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THE CONCEPT OF THE STATE IN TEXTBOOKS: ANALYSIS AND REINTERPRETATION DURING THE SPANISH TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY (1976-1986)

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ABSTRACT: This article analyses the concept of the state as represented in primary school social science textbooks in Spain during the transition to democracy. The analysis of textbooks during this period has tended to focus on the importance of National Catholicism (*Nacionalcatolicismo*) or the technocratic vision in the framing of their representations. This article points to how such representations should be viewed from a more complex perspective that lays the emphasis on how the dictatorship understood education within the context of the Cold War. The first part of the article analyses the explanations given by textbooks during the transition. The second part dissects the subsequent evolution of the representations. Lastly, we attempt to explain why these representations and changes came about.

Keywords: textbook, state, the Spanish transition, Franco regime, curriculum

1. INTRODUCTION

School textbooks continue to be a rich seam of research material on the history of education.¹ Insofar as education cannot be envisioned without some type of resource or means for the transmission of knowledge, textbooks have been an ever-present in our classrooms. This is one of the reasons why so much interesting research is being conducted on them today. It is not, however, the only reason that we pore over their pages as we unravel the history of education. Textbook analysis also provides us with an insight into the kind of knowledge that was taught in classrooms. In a way, these materials are used as a resource with which to reconstruct aspects related to knowledge and socialisation models that were transmitted in the classroom at different historical periods.

In Spain, this type of study has been conducted widely, and one of the most researched periods in relation to the use of textbooks is the Franco dictatorship.² The majority of these studies have illustrated the profound influence that the values of National Catholicism or the technocratic vision had on schools under the Franco regime. Conservative religious values, sexist values and class values made up the bulk of their pages and, by extension, of education during the Franco era. This was

clearly a defining feature of the transmission of knowledge during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy. However, it may be worth our while asking ourselves the following questions: did textbooks at the time only present the values of National Catholicism or technocratic ideology? Did National Catholicism and the technocratic vision form the backbone of all knowledge? Did education under the Franco regime revolve exclusively around these values? Were these values the cornerstone and the fundamental conceptual framework that guided Francoist educational policies? Answering these questions is not easy. The theoretical frameworks that have been developed to date on the dictatorship, the Spanish transition and school textbooks provide us with a perspective that may not be able to capture this complexity.³ During the dictatorship, educational models such as programmed learning, the revision of school textbooks under UNESCO programmes and even television education projects were introduced with the aim of democratising secondary education (González-Delgado and Ferraz-Lorenzo, 2018; González-Delgado and Groves, 2017, 2018).⁴ A whole range of curriculum proposals were incorporated into educational policies born of *modernisation theory*.⁵

All actions of this kind originated around an idea of education attached to the context of the Cold War. For this reason, it may be necessary to begin to analyse the educational reality of the Franco era from another approach or perspective. Rather than focusing on National Catholicism or the technocratic vision as a driving force of all education under the dictatorship, another dimension that centres on the concept of education and the idea of society needs exploring. This will enable us to see that these ideologies were present, but that they did not contradict other types of educational proposals that, paradoxically, the technocratic vision helped to encourage. The problem may have arisen from the assumption that the ideology of National Catholicism was the defining factor of education during the long Franco regime and that it did not allow for the introduction of other types of curriculum policies. We think it is time to reassess the Franco dictatorship as a regime that underwent changes throughout its existence and to focus on the conceptual underpinnings of the educational system that it shaped. This will give us a greater understanding of why certain representations from the economic sphere appeared in the textbooks of the Spanish transition and how they subsequently evolved.

This article aims to analyse the concept of the state that textbooks of the transition tried to convey to students in the last three grades of primary education.⁶ As we set out to explore this concept and as we analyse the textbooks, through their explanations, demonstrations, debates and examples, we become aware of a reality that is much more complex than that revealed in prior studies on textbooks, the Franco era, and the transition to democracy. The concept of the state contained within these textbooks expressed a representation that adhered closely to the protectionist ideas that facilitated functionalist social cohesion; ideas that, on the other hand, lost ground during the first years of democracy and moved towards a model based on a less protectionist outlook.

The choice of this topic, in its economic sphere, brings to light the importance of the conception and idea of the individual in society, which helps us to understand the changing content of social science textbooks. Therefore, it enables us to analyse textbooks from a perspective that focuses not exclusively on the political aspects of the dictatorship, but also on the educational framework that was to be built.

To carry out our research, we analysed the social science textbooks of the main Spanish publishers – Santillana, Anaya and Bruño – during the years of the third stage of EGB: sixth, seventh and eighth year of primary school. We began by performing a classic analysis, consisting of extensive reading of the sources in order to ascertain the main arguments pertaining to the concept of the economic state and to identify the elements characteristic of this topic in the various texts. This allowed us to track and compare the way that the concept of the state was addressed throughout the years covered by the study. In doing so, we adopted a ‘content analysis’ approach based on a general reading of the texts and the selection of arguments pertaining to consumption in contemporary societies. This approach also took into account previous research related to social studies (geography, history, civic and ethics education),⁷ as well as methodological aspects proposed by other specialists within the fields of the history of education⁸ and textbook research.⁹ In the first part of our study, we analyse the concept of the state during the final years of the dictatorship and the transition to democracy. The second part takes the same approach, but with the textbooks from the democratic period. Finally, the third part of this article provides explanations that have helped us to complete our analysis of the complexity of curricula during the Franco dictatorship.

2. AN ORGANICIST AND SOCIAL VISION OF THE STATE: PROTECTION, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY AS UNQUESTIONED SPACES

Ascertaining the concept of the state in the textbooks of the Spanish transition is not an easy task. There is no specific appendix or unit where the state is spoken of autonomously and independently. This does not mean that the desired state model was not addressed. The state is present in their pages and there is a clear model framed within a social conception of it. Its ultimate meaning is intimated through the protection, security and responsibility that the state should afford to its citizens. The development of the idea is largely attached to the world of work: the focus is on the role of regulator that states played during the Fordist labour pact that was widely established in Western societies after World War II. For this reason, in order to understand what kind of state these textbooks conveyed, and the developments of the following years, the vision of the world of work that was intended to be transmitted needs first to be sketched out.

The story that textbooks tell us about labour tends to begin with how it is organised. In other words, with the ‘community’ that is created when a group of individuals, of working age, participate in an enterprise. As a result, work is the

'centre of social life' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1979a, p. 249). The community is a core element in connection with all that is related to the organisation of labour. The 'work community', according to the ideas of the time, is therefore a 'functional organisation that regulates the functions of different people'. Within it, workers perform their activity based on a 'hierarchical structure that is more or less complicated' in line with the 'size of the company and the degree of specialisation and the complexity of the work being carried out' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1979a, p. 249).

However, the work community not only refers to the way in which the company is set up to produce. The relationships that exist between workers and capitalists also occupy a central place in the textbooks. As we can see, there is a pronounced differentiation between 'labour' and 'capital'. In relation to this aspect, the concept of labour during the transition to democracy focused on showing, in a Durkheimian sense, the mutually supportive function of the hierarchy and the social division of labour. In this regard, 'in the work community the workers have a shared relationship ... because there is a community of interests among the workers' (Ramos *et al.*, 1977a, p. 41). Such division is expressed in its 'normalising' nature without analysing its different forms. However, what is important to emphasise here is that the separation between labour and capital is observed as an unquestionable phenomenon. Although there may be work or objectives that are shared between capital and labour, the social and labour hierarchy is not hidden. It is even openly acknowledged that 'sometimes, in the work community conflicts arise due to a lack of understanding between the group of workers and the company' (Ramos *et al.*, 1977a, p. 41). The working class is used as a central concept when it comes to explaining arguments about labour and the inequalities that the state is meant to alleviate. In turn, capital forms another group of differentiated actors with specific interests.

However, the formula for solving these problems is not found within a classical liberal pattern in which workers and employers negotiate solutions to situations of conflict amongst themselves. The main idea posited to remedy the social challenge arises from a functionalist perspective known as 'social consultation' (Mañero Monedo *et al.*, 1979a, p. 34). There is open criticism of the excesses of economic liberalism. There is a questioning of how, with the emergence of 'major industry in the nineteenth century, workers lived in inhuman conditions, working 12 or 14 hours, without holidays or days off, without insurance of any kind, without retirement ...'. It is accepted that 'the workers' struggles have been directed towards achieving their participation in the surplus value, the profits generated by the effort of the workers' and that 'it is not a question of abolishing logical industrial profits ... but of ensuring that capital is not the only side to appropriate the profits'. Therefore, it is necessary that

capital does not 'exploit the workers' (Mañero Monedo *et al.*, 1979a, pp. 34 and 35).

The importance of the employment contract, work insurance and life cycles and stable labour statutes are not discussed. It is patently clear that exploitation by employers is an element of constant concern for school textbooks. The debates about inequality and the need to seek out a social order to break with inequality are pivotal. The concerns that were expressed in Marxist theory at the time may be divined to a greater or lesser degree in these textbooks. Explanations about the origin of capital present it as accumulated labour that is extracted from the activity of workers. Profit is not exclusive to the employer. Because of this, industrial profit has to be accepted insofar as the company is owned by a capitalist, but part of it must be delivered to the working class in the form of a salary or through indirect redistribution with the creation of social services. Labour is understood to occur under capitalist relations of production that are determined by differential and arbitrary access that is dependent on class structure. This fact gives rise to another range of concerns and criticisms in these textbooks. The problem that arises from labour under the framework of liberalism is that it leads a large part of workers to 'work on only one link in the production chain, and always the same link'. Hence 'the production chain' may 'provide us with examples of alienated work [and] contribute to this alienation' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1979c, p. 289).¹⁰

However, as we have already indicated, workers or employers are not independently in charge of solving all the problems related to the redistribution of wealth, the conflict between capital, work and alienation. The state and its intervention in this process is not only understood to be necessary, but also legitimate and essential. This is where the role and the concept of the state that school textbooks used during the transition to democracy is defined. The state is responsible for alleviating situations that the labour market cannot resolve. What school curricula treat as social inequality is considered to be the product of a set of social and political relations derived from the excesses of liberal capitalism. State interventionism, as an agent that regulates and drives the economy, is the main feature that defines the concept contained within these textbooks, which are framed within modernisation theory and the Fordist labour pact. To a certain extent, for the textbooks 'the problems began with the existence or not of a job for every man or woman'. Therefore, depending on 'whether or not they have work, a person can change radically'. This is because the construction of individual identity is fundamentally based on labour. Without this there is no personal realisation, no individual or social progress. For this reason, the textbooks point out that 'the importance of there being work for all and the need for the state to create jobs, where necessary, can therefore be inferred' (Colomer Viadel *et al.*, 1979, p. 39).

In addition, the textbooks indicated that for the development of 'modern societies' to take place, it is necessary for 'states to implement a state policy

for the defence and promotion of employment through the creation of jobs' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1979b, p. 263).¹¹ In this regard, the safety net that supports modern societies in achieving the coveted right to work is none other than the 'social state'. Inequality is not the result of personal weakness, as purported by classical liberalism. Society generates perverse effects that individuals cannot overcome, despite their best efforts. Moreover, there need to be institutions charged with mediating the construction of society. The forging of this modernising process means, therefore, that 'the state' develops 'public services' and becomes 'the biggest employer' (Mañero Monedo *et al.*, 1979a, p. 35).

In this way, the 'state ... must take responsibility for ensuring that all people obtain decent and sufficient living conditions through their work' and that 'the requirements that guarantee a job and adequate economic and social conditions for workers are met' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1979c, p. 289). This type of explanation in textbooks should not surprise us at all. Although they are framed in the period of the political transition, what we must keep in mind is not the ideology of National Catholicism as a cross-cutting element or a catalyst of these textbooks. The important thing here is that, during the dictatorship, the perception of human progress, social organisation, labour and economic relations was based on the idea that societies are susceptible to change and improvement through the intervention of institutions. They were rooted in the central ideas of the theorists of modernisation and functionalism. This was the aspect around which educational reforms revolved. But it was also a space or conception of the social model that did not contradict the more conservative values of the dictatorship.

For this reason, and in relation to the ideas of the social state, the solutions to the problems of labour did not only stem from state intervention into the economy. The classical proposals of modernisation theory were also present as a way to promote the progress of society. The most important such proposal was the use of the education system to attain that desired social model. The school textbooks indicated that 'equal opportunities must be encouraged, so that everyone may demonstrate their aptitude for work that is agreeable to them and that can contribute to their personal fulfilment' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1979c, p. 289); this is a central aspect of the concept of the state in these books. Within this framework, it is understandable, therefore, that the textbooks claimed that there is a model based on the idea of functionalist meritocracy. In turn, to achieve this process it is necessary to 'create an educational system that continuously improves those who work and adequately prepares those who are going to start work'. This is the only way to avoid 'potential talents being wasted and those who see no encouragement to excel in their work falling into routine' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1979c, p. 289). However, all these concerns underwent modifications in later years.

3. THE EVOLUTION TOWARDS A NEW NEOLIBERAL ECONOMIC MODEL: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STATE AS AN ECONOMIC FACT DURING THE BEGINNINGS OF DEMOCRACY

As we have already mentioned, textbooks during the transition began by explaining the work community. This community disappeared from school textbooks during the following years. Labour appeared as a formal element and was not represented in its real economic space. Under the constitutional framework, there was an insistence that ‘all Spaniards have the duty to work and the right to work and to freely choose their profession’. A salary was understood to be a fundamental statutory premise. However, inequality was focused in a new area not ascribed to class analysis. All that was said was ‘in no case can there be discrimination on the grounds of sex’ (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1984, p. 201). Unlike in previous years, an introduction to labour did not start with an open debate about the productive model. Capitalism had become normalised and references to the USSR and Karl Marx had disappeared. Everything related to the pronounced differentiation between labour and capital, the existing hierarchies between workers and employers and exploitation disappeared from school curricula during democracy.

It is true that the concept of the state appeared to be linked to the model of institution responsible for ensuring the welfare of citizens. Despite this, there is a fundamental change in the social logic under which it is analysed. The opposition of worker versus employer has been blurred by ‘the individual’. It is no longer just the state but also a more abstract entity – ‘society’ – ‘that must take responsibility for ensuring that all people obtain decent and sufficient living conditions through their work’ (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1984, p. 202). For these textbooks, the state is still presented as being in charge of ‘adopting measures that promote the creation of new jobs and that allow existing jobs to be maintained. Society and the state must take responsibility for ensuring that all people obtain decent and sufficient living conditions through their work’ (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1984, p. 203). However, it is not only the appearance of new social subjects, defined by vaguer terms such as ‘society’ or the ‘individual’, that define the actions of the state. The question is that, unlike in previous textbooks, society is again an intentional human creation. That is, individuals, through their efforts, can determine their own lives and make them change. To a certain extent, there was a return to a classical vision of liberalism, known from that moment onwards as neoliberalism.

For this reason, there was acknowledgement of the fact that ‘first of all, the state and individuals must create jobs to the extent that all members of the community can pursue an occupation and the abilities of all are harnessed’. ‘Individuals’ now appear to be an object not determined by social conditions. They can be mediated by society, but have an ability such that with ‘ingenuity, wonders may be achieved: works on a gigantic and microscopic scale ...’ (Martínez Beltrán *et al.*, 1987a, p. 99). The texts that we have thus far analysed

would never have pointed this out. They operated within a different rationale. During the transition to democracy, the social state intervention model progressively moved into the background and the case was now made for a classical liberal premise. Individuals 'with perseverance, honesty and application can achieve great goals ... For labour to contribute to developing our personality, it must take into account more and more the capacity for initiative of company workers' (Martínez Beltrán *et al.*, 1987a, p. 99).¹² Alienation, exploitation, production lines; these are an ever-present reality that is not analysed. Essentially, an understanding is regained according to which society is also mediated by development and the acumen of individual elements of human nature and not the other way around.

Because of this, the textbooks insisted on a new understanding of the state based on two different premises: individual and society. The first of these premises had not been present in the textbooks of the final years of the dictatorship. Thus, on several occasions the new texts indicated that 'it is the obligation of the state and of all citizens to contribute to reducing *unemployment*' (1987b, p. 65). Unemployment was to become one of the growing concerns in school curricula that focused on the world of work and the notion of the state. This is quite logical, given the economic crisis during which these textbooks were authored. Now, and picking up on previous ideas, we are offered two different positions: the first, centred on 'public authorities [...] that will introduce special policies designed to promote full employment' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1984, p. 201); and the second position, in which the educational system is increasingly adapted to the needs of the economy to defeat unemployment. The education system is now seen as an entity in charge of 'providing adequate preparation to future workers [and] perfecting the knowledge of workers so that they may always be able to respond to labour demands' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1984, p. 203). In other words, the responsibility for solving the problems that arise from the system of production no longer lies solely with the state. Now individuals are entrusted with finding the solution to what is a problem of the community, through an 'equal opportunities' policy linked to the capacity-building provided by the education system.

In line with this idea, school textbooks no longer turned their gaze towards a diagnosis of labour problems in terms of social mechanism. They turned to individual components amidst a wider acceptance that we occupied a framework or space that was deficient from the point of view of social protection. It was pointed out that 'labour represents a source of satisfaction and a stimulus for self-improvement. However, since labour is a scarce commodity, many people have to perform unrewarding tasks that bear little relation to their qualifications' (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1993, p. 188). The question of whether or not these tasks should be undertaken by the state is not even raised. Unlike the view of the role of the state from previous years, the root of the problems now ceases to be found in the imperfections of capitalist societies. Labour problems began to be

accepted as a necessary evil. Examples of other contexts for redeeming the national situation began to appear. This is what occurred, for example, when it was stated that:

unemployment affects a large number of workers, many young people seeking their first job and those who cannot exercise a newly acquired profession. In developed countries there are unemployment benefits, but the amount is insufficient, they are of limited duration and not all the unemployed have the right to receive them. In underdeveloped countries, the problem is even more serious, because there is less work, and unemployment insurance is often lacking (Abad Caja *et al.*, 1993, p. 189).

However, it now becomes necessary to ask why textbooks changed their theoretical stance from an organicist conception of the state to a model that is once again supported by the basic premises of classical liberalism. The answer to this question is not simple. School textbooks are a manifestation of curriculum policies that are subject to many social, cultural, political and conceptual processes that imprint a highly complex character on them. Such complexity often exceeds the intentions of authors (Authors reference), the editorial lines of publishers (Darr, 2012), and even the pressures of professional fields in certain historical periods (Foster and Burgess, 2013). This compels us to investigate, for each specific case, the causes that may have influenced the configuration of said school materials at the time they were written. We shall dedicate the following section of this article to this question.

4. WHY THIS TYPE OF REPRESENTATION? SOME POINTERS TO UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF THE STATE IN THE SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS ANALYSED

As we have pointed out, there is no simple answer to this question. The explanation that will be expounded over the following pages is based on a perspective that needs to be expanded further. Delving into the reasons as to why the thematic contents of textbooks are developed in a certain way is a particularly broad undertaking that often eludes researchers who try to unravel their mysteries. However, in some cases there are coherent explanations that may help us understand this process. John Issit (2004) argued that school textbooks symbolise a 'very fuzzy category as they reflect a multiplicity of meanings and uses' (Issit, 2004, p. 685). School books are, in essence, mediated by a mixture of elements that may be drawn from 'the configuration of dominant ideas and social values, the commercial impulses of the publishing industry, particular academic disciplines and conventions of authorship, and from the progressive technologies of media production' (Issit, 2004, p. 685). School textbooks have to adopt a position or synthesise these elements if they are to gain a temporary status of legitimacy and social credibility. And it may be precisely this factor that underlies a significant reason for the representations of the state found in the

textbooks from the last years of the dictatorship and the advent of democracy. However, this does not mean that the other reasons should be overlooked.

Part of the answer to this way of observing the concept of the state lies in the political framework in which the textbooks were developed during the transition. The subjects taught in school were strongly influenced by the curriculum policy that was laid down by the Ministry of Education and Science (MEC) and the Directorate General for Basic Education. The curriculum was not decentralised.¹³ The different textbook authors had to faithfully reproduce the basic reference levels of the social science curriculum as defined in ministerial documents. It should be noted that the general outline of the concept of the state was defined by the MEC through the Ministerial Orders of 29 November 1976 and 30 June 1977,¹⁴ which were respected by the textbooks written during the final years of the dictatorship. The approval of these textbooks was subject to the 'Documents' that were drawn up to this end. To take a case in point, in a support document for preparing social science materials, the MEC encouraged teachers to teach students to 'understand the meaning' of terms such as 'trade union, nation, cooperative, social classes, citizenship, common good' and to know or understand the world 'of labour, of a decent job and a fair wage' (Crespo Alonso *et al.*, 1979, pp. 165 and 172)

What these documents tell us is that during the Spanish transition the economic model of state that was described in the curriculum was clearly linked to the world of work and the need to shore it up as a central tenet underlying the construction of citizenship. Luis Enrique Alonso (2007) has brought this aspect to light. It was an era marked by a vision or construction of citizenship linked to the 'Fordist working life model' (Alonso, 2007, p. 69). Citizen status was linked and developed mainly through a professional career (work) that was stable, continuous, full-time and of indefinite duration. Labour was the driver behind the construction of social regulation that brought widespread forms of property and social resources (unemployment, health and education services) that at the same time had redistributive effects. This life cycle, despite the fact that it began to enter into a crisis at the end of the 1970s (Castel, 2002), was almost exclusively organised through labour market inclusion. The central point of reference was work, which became the primordial 'factor of identity and social recognition: it was the great integrator' (Alonso, 2007, p. 72). The state therefore had to bolster the construction of citizenship by maintaining labour cycles, an aspect that was directly related to the development of the social state in Spain. For this reason, the state-as-protector was configured as a concept alongside the world of work in the textbooks of the last years of the Franco regime. In other words, the legitimate concept, or predominant discourse, on the construction of citizenship was rooted in the need to control the excesses of the liberal economic model. Employing an array of different arguments, the school textbooks recognised that a capitalism controlled by the state was the essential driver of economic development and social cohesion, and the leveller of social inequalities.

On the other hand, the concept of the state in these textbooks was also reinforced by factors of another nature. We refer here to the influence that state

theory – reformist or social – had on the academic field of social sciences after World War II (Jessop, 2016). These theories focused on demonstrating that state intervention in the economy was necessary to solve the problem of free competition. From this vantage point, the conflicts between capital and labour could only be overcome through a series of measures designed to remedy classical economic individualism that tied in directly with the creation of Fordist labour models, and state intervention that resulted in the growth of unemployment, sickness and pension benefits. It is true that during these years certain theorists advocated models that were less interventionist in the economic sphere (ESping-Andersen, 1996). It was also the case that theorists of a more Marxist persuasion criticised the state intervention model because it generated policies that resulted in the creation of bourgeois state capitalism (Alonso, 2007). However, the important thing to note about these studies is that they all started from the same premise. Classical liberal capitalism created situations of inequality that individuals could not solve by their own means. This was also true of Spain. Indeed, during these years, Marxist debates about the role of the state in the protection of workers and the redistribution of wealth were widely known through the translations of works by, *inter alia*, Ralph Miliband (1971), Nicos Poulantzas (1973) and Louis Althusser (1974).

However, the concept of the state contained in the textbooks of this study does not only originate in the construction of the rights of social citizenship within the domain of labour. This intervention framework was also promoted in other institutional areas. In 1944, the Franco regime developed the first policy of ‘social justice in the field of education’ through the creation of the School Protection Law.¹⁵ With this law, the dictatorship sought to construct a positive rights model that compensated for the obstacles that prevented individuals from developing a harmonious social life. It was a law that was not ‘merely a charitable gesture, but a duty of the state and a social obligation’.¹⁶ Within this conception, from the 1950s onwards the principle of ‘equality of opportunities’ continued to grow and was regularly revisited in Francoist educational legislation. In 1958, Feliciano Lorenzo Gelices, one of the leading officials at the School Protection Commission of the Ministry of National Education (MEN), theorised about the new policy of ‘equal opportunities for families with low incomes’ (Lorenzo Gelices, 1958, p. 63).

This type of policy was, in fact, in keeping with the recommendations made to Spain during those same years by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), regarding the need to develop education as a strategic pillar of ‘economic and social growth’. These recommendations included the need to set up ‘a progressive tax mechanism’ to bring about a ‘quantitative and qualitative’ improvement in education (OECD, 1965, p. 117). Thus, the dictatorship accepted and converged with modernisation theory, which saw the education system as one of the fundamental institutions for economic growth and modernisation of the country.

Within the concept of the state expounded by the textbooks of the Spanish transition, a range of factors therefore appeared that may help us to understand its

configuration. Facts such as the curriculum policy set down by the MEC, the persistence and dominance of the Fordist labour model, a theory of the state that focused on the different models of intervention and control of free competition, and the influence of international organisations and modernisation theory are significant factors or ingredients of the process. However, the main reason behind the use of this concept of the state in textbooks is the very notion or idea of society as interpreted by the dictatorship. It was an approach that, as Miguel Ángel Cabrera (2019) has pointed out, has its origins in the beginnings of the social reforms in Spain in the period comprising the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The dictatorship developed a series of values known as National Catholicism. However, this was not the conceptual pillar on which the educational model was built from the 1950s onwards. The education system was underpinned by a school of thought according to which the individual was mediated by social elements. For this reason, National Catholic values were deployed in parallel to a state model framed within the principle that individuals are not entities that develop in the abstract. Both approaches were not incompatible with each other. To understand why school textbooks represented the state in a certain way, we must understand that the Franco regime operated under a rationale or an understanding of the state that was of its time and context.

In fact, just after the end of the dictatorship an important aspect emerged in relation to the conception of the state that Western societies settled on: those policies related to what has become known as the neoliberal offensive or the ‘new spirit of capitalism’ (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005). This aspect helps us to understand why school textbooks during the democracy ventured more and more into a space in which the individual began once again to be the master of his or her fate within the social division of labour. It is well known that during the political transition the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), at its 28th General Congress, abandoned its Marxist leanings as a way of confronting problems related to social inequality (Tezanos, 1985). When it came to power in 1982, the PSOE had already adopted a neoliberal approach to economic policy. The extent to which the PSOE adopted this new vision of the state is demonstrated to us by the fact that it was studied in the European context as the ideal type of social democratic party that had shifted openly towards these economic policies (Share, 1988).

This conceptual change began therefore to give new meaning to the lack of individual freedom and the de facto equality of social subjects that was curtailed by excessive state intervention. To a certain extent, institutions were seen as generators of processes of unequal socialisation and of social control. Schools were one such institution. This fact helps us to understand, to an extent, how factors of this nature brought about a transformation in the contents of school textbooks that examined the concept of the state during democracy. For this reason, inequalities in these textbooks no longer came from the social division of labour ascribed to class inequality. This reality is not even mentioned in the school curricula. Other social

subjects such as inequality of race, gender or identity began to be the points of reference upon which social sciences in schools were taught (Authors Reference).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The concept of the state found in the textbooks of the Spanish transition was subject to a series of unquestioned elements. For these textbooks, the state had to broadly intervene in the economic model. Despite putting forward certain idealistic notions such as the work community or the common good, the fact is that they considered that the excesses of liberal capitalism, born of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had to be controlled by the state in some way. For this reason, they gave the utmost importance to social protection, social classes, trade unions and actions aimed at ensuring that it did not have to be individuals alone who faced up to social risks. Karl Marx, the policies of redistribution, social security, alienation, and unemployment constantly appeared in their pages. This was the concept that underpinned them.

However, during the beginnings of democracy this perspective began to change. Labour disappeared as a central point of reference for the contents of school textbooks. It appeared in isolation as a formal fact ascribed to the constitution. The social classes, the social division of labour and everything related to a Fordist workspace began to disappear. The theoretical framework within which the state had been viewed began to fade during the first years of democracy. The individual took up the torch as a lone entity that had to solve his or her own economic problems. The state, rather than protect, had to guarantee the right conditions so that personal initiative would not be curtailed.

It is not easy to explain this type of transformation for several reasons. The first has to do with the way of looking at education during the Franco dictatorship. In many cases, it has been assumed that the ideology of National Catholicism was the substantial and unifying element of educational policy during this era. However, a closer look at the education of the Franco regime leads to a far more complex reading of this reality. Equal opportunity policies were first developed during the early years of the Franco regime. The state was entrusted with curbing the inequalities that the liberal social model had produced. Moreover, in the 1950s the dictatorship subscribed to modernisation theories and the recommendations of international organisations. Certainly, all these factors are important to understand why the school textbooks propounded a protectionist vision of the state. However, the ultimate reason as to why these textbooks expounded such ideas is found in the underlying view of social inequality and the position occupied by individuals in the social sphere. In essence, the economic model of state that underpinned the Franco regime operated under the same logic as other state models of its time.

Altogether, this helps us to appreciate how textbooks are cultural, political, economic and even conceptual manifestations. Ultimately, if they want to reach their target audience, they have to take up and develop the same ideas that have

been expressed with far greater force and legitimacy in other fields. For this reason, they are complex artefacts shaped by the wide-ranging social and conceptual context in which they are written.

6. DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

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8. NOTES

- ¹ See, for example, the works of Bromley and Lerch (2018) and Roldán Vera and Fuchs (2018).
- ² The literature on Franco era textbook analysis is very broad. We will only give a few examples of the most recent works, such as García Fernández (2017) or Mahamud Angulo (2016).
- ³ There are some publications that present exceptions. See Mahamud Angulo *et al.* (2016) or González-Delgado and Ferraz Lorenzo (2018).
- ⁴ This same process can be seen in other dictatorships in southern Europe, such as Portugal or Greece. See for example Foukas (2018), Estrela (2019) or Alves and Lima (2018).
- ⁵ Modernisation theory was a scientific and ideological tool used by the US to channel the processes of development and decolonisation that began to take place after the Second World War. This theory was based on a range of concepts that dominated much of American social sciences and impregnated its foreign policy. A broader development of this paradigm can be seen in Gilman (2007) and Martín García (2015).
- ⁶ In the *General Education Act* of 1970 primary education was called Basic General Education (EGB). This was organised in eight grades with three stages: first stage: 1st and 2nd grades; second stage: 3rd, 4th and 5th grades; third stage: 6th, 7th and 8th grades. The concept of state and its role in the economic context began to appear in the sixth grade, when the third stage began. For this reason, this research focuses on the 6th, 7th and 8th grades of EGB. This primary education structure would last in Spain until 1990, when a new educational law was introduced: The *Organic Law on the General Organisation of the Education System* (LOGSE). See Groves (2014, pp. 20–53).
- ⁷ See Valls (2007), Evans (2011) and Woyshner and Bohan (2012).
- ⁸ See Steedman (2001), and McCulloch (2004).
- ⁹ See González Clouté *et al.* (2016), Mahamud Angulo *et al.* (2016) and Badanelli (2012).
- ¹⁰ The concept of alienation is explored in Abad Caja *et al.* (1979b), Cases Méndez *et al.* (1978), Pavón Espiga *et al.* (1978) and Ramos *et al.* (1977b).
- ¹¹ Similar arguments may also be seen in Colomer Viadel *et al.* (1979) and Pavón Espiga *et al.* (1978).
- ¹² Other textbooks use similar arguments: Equipo Aula 3 (1983), Ramos *et al.* (1983) and Ramos *et al.* (1984b).

- ¹³ During the dictatorship and the transition in Spain, the educational system was centralised: the MEC made decisions regarding the syllabus. In 1981 a process of educational decentralisation began with the *Programas Renovados de EGB* (Renewed Programmes of EGB) (1981). The *Comunidades Autónomas* (Regions) could introduce local content to the curriculum. With the 1990 LOGSE Act, educational decentralisation expanded to its present extent, and a new governance began to develop. See Verger and Pagès (2018).
- ¹⁴ Ministerial Order extending the Ministerial Order of 29 November 1976, which established new contents in the teaching guidelines for the social sciences in the second stage of Basic General Education, BOE (Official State Gazette) of 3 December 1976, No. 290 and BOE of 29 July 1977, No.180 .
- ¹⁵ Law of 19 July 1944 (BOE 21/07/1944).
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5555.

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