, the highest rate in all of Spain’s region.

**Survey Design**

Certain questions were embedded in the survey to glean participants’ opinions related to the present study’s conceptual frameworks, while the rest of the queries were for the purpose of categorizing their educational level, age, religion (or religious association), type of school attended, and political affiliation. Additionally, the third question, “In what years did you attend school?” was used as an independent variable to sort out the respondents who attended school during the Franco era (1939 – 1975) from everyone else.\(^5\) How these two populations responded to other questions that represented dependent variables related to structural-functionalism, nationalism, and filter-effect theory were measured by a Student’s \(t\)-test to make more reliable assumptions about the applicability of these concepts to the experience reported by these respondents.

\(^4\) Ibid., “Desempleo.”

\(^5\) No one chose the first response, that is, that they attended school entirely prior to 1936. Only one person indicated that s/he began school before 1936 but finished between 1936 and 1975. This respondent was combined with the sixteen respondents who solely attended school during the Franco era. Those who began attending school during the Franco’s regime (1975 or before) but finished their education in subsequent years (sixteen respondents) were not included in the first group, but were combined with the remaining ten participants who began and finished school after 1975.
Survey

Participants in this study took the Spanish version of the following online survey.

(Spanish version is in Appendix):

1. When you were a child, how many kilometers from your home was a large city?
   1. 1 – 15
   2. 16 – 30
   3. 31 – 50
   4. 51 or more

2. What types of schools did you attend in Spain?
   1. Public
   2. Catholic
   3. A combination of 1 and 2
   4. Other type

3. In what years did you attend school?
   1. Before 1936
   2. Between 1936 and 1975
   3. After 1975
   4. A combination of 1 and 2
   5. A combination of 2 and 3

4. The courses of study in your school, were they similar or opposite to the religious teachings of your parents?
   1. Totally similar
   2. More or less similar
   3. More or less contrary
   4. Totally contrary

5. Were you taught the principles of Catholic religion in your school?
   1. Yes, always.
   2. Yes, sometimes
   3. Almost never
   4. No, never

6. Politically, were your parents, brothers, aunts/uncles, cousins, or grandparents...
   1. Conservative
   2. Somewhat conservative
   3. Moderate
4. Somewhat liberal
5. Liberal

7. What level of education have/had your parents, siblings, aunts/uncles, cousins, or Grandparents?
   1. The majority graduated from a university.
   2. The majority attended a university but some didn’t graduate
   3. The majority only finished secondary school.
   4. The majority only finished primary school.
   5. The majority didn’t finish primary school.

8. Did any of your parents, siblings, cousins or grandparents fight during the Civil War?
   1. Yes
   2. No

9. If you responded “yes” to the previous question, against whom did they fight?
   1. Against the Nationalists
   2. Against the Republicans
   3. It doesn’t apply

10. Do you have family members that are (were) priests or members of the clergy?
    1. Yes
    2. No

11. Did you know a relative or friend that died in the Civil War?
    1. Yes
    2. No

12. Was a Spanish identity taught in your school, that is, was it taught that Spaniards should have one national culture and similar characteristics?
    1. No, never
    2. Yes, a little
    3. Yes, from time to time
    4. Yes, a lot

13. Do you believe that the textbooks used in school during the Civil War established the basis of the ideology and the religiosity of the Spanish society?
    1. Yes, only politically
    2. Yes, only religiously
    3. Yes, absolutely
    4. No, not at all
14. Did you change your ideas or family beliefs in respect to the government because of the teaching that you were given in school?
   1. Yes, and I became a strong defender of the government
   2. Yes, but I didn’t believe everything that they taught me.
   3. No, because my family was always in agreement with the government
   4. No. I didn’t believe what they taught me because it was in contrary to what I learned at home.

15. Did they teach you in school that there existed a union between “being Spanish” and “being Catholic”?
   1. Yes, all the time
   2. Yes, from time to time
   3. Only in religion class
   4. No, never

16. Were you able to express your ideas or political beliefs in school even if they were opposed to those of the Spanish government?
   1. Yes, all the time.
   2. Yes, sometimes
   3. No, I was afraid
   4. No, because I was in agreement with the teachings of the school

**Structural-Functionalism**

Using Question Three, “In what years did you attend school?” as an independent variable to separate those respondents who attended school exclusively during the Franco regime from all others, and Question Fourteen, “Did you change your ideas or family beliefs with respect to the government because of the teaching that you were given in school?” as the dependent variable, a t-test was performed to determine if there was a significant difference in education under Franco’s government and the constitutional monarchy that followed it. This was to determine to what extent either political body attempted a type of political socialization using the school as an agent for change under the broader concept of structural functionalism. Responses would indicate if the state,
through the school, was successful in overriding a family’s belief system. In addition, the responses to Question Thirteen, “Do you believe that the textbooks used in school during the Civil War established the basis of the ideology and the religiosity of the Spanish society?” of the same groups as above were also compared to see if, following Almond, et al., textbooks were used as a vehicle to pass down values and beliefs in competition with other agents, such as families and communities. As stated in Chapter 3, because the tradition of the Church was strongly embedded in society, political socialization generated by government representatives and agencies was less effective than the Church since the Church’s tradition was strongly embedded in society. However, the textbooks examined for the present study that were used during Franco’s regime clearly demonstrated the promotion of a connection between the destiny of Spain and Catholicism, and in so doing, appear to be used as a vehicle for political purposes. Franco’s “New State” institutionalized traditional values that became part of the school’s curriculum. The textbooks analyzed in Chapter 4, España Nuestra and Enciclopedia Álvarez, revealed a strong link between nationalism and Catholicism; El muchacho español taught a secular nationalism.

**Nationalism**

Similarly, answers of respondents were grouped as above by Question Three (independent variable), to Question Twelve (dependent variable), “Was a Spanish identity taught in your school, that is, was it taught that Spaniards should have one national culture and similar characteristics?” This probed the extent to which nationalism
was taught in schools, results were then further compared to responses Question Fifteen, “Did they teach in you school that there was a link between ‘being Spanish’ and ‘being Catholic’?” to examine whether nationalism was linked to Catholicism in order to promote a type of Spanish fascism called Falangism.

**Filter-effect theory**

Both Question One, “When you were a child, how many kilometers from your home was a large city?” and Question Seven, “What level of education did you parents, siblings, aunts/uncles, cousins, or grandparents have?” were independent variables in two separate $t$-tests. Each was weighed against Question Fourteen (dependent variable), “Did you change your ideas or family beliefs with respect to the government because of the teaching that you were given in school?” In this way, conflicting theories of class distinction and Epstein’s filter-effect theory could be compared to see if the data would support either model.

**Emerging Design and Validity**

According to Strauss et al., because procedures and techniques are tools, not directives, the research process should be one of flexibility and driven by insight.\(^6\) For these reasons, the interactions of the survey results with the other methodological approaches (e.g. archival material analysis and textbooks) brought more “rigor” into the research and gave the analysis more credibility. If the same results were reproduced in more than one instrument, it is more likely that the results could be considered valid.

---

Statistical Measures

Interpretation of respondent data utilized a Student’s $t$-test, one of the most commonly used significance test in small population samples.\(^7\) A $t$-test is a parametric statistical equation that compares the means of two groups, the group variances, and the sample size using a formula that generates the $t$ value (or $t$ statistic), a number that is then used to establish a level of significance to support or reject the null hypothesis that the population means are the same.\(^8\) The respondents’ answers in this study were converted to a Likert scale which measures the level of agreement to a statement. Subjects chose the response which best reflected their feelings and beliefs; their responses were then ranked progressively according to a specific criteria.

Alpha ($\alpha$), the level of significance, was set at 0.05 to take into account chance variation, or the amount of expected variation in the differences resulting from sampling. Then, the effect size was calculated on the two hypotheses in which the null was rejected to determine if the difference was statistically significant. Effect size is a measure of the mean difference between two groups, divided by the standard deviation. This statistic indicates how large the effect or difference is without regard to the size of the sample and


based on Cohen’s scale of effect size, the results can be calculated as a way to judge the outcome of the sample.⁹

**Limitations**

Although not solicited, two respondents voluntarily provided additional written feedback which was included as part of the data. Their comments are included with the other findings of the survey, along with an analysis of the archival material and textbooks in Chapter 6. These comments indicate that an online survey can only provide information that is strictly in response to very particular questions due to the nature of the medium. Similarly, the relatively small number of textbooks from the Franco era that were available to be reviewed hindered the breadth of curriculum sources that might otherwise have been included in the present study.

---

⁹ Cohen’s effect size is relative, depending on the type of research that is done; but generally, a size of 0.2 to 0.3 is a “small” effect, around 0.5 would be considered “medium”, and 0.8 to infinity, a “large” effect. See David Sheskin, *Handbook of Parameters and Non-parametrical Statistical Procedures* (London: Chapman and Hall/CRC, 2004), 1059.
CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

Chapter 4 explored the rivalry between the Church and Falangists for control of education by examining Education Ministry and Church policy documents, and particular textbooks with dates ranging from 1938 to 1970. Examination of these materials using the analytical lenses of the conceptual frameworks of the present study, structural-functionalism (including political socialization), nationalism, and filter-effect theory, furnished the initial elements for triangulation of sources. Chapter Five described the methodology used to construct a survey of modern-day Spaniards to investigate participants’ understanding of their education during and after Franco’s time in office (1939 – 1975). The survey was in the form of a questionnaire designed to contextualize participants’ responses within the theoretical frameworks of the current study and Chapter Five discussed the development of this research tool which was triangulated with the analyses of the archival and historical materials. The triangulation of these research approaches augmented the validity and reliability of the findings. The present chapter presents the results of the Student’s $t$-test of the survey responses, participants’ comments, and analysis of these results through the lenses of the conceptual frameworks chosen for the current study.
Survey Data

The following are results from the questions that were intended to define cultural and demographic characteristics of the forty-five Spaniards, mainly from Salamanca, Madrid, and Granada, who responded to the online survey (see Chapter 5) between October 21, 2010 and January 14, 2011:

Thirty-seven participants indicated that they had lived between one and fifteen kilometers from a large city when they were a child, revealing a common element. Question Eight also showed that a majority of the participants (thirty-four) had a relative that fought in the Spanish Civil War, with nineteen fighting for the Nationalists and eleven on the side of the Republicans. However, only twelve people said that they had a relative or friend that died during the Civil War. (In some cases, this question did not apply and therefore was not answered.)  But the responses to the other questions were more evenly divided. For example, nineteen participants said that they attended Catholic schools, with the rest attending public, other type, or a combination of types. The participants’ ages were also evenly distributed from the oldest participant beginning school before the Franco regime, seventeen who attended school only during the Franco regime, sixteen who began school during the Franco’s era but finished after 1975, and seventeen who began attending school after Franco’s death. Fifteen said that they considered themselves politically conservative or semi-conservative, eighteen were moderates, and the rest were either somewhat liberal or liberal. Only seventeen went to

1 Raw data from survey is in the Appendix at the end of this study.

2 It should be noted that all of the respondents seem to be from Castillian-speaking regions in Spain.
primary school (with some not finishing), nine attended secondary school, and the rest (nineteen participants) attended a university in some capacity.

The information from the remaining questions was triangulated with some of the archival and textbook elements to answer the questions originally posited at the beginning of this present research study.

**Survey Results**

**Research Question One:** Did schools during the Franco era teach that Spaniards should have a Spanish Catholic national identity and one national culture more than schools after Franco’s death in 1975?

**Constructs:** Structural Functionalism and Nationalism – Almond, et al., proposed that structures in a society, such as schools and churches, can formulate their functions to be mutually supportive in order to achieve results beneficial to both groups. Franco tried to build strong ties with the Catholic Church as the government took regional authority away from Spanish institutions such as local schools. The Church, in turn, supported this bond, citing lack of nationalism in the “New Schools” of the Republican era. (See Chapter 3.)

**Null Hypothesis:** There is no difference between the two samples, Group One and Group Two.

**Design:** In order to test the constructs of structural functionalism and nationalism, two separate comparisons were made. The first comparison “A” tested whether the schools in the Franco regime emphasized a more distinct national identity and culture
than did schools in the era that followed. The second comparison “B” was to ascertain if this identity and culture was linked with the Catholic Church.

Independent variable “A” – Question Three: “In what years did you attend school?”
Dependent variable “A” – Question Twelve: “Was a Spanish identity taught in your school, that is, was it taught that Spaniards should have one national culture and similar characteristics?”

**Design:** Since no one chose the first rejoinder to Question Three, “Before 1936” and only one person indicated, “a combination of before 1936 and between 1936 and 1975”, this one respondent’s answers were combined with the sixteen participants that indicated that they attended school only during the Franco era. Those that began school during the Franco regime but ended their education after Franco’s death were merged with the final group – those who were only were in school after 1975. This was done for three reasons: first, since it was impossible to know exact dates, it could not be determined what percentage the respondents were in school before and after the Franco regime. Next, in order to keep the first group as “pure” as possible (that is, those that only attended school during Franco’s era), the respondents who were in school both during and after Franco were separated out; lastly, including the group that began school during the Franco regime (but finished afterward) with the last (and therefore youngest) group of respondents, made each of the two testing groups closer generationally, so a large disparity in age would not skew the results. The rejoinders to Question Twelve
were placed as follows on a Likert scale: “1” indicated “No, never”, “2 – “Yes, a little”, “3” – “Yes, sometimes” and “4” – “Yes, a lot”.

**Statistical Results**

Table 4. *t*-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Variable 1</th>
<th>Variable 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.625</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance</td>
<td>0.516666667</td>
<td>1.273333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>0.982307692</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesized Mean Difference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Df</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>T</em> stat</td>
<td>4.364797182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(<em>T</em>&lt;=t) two-tail</td>
<td>9.06574E-05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>T</em> Critical two-tail</td>
<td>2.022690901</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After applying the Student’s (two-tail) *t*-test with the null hypothesis, the null hypothesis was rejected with the probability of a Type One error less than one per cent.

\[ d = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{s}, \]

Effect size:
Subtracting the two means (3.625 – 2.24) results in 1.385, divided by \( s \), the square root of the pooled variance (0.982307692) equals 1.46399. According to Cohen’s criteria for gauging the significance of the standardized mean difference, the effect size \( d \) in this study indicates that it is highly certain that the two groups are from different populations. Furthermore, the correlation coefficient, \( r \), the measure of strength of the relationship between the two variables, is 0.59066, which also suggests a large effect size.\(^3\)

**Conclusion:** Those who attended school before 1975 believed that their schools taught that Spaniards should have one national culture and similar characteristics more than those who received the majority of their schooling after 1975.

Independent variable “B” - Question Three: “In what years did you attend school?”

(Same as above.) Dependent variable “B” - Question Fifteen: “Did they teach in your school that there was a link between ‘being Spanish’ and ‘being Catholic’?”

The rejoinders for Question Fifteen were also placed on a Likert Scale with “1” representing, “Yes, all the time”, “2” - “Yes - sometimes”, “3” - “Only in religion class” and “4” - “No, never”.

**Statistical Results:**

**Table 5.** \( t \)-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Variable 1</th>
<th>Variable 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>1.9375</td>
<td>2.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After applying the Student’s (two-tail) \( t \)-test with the null hypothesis (that is, there is no difference between the two populations of Group One and Group Two), the null hypothesis was rejected with the probability of a Type One error less than one per cent.

Group One had a mean response of 1.9375, with sixteen responses and Group Two had a mean response of 2.96, with twenty-five responses.

\[
d = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{s},
\]

Effect size:

Subtracting the two means \((2.96 - 1.9375)\) results in 1.0225, divided by \(s\), which is the square root of the pooled variance \((1.1082152)\) equals .922655. According to Cohen’s

\[\text{Variance} \quad 1.3958333333 \quad 1.2333333\]
\[\text{Observations} \quad 16 \quad 25\]
\[\text{Pooled Variance} \quad 1.228141026\]
\[\text{Hypothized Mean Difference} \quad 0\]
\[\text{Df} \quad 39\]
\[t \text{ stat} \quad -2.8818891^4\]
\[P(T < t) \text{ two-tail} \quad 0.006396727\]
\[T \text{ Critical two-tail} \quad 2.022690901\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]

\[\]
criteria for gauging the significance of the standardized mean difference, there is a great
deal of certainty that the two groups are from different populations. Furthermore, the
correlation coefficient, $r$, is 0.4169, signifying a “medium to large” effect size, which
again, according to Cohen’s benchmarks, indicates statistically the measure of strength of

Conclusion: Those who attended school during the Franco era believed that they
were taught that there was a link between being Spanish and being Catholic more than
those who mostly attended school after Franco’s death in 1975.

The results of the above two comparisons gleaned from the survey and triangulated with
the research of the historical and archival materials and textbooks, provides an answer to
one of the present study’s research questions, that is, during the Franco regime, there
appears to have been a collaboration between the Catholic Church and Franco’s
government to inculcate into children a Spanish identity linked to Catholicism through
the educational system.

Research Question Two: Were values taught in schools during the Franco era
instilled in children, even if they were contrary to the teaching in the home?

Construct: Political socialization explains a culture’s allegiance to a particular belief
system; it occurs when cultures pass down their values and beliefs to successive
generations through institutions (or structures), such as families, schools, communities,
churches, interest groups, political parties, branches of government and communications media. Additionally, according to Almond et al., most people acquire their fundamental political values and behavior patterns by the time they reach adolescence with family and the school as the two most important institutions in the socialization of the child (See Chapter 3).

**Design:** Question Three (years school was attended – see above) was again used as the independent variable, while the dependent variable was Question Fourteen, “Did you change your ideas or family beliefs in respect to the government because of the teaching that you were given in school?” The responses to Question 14 were placed on a Likert scale ranging from “1” representing “Yes, and it made me a strong defender of the government,” “2” was “Yes, but I didn’t believe everything I was taught,” “3” “No, because my family always was in agreement with the government” and “4” representing “No, I didn’t believe what they taught me because it was contrary to what I learned at home.” No one chose the first rejoinder. Fifteen participants chose the second, eleven the third, and thirteen the fourth.

**Statistical results:**

Table 6. *t*-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Variable 1</th>
<th>Variable 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.882352941</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance</td>
<td>0.735294118</td>
<td>0.761905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results show Group One had a mean response of 2.88 and Group Two had a mean response of 3.0. There were seventeen responses in Group One and twenty-two responses in Group Two. The Student’s (two-tail) t-test was applied with the assumption of the null hypothesis, that is, that the two groups belonged to the same population.

**Conclusion:** Since the \( t \) Stat (0.42) was less than the \( t \) Critical two-tail (2.026), the null hypothesis could not be rejected, therefore it cannot be said that the schools changed students’ family belief system either during the Franco era or after it. This statistical conclusion does not contradict Almond et al.’s findings since political socialization can take place in a variety of structures, including the home and the school. However, this does confirm the research of M. Kent Jennings et al., that with the exception of some cases of rebellion, most children enter adulthood having the same political views as their parents (See Chapter 3).

**Research Question Three:** Were students’ political opinions suppressed during the Franco era if they were contrary to those of the government?
Construct: The Falangist government used a type of ideological restriction to influence the attitudes, beliefs and values of Spain’s youth in the schools (See Chapter Four). In this comparison, Question Three was once again the source of the independent variable, while the dependent variable was Question Sixteen, “Were you able to express your ideas or political beliefs in school even if they were opposed to those of the Spanish government?” Rejoinders to Question Sixteen were placed on a Likert scale with “1” representing the response, “Yes, all the time”, “2” was “Yes, sometimes”, “3” was “Only in religion class”, and “4” “No, never”. The results were fairly evenly distributed with eight participants choosing “1”, and ten choosing “2” “3”, and “4”.

Statistical results:

Table 7. t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Equal Variances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Variable 1</th>
<th>Variable 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.1333333333</td>
<td>2.208333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance</td>
<td>0.695238095</td>
<td>1.21558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>1.018693694</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesized Mean Difference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Df</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Stat</td>
<td>2.784446455</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results show Group One had a mean of 3.13 and Group Two’s mean was 2.21. There were 15 responses in Group One and 24 responses in Group Two. Applying the Student’s (two-tail) $t$-test with the null hypotheses that the two groups belonged to the same population, the null hypothesis was rejected with the probability of a Type One error of less than 1%. The standardized means difference was 3.13 (Mean 1) – 2.21 (Mean 2) = .925 (approximately), divided by the square root of the pooled variance, $1.018693694$, or $1.0093035$, equals 0.9164449, which is significant and indicates that the two populations are different groups. Additionally, Cohen’s effect is 0.45053, indicating a medium to large strength size of correlation.

**Conclusion:** Those who attended school in or before the year 1975 believed more than the post-Franco students that they were not able to express or limited in expressing their ideas or political beliefs in school, if those ideas or beliefs were opposed to the government. This conclusion substantiates the conceptual framework proposed by Almond et al., which states that a government (political system) through the use of the schools and churches (structures) enforces patriotism, militarism, religion, and civic-mindedness if it claims this is needed to defend itself against its enemies. Thus, Franco built a unified government through the use of the schools and Church to enforce his fascist policies (functions) (See Chapter 3).
Other Hypotheses

Several other hypotheses were tested, but could not be supported by the data due to low correlations or insufficient observations. For example, Question One, “When you were a child, how many kilometers from your home was a large city?” was included in the survey to test Epstein’s *filter-effect* theory, that is, schoolchildren who live farther away from a cultural center are influenced by the promotion of nationalism at higher rates than those that live near an area with a large population. Since only eight respondents indicated that they lived farther than fifteen kilometers from a large city, the sample size was too small to be statistically significant. Even so, a *t*-test was performed comparing Question One with Question Fourteen, “Did you change your ideas or family beliefs respect to the government because of the teaching that you were given in school?”, but as predicted, definitive results were not reached:

Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Variable 1</th>
<th>Variable 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.903225806</td>
<td>3.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance</td>
<td>0.756989247</td>
<td>0.696429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>0.745531822</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesized Mean</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The \( t \) Stat (0.647696355) is less than the \( t \) Critical two-tail (2.026192447) and therefore the null hypothesis could not be rejected. However, when evaluated with the results of Question Two, which concluded that it could not be proven statistically from this present survey that students changed their family belief system due to teaching in their schools, this may imply that the presence of a cultural center located near the overwhelming majority of respondents’ homes may have served to lessen the impact of school instruction, relative to students who lived further away from a large city (See Chapter 1.) Question Two, “What types of schools did you attend in Spain?” was included in the questionnaire to test the difference, if any, between the reported experiences of those who attended Catholic schools versus all others (e.g., public or private secular schools). However, in relationships between the independent variable derived from this question and all other feasible combinations with dependent variables, the null hypothesis could not be rejected. Therefore, a difference in the experience of those who attended Catholic school in Spain compared to those who attended public or other types of school could not
be discerned from the participants’ responses. This held true for both groups – those who attended school in or before the year 1975 and those who received most of their schooling mostly after 1975.

Additional Comments

Two participants sent feedback that lent insight regarding the investigation for the present study. Commenting on Question Six, “Politically speaking, your parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, or grandparents were . . .?” with potential responses from conservative to liberal, one respondent said that the rejoinders were confusing because the possibilities (conservative, somewhat conservative, moderate, somewhat liberal, and liberal) did not reflect the proper political classification of people during the Franco regime.

En España las derechas son liberal/conservadoras, y normalmente moderadas, aunque hay de todo (en la época de Franco había conservadores moderados y conservadores extremistas, claro). Lógicamente en la época de Franco las derechas sólo eran conservadoras y no liberales, pero para especificar a las izquierdas hay que hablar de socialismo/socialdemocracia/republicanos/progresistas (bueno, en la época de Franco tampoco el socialismo era tampoco el socialismo era socialdemócrata, al menos en España no . . .).

[In Spain the options are liberal/conservative, and normally moderate, although during the Franco era there was everything: moderate conservatives and conservative extremists, of course). Logically in the epic of Franco the only options were conservatives and not liberals, but in order to specify those on the left one must speak of socialism/social democracy/republicans/progressives (well, in the epic of Franco the socialism was not social democratic either, at least in Spain it wasn’t . . .).

Apparently, the eliminating of the Republicans and all types of leftists was very thorough, at least, in this respondent’s recollection. It is interesting to note that this
Spaniard’s perspective on the absence of liberalism and social democracy in Spain until after the Franco era supports historian Gregory Luebbert’s premise that both of these forces failed to exert any influence in Germany, Spain, or Italy in the 1920s. Although this position with regard to Germany is contested by other scholars, Luebbert asserts that this absence precipitated the nationalism and fascism that followed in the subsequent decade. Since Spain lacked the strong middle class that was present in countries such as Britain, liberals and social democrats were unsuccessful in establishing democratic institutions, though these movements were far stronger between the world wars than either fascism or nationalism. Thus, according to Luebbert, because liberals or socialists could not effectively consolidate the interests of the working classes with the rural communities in Spain (which was a predominantly agricultural society in the 1920s) the democracy the Republicans tried to put into place failed. Moreover, because one of the characteristics of a social democratic party is its cooperation with trade unions, the weakness of this force in Spain in the beginning of the twentieth century opened a door for nationalist and fascist movements to subdue other political groups.

A second participant pointed out that Question 16, which asked, “Were you able to express your ideas or political beliefs in school although they were opposed to those of the Spanish government?” had insufficient rejoinders. He commented:

. . . las opciones son que, o bien podías hacerlo (siempre o a veces), o bien no podías hacerlo, y en ese caso sólo podía ser por miedo o porque estabas de acuerdo con esas ideas. En mi caso (yo fui al colegio entre 1966 y 1982), y en el de la mayoría de la gente que conozco, no se podía porque no había opción; no

---

He went on to explain:

. . . en realidad, la situación general era de relativa normalidad: la Iglesia y la conciencia nacional estaban tan instauradas en la vida diaria que la mayoría lo considerábamos parte del juego. Podías ser más o menos religioso, más o menos conservador, pero, seguías las rutinas del resto. La mayor parte de la gente iba a misa como algo habitual, como quien va a comprar el pan o va al trabajo, sin tomárselo demasiado en serio. Creo que no se puede dividir a la sociedad española entre los que estaban totalmente de acuerdo con el franquismo y los que se oponían radicalmente al régimen. En medio de esos dos extremos estaba una amplia mayoría.

[. . . in fact, the general situation was of relative normality: the Church and the national consciousness were so instilled in the daily life that the majority considered it part of the game. You could be more or less religious, more or less conservative, but, you followed the routines of the rest. Most of the people went to Mass (church) like something habitual, that is, like going to buy bread or going to work, without taking it too seriously. I believe that it is not possible to divide the Spanish society between those that were in total agreement with Francoism and those that were radically against the regime. In the middle of those two ends was an ample majority.]

From this respondent’s perspective, there was an apparent Spanish national consciousness connected with the Church that permeated Spain during the Franco years.

As the policy archives revealed, one of the goals of the Falangist government was to control people’s thoughts to generate agreement with the party’s platform of nationalism.
Triangulating this with Almond et al.’s theory of political socialization, it can be seen how the government and the Church were structures in acculturation.

This description of living in Franco’s Spain is similar to Chehabi and Kesharzian’s examples from present-day Iran (See Chapter 3.) Both countries worked to transmit political values and norms through an alliance with an organized religious system, but other forces such as family practices, neighborhoods, and social groups have, in part, undermined each government’s effort. In a 1992 study coordinated by the Universidad Complutense de Madrid in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, one of the findings reported that, initially, rather than developing its own educational policies, the Franco regime restored the pedagogical tradition of the Catholic Church in the schools. According to this study, the difference between Francoism and other totalitarian states (author’s words) was that in Spain, the government never exercised a monopoly on primary and secondary schools. Instead, it let the Church have a considerable and influential power which lasted until the 1960s, at which time the state began to replace the existing teaching with its own programs. This action was not taken for political or ideological reasons, but for technical and economic purposes. Similarly, responses to the present study to Question Five, “Were you taught the principles of Catholic religion in your school?” and Question Two, “What types of schools did you attend in Spain?” indicated that participants attended a variety of schools including public and Catholic (see

---

7 Juan Pablo Fusi Aizprua, (Contemporary History Professor), “La educación en la España de Franco”, *Franco y su época*, directed by Luis Suárez Fernández for Summer Studies, 1992, University Complutense de Madrid (Madrid: Actas de El Escorial, 1993), 127. This work was part of a larger summer research project funded by the Spanish government and done through the University Complutense of Madrid.
survey results), but only seven of the forty-five respondents answered either “Almost never” or “Never” to Question Five, indicating that Catholicism was a part of the educational curriculum in all types of schools. This confirms the historical findings that Catholicism was taught in both public and private schools.

In summary, the survey results gave greater confidence that the conclusions garnered during this investigation were more credible, since cohesive themes and patterns emerged from the triangulation of the survey, historical research, and textbook analyses.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

The present study investigated the relationship in Spain between the educational system, government, and the Catholic Church during the Franco regime, from 1939 to 1975. A National Catholicism developed that connected the Church with Franco’s government and from that union Falangism was born, defined by most historians as Spanish Fascism (see Chapter Four). How these currents were transmitted to society through the educational system was examined in depth and analyzed using the conceptual frameworks of structural-functionalism (including political socialization), nationalism, and filter-effect theory. The multiple methodologies of historical research of both governmental and Church documents, analysis of school textbooks from the period, and a survey about their educational experiences during and after the Franco regime conducted with present day Spaniards were coordinated in a process called triangulation. The results indicated that the intertwining in education of concepts central to Catholicism, nationalism, and Falangism may have advanced the perspectives and power of Fascism in Spain.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, diverse philosophies collided in various arenas of thought among members of the Spanish intelligentsia. The reformist Generación del ’98, led by Miguel de Unamuno, a Basque philosopher and author, held to an existentialist framework based on the writings of Danish theorist, Søren Kirkegaard.
Stemming from elements of the German Enlightenment, this relativistic ontology framed a movement aimed at political restructuring pitting these reformers against the Catholic Church’s absolutist belief in immutable truth. The growing coalition of liberal factions took over the Spanish government in 1931 in a bloodless revolution when Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship failed. However, when the Republic began to falter almost as soon as it began, it became clear to Republican leadership that Spain’s education was a key impediment to the nation’s political and economic modernization (See Chapter 2).

However, the “New School” that was quickly implemented by the Republic was just as rapidly replaced after the Republic was defeated in 1939. The subsequent evolution of Spanish consciousness into a type of fascist sensibility formed a critical element in the Franco era. This sensibility was foundational to the policies implemented and the textbooks disseminated in schools during Franco’s regime (See Chapter 4).

Not unlike those in other countries, the Spanish educational system has reflected the government in power. However, as the historical research in Chapter 2 showed, Spain’s volatile political swings and subsequent reprisals damaged its schools and the education of its children. In addition, the Catholic Church controlled Spanish education during most of Spain’s modern history. For example, Spain’s 1851 Concordat mandated that the bishops enforce conformity of education to Catholic doctrine (See Chapter 2). Although this law was briefly banned by the Republicans in 1931 at the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic, the first four points were reinstated in 1941 by Franco after the
Nationalists came into power. Nevertheless, the Church and the Falangist government in the Franco years struggled over the control of education, as the government sought to nationalize the school system. Though the government never gained complete control of the schools (mainly because the curriculum was written by Church leaders and many educators were Catholic), the Franco administration worked with the Church for the mutual goal of a Spanish totalitarian humanistic society (see Chapter 4).

Chapter Three used the conceptual frameworks of structural functionalism, nationalism, and filter-effect theory as analytical lenses for the present study. These theories provided structures to examine whether the Catholic Church and the Spanish government, through policy and curriculum developed conjointly by these institutions, cultivated a school environment that taught an extreme nationalism between the years 1939 and 1975. Historical research presented in the current study indicated that the Catholic Church sought to maintain its position of power over the populace through education. Further it showed how the Church and the government arranged to use the schools as a vehicle to impose a Catholic Nationalist belief system on schoolchildren attending public and private schools.

A critical element of Almond’s et al.’s structural functionalist theory is recruitment, or how citizens are enjoined to become active players in the political system. They wrote that in an authoritarian system, recruitment may be dominated by unelected religious leaders. This element of their theory can be directly applied to Franco’s Spain.

---

1 All points were reinstated except for Franco’s right to reinstate bishops. See Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 420.
in the period under study. Further, Almond’s et al.’s concept of communication, or the way a government disseminates information to its citizens, can clearly be seen in the rewriting of textbooks in this era. Leaders controlled all information disseminated to its citizens, and, in the case of education, communication was specific and direct.

Chapter Four explored the rivalry between Falangists and the Church for control of the government and the schools. Franco astutely orchestrated a type of “balance of power” among ruling party members so that no one group ever completely dominated. Some, like General Juan Vigón Suerodíaz, Minister of the Air Force, were Falangists; Pedro Sainz Rodríguez (the first Minister of Education of the Franco regime) was a Catholic monarchist and Conde de Rodezno, Minister of Justice, was another Carlist as well as a monarchist. During Franco’s dictatorship, the Ley Moyano of 1857, giving bishops the responsibility for reviewing all doctrinal content of the schools’ curriculum, including textbooks, was upheld. Nevertheless, according to José Pemartín, Franco’s Minister of Education during the Civil War (October 3, 1936 – January 30, 1938), the Falange plan for schools was to combine Catholicism and Fascism, particularly in public education. Pemartín believed that a Spanish Fascism had to be Catholic, at base, to create a complete fusion of the nation and the State. However, he asserted that school personnel who did not support the Nationalist agenda betrayed these ideas, thus hindering this fusion in the schools. As revealed in Chapter 4 of the present study, school textbooks did serve to support the nationalization of Catholicism aimed at creating a Spanish totalitarian humanism.
Chapters 5 presented the methodology that guided the analysis of the research components of the present study. After furnishing an analysis of education policy statements and textbooks used in the Francoist period, the study included a survey of present-day Spaniards that inquired about possible political coercion respondents may have encountered in their education, before and after 1975, the year Francisco Franco died. The results of this survey were presented in Chapter 6. The three research elements were triangulated, comparing the historical analysis of government and Church documents, the examination of textbooks during this era, and the survey of present day Spaniards to verify the consistency or reliability of the results of the present study, and to make sure these results were valid. A blending of the results of these three components provided an affirmative answer to the present study’s central research questions – whether a complicity existed between the Falangist government and the Church which served to proselytize a Franquist National Catholicism in the school system.

**Scholarly Contribution**

This study of the educational system during the Franco regime in Spain makes a significant contribution in the field of comparative education since few comparative studies have explored Spanish fascist education (See Chapter 1.) Although much has been written on Spanish Catholicism and Spanish fascism, there is a paucity of information and analysis regarding the instrumentalization of education by the Franco regime. The present study fills this gap by revealing the political and theological
constructs underlying education policy and curriculum formation and how textbooks were developed to serve that policy in this period in Spain.

**Further Study**

A comparative analysis of the educational system in communist Poland and the role of the Catholic Church and its relationship to the schools and government would be of great benefit to the field. Because both Spain and Poland have strong Catholic roots and a greater fragmentation of political parties compared with other eastern European countries, a comparison similarly structured to the present study might reveal critical factors in the history of Poland and similarly oriented other eastern European nations. Additionally, some observers, such as Edward Malefakis, have compared the plight of the agrarian peasants in southern Spain during the Second Spanish Republic with the experience of the rural Polish population during the Polish Republic prior to 1926. Malefakis believes that although Poland was not as anti-clerical as was Spain between 1931 and 1936, both countries experienced a rise of nationalism that eventually subjugated ethnic minority groups resulting in the end of a parliamentary government and Progressive party rule.\(^2\) Additionally, Spain had a dictator and Poland had a dictatorship under communism, while both nations had deeply established Catholic traditions.

The direction of the present research indicated that when analyzing the educational system of a state that has a strong structure such as the Catholic Church, a political model, such as class conflict, does not completely answer the more complex

---

questions related to the control of education by powerful cultural entities such as the Catholic Church and a fascist government. In addition, as noted in this study of Spain during its Civil War and the aftermath of the Franco era, although Republicans and Nationalists supported opposite political principles (liberal and conservative, respectively), members on both sides who were strong Catholics seemed to display a stronger allegiance to their religious beliefs than to their parties’ platforms. For example, as Payne’s analyses of the political in workings of the Republican Party during the Second Spanish Republic revealed, part of the disunity of the Republic was due to disagreements among party members as to the role of the Catholicism in the government and the schools. Some tried to enact a type of social Catholicism, while others favored a more democratic version. The nationalists, similarly, “buffered” their concept of fascism to include Catholicism as well, hence the term “Falange”. In summary, both sides sought to enact their political principles by a type of political socialization that sought to deaden the imagination of the populace, in part, through the control of education and school textbooks.

---

3 Ibid, 373, 11.
APPENDIX A

SURVEY DATA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID #</th>
<th>Completed Date</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>Q4</th>
<th>Q5</th>
<th>Q6</th>
<th>Q7</th>
<th>Q8</th>
<th>Q9</th>
<th>Q10</th>
<th>Q11</th>
<th>Q12</th>
<th>Q13</th>
<th>Q14</th>
<th>Q15</th>
<th>Q16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>171215</td>
<td>2011.01.10 2:13</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170641</td>
<td>2011.12.10 10:47</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170856</td>
<td>2011.12.14 19:39</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170739</td>
<td>2011.12.16 16:31</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170653</td>
<td>2011.01.10 10:50</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171654</td>
<td>2011.01.10 10:55</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>We didn't attend a university but some didn't graduate</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166170</td>
<td>2011.01.12 12:30</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170535</td>
<td>2011.01.12 14:46</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170503</td>
<td>2011.01.12 15:30</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171210</td>
<td>2011.01.13 14:33</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171230</td>
<td>2011.01.15 15:47</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171235</td>
<td>2011.01.15 16:45</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171224</td>
<td>2011.01.16 15:26</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171233</td>
<td>2011.01.16 16:51</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171555</td>
<td>2011.01.16 16:30</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170506</td>
<td>2011.01.16 16:39</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170501</td>
<td>2011.01.16 16:44</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170507</td>
<td>2011.01.16 16:53</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171221</td>
<td>2011.01.17 11:33</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171231</td>
<td>2011.01.17 11:55</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171341</td>
<td>2011.01.17 17:03</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171640</td>
<td>2011.01.18 12:44</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170533</td>
<td>2011.01.18 15:40</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170531</td>
<td>2011.01.18 16:32</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171233</td>
<td>2011.01.19 15:41</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171233</td>
<td>2011.01.19 16:40</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171233</td>
<td>2011.01.19 17:12</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Republicans</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171506</td>
<td>2011.01.19 17:13</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170700</td>
<td>2011.01.19 19:36</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171210</td>
<td>2011.01.19 21:43</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171234</td>
<td>2011.01.20 12:29</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170404</td>
<td>2011.01.21 10:42</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171201</td>
<td>2011.01.21 13:45</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170860</td>
<td>2011.01.21 15:05</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170734</td>
<td>2011.01.21 17:15</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171272</td>
<td>2011.01.21 17:15</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171272</td>
<td>2011.01.21 17:15</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Against the Nationalists</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Survey Data**
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Spanish Catholicism, An Historical Overview. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.


Franco and Hitler, Spain, Germany, and World War II. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.


Qué es <<Lo Nuevo>>...Consideraciones sobre el Momento Español Presente. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A.


VITA

Joan Cicero Domke received her Bachelor’s of Social Work (B.S.W.) degree from the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana. After graduating, she joined the Peace Corps, serving in Puerto Rico. Subsequently, she earned her Master’s of Education and administrative certificate from Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois, while concurrently studying Spanish at the University of Illinois at Chicago and Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois. She has also studied Spanish and political science at the Ibero-Americano College in Mexico City. More recently, she received her Ph.D. from Loyola University Chicago in Cultural and Educational Policy Studies with an emphasis in Comparative and International Education.