

Education and Power: Teacher's Repression in the Teacher Training Colleges (Spain, 1936-1942)

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Education and Power

- International Standing Conference for the History of education, Riga, Latvia, August 21-24, 2013
EDUCATION AND POWER: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES
- **One of the issues where it focus on is**

how does power
– **usurped or self-proclaimed, appointed, democratically or naturally won –**
act upon the field of education?



Three research projects

- Primary teachers (Málaga)
- Secondary Teachers (Spain)
- Training Teachers Colleges (

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- ALL the teachers of ALL levels
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- When and where Franco (the “Nationalists”) was taking the power.

- From 1936 to 1944.

- The purge was like a “legal process”:
Each teacher was the “accused” and had to prove that he/she was “innocent”.
There was no defender, only prosecutor

The francoist teachers' purge:

Repressive and preventive functions

To punish/repress

“red”/left/republican teachers,
to dismantle any
leftish ideology

To prevent:
Coercitive function:
To make
absolutely clear
the NEW situation




Totalitarian regimes have always exerted a strict control over teachers to maintain their own survival.

- In every dictatorship, teachers from all levels, must help to consolidate the new structures and to keep the imposed order; to do so, they are **obliged** to reproduce the new ideology, and they are **prevented** from disseminate any idea that could delegitimize the regime



Education in Spain, 20th Century

1. **The Silver Age of the Spanish Culture (1898-1931)**
2. Second Spanish Republic (**1931-1936/1939**)
3. Franco's regime (1936/1939-1975)
4. Restoration of the parliamentary monarchy: Democracy

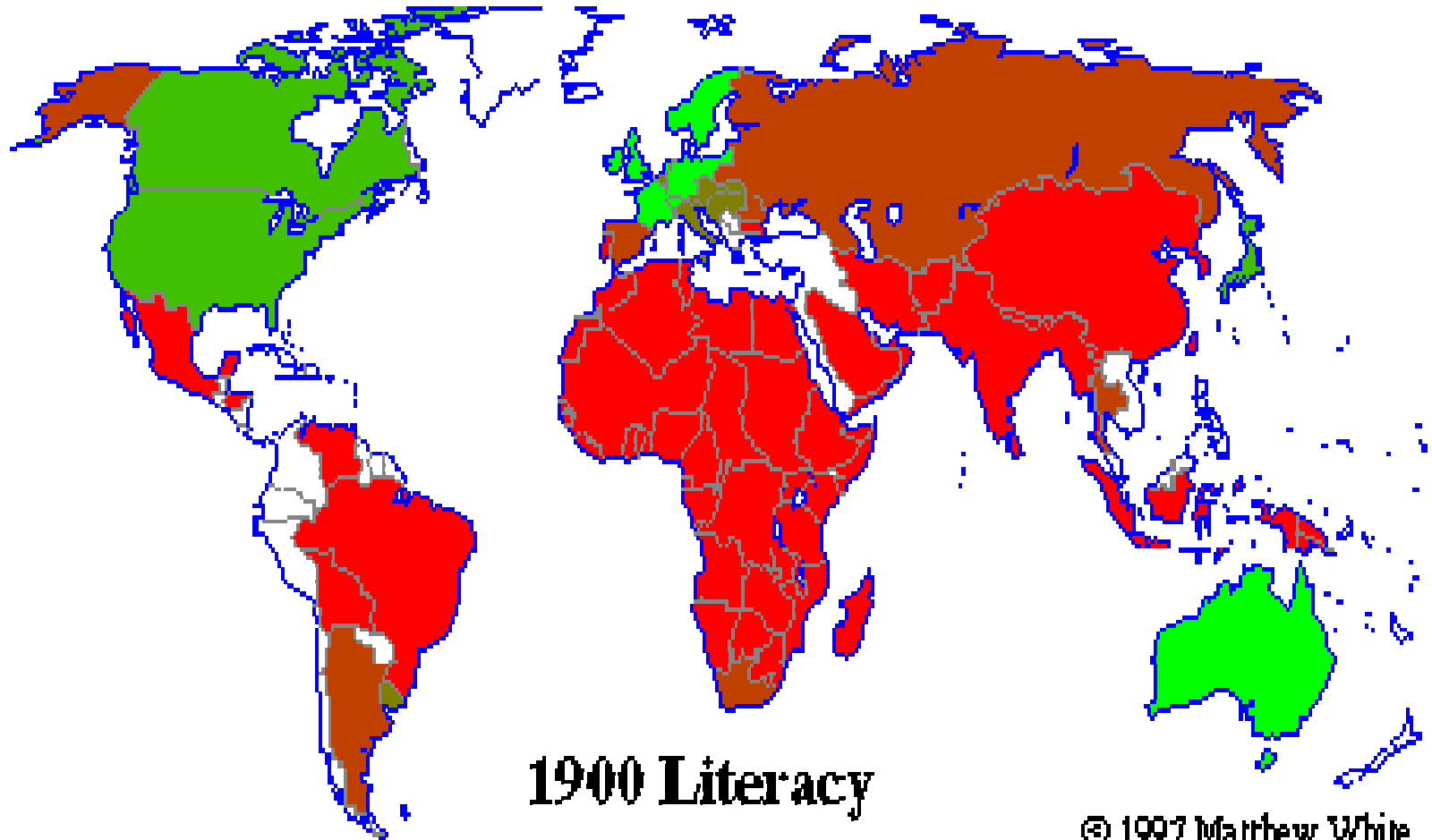


	1900	1930	2000
Illiteracy Spain	56%	31,13%	2%
Schooling Primary	47% 1.564.738	c. 60% 2.502.332	100%
Students secondary	32.000 (Only 44 girls, 0,13%)	65.000 boys 11.000 girls (c. 15% girls)	3.000.000 (53% girls)
Students University	20.000 (only 9 girls, 0,05%)	2.588 girls (6,2%)	1.600.000 (53% girls)
Teachers	43.000	c.60.000	600.000

World Literacy, 1900

(White indicates data unavailable so far)

Adult Literacy



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Second Spanish Republic

- Three VERY different periods:
- 1. Socialism (1931-1933)
- 2. Coalition of the Radical Right: CEDA (Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right) (1934-1936)
- 3. Left-wing coalition: the Popular Front (February 1936- July 1936/1939).

Many projects were initiated, but the governments were in power so short time that their projects were never finished.

Publicity campaign

MINISTERIO DE INSTRUCCION PUBLICA
EN LOS AÑOS 1935-36 EL GOBIERNO RADICAL CEDISTA
CREO 1000 ESCUELAS



EN EL AÑO 1937 EL GOBIERNO DEL FRENTE POPULAR CREA 10.000 ESCUELAS



FETE UGT

TALLER A MADRID

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ANTES



En las maternidades morían miles de niños, hijos de obreros, campesinos y empleados

AHORA



LA REPUBLICA ATIENDE HOY A LA MADRE Y AL NIÑO

PROPORCION DE CAMAS PARA ENFERMOS TUBERCULOSOS

14 ABRIL 1931	505
DICIEMBRE 1933	1664
1 JUNIO 1936	2571
18 JULIO 1936	2221
MARZO 1937	790
OCTUBRE 1937	2326
1 ENERO 1938	3.727

TERRITORIO LEAL
 TODA ESPAÑA

LA GUERRA SIGNIFICA LUCHAR POR LA SALUD Y LA FORTALEZA DE LOS ESPAÑOLES Y DE SUS HIJOS

SUBSECRETARIA DE PROPAGANDA

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The Teachers' Republic

- The government took special interest in
- **Primary schools:** approximately one million children still did not attend the school
- **Literacy:** c.10.000.000 of illiteracy among the adult population
- The construction of 5.000 schools per year (total **27.000 new schools**) and night classes for adults.
- There was a great need for **properly trained and paid primary and secondary teachers** for existing schools. The government offered promotions and increased teachers' salaries.



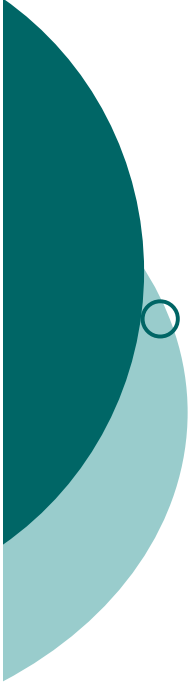
The constitution of December 1931. Educational policies: Article 38

- The service of culture is an essential attribution of the State.
- Teachers, professors and chair professors that integrate the official educational system will be government employees. The freedom of professorship will be guaranteed and recognized.
- The Church holds the right to teach its doctrines in its own institutions and will be subject to State inspections.



And Education will be non-confessional.

- These legal precepts caused great upset within the Catholic Church, which did not accept the law stated in the constitution.
- Defining education as secular meant that there would be no religious symbols in public schools or classrooms.

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- When the “Nationalists” came into power in 1936/39, **one of the first items** on their agenda was to take control of the educational system.
 - They believed that the “red revolution” had been developed with the help of the educational system and that “the new Spain would not triumph if it does not conquer the School”.



Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939

- In July 1936 Spain was split up into two zones whose border constantly changed, depending on where battles took place.
- Republican zone influenced by Popular Front (the elected government)
- Nacional zone under the control of the self-proclaimed leader of Spain, Franco.
- **DESPITE THE WAR, SCHOOL ACTIVITIES CONTINUED**


Children playing shooting






Repression and ideological control

- The government intended to create a new cultural and educational initiative in 1939, which would have an **obsessive focus on the Spanish nationalism and Catholicism.**
- **Traditionalist, authoritarian and dictatorial.**
- This meant, especially during the years immediately after the Spanish Civil War, a **culture of imposition**, reconquest attitudes, or imperialism.



José Pemartín, Franco's Minister of Education during the Civil War (October 3, 1936 – January 30, 1938) said:

"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**".




The **professional purge** was applied to all the civil workers and had specific characters when applied to teachers because

Mistrut

Hostitily

TEACHERS WERE NEEDED
to spread political, social and religious ideas.

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- The purging process was meant **to punish** those teachers disaffected with the new regime, and especially **to prevent** against any ideological dissent.
 - This preventive role had the highest impact on everyday life of the educational institutions and has conditioned our educational history for decades.
 - Professors, primary and secondary teachers, libraries, text books and even University and Teachers Training Schools' students.

Teachers' purge = A state matter





WHEN?

- Franco's purging machinery was set up no longer after the war started. At first it was in the hands of the military governors of each province: the process was very simple: to *confirm* or to *separate* permanently without providing them the possibility of defence.
- **Circular 21 September 1936:** Rectors of the University had the power to make the necessary purge before beginning the course



1936-1944

- Law **1 October 1936**: The Junta Técnica del Estado was created . She was responsible for ratifying or modify the judgments issued by the Commissions and the Comisión de Cultura y Enseñanza.
- Decree 8 **November 1936**: This legal texts that had the greatest impact, during and after the war. **This decree created 4 different committees.**
- The Order **11 March 1938** created the *Oficina Técnico Administrativa de Depuración* (Administrative Office) 1938 to solve any problem related to the files and from the Purging Commissions.



From Schools to Universities

- Franco's regime brought about a strong political repression in Spain, the widespread and systematic 'cleansing' of the education system through different COMMITTEES:
- A: University Teachers
- B: Engineering/Architecture Schools
- C: **Secondary schools, Vocational Schools, Arts Schools, Teachers Training Schools...**
One in each province.
- D- **Primary Schools:** One in each province.




8 November 1936:

It is necessary to conduct "a full and thorough **review** on the staff of public instruction, step prior to a radical and final reorganisation of education, **eradicating in this way these false doctrines that together with their apostles have been the main factors behind the tragic situation** that our homeland was brought to."



The Teachers' purge: The process was carried out in five steps

- Summons
- Affidavit → NO charges: **Proposal of confirmation**
- ↓
- Charges
- Evidence
- Proposal of resolution
 - Confirmation without charges
 - Wide range of punishment

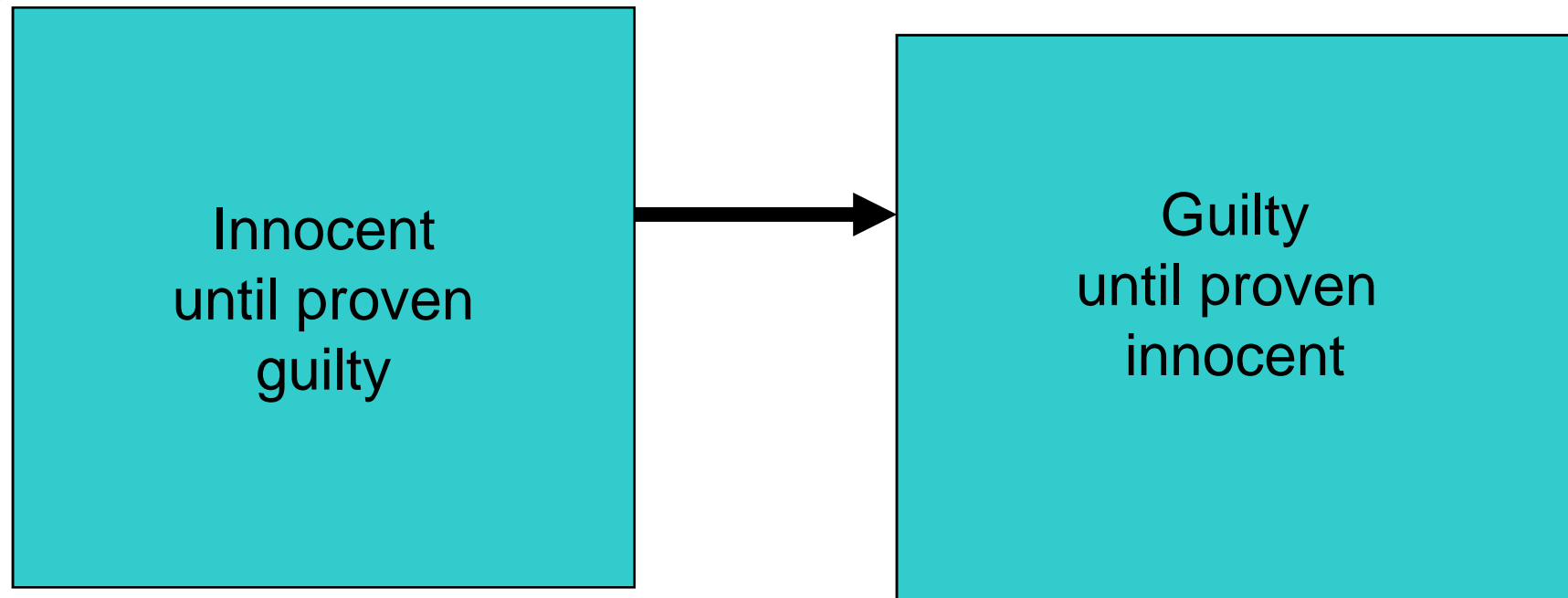
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- Cardinal Gomá stated that **“anyone who did not attend mass devoutness was likely to be suspected of 'red' tendencies”**.
 - **But he didn't explain how to measure “devoutness”**



Providing evidence was essential.

To remain it was necessary to prove TOTAL allegiance

Presumption of culpability





AS A WHOLE

It was a mockery of a trial

Every teacher was taken to court.

No real defence, attorney or jury; everyone could be the prosecutor. Different punishments for similar offences and **vice versa**.

A parody of legality



Teachers avoided being labelled as “enemy”, “red”, “irreligious”...

Evidences show how dramatic the purging process was and lead us to a better and deeper understanding of the great damage, not only **economic**, **professional** or **social** but also **moral** and **psychological** which affected teachers.

5. Proposal of resolution

- **Positive:** CONFIRMATION, No charges, No punishment (c. 70%)
- **Negative:** A lot of possibilities:
 - disqualified to develop managing posts;
 - temporary suspension without pay for 1-5 years
 - compulsory transfer to another school // village, city, region... for 1-5 years.
 - **to be dismissed from the service (c.15%)**



Results

- University
- **Professors** active in June 1936 at the University of Madrid (Complutense today), **44,3 percent were sanctioned.**
- The figure is similar between teaching assistants and aides reaching 43,6 %, although 7,6 % of them have not found data.
- The reality was that teachers and students were framed by the leading ideology of the regime.



Teachers Training Colleges: 30,27%
Secondary Teachers: 27,48%

Primary Teachers (c. 25%):

	Maestros	Maestras
○ Almería	27,7%	11,2%
○ Málaga	35,1%	11,1%
○ Castilla-La Manch	31,5%	16,7%
○ Valencia	34,5%	22,1%

The autonomic map of the purging process

Autonomous Region	TEACHERS		Punished Number	%
	<i>Nº</i>	<i>%</i>		
Andalucía	88	13,45	35	39,77
Aragón	36	5,50	6	16,67
Asturias	13	1,99	3	23,08
Baleares	7	1,07	5	71,43
Canarias	36	5,50	4	11,11
Cantabria	7	1,07	3	42,86
Castilla y León	69	10,55	25	36,23

Castilla-La Mancha	82	12,54	28	34,15
Cataluña	95	14,52	29	30,53
Ceuta	2	0,30	0	0,00
Extremadura	6	0,92	4	66,67
Galicia	24	3,67	10	41,67
La Rioja	20	3,05	1	5,00
Madrid	64	9,78	13	18,75
Melilla	4	0,61	3	75,00
Murcia	18	2,75	2	11,11
País Vasco	20	3,06	10	50,00
Valencia	63	9,63	17	26,98
TOTAL	654	100	198	30,27

□ No se han encontrado datos pertenecientes a Navarra.

Official Bulletin of the State (1936-1942). Resolutions

YEAR	TEACHERS		PUNISHED		%
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	
1936	24	3,67	24	12,12	100,00
1937	32	4,89	19	9,59	59,37
1938	6	0,92	2	1,01	33,33
1939	204	31,19	39	19,70	19,12
1940	195	29,82	59	29,80	30,26
1941	144	22,02	37	18,69	25,69
1942	49	7,49	18	9,09	36,73
TOTAL	654	100	198	100	

Results

Death or Prison

Exile

National Catholicism

SOCIAL CHANGES
Education
Family
Women



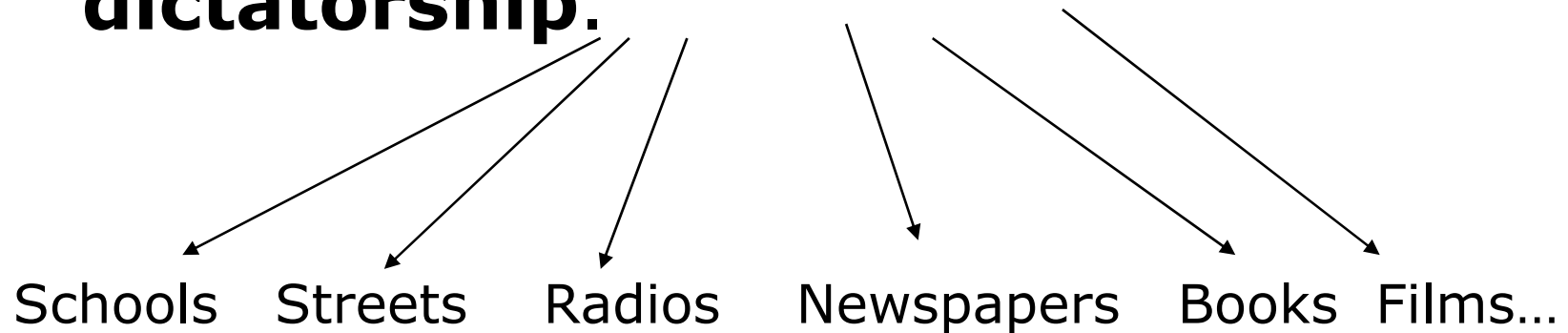
Exile and worse...

- It is difficult to say how many teachers were executed in the first weeks of the war. It is said that hundreds...
- Biescas and Tuñón put the figure of 7.000 teachers among the 270.000 total prisoners in concentration camps and prisons of the first Franco period.
- Almost half a million people were forced into exile, among them many intellectuals, teachers and artists who had supported the Republic.



And for those who stayed...

- A dark, sad and long period of our history begun.
- For four decades, **the Church was closely allied with General Franco's dictatorship.**



In the early years of the Franco regime, church and state had a close and **mutually beneficial** association.

The loyalty of the Roman Catholic Church to the Francoist state lent **legitimacy to the dictatorship**



The dictatorship **restored and enhanced** the church's traditional privileges



Constitution 1931



Concordat 1953

- The service of culture is an essential attribution of the State.
- **Education will be non-confessional**
- The Church holds the right to teach its doctrines in its own institutions and will be subject to State inspections.

- In all centres of education, of whatever type or level, both public and private, **teaching will conform to the principles of the dogma and morality of the Catholic Church.**
- The Spanish State guarantees **the teaching of the Catholic religion** as a regular and obligatory subject in all centres of education, both public and private, of all types and levels.



**THANK YOU
VERY MUCH
FOR YOUR ATTENTION**