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## **Indoctrination and control: education in the Spanish Franco Regime**

### **Indoktrynacja i kontrola: edukacja w Państwie Hiszpańskim**

#### **Abstract**

During the dictatorship, the educational policies that were carried out had the aim to inculcate some values and concrete knowledge's that looked for the indoctrination of the childhood. This study tries to understand what are the effects of the series of mechanisms started in youth- if they achieved the aim. Francoism, through the Youth Front, controlled the day to day school, politicizing all daily school activities. Dictatorship use education as a weapon of political education.

**Keywords:** political education, dictatorship, childhood, Spanish Franco Regime.

#### **Streszczenie**

W czasach dyktatury celem polityki edukacyjnej było wpajanie wartości i konkretnej wiedzy, która w istocie była indoktrynacją. W pracy podjęto próbę zrozumienia, jakie następstwa przyniosły mechanizmy zapoczątkowane w czasach młodości, czy spełniły swoją rolę. Reżim Franco, poprzez Front Młodzieżowy, kontrolował codzienność szkolną i upolityczniał szkolne aktywności. Dyktatura używa jako broni edukacji upolitycznionej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** polityka edukacyjna, dyktatura, dzieciństwo, Państwo Hiszpańskie.

#### **Introduction**

During the Franco regime, the regime undertook one of the key tasks for the construction of the “New State” totalitarian: absolute control of children and youth through education. For it was created known as “favorite work of the regime”, the Youth Front, where framed compulsorily all children and youth. The school became a fertile ground for political symbols, patriotic daily rituals and commemorations. The Youth Front completely controlled the day-to-day school, through their instructors, faithful to the “educational standards” that were published in Mandos, official magazine of the Youth Front that was published monthly.

Creating a new type of citizen was one of the most ambitious tasks of the Franco regime, and all it launched an educational gearing according to their interests and political objectives<sup>1</sup>. They were performed ritual actions at school: raising the arm, celebrating national holidays, songs, hymns, worship, sports activities, etc. All this occurs within the space school where children, day after day, they have to fulfill their religious rites and ceremonies patriotic as one of their homework, and also outside the walls of the school, imbuing ad nauseam everyday life of childre.

Franco launched at the end of the civil war, a rebuilder project; for it was essential that contribute to it based education to inculcate values that were transmitted clearly: religiosity, self-denial, sacrifice, service, discipline, docility, political conformity, hierarchy and authority, ideological rigidity, etc. With education was intended to build a new identity for the Spaniards, identify and project principles and guiding ideals of national recovery<sup>2</sup>. This should deeply internalized through appropriate formal and informal learning. Education as a political weapon, was deeply instrumentalized in the search for political legitimacy.

During the first stage Franco an exploitation of the school system occurs as instilling and social factor in order disciplinarization continuous exaltation of patriotic and religious values. The role of the school is doctrinally emphasized as fundamental, forming deep social instance habits and attitudes. Education is for the regime to maintain its main instrument to achieve stability and social permanence. The organization of the Franco educational system was essentially a reproduction of the conceptual pillars which form the basis and perpetuated such totalitarian state: exaltation of the Catholic religion and patriotic ideology, being elevated school secreted into the only valid, honest and decent to understand both physical occupation of the space of children, such as the provision of a differentiated curriculum, designed and adapted to better fulfill the roles socially stipulated for each group<sup>3</sup>.

### **Primary education during the Franco regime: the Primary Education Act 1945**

It is true that the Primary Education Act 1945 constitutes a new legal framework for teaching, but from the end of the civil war is taking shape part of the educational system of primary education, through orders and circulars. The Order of the August 19, 1936 and proclaimed the opening of the National Schools of Primary Instruction from September 1, also beginning at this time, and as previously

<sup>1</sup> C. Benso, *Tradition and Innovation in the Practical Culture of Schools in Franco's Spain*, "Paedagogica Historica" 2006, no. 42, pp. 405–430.

<sup>2</sup> J. Fontana, *Enseñar Historia con una guerra de por medio*, Barcelona, Crítica 1999, 54.

<sup>3</sup> M. Peinado, *Educando a señoritas y sirvientas. Formación femenina y clasismo en el franquismo*, Madrid, Catarata 2012.

reported, debugging Republican teachers and dismantling entire educational work of the Second Republic.

With the advent of the Primary Education Act 1945<sup>4</sup> notable changes occurred in school policy, but we should not believe that before the proclamation of this law had a loophole in education policy, the truth is that with all administrative orders the most important gaps are covered. The law was very thorough and gathered all educational aspects of primary education from students, teachers, through school construction, inspection or adult education.

Education was subordinated under the power of the new state, and was primarily aimed at political indoctrination to build an identity for the Spaniards who could maintain the status quo Franco. The Primary Education Act had several points with the Founding Act of the Youth Front, but the first was much more extensive and devoted more space to other educational functions.

One of the main provisions of the new law will be to suppress coeducation; the separation of sexes was one of the major concerns of the regime, obsessed with the difference in roles between men and women was only possible coeducation in some rural areas where limited number of students prevented the existence of two separate schools: “mixed schools will not be authorized only in exceptional cases when the core of the population of a school contingent than 30 students between 6 and 12 years age limit to attend this type of school”<sup>5</sup>.

In all other educational spaces, whether public or private, coeducation was absolutely forbidden. It is true that this section on coeducation had already been taken into account much earlier through a provision May 1939<sup>6</sup> why Madrid School groups are reorganized so that children do not share classrooms: The educational system of coeducation, entirely contrary to religious principles of the National Movement and therefore essential suppression of anti-pedagogical and anti-educational.

Primary education was intended, as prescribed by law; “provide all Spanish compulsory general culture” in addition to “train the will, consciousness and character of the child, in order to fulfill their duty and eternal destiny”. He also noted that primary education should “instill in students the spirit of love and the idea of service to the Motherland”<sup>7</sup>.

Education policy became an extension of the civil war, using it as a weapon against any previous ideology. It was necessary to define a new “teaching personality” to serve as a national reconstruction from an educational perspective. A return also to Christian pedagogy and the use of “purely Spanish” pedagogues

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<sup>4</sup> Law of 17 July 1945 on Primary Education. It consists of several pages, the 385 to 416 of the Official Gazette of the State of the July 18, 1945.

<sup>5</sup> Law of 17 July 1945 on Primary Education art. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Official Bulletin of the State 6, 1939, item 8.4, 387.

<sup>7</sup> Official Bulletin of the State 6, 1939, item 8.4, 388.

as indicated by the law. Education was an instrument of service and commitment to the political cause of the moment, especially with training work, from primary school to university.

During the Franco pedagogy he focused first on an essential goal he had set their interest in the task of “integrating the Spaniards in the set unswervingly unit of the nation”. To this end, some organic pedagogues of the regime as José Talayero, alluding to “create a pedagogy of pain”:

We live in its full reality ascetic and military sense of life because the religious and the military are serious and integers only means understanding life monks half and half soldiers, as José Antonio said. The pedagogy of sacrifice. Pedagogy of living crucified with Christ. Precisely the opposite of that biological pedagogy just discussed, which is based on the game as an instrument of pleasure to satisfy a need.

[...] In this pedagogy ours, we christened the pedagogy of pain, as opposed to who took possession of our schools, call pleasure. But not that distressing and mortifying pain that depletes energy, but the pain that rises, stimulating, vivifying, perfecting<sup>8</sup>.

Franco moved education, as seen in the contributions of Franco pedagogues, on a material poverty and spiritual wealth: is ordered to articulate the content around a physical religious education, patriotic, civic and undertakes to fulfill religious duties to teachers and students, the reading of the Gospels is imposed in schools, it is encouraged teachers to hymns entornar patriotic at all school sessions, performing rituals such as raising and lowering flags to cultivate patriotism through history<sup>9</sup>.

An education that nagged of teaching materials<sup>10</sup> An education that towered considerable educational gap with teachers who “taught” through general encyclopedias and their knowledge inherited from the Normal Schools, as well as certain guidelines coming from the MEN or the National Delegation of the Youth Front. In this context it is framed in ideological excessive interventionism of the regime and against devoid of mediational filters to restructure their political orientations to curriculum reality, where the school is moved from the first Francoism.

<sup>8</sup> J. Talayero, *La metodología de la Escuela Primaria*, “Curso de Orientaciones Nacionales de la Enseñanza Primaria” 1938, no. II, pp. 71–83.

<sup>9</sup> A. Escolano & R. Fernandez (eds.), *Los caminos hacia la modernidad educativa en España y Portugal (1800–1975)*, Zamora, Fundación Rei Alonso Henriques 1997, 147.

<sup>10</sup> The Order of the 1 March 1939 authorizing the publication and use in schools in a series of books and materials approved by the Commission appointed to the effect. They will be put into use so-called “notebooks lesson preparation”, one of the teaching tools used in Spain most of the time. Used since the beginning of the century, they consisted of a brief educational intervention design where information is collected on the teaching act: objectives, content, resources, methodology, etc. Every teacher should keep a notebook of this type were inspected regularly. Circular on February 23, 1939, adding that “these notebooks will be reviewed by the Inspector and may take on a voluntary basis and rotation among children, a class notebook where the meanings of glorious dates, biographies of our heroes are collected or religious festivities”.

To all this educational void must be added the practices and activities aimed at the formation of the national spirit, prescribed by the leaders of the Movement: the raising and lowering flags, explaining the weekly slogan, gymnastics and premilitary notions, or notebooks rotation, where students summarized their impressions of the maximum daily patriotic, they had a driver character-based continuous repetition that was primarily aimed submissive to train citizens and productive, both economically and politically, for the regime.

As noted Renom of Padreny<sup>11</sup>, primary education plan from start to finish was aimed at achieving these objectives: the rehabilitation of the Spanish people and maximum utilization and performance of our individual values. Either jointly contribute to the stabilization of the economic and social balance characteristic of the Spanish organization.

### **School principal agent of political socialization of Francoism**

The school was the agent of political socialization par excellence during the Franco regime. As previously reported, textbooks were also important, as central elements of the universe that made up the different Francoist school programs. The textbook, while resource formalized communication within the teaching-learning developed in the internal framework of school class, was an instrument of transmission of ideological values supported by the current political system for internalization by student behavioral patterns that tended to strengthen the conservation, maintenance and reproduction of those.

But this research is based on the idea that the vacuum theoretical and pedagogical content which was in most escolares- manual was used by the Youth Front to launch other mechanisms more effective indoctrination. School book, which has been analyzed as the central element of transmission of Francoist ideology, was an important instrument-above all those dedicated to training but also political commemorations, political symbols within the classroom and beyond, rituals, songs, sports activities, etc. They formed a microworld of political legitimacy to influence identity formation of youth, aiming to maintain the status quo and Franco make a concrete imaginary.

The ideology was created through a lexicon or symbolic speech, whose purpose was to give a collective meaning or interpretation to the life experience of social groups and unite them politically. To this end, ritual actions carried out in school: raising the arm, celebrating national holidays, songs, sports competitions, etc.

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<sup>11</sup> G. Remon De Padreny, *Los problemas fundamentales de España*, Zaragoza, Talleres Gráficos El Noticiero 1939, 24.

The textbook transmitting a conscious discourse and systemized constantly reproduced: extreme nationalism, identifying national with the Catholic, transmission of a hierarchical and authoritarian tradition of social and political reality (legitimization of social inequality) and insistence on the value of the unit. Francoist political speeches and texts of textbooks were, in many cases, interchangeable. In those speeches and manuals political language was used to support and legitimize the Francoist political system in order to maintain social order, creating social and political identities adept at Franco. But the power of symbols, songs and festivals, unified the crowd giving them a banner under which unleash the feeling of unity and belonging to a group.

When the war ended, a process of dismantling of the symbols of the Second Republic and its replacement by fascist elements to rebuild society. It intentionally destroyed to rebuild and regenerate thus a new world; It dismantling ritualized where it was remaking the space and time.

To this end, teaching history in primary school became a very powerful vehicle to justify the new political project, turning the field of last Spanish cultural conflict. This “invented tradition”, as stated Hobsbawm<sup>12</sup>, involved a group of practices, normally governed by accepted rules and openly or tacitly symbolic or ritual nature, seeking to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically imply continuity with the past. Education became an instrument of political action.

The education system is the fundamental mechanism of transmission of the set of values that a community considers essential to its consistency, stay and play in a role socialization agent shared with family and other less relevant public social entities. This political socialization that occurred at school and outside it in the extraescolares- activities intended to bring together social and political values, to reach a solid and stable as possible consensus that did not question the foundations of the new regime. These values were incorporated into the ideology that the regime – holder of the social domain – enmascarándola as a creed, program or integrative doctrine that suited everyone and should be accepted by all. The Franco regime was aware that it needed convincing that defeat was not enough.

The school favored the internalisation of patriotic habits through the daily ritual hymns and flags, with songs and with concrete political activities, imposing the idea of natural community above all. Some political rituals and religious habits -sustentados on patrióticos- referred to as catechisms that permeated that school and internalizing also generated ideas for handling and disciplining of young people. Declared the official catechism since 1939, the Menéndez-Reigada, Dominican bishop was referring to “the enemies of Spain”: are seven: liberalism, democracy, Judaism, Freemasonry, Marxism, capitalism and separatism defeated

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<sup>12</sup> E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, *La invención de la tradición*, Barcelona, Critica 2012.

in the Great Crusade, though not destroyed, because they hide as poisonous vermin in filthy mechanines to follow from the shadows throwing his baba and poisoning the environment<sup>13</sup>.

The school, as an instrument of political socialization, tried to give space to two entities that eventually clash over control of the educational field: the Church and Falange. As stated by Francisco Morente, has become almost an axiom stating that from the outset that is, since the creation of the Committee on Culture and Teaching, Franco gave education “catholic” fully folding, therefore, approaches the Church in education<sup>14</sup>.

It is true that education in Franco’s Spain was a predominantly Catholic orientation but, however, the claim that this was the result of the incontestable triumph of the action of the Church should be subjected to an analysis more nuanced of which is usually done. The interpretative line here is to be held is that, at the least until 1945, pedagogy and educational policies of European fascist regimes exercised a very remarkable influence on teaching in Spain, which was perfectly compatible with a Catholic orientation the same and with great presence of “Catholics” between political staff responsible for carrying it out. This influence continued being noted after 1943, although the logic of the international situation, especially after the defeat of the Axis, forcing the regime, as mentioned above, edges polished and distance, at the least formally, their former allies, as is natural, it was reflected also in the field of education.

The triumph of the Church on the positions of Falange occurred, although only partially, in a particular issue: control of the educational system, causing an excess of religious schools and fewer public schools. Quite another thing but not least was fundamentally concerning the pedagogical model to be imposed. It has long been noted that in this second issue, the differences between the Catholic models and Falangist were not substantial, and therefore the so-worn battle between Church and Falange in education, what is question was a matter of quotas of power and control of the instruments of political socialization of young people.

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<sup>13</sup> A. Menéndez-Reigada, *Catecismo patriótico español*, Salamanca, Establecimiento Tipográfico Calatrava 1939, 20.

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