

Textbooks and national Catholicism in the dictatorships of Salazar and Franco*

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Abstract

This article examines how school textbooks are part of the historical-educational heritage of the education system, not only for their being objects which reflect the memory of the schools but also for their being an indispensable resource for the study of the school culture in any country. Aware that textbooks have been the guardians of the dominant culture of a given historical period and subjected to political as well as religious regulation, the objective of this work is, firstly, to reflect upon the treatment they received with respect to the two basic pillars of society that were politics and religion during the dictatorships of Salazar and Franco; and secondly, to analyse the discursive content of the books, the exercises, and the images included, which will allow us to also interpret the socioeconomic context and the role afforded to the family and to women in a dictatorial regime. As a reference, we shall take up those textbooks which were the most used by children in Portuguese and Spanish schools.

Keywords

Textbooks – Cultural material – Francoism – Estado Novo – Education.

* The authors take full responsibility for the translation of the text, including titles of books/articles and the quotations originally published in Spanish.

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Introduction

The generalization of schooling in contemporary societies is owed neither to mere philanthropic generosity nor to a disinterested commitment to the education of the masses. Notwithstanding the manifestations of certain personalities who are very sensitive to the relevance of education, there follows a social dynamic which responds to those interests linked to the development of economic activities and the bureaucratic apparatus of the Nation-State. Even if some of the most relevant figures or those most attentive to the processes of development advocate for the desirability of attending school from an early age, the schooling of the entire population of children would take a great deal of time (BOTO, 1999). It becomes urgent when the State can mobilise the necessary will and resources because at stake is the affirmation of the country in the context of international economic competitiveness and the process of civilisation in line with the principles of modernity (FERREIRA, 2005). This occurs specifically when the elites in power are aware of the need to exercise control over reading as a condition of basic instruction and as a way to inculcate ideas and values desired by society. Thus, the efforts made by the State with regard to the education of the younger generations, especially beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, transformed the school into an ideological instrument to be of service to instituted power, and as such, it was organised to convey the most central and ardent ideas inherent to the political regime.

In fact, in the twentieth century, school textbooks were not just simple objects used sporadically during class. They were a pedagogical-cultural device that was relevant to the traditional educational process. Of course, the materiality of the textbook may constrain its relevance, as much in its greater or lesser significance in terms of how prevalent books may be in a given society as in the book's ability to stimulate the student. Here, however, we are more interested in seeing them as a vehicle for information, knowledge, values, beliefs, and ideas – that which schools are meant to emphasise. Consequently, they constitute a reference to a culture given that they display the fundamental contents of a space-time or they disseminate ways to interpret the world. If François Marie Gérard and Xavier Roegiers (1998) consider the textbook to be a printed instrument, intentionally structured so that an individual is inscribed in a process of learning whose goal is to improve effectiveness, we understand that one must see them as an anthropological object, as this may broaden the understanding of the meaning of textbooks, taking into consideration, among other things, the articulation of their content with respect to the ideological, scientific and methodological concerns of those who promote their production.

The textbook is more interesting, anthropologically speaking, than today's notion of it, which assigns a certain throw-away character. What can be seen, amongst other aspects, is its role as a support for acquiring knowledge and as a vehicle for passing along a system of values, an ideology, and a culture, participating in the processes of socialisation and acculturation (CHOPPIN, 1992).

There is no doubt that the textbook is a curricular support through which the academic knowledge that institutions consider appropriate is transmitted. Moreover, the school textbook is a reflection of the society that produces it, given that it conveys the values, attitudes, stereotypes, and ideologies that characterise the dominant mentality of

a certain epoch, or, what is ostensibly the same, the collective imaginary that configures the explicit (and also hidden) curriculum. School textbooks, thus, are a conceptualisation of the world that writes them and of the culture that appropriates them (ESCOLANO, 2009). These representations entail a sense that is understood as a semantic agreement on the part of those who produce them and those who read them, in the understanding that the representations are not merely simple forms of expression of cultural capital but also comprise the spheres of power that sustain a political economy (ESCOLANO, 2001). Furthermore, textbooks have historically been a cultural product controlled by the political powers that have regulated their use (BEAS, 1999; GONZÁLEZ, 2005). For these reasons, both the cultural content and the language and iconography of school textbooks have garnered the attention of numerous research projects which have sought to uncover their underlying ideology.

Looking at the History of Education in Portugal as well as Spain, we see that both countries followed the same path as other European countries in terms of the evolution of the production / dissemination of school textbooks. Books went from being a rare and inaccessible object, bland in technical and aesthetical terms, and used in a collective context to an object that is more commonplace, individual, and increasingly attractive. This was obviously due to a combination of various conditions, among which is the development of technologies related to the production of books and the expansion of the school-age population.

As for textbook content, considering both the explicit and the implicit, we can assert that the primary school textbook, the result of the framework of enlightenment, identified with the precepts of schooling as method, discipline, and later as encyclopaedia, in that they were all meant to consolidate the indispensable disciplines required for knowledge (MAGALHÃES, 1999). However, at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth, there were disagreements motivated by different conceptions of education. In addition to the very old textbooks, there were others reflecting the influence of the school's novistas ideas which took up the structuring of reasoning and allowing for the deepening of knowledge using more specific school textbooks. With the consolidation of the authoritarian regime in Portugal, known as the *Estado Novo*, the school textbook would come to be the 'master key' that would initiate a new primary school culture reinforced by the introduction of a single textbook. As Justino Magalhães (2006) notes, the superimposing of instruction, schooling, and education in the first decades of the *Estado Novo* upon a basic and minimalist logic of primary school education transformed school textbooks into a single book and a basic anthropology. The school textbook both ordered and allowed for the interiorisation of a vision of the world.

Unlike what took place in Portugal, the notion of moving forward with a single school textbook in Spain was short-lived. Article nº 1 of the Order of 11 April 1938 (ESPAÑA, 1938), issued by the Ministry of National Education, placed the *Instituto de España* in charge of the editing and production of textbooks intended for primary education "[...] and will be imposed by the State as mandatory for both public and private education" (ESPAÑA, 1938, p. 6795). Later, authorisation was given for the sale and use of certain textbooks, previously censored, so as not to cause serious harm to the textbook

publishing industry. In Spain, Francoism did not mandate the use of a single textbook, but instead imposed prior censorship, “[...] it was a cultural product subject to the control of the content it transmitted and the values that were reflected in the imaginary that were displayed therein.” (ESCOLANO, 2006, p. 329). As Manuel de Puelles (1998) affirms, there should not be the least doubt that either the curriculum or the school textbooks for primary and secondary education were indeed submitted to ideological scrutiny, whether from a political or from a religious point of view.

The objective of this research, firstly, is to reflect upon the treatment afforded to school textbooks by the two basic pillars of society, which were politics and religion, during the dictatorships of Salazar and Franco; and secondly, to analyse the discursive content of the textbooks, the exercises, and the images included in them. Examined will be the intent to construct a nationalist identity based on the development of relationships to the land, ties to the rural world, with the historic past forged through myths, heroes and legends, bonds with religious culture and with a *patriarchal-machista* family model. To carry out our research, we have analysed as primary sources those textbooks that were the most used in Portuguese and Spanish schools during a significant part of the Salazar and Franco governments.

Authoritarian politics and a traditional education

Our research is framed within a historical-educational context that began in the 1930s under the dictatorships established in Portugal and Spain, where the former was led by Oliveira Salazar and the latter by Francisco Franco, with both regimes lasting approximately forty years. In question is a very extensive period of time which has indeed configured, in certain aspects, the education that we have today. The political-educational model of both countries has in common the extreme exaltation of cultural values as ordained by the Catholic Church and the more conservative centres of society. Centralism, authoritarianism, conservatism, the cult of personality of the prominent political leaders, and dogmatism are some of the characteristic features of this totalitarian model. The synthesis of this ideological-cultural model was centred on the union of the plans of the State and of the church hierarchy, which acted as the controlling ideological apparatus with respect to education as a whole.

In Portugal, the early 1930s saw the dismantling of liberal society and the consolidation of an authoritarian state. However, in January of 1936, when Carneiro Pacheco was named Minister of Public Education, an educational policy consistent with the then-called *Estado Novo* would advance with confidence, consolidating a pedagogical and political project for Portuguese schools and politics that the national programme of resurgence would come to serve (PEREIRA, 2014). A few months later, the National Assembly approved a law entitled *Remodelling of the Ministry of Public Education* in which the principal foundations were determined that would mark the direction of the policy to be followed by the *Estado Novo* in the area (PORTUGAL, 1936b). From the conception that would come to be inscribed in the future educational policy, what is significant is the change of name from the Ministry of Public Instruction to the Ministry

of National Education, which showed the regime's desire to improve the processes of socialisation and acculturation. The clearly ideological and authoritarian nature of the regime would necessarily demand a strategy for a doctrine on education. Thus, it served a totalising project of doctrine for Portuguese Society which took form at all levels of civil society, instilling a political-ideological oneness via instruments such as the school and youth organisations (ROSAS, 2001).

As is evident, the generalisation of schooling did not imply an egalitarian conception of education. For the general population, it was understood that elementary instruction based on reading, writing, and mathematics, articulated with content that should favour adherence to the values of nationalism and Catholicism, would be sufficient. The practices of indoctrination are a constant in the educational dynamics of schools in the *Estado Novo*, which can be seen as much in the requirement to make public certain thoughts within the schools and in the school textbooks, such as the imposition of the single authorised textbook in the physical organisation of the space, in the selection of didactical material, and in the attention paid to the educational surroundings (NÓVOA, 2005).

The intent to indoctrinate in school education was quite explicit in the previously mentioned law, that is to say, when, for example, Bases IX and X examined the programmes and textbooks saying that “[...] the tables of course material and all the respective programmes will be revised for all grade levels of education” (PORTUGAL, 1936b, p. 412) and that in the educational establishments across the country, with the exception of higher education, there would be a sole compendium for each year or class for the subjects: History of Portugal, General History, Philosophy, and Moral and Civic Education (PORTUGAL, 1936b). There would be no place for different perspectives; it would become imperative to create minds to follow along with the same vision as the country's and the values that would govern the society as led by Salazar. Thus, as Jorge do Ó (1999) notes, the ideology was no longer simply an expression of programming and should extend to the level of practices.

Quite indicative of what was intended for mandatory schooling was contained in the publication of the Decree-Law (PORTUGAL, 1936a) which stipulated the study plan that would be taught on the primary school level. Here, it was quite visible how course content was meant to be limited to the mere basics: “Portuguese Language (reading, writing, and *patria*³); Arithmetic and the Metric System; Morality; Physical Education; Choral Singing” (p. 1510). More important than the ideology that guided this educational policy was the justification presented prior to submission, which can be read here:

[...] that primary education would betray its mission if it were to insist on superimposing sterile and rationalist encyclopedism, harmful for the moral and physical health of the child, over the practical and Christian ideal of properly teaching how to read, write and count, and to exercise moral virtues and an ardent love for Portugal. (PORTUGAL, 1936a, p. 1510).

3- nation

In view of this statement, it should come as no surprise that the aforementioned Decree-Law went so far as to move for the “[...] immediate termination of the official approval for all primary school books” (p. 1511), leaving room for an initiative that was obviously organised and controlled by the Ministry. However, the single textbook would only appear in the 1940s. Considered as a whole, these textbooks for the first three years of schooling are, above all, profoundly ideological. In both Portugal and Spain, national Catholicism would come to indiscriminately include a political and religious ideology that would be instilled via all means available. To accomplish this, it was vital that the textbooks should reflect this official position, and consequently, the best option would be to produce a book that both boys and girls would be attracted to, and at the same time, be effective with respect to the creation of a nationalist and Catholic mind-set.

Francoism, from the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, implied an eradication of any and all political and religious tolerance that did not reflect Catholic interests, which implied not only the mere exclusion but rather the firm repression of any dissident element (ARNABAT, 2013). One was either with the Regime or against it; there was no middle ground. As a consequence, no type of divergence from political or religious positions was tolerated. As for educational matters, there was an educational and cultural *dirigisme* whose goal was to preserve established moral values, and for this reason the role assigned to education was considered fundamental. As Manuel de Puelles (2010) notes, what was implanted was Catholic, confessional education based on three premises: education according to Catholic morals and dogma, religious education in all schools, and the Church’s right to inspect how the aforementioned was being taught in all establishments. Thus a total identification merging fundamentalist religious values and nationalist political values would be carried out from the early 1940s to the 1950s, and the principle of subsidiarity will be undertaken, that is to say, the State would relinquish its obligations with respect to education and the Catholic Church would become the social force, qualified and legitimised, to assume this role and function. As for political ideology, the traditional values of the *Movimiento Nacional* were advocated. As a consequence, after the purification of the libraries, textbooks, and more specifically the teachers, were subjected to iron-clad religious and political control which the educational centres were charged with developing.

The 1945 Law of Primary Education (ESPAÑA, 1945) corroborates what we stated earlier. In its preamble, it takes a historical tour to highlight several prominent figures born in Spain renowned for their work in the area of pedagogy: Quintilian, Saint Isidore of Seville, Ramon Llull, Elio Antonio de Nebrija, Juan Luis Vives, Ponce de León, Saint Joseph Calasanz and Andrés Manjón. This *tradición pedagógica* was broken, according to the preamble, with “[...] the advent of the ill-named (century) of enlightenment, with its exotic cortege of frivolities, rationalisms and impiety” (ESPAÑA, 1945, preamble, p. 385).

From there, one sees the political commitment of the *Movimiento Nacional* and the Catholic hierarchy to restoring an awareness of those Spaniards who exemplified service to the *Pátria* and to religion. For this reason, the preamble of the Law of 1945 invokes amongst its principles for inspiration “[...] the first and most fundamental, the religious” (1945, p. 386), and Spanish schools must be, above all, completely Catholic.

Moreover, “schools in our *Pátria* must be essentially Spanish” (p. 386) inspired by the political programme of the *Movimiento Nacional*. In the exposition of the Law, Chapter II alludes to the character of Primary Education “[...] consubstantial with the Spanish school tradition, will be in conformity with the principles of Catholic Dogma and Morality and the provisions of Canon Law in force” (p. 386). In addition, Primary Education will have as its mission “[...] by means of rigorous discipline, secure a strong and united national spirit and instil in the soul of future generations the joy and the pride in the *Pátria*, in accordance with the rules of the *Movimiento* and its organs” (p. 388). Further on, Article 15 defines the school as an “[...] active community of Teachers and school children, instituted by the Family, the Church and the State, as an organ of primary education, for the Christian, patriotic, and intellectual instruction of Spanish children” (p. 389). Article 37 establishes which areas of knowledge should be given and what the students should learn. They were structured into the following areas:

A) Instrumental skills: Interpretive Reading, Graphic Expression (Writing, Spelling, Composition and Design) and Arithmetic.

B) Formative skills, which “[...] constitute the basis for moral and intellectual education” (p. 394): religious instruction, “[...] formation of the national spirit, in which is also included Geography and History, particularly that of Spain” (p. 394); intellectual instruction, which comprises the National Language and Mathematics and finally, physical education, which contains Gymnasium, Sport and Organised Games.

C) Complementary skills, which include the Science of Nature, and instruction of an artistic, (Music, Singing and Drawing), or utilitarian nature (Manual tasks, workshop skills and women’s tasks consistent with home economics).

The Science of Nature was not included in the group of formative skills, but rather Geography and History, as they could be easily manipulated and reflect a markedly nationalist focus. Physical Education was also included amongst the categories because its objective was “[...] to create strong, healthy and disciplined youth” and to be an instrument for its “intellectual and moral training” (Art. 10, p. 388). In other words, physical education was meant to serve the moral and patriotic interests of citizenship. Encyclopaedias, like the remaining books earmarked for primary education, faithfully reflected this standard.

According to Antonio Viñao “[...] three features define the fundamental policy for books and textbook publishing during Francoism: ideological, religious, and patriotic-political control; the differentiated regulation between primary and middle school education, and the failed attempt to impose a single textbook” (2015, p.684-685). In Spain, the adoption of a single textbook did not take place. The textbooks which were most widely circulated were the encyclopaedias, which were divided into three levels, as would occur in Portugal as well. Each one of them, in turn, was used for two academic grades.

The *Enciclopedia Álvarez*, “intuitive, synthetic and practical”, as it said on its cover, reached sales of more than thirty million copies and captured 80% of the encyclopaedia and textbook market for this level of education.” (SANTOS, 2013, p. 13).

This is the powerful reason underlying our decision to centre our study on this encyclopaedia.

Predominant content in textbooks

Based on both the ideological matrix present in the legal documents on education from the governments of Portugal and Spain and a broad appreciation of the mandatory educational reading textbooks in place during the period of the dictatorships led by António Oliveira Salazar and Francisco Franco, we now proceed with an analysis of their content for a greater understanding of the most relevant aspects to examine in terms of the education of men and women in the view of the regimes in question. It is important to see how it was possible in both countries to provide content that had promoted ideas dear to the dictatorial regimes of the Iberian Peninsula and how the traditional values of transnational prejudice combined with figures, places, and histories that must have contributed to the escalation of nationalist sentiments. Based on the generalised focus of the previously mentioned documents and books, emerging as dimensions for analysis are the issues of training in political thought, religious beliefs and practices, economic and social worldviews, and the family order.

A nationalist and conservative education

Looking closely, it is not difficult to see how the reading books (primers or basal readers) from this period attempt to satisfy a conservative and nationalist political will. A traditional and authoritarian pedagogy is revealed in them, which does not mean that the textbooks in question neglected to apply the emotional logic able to induce boys and girls to adhere to the narratives cherished by the Franco and Salazar dictatorships. The books were designed not only to convey the selected content meant to formulate a vision of the world consistent with the hyperbolisation of the supposed traditional attributes of the respective countries but also to allow for nurturing an attachment to the personalities and decisive moments in the nation's historical development, along with the precepts, values and traditions deriving from Catholic doctrine.

Given that these books were meant for different levels of schooling, they were designed to address specific student characteristics and intellectual capacity. In Portugal, the books to be used in the early years of schooling sought out more familiar themes for the children; the spatial references were broadened for books beginning in the 3rd and 4th grade. In these years of primary education, attention is clearly being paid to strengthening the component that is most related to the imaginary of Portuguese identity, which appears in the textbooks published, whether before or after 1940, via numerous texts which refer to Portugal from a geographical, historical and cultural perspective. Portuguese history is now the object of countless references and characteristic aspects of certain Portuguese regions that attempt to construct the specificity of the country. Portugal presented itself as a unique country which, despite its location on the European continent, was proud of the diversity of its regions, which was reflected in its territories in Africa and Asia (FERREIRA; BRITO, 2003).

Almost all the references of a geographical, historical or cultural nature in the reading books (primers or basal readers) in primary education refer to a Portugal located on the European continent or to its colonies considered as Portugal, albeit abroad. In nationalist Portugal of the 1930s and 40s, Europe was of little interest. What was to be emphasised was whatever would valorise the dignity of the Nation, thus, the insistence on Portugal's heroes and the territories it possessed in Asia and Africa. Through these textbooks, the notion of the grandeur of Portugal was shown to have been achieved by way of the accomplishments of the Portuguese over time (Image n. 1).

Image n. 1



Source: *O livro da terceira classe* (1954)

Portugal was seen as an ancient country full of heroes: D. Alfonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal, Nuno Álvares Pereira, a hero in the struggle for independence from Castile, the Infante D. Henrique, or Henry the Navigator, a prominent figure in the nation's maritime expansion, Vasco da Gama, who discovered the sea route to India, Alfonso de Albuquerque, valiant Vice-Roy of India and, of course, the leaders of the nation: the President of the Republic and Salazar (*O livro da terceira classe*, 1954). However, if patriotic fervour is less evident in the textbooks of the first and second grade, it is nevertheless not completely absent from them. The most significant examples are to be found in these books, given the way they take up the themes demonstrates a clear intent to influence the children. In one of the texts, an image shows the children singing "Arraial, oh Portuguese, / Arraial, arraial, arraial! / Arraial, that is alert / Who will save Portugal!"; in another, a full page shows a very colourful image where, in the lower corner, children are looking adoringly up at a map of Portugal far above their heads. In any event, looking at the majority of reading textbooks used by primary school students,

it is clear that only Portugal is intended to be visible, considered thus in its totality as a sovereign and symbolic entity. The textbooks used for older students would be much more assertive on this subject (*O livro da terceira classe*, 1954, *Livro de leitura para a 4ª classe*, no date).

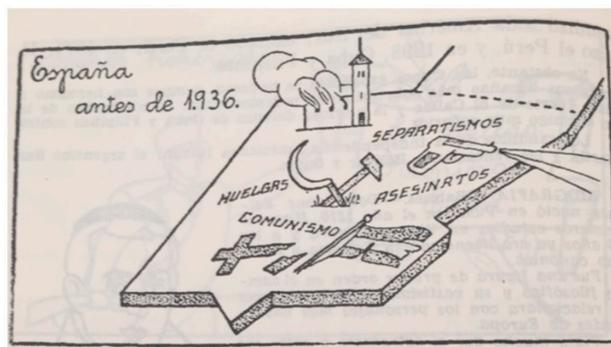
As for the case in Spain, although the three volumes of the *Enciclopedia Álvarez*⁴ (ÁLVAREZ, 1962, 1964a, 1964b) were structured to reflect the specific material relative to political education, in all the materials, however, numerous images and references to stereotypes, leaders, feats of special historic relevance, and national symbols that to a certain extent were considered pillars of national patriotism persisted. Thus, for example, mythical personalities who gained fame for being military and political leaders appeared, such as Phillip II, Pelagius of Asturias, and El Cid, equating them with Napoleon, and adding figures from the *Movimiento Nacional* as well: Primo de Rivera, Franco, Calvo Sotelo or General Moscardó.

Another group of national symbols were made up of the *conquistadores* (Christopher Columbus, Hernán Cortés and Juan Sebastián el Cano). Also the object of study are those figures of letters considered for their universal stature, as would be the case of Miguel de Cervantes, or others, such as the mystics Saint Teresa of Ávila or Saint John of the Cross, also esteemed for their place as representatives of Spanish mystic literature and who, as Catholics, were deserving of world renown. A similar case is that of Calderón de la Barca, a distinguished man of letters from Spain's Golden Age, who penned more than one hundred comedies and other works and who is known specifically for his religious plays. Also to be mentioned is writer Félix María de Samaniego, famous for his fables of an instructional and moral tone, which were widely praised.

Also to be mentioned are the illustrious personages born on the Iberian Peninsula but who lived prior to the creation of the Spanish Nation, for their part, also honoured as mythical Spanish figures: Viriato (in this case, although born on present-day Portuguese soil, he was seen as a Spanish symbol), Seneca, Quintilian, Trajan, Adrian, and Theodosius I. Also reserved a space in the curriculum were symbols of the homeland such as the national flag, the Falangist flag, the Traditionalist flag, the national coat-of-arms, the appropriation of the yoke and set of arrows as symbols of the Regime, and the anthems and songs that were known across the country such as *Cara al Sol* or the *Legion Anthem*. Other symbols that are part of Spanish immaterial heritage are also referenced, such as bullfighting, paella, and flamenco dancing. Special mention was to be made to religious figures and myths, such as Saint Dominic of Guzmán and the Apostle Saint James. Finally, references were made to political or religious festivities meant to celebrate an event or feat considered to be emblematic of Spanish identity: October 12, the Day of Hispanicity; Día del Caudillo, Día del Dolor, Día de la Fe, Mother's Day, Holy Week, and the Feast Day of the Pope.

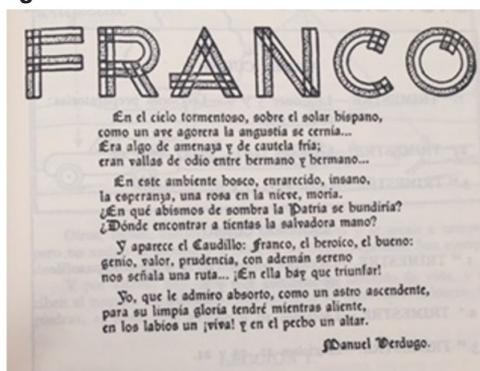
4- The name *Enciclopedia Álvarez* was adopted due to the name of its author, Antonio Álvarez Pérez.

Image n. 2



Source: Álvarez (1962, p. 382).

Image n. 3



Source: Álvarez (1962, p. 389).

Image number 1 seeks to convey a series of historical stereotypes that the coup plotters used to justify the Alzamiento nacional (National Uprising) that took place on July 18, 1936: the burning of churches and convents, extrajudicial killings in which the notion of survival of the fittest predominated, separatism and the breaking apart of national unity, the implantation of a communist regime and its symbology, strikes that rocked the Spanish economy, etc. All of this would have justified the coup d'état by forces from the Spanish right seeking to re-establish peace, order, and the Catholic religion, all led by the dictator Caudillo Franco, deemed to be the hero-saviour, as is noted in Image nº 3.

Religious instruction: doctrine and rituals

Religion was one of the central elements of the configuration of society that the dictatorial regimes of the Iberian Peninsula desired. In Portugal, what is most evident in the textbooks published after the 1940s, with respect to those that were similarly used in the 1930s, (PIMENTA; EVANGELISTA, 1933, 1934; VAIRINHO, 1935a, 1935b; CABREIRA; CABRAL, 1932) is the space dedicated to religion. Each one of these three books has dozens of pages stressing Catholic doctrine, which would function as a type of collective catechism, in addition to the many other references to aspects or issues of a religious nature. With respect to the occupied space, we have no doubt that the *Estado Novo* considered the Catholic religion as a structuring pillar for its ideology; however, it would remain to be seen how various teachers would view this part of the catechism (FERREIRA; BRITO, 2003).

What is significant is the *O livro da segunda classe* (1958) which began precisely with the text entitled *Deus* (God). The family and its context were the main theme, but they were also used to speak about religious figures and rituals, such as Jesus, the Virgin Mary, charity, and Easter (Image nº 4). It was both consensual and rather evident that religious instruction was one of the pillars of National Catholicism that defined the Franco and Salazar regimes. As for the school textbooks in Spanish, religion was considered so important that it was subdivided into the following themes: Sacred History, the Evangelists, and Religion. There was also a special section for school commemorations, of which there

Image n. 4



Source: *O livro da segunda classe* (1958).

were several religious festivals by way of example: World Mission Sunday, Corpus Christi, the Veneration of the Cross, the Feast Day of the Pope, All Saints' Day, and the Feast Day of the Sacred Heart and others in common time or during Holy Week. Images of the saints and references to religion were present in all the books, and any moment or place was considered appropriate to include them. Religious instruction was meant to be taught via images, lectures, notions, exercises and other types of skills work via different printing type faces in which boldface was used to emphasise ethical and moral concepts, such as "If you must do something, obey the Church", "Our school is Christian and is protected by the Holy Cross", "We fear nothing in this world as Jesus is with us", or "For those whose souls are good, salvation is eternal happiness" (1958, p. 341). Also included were short prayers, ones easy to memorise which teachers would comment on and copy into the students' notebooks. Underlying all this is the idea that we are simply passing through this life and that it is the Church which guides us to the joys of eternal life; therefore, the only rules that exist are those of the Church. Sacrifice and peace must be truly guaranteed, as was advanced in medieval thought.

Between the rural world and the urban world

When examining Portuguese and Spanish school textbooks, we note that in both countries, emphasis is directed more toward the diversity of the land and the people, the history of the homeland, the monuments and the prominent personalities, the traditions and the fables that are most important to the Portuguese and Spanish imaginary. In Portugal, the texts from the books in use prior to the adoption of a single textbook were analysed in their entirety; it was found that a certain disparity exists in terms of the rural world / urban world dichotomy. There are some textbooks which present a reasonable number of texts in which the rural elements prevail, with practically none included that directly relate to the urban environment; on the other hand, in other textbooks there are texts that take up the topic of the rural reality but alongside several that do address issues of urban life.

From this analysis, it is clear that in the single textbooks published from the 1940s onward, it is indeed those elements which mark the rural world that are of special significance. In *O livro da primeira classe* (no date), this reality is immediately evident in the five illustrations that accompany the presentation of the same number of vowels as well as in others which are included in readings dedicated to other letters of the alphabet. There are many pages with one or more figures with landscapes or rural scenes whereas the illustrations found on other pages only rarely present clearly urban settings. In addition to a small woods, almonds, strawberries, sheep or silkworms, we have a man lugging firewood on his back, a woman leading a mule carrying farm produce, a peasant woman surrounded by agricultural tools, and various types of birds.

In *O livro da segunda classe* (1958), via the illustrations and texts, the rural environment is favoured, with many texts especially relating to agriculture, grazing animals, and forestry, with readings entitled, The Harvest, The Cereals, The Cork Trees, The Farmer, and The Shepherd. Similarly evident is the affirmation favouring the rural world with special emphasis on agricultural activities in *O livro da terceira classe* (1954), adopted as the single textbook in the early 1950s. Titles such as The Villages, Life in the Countryside, 'As Mondas'⁵, The Flocks of Sheep, Irrigation, The Harvesters, and The Farmer's House show the importance attributed to rural zones (Image nº 5). It is worth noting, however, that aspects related to urban life appear in this book only; cities, for the most part, remain totally ignored. When mentioned, it is their principle monuments that are highlighted, but included only as they depict the History of the Nation, a theme which the book affords some attention and which distinguishes it from textbooks meant for younger grades.

The map of the Spanish regions is identified with agricultural symbols such as agricultural implements, rural houses and professions (goat-herd, milkmaid, farmer, etc.); the few industrial references pertain to the automotive, textile, footwear and cutlery

5- Plucking weeds from a plantation

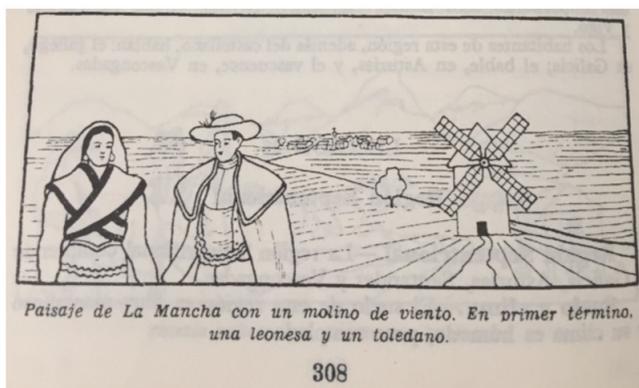
Image n. 5



source: *Livro da terceira classe* (1954).

industry. The only European country mentioned is Portugal, which is shown in rural landscapes. The urban world is represented in select photos of large cities that display only iconic photos featuring national symbols such as the Plaza de España in Madrid or the Parque de Montjuic in Barcelona.

Image n. 6



Source: Álvarez (1962, p. 308).

After the Civil War, Spain isolated itself from the economic development that other countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany or Italy experimented with, and at the same time, it rejected any incorporation of freedom or liberalism. A self-sufficient and interventionist system asphyxiated Spain's economy, which was able to stay afloat in large part thanks to the money sent home by emigrants, flows of capital and monies generated by tourism, and by the gradual opening up of the country during the 1950s.

The economic predominance of the primary sector (GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR; GONZÁLEZ, 2009) and the elevation of the agrarian world with respect to the urban world had repercussions in terms of the limited access to secondary education, which was elitist and followed rules that were marked by the fusion of conservative Catholicism and Francoist nationalism. For those studying in the *bachillerato* (which generally began at the age of 11), students would use, at most, the first two levels of the encyclopaedia. The rest of the school-age population would rarely complete the three levels of the encyclopaedia or would leave school to find jobs at a very young age. Thus, Image nº 6 schematizes the rural world using a symbol that Cervantes had made universal – the windmill – accompanied by figures in regional costume, a woman from León and a man from Toledo, symbols of a regional, ethnic, and folklore-based plurality.

Rurality was clearly held in high esteem by the dictatorships of the Iberian Peninsula, with a great emphasis placed on its values in Portugal (ROSAS, 2001). According to Solé (2017) was also the most frequently featured myth in primary school textbooks and was only replaced by the myth of new nationalism in the *Livro da terceira classe*. As the author notes, “[...] rurality and honourable poverty are two of the myths most that are most present and most expressive in the single textbooks of the *Estado Novo*” (p. 107). Generally speaking, they are associated with the simple life of hard-working, honest folk with ties to the traditional Catholic family.

Family and Gender Education

The textbooks for the first two years of schooling, which demonstrated clear pedagogical concerns, tended to be centred on a reality that sought to be more appropriate to the children's level of understanding, and thus, was limited to presenting figures and text about objects and settings that were supposedly familiar to these young pupils. Despite the transition from a few selected words and figures to increasingly longer texts, the content nevertheless remained firmly linked to the tales of normal childhood which would touch upon moralising themes. These books were full of parents, children, friends, animals, homes and gardens, situations that would inspire feelings of affection, charity, loyalty, willing obedience and parental authority. Family and social relationships were presented in a context that was ideal and generous. Hierarchies were well-defined yet still delicate and benevolent. Within this framework, women remained subservient, with a wife being subject to direction from above, as mandated by a priest or her husband. A wife's main occupation was her role as a devoted spouse and loving mother, someone concerned with the good name and well-being of the family. Considered the primary workers of the family and those in charge of the rudimentary teachings of basic manners and education, they were given the fundamental role of primary educators, responsible

for the children's character. "As a mother, in this woman we should contemplate her role as the living example of the great commitment to her children, being their most intimate and disinterested counsellor, their teacher, the main source of their love, their educator, the soul of their soul" (VAIRINHO, 1935a, p. 129-130), to cite a text included in a 2nd grade book.

Women in these reading books (primers or basal readers) are mainly mothers or nannies. In the case of a woman working outside the home, this would only entail labour meant for the lower social classes; thus, there appear washer-women, seamstresses, bakers or women engaged in farming. The only exception to this would be female teachers, whose profession, as we have emphasised previously, would be situated in the plan to complement the education provided by the children's mothers. As for the mothers, whether they are from the middle class or simple country folk, the women appear as friendly, available, good home-makers, devoted to their children and husband, and doing everything that will maintain harmony in the home (*O livro da segunda classe*, 1958).

Curiously, the textbooks for the 3rd and 4th grade took a very different path. With respect to the feminine image, it nearly disappears in order to make way for themes related to learning about the professions, the functioning of the body, and natural phenomena. However, texts were also included whose clear objective was to make certain that the values instilled in previous years had not been neglected. Fathers appear as figures who must earn a living outside the home in order to support the family, returning as they would at the end of the work day. Men should not then be concerned with household chores, as this would be woman's work.

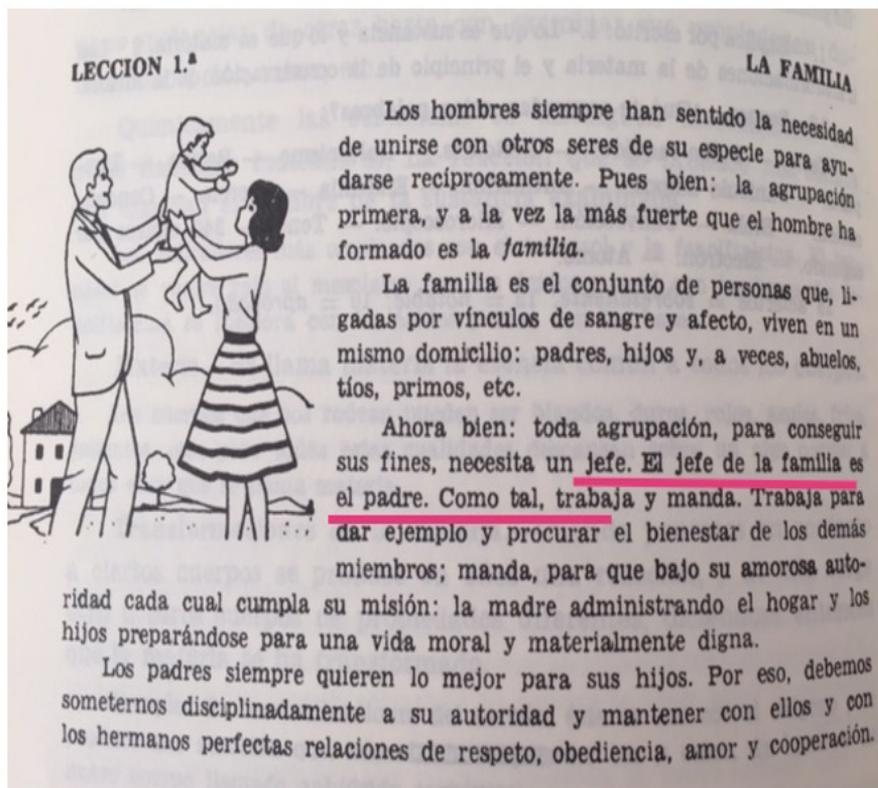
If everything were in agreement with this order as transmitted by the reading books, there would be nothing to fear. Society would continue along the path taken by one's ancestors, that is to say, the Catholics, whose basis is founded on the relationship of benevolence and servitude and whose education is provided by people of the same language and same history, people proud of their land, traditions and customs and committed to fulfilling their role in society according to their sex, age, and social position. The family was thus the institution that would best socialise the natural state of inequality.

In the case of the *Enciclopedia Álvarez* (ÁLVAREZ, 1964b), the message is identical to what was being put forth in Portugal. Political education was differentiated for the sexes. National symbols were the same for both but with distinct roles emphasised, as in those assigned to women in the Women's Section, concerning uniformity, games and their social functions. A very patriarchal family model was instilled, based on a series of principles that meant to foster convivial social life reflecting order, hygiene, courteous manners, good relationships, cleanliness, friendliness, being respectful when in church, etc. In sum, what was being stressed was the submissive and obedient role of the woman, whose mission it was to provide for the happiness of her husband and family even though this might imply her very abnegation or devaluation as a person. As the first lesson of *La Familia* affirms (Image nº 7):

[...] all groups, in order to achieve their goals, need a leader. The leader of a family is the father. As such, he is the one who works and gives orders. He works to set the example and to secure the

well-being of the other members; he gives orders so that under his caring authority each person fulfils his mission: the mother taking care of the home and the children preparing for a morally and substantially worthy life. (1964b, p. 624).

Image nº 7



Source: Álvarez (1964b, p. 624).

The Women's Section was the organisation put in charge by Francoism to educate women in the field of politics and to train them professionally, thus strengthening the model of Catholic and patriotic femininity legitimised by the Regime. A patriarchal model received firm support from the Catholic Church, differentiating the role of both sexes and increasing the likelihood that women would remain within the rural world as a result of their training in farming and agriculture, a social, economic, and cultural consideration deemed inferior for men, stressing the home as a woman's primary space, the predominance of her mission as mother and superseding any chance for personal self-realisation, and the fostering of values such as subservience, silent obedience to men in general and acceptance of male-dominated culture as a natural fact, or a system of ethics of that is predominantly repressive and sexist, etc. (RAMOS, 2016).

Conclusions

Primary school textbooks published in both Portugal and Spain served generations of school children from the 1940s to the 1960s, revealing the extent to which Portuguese and Spanish schools of that epoch were instruments that placed fundamental value on the processes of socialisation and acculturation which the authoritarian and conservative regimes of the two countries upheld for more than 40 years.

The concept of national identity demanded of the populace unconditional servitude and exclusive loyalty, corresponding to what the State would define as identity, establishing limits between citizens and others. To be recognised, whatever identity would have to be endorsed by the authority of the State and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which were the entities that configured national identity.

The fact that Portuguese and Spanish society lagged behind during this era affected all sociocultural areas, and logically thus, the educational system. This was an elitist system, designed by the dominant class, but one that was meant more for the lower classes in the population. Likewise, ideological content was prioritised above pedagogical or scientific content, with the objective being to perpetuate the patriotic, moral, and religious principles that underpinned the dominant regime. As we all know, school was, and continued to be, a place of interest as much for politicians as for the Church, and the less culturally literate the students were, the more we appreciate, (from our distance in time), the extent to which they were interested in keeping the students politically and religiously indoctrinated.

The context of the economic and cultural self-sufficiency in which Portugal and Spain lived was reflected in the curricular content and in the textbooks used in Primary Education. In this sense, we observe how the predominant textbooks in book countries were closed off to international culture and more centred on the culture of their own countries.

Taking into consideration both the Preamble and the development of the Law dated 17 July 1945 (ESPAÑA, 1945), along with the political and religious context of the 1940s and 50s, we have deduced that although a single textbook was not implemented in Spain, the model for primary school, the curriculum, and the instruction received in all educational establishments was the same across the country.

With respect to the analysis of textbooks, although some of the values transmitted by the Portuguese textbooks from the 1940s and onwards are not very different from those presented in a similar context in Spain, there should be no doubt that these tenets and beliefs were systematically advanced over a longer period of time, with the intent to interrupt or impede any efforts to liberalise and modernise those sectors that were most influenced by industrialisation and urban culture. If the books published during the 1930s point to the mere inclination to include content sympathetic to the values of the regimes led by Oliveira Salazar and Francisco Franco, then the books from the 1940s, for their part, offer clear proof that Catholicism, patriotic sentiment, and the rural world would provide the solid principles on which the education of the people should be based. Built on the truth revealed by Catholic doctrine, the character and the accomplishments of heroes

venerated in the nation's history, the beauty of the land and the hard-working simplicity of life in the country, and combined with traditional, disciplinary and authoritarian pedagogy, schools in both Iberian countries from this period educated people to accept the weight of the past, the sacrifice of obligation, a sense of complacency with one's lot in life, and subservience to hierarchy. These books, which marked the rhythm of school life for Portuguese children up to the 1960s, bonded the imagination of the country to the past and shunned a pedagogy directed toward the future.

As for political education, it was based on learning and understanding the main myths and national symbols, such as the flag, the anthems, and the figures considered to be heroes, along with the ideology of the dictatorial regimes. Furthermore, the textbooks also provided a constant platform for conveying religious ideas including prayer, religious references, excerpts from the Bible, etc.

The type of treatment that the boys and girls received in terms of education was different, not only because they were kept apart physically in the classroom but also because the instruction was based on gender inequality given how the social and cultural functions were different for each sex. Even though for the lower classes the woman would work outside the home, the home was assigned to her as her main space, the one where she was meant to assume her motherly mission and be prepared to obey her husband.

The textbooks analysed fulfil the same ideological, Catholic, conservative and authoritarian principles. If the Salazar regime seems to have more clearly assumed the role of the State in the configuration of the textbooks, investing in a single textbook to be used in class and allowing for a more attractive graphic look, the *Enciclopedia Álvarez*, for its part, also then strives to advance ideology via school practices. If the textbooks in Spanish tend to be more intuitive, synthetic and practical, their Portuguese counterparts are more pedagogically minded, as they feature more illustrations and are more colourful, which makes them more attractive. Ideology is to be learnt by rote and out of sentiment, thus interiorised and heart-felt. The same ideology notwithstanding, one must recognise that the myths, territories, accomplishments, and symbols were different for the two countries; therefore, the textbooks do not strongly favour a discourse of mutual understanding and affection between the Portuguese and the Spanish. The exacerbation of nationalisms based on selective readings segregated from history, in the midst of the political and economic distrust that existed at that time, made it difficult for these two countries to unite during the period of the Salazar and Franco dictatorships.

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