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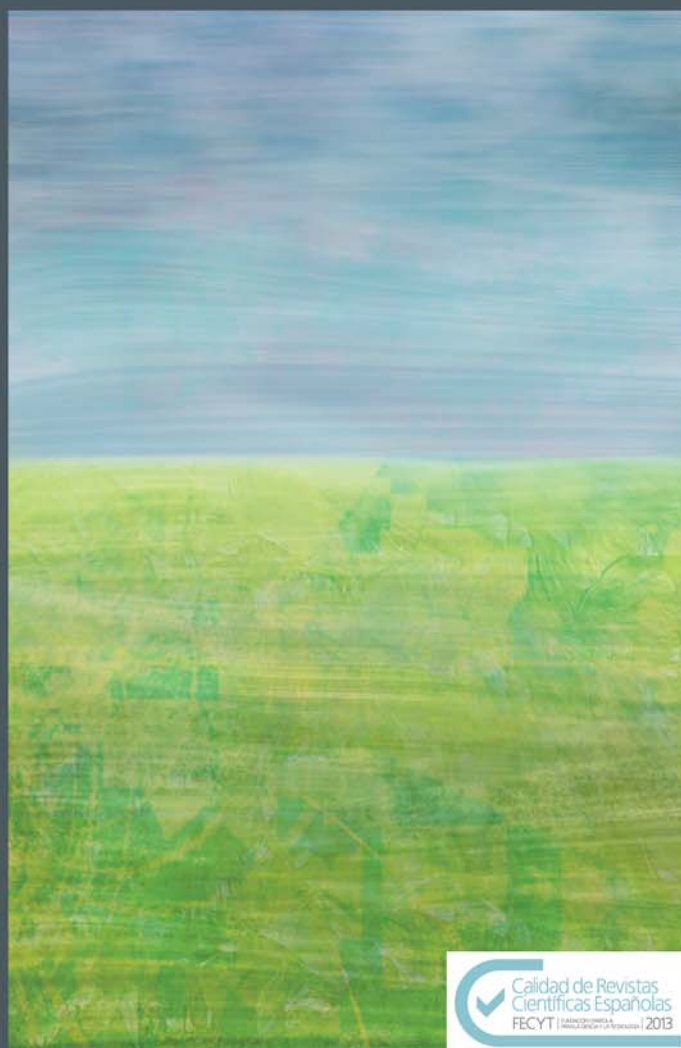
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Abriendo la *caja negra*: la escuela pública española de postguerra

Opening the *Black Box*: post-war Spanish state schools

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Abstract

The history of schools in recent times has extended its field of study owing to the use of new sources. Traditional sources have been joined by oral testimonies, images, objects, ego-documents, ethnographic descriptions, and all sorts of sources that enable us to look into the lesser explored areas of schools in the past. These new testimonies are what make it possible to find out about what some authors have called the *Black Box* of Schooling, what happened in classrooms on a daily basis.

In this article, with the aim of opening this black box and learning more about state schools in post-war Spain, we focus on the analysis, through the historical method, of one of these new sources: teaching practice reports of Primary School student teachers. The sample is made up of an unpublished collection of nearly a hundred teaching practice reports from the Primary Teacher training college in Balearic Islands, drawn up between 1939 and 1948, in order to learn about school practices in these schools. This analysis enables us to evidence that, beyond the

⁽¹⁾ This paper was written within the framework of the project *La fotografía publicada como representación de los cambios y las continuidades en la cultura escolar (1900-1970)* [Published Photographs as a Representation of Changes and Continuities in Schooling], EDU2014-52498-C2-2-P, funded as part of the State Programme to Promote Excellence in Scientific and Technical Research, State Sub-Programme for Knowledge Generation, within the context of the State Plan for Scientific and Technical Research and Innovation 2013-2016.

stereotyped view that we have of Francoist schools and of their school culture, determined by their ideological impositions and legal regulations, there exist aspects that we can only learn about if we take a look at the everyday workings of the classroom. In this sense, this article provides historical knowledge regarding Francoist schools and the configuration of their school culture. This article shows, as also happens today, the fact that some continuities have historically resisted the political will to introduce changes. It shows the distance between what has been prescribed by law and what actually happens in schools. This finding suggests getting away from historical interpretations that have only been based on administrative sources, to add to the History of the School all those testimonies that bring us to the realities of the classroom. These observations should be taken into account before considering any reform of the school system.

Keywords: Primary school, school culture, Francoist Dictatorship, reports, school ethnography, history of education.

Resumen

La historia de la escuela en los últimos tiempos ha ampliado su ámbito de estudio gracias al uso de nuevas fuentes. A las fuentes tradicionales se han unido los testimonios orales, las imágenes, los objetos, los egodocumentos, las descripciones etnográficas y todo tipo de fuentes que nos permiten asomarnos a espacios menos explorados del pasado escolar. Estos nuevos testimonios son los que posibilitan conocer lo que algunos autores han llamado la *caja negra* de la escuela (the *Black Box of Schooling*), lo que sucedía a diario en las aulas.

En este artículo, con el objetivo de abrir esta caja negra y conocer mejor la escuela pública en la España de postguerra, nos centramos en el análisis, mediante el método histórico, de una de estas nuevas fuentes: las memorias de prácticas de los estudiantes de Magisterio. Se utiliza como muestra una colección inédita de casi un centenar de memorias de prácticas de la Normal de Baleares, elaboradas entre 1939 y 1948, para conocer la práctica escolar de aquellas escuelas. Este análisis nos permite evidenciar que, más allá de la visión estereotipada que tenemos de la escuela franquista y de su cultura escolar, determinada por sus imposiciones ideológicas y sus normas legales, existen aspectos que sólo podemos conocer si nos asomamos a la cotidianidad del aula. Este artículo muestra que, tal y como también sucede en la actualidad, existieron históricamente determinadas continuidades que se resistieron a la voluntad política de imponer cambios, lo que evidencia la distancia que separa lo prescrito por la legislación y lo que realmente acontece dentro de la escuela. Esta constatación aconseja escapar de interpretaciones histórico-educativas basadas exclusivamente en fuentes administrativas, para añadir a la historia de la escuela todos aquellos testimonios que nos acercan a las realidades del aula. Sería aconsejable tener en cuenta estas observaciones antes de emprender cualquier reforma del sistema escolar.

Palabras clave: Escuela primaria, cultura escolar, Dictadura Franquista, memorias, etnografía escolar, historia de la educación.

Research Objectives

This paper aspires to explore the reality of schools during the years following the Spanish Civil War, in the post-war period. In order to gain an insight into what went on in the classroom and to learn about its teachers and their practices, routines and habits, sources other than those used to date are needed. To open the *black box* of post-war schooling, rather than administrative and/or legislative documents, what we really need are new testimonials and vestiges of those bygone schooldays. This is a metaphor for the difficulty of managing to achieve a more accurate vision of the everyday reality of those classrooms and the work of their teachers than that provided by legal and/or administrative documents. We believe that only by examining these new sources can an insight be gained into the subtle nuances that characterize the history of schooling, since, as some research studies have already demonstrated, like those of Larry Cuban (1993) in the United States, the gap between what goes on in schools and what is officially established in legislation tends to be a large one.

For the purposes of our study, we will use a collection of placement training reports by teacher training students, held in the University of the Balearic Islands' History Archives (the AHUIB according to its acronym in Spanish). Through these reports, not only do we aspire to gain an understanding of how schools functioned on an everyday basis during this period, but also to demonstrate the value of these documents as historical sources of information about schools.

Theoretical grounds.

Over two decades ago, certain educational historians revealed an interest in the practical side of schooling and in what had really gone on in classrooms in the past. Silver (1992) spoke of «silences» in the history of

education in reference to these gaps in our knowledge. Gradually, educational historians started to take a look inside the classroom, trying to form a picture of a reality that could only be explored through testimonials from new sources that had been hitherto mainly overlooked in educational historiography (Grosvenor, Lawn, Rousmaniere, 1999). It was at this point that Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon began to refer metaphorically to the *black box* of schooling in allusion to what happens inside the classroom (Depaepe, M.; Simon, F., 1995). *The Black Box of Schooling* (Braster, Grosvenor, del Pozo Andrés, 2011) is a work that has played a pioneering role in trying to open this *black box*, from different methodological perspectives and through new sources, such as images and portrayals, photos, accounts, verbal testimonials, classroom notebooks, teachers' notes, architecture and school facilities, or decorative objects.

Indeed any vestige of those bygone schooldays can become a potentially useful source of information about former everyday practices, helping us to gain an insight into classrooms back then and offering a new historical approach to interpreting the reality of schooling and understanding what some call the empirical school culture (Escolano, 2000).

Among all this evidence that can be used to «open» the *black box* and find out what went on in classrooms on a day-to-day basis, we would like to highlight what we describe as «technical reports» by teacher training students or other teaching professionals, where physical aspects of schools (school facilities, materials etc.) and matters relating to their organization and teaching practices are described. One example is a pioneering study by Fernández Soria and Agulló (2002) based on reports by teachers in Valencia. In this case, they are technical reports that teachers were required to write during the summer holidays, where light is shed on many aspects of real teaching practices in schools. Other useful reports are the accounts drawn up by teacher training students during their practice periodo in schools. In this case, special mention should be made of studies of one of the most important sources of this kind in Spain: *The Romero Marín Collection* (by Pozo and Rabazas, 2010). One example, a study published by Pozo and Rabazas in *Bordón* (2014) where reference is made to day-to-day teaching at a Palma de Mallorca school, demonstrates the invaluable importance of this kind of source of information in providing an insight into educational practices in schools and in helping to open the *black box*.

Methodology and sources

Since this is a study in the field of educational history, we have taken the historical method, enriched in this case with ethnographic contributions.

Our aim was to conduct a viable research study with an original focus, given the existence of hitherto unpublished sources of information that could be used for this purpose and the potential that they offered for providing new information on subjects of interest to educational historians.

Because hypotheses have a specific significance and function in historical research, we prefer to talk about interpretative models and questions that can be posed, along the lines of “what happened, how and why?” The said questions lead to the formulation of interpretative models based on specific contexts which can be extrapolated to other broader ones. The questions we posed were “Is it possible to gain an insight into bygone everyday practices in schools?”, “Does what we observe coincide with the image we have of schools during the Franco regime?”, “Was there a school culture specific to the Franco era?”, “Were there continuities in schooling and in school cultures even after the turning point that the Spanish Civil War represented?”

Using existing knowledge of the subject from secondary sources of information as our basis, we aspired to make further headway by studying hitherto unpublished primary sources; in this case, placement training reports by teacher training students in the Balearics during the Spanish post-war period. Normally, in order to interpret history, documentary testimonials of different kinds must be contrasted. We agree with this premise, but since one of the objectives of our study was to demonstrate the specific usefulness of placement training reports, we decided to use them as our main source. Not only do these documents bear witness to the teacher training students’ placement training activities, but they also reflect many aspects of the schools where these training sessions took place. For instance, they describe organizational and methodological aspects of schools, routines, rituals, teaching materials and even the teachers’ pedagogical criteria. Among other sources of information, these reports are very useful ways of trying to open the *black box* of schooling, reconstructing its history and finding out how school cultures have evolved.

These sources were historically checked in order to check their authenticity and value.

The collection was analysed from an external perspective in order to ensure its validity, situating it spatially and temporally so as to eliminate any possible mutilations or later additions. At the AHUIB, documents from the Balearic's *Escuelas Normales* (teacher training schools) and *Escuelas de Prácticas* (adjoining primary schools used for placement training) from their origins through to the early 1970s are kept. The analysed reports form part of a collection of 397 placement training reports by students from Balearic teacher training schools between 1914 and 1959.² Although all the reports written between 1914 and 1936 refer to placement training at state primary schools, private centres were also included from 1939 through to 1959.³

138 of the reports were written during the Franco regime between the years 1939 and 1959⁴, with 97 of them describing placement training in state schools and 41 in private centres. The placement training reports in state schools come to an end in 1948, although some later reports have been conserved relating to placement training in private schools. The ones analysed in this paper all describe placement training in state schools: 80 in schools in Mallorca, 8 in schools in Minorca and 9 in centres in Ibiza. Because the reports sometimes refer to training activities in the same schools, they provide information about a total of 59 state schools in the Balearics (47 in Mallorca, 6 in Minorca and 6 in Ibiza) in both urban and rural areas, hence ensuring a broad insight into schools in the Balearics. There is a balanced presence of boys and girls schools in the reports spanning the years 1939 and 1945. Between 1945 and 1948, however, only 22 reports have been conserved, all relating to girls' schools.

According to the enrolment registers⁵ and end-of-academic-year reports⁶, all the authors of the analysed reports were registered at teacher training schools during the said years, although it was not possible to locate all the reports by registered students.

⁽²⁾ See bundles 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192 and 193 of the "Fondo Escola Normal de Magisteri i Annexa" (1842-1988). (AHUIB)

⁽³⁾ There are no reports for the years of the Spanish Civil War, since Balearic teacher training schools closed during this period.

⁽⁴⁾ See bundles 189 and 192 of the collection cited in footnote 2.

⁽⁵⁾ The enrolment registers from the "Fondo Escola Normal de Magisteri i Annexa" collection (1842-1988) AHUIB, are the: *Registro de matrícula (no oficial). Escuela del Magisterio (Masculino) de Baleares. 1945-1953*. Bundle 202 (bis). *Registro de matrícula (oficial). Escuela del Magisterio (Masculino) de Baleares. 1945-1965*. Bundle 241 (bis). *Registro de matrícula. Escuela Normal Superior de maestras de las Baleares. 1913-1969*. Bundle 203 (bis). *Registro de matrícula y exámenes (no oficial). Escuela Normal Superior de maestras de las Baleares. 1912-1947*. Bundle 203. *Registro de matrícula (no oficial). Escuela Normal Superior de maestras de Baleares. 1946-1947*. Bundle 240.

⁽⁶⁾ Reports for the academic years 1939 to 1948 can be found in bundle 201 of the above collection (AHUIB).

An internal analysis of the reports highlights their lack of uniformity, both in terms of their form and contents (i.e. some are handwritten and others typed, they are of different sizes and lengths etc.). From this, it can be inferred that no standard format or specific contents were required, although most of the reports cover the same aspects and so possibly some guidance was given.

Another aspect that was taken into account was the degree of objectivity or subjectivity of these sources. Because these documents were observation based, it is important to bear in mind a series of factors that do not cast doubt on the validity or value of these reports but which might condition their historical interpretation. Although their contents are highly descriptive, sometimes these descriptions include opinions and personal observations. They are also subjective to a certain degree in the sense that the author has chosen what deserves to be mentioned. This decision could be influenced by numerous different variables, from the observer's own training and/or ideologies, which would condition their understanding of what they were observing, to their freedom to write observations and assessments of any kind, or the expressed expectations of the teachers in charge of assessing the placement training sessions. Thus inevitably a certain degree of subjectivity must be taken into account, although this should not prevent us from using these reports as historical sources, since this subjectivity forms part of the background reality and, as such, it can and must be historically interpreted.

Once the above analysis had been made, the sources of information were interpreted with a view to forming a historical overview and drawing a series of conclusions.

Discussion (An insight into post-war state schools through placement training reports)

Taking the following as subjects for analysis and bearing in mind the substantial amount of information contained in the accounts, we will now try to summarize the most salient points that can help to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this research study.

– **Buildings and school facilities.**

Most of the reports (83 out of 97) contain specific details of the characteristics of the school buildings and facilities. One of the most notable features, in most cases, is their precarious condition and lack of resources. This somewhat depressing scenario was not a consequence of the war and neither was it specific to Mallorca. Instead, it was a legacy of previous eras throughout Spain as a whole, as can be inferred from the book *Viaje por las escuelas de España (Journey through Spain's Schools)* by Luís Bello (1926-1929). Despite the fact that during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, a plan had been approved for the construction of *escuelas graduadas* or grade schools (schools with classes divided by level) in all the Balearics' municipalities, an initiative that was later able to benefit from the Spanish Republic's School Construction Plan, most schools in the early days of the Franco regime and in later decades continued to be *escuelas unitarias* or multigrade schools (one-class schools with multi-age students).

Over half the schools mentioned in the reports were located in buildings not specifically designed for this purpose. More particularly, of the 59 schools referred to in the reports, only 26 were housed in purpose-built facilities, whilst the remaining 33 could be found in all kinds of different buildings. Examples are former theatres, like «Mar y Tierra», which housed Santa Catalina Grade School for Girls (Mayol, 1940; Sabater, 1944), and town hall buildings, like those occupied by Campanet Multigrade Schools (Mascaró, 1940). Others could be found in municipal buildings (Solivellas, 1940; Vicens, 1944), former factories (Serra, 1941; Ametller, 1945), or private homes (Daviu, 1940; Galmés, 1940; Cañellas, 1940; Guibau, 1940; Cantallops, 1945). Some were larger and more luminous than others, to judge from a comment about Puerto de Andratx School: «[...]it makes it look more like a hut than a school building» (Rodríguez, 1944, p. 13). Generally speaking, these schools were not big enough for all the children registered there, they had insufficient ventilation and natural light, and, according to one account, they might have no water: «There is no running water. The scanty water brought here in pitchers is used for cleaning and hygiene» (Porcel, 1944, p. 2). Many were also lacking in basic facilities such as a playground, and so streets, gardens and squares were used for this purpose, as occurred at Pere Garau Grade School for Boys and Multigrade School for Girls (Nicolau, 1940; Mascaró, 1948).

The 26 schools found in purpose-built facilities, all built before the war, gave rise to very different comments. According to one of the reports that describes it, Consell Boys' School was «[...] luminous and well ventilated and filled with good cheer [...]» (Oliver, 1940, p.5). Others had toilets equipped with showers, urinals, and washbasins, a cloakroom for the children and even an adjacent office for the headmaster (Balaguer, 1948; Torres, 1940).

Almost all the accounts describe the objects used to decorate the classrooms. In addition to certain mandatory symbols imposed by the Franco regime since the beginning of the war (Sureda, 2008), other traditional items were also kept in schools. Most of the accounts describe the presence of a crucifix, portrait of Franco, and images of the Virgin Mary and Immaculate Conception.

More occasionally, some schools, like Campanet Multigrade School Number 2 for Boys or Alayor Grade School for Boys (Mascaró, 1940; Pons, 1941), featured a portrait of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the coat of arms of the Falange fascist party and some National Syndicalist inscriptions. In all the schools, these symbols were accompanied by plants, children's craftwork, drawings relating to the curriculum, and even materials and items from school collections that had been built up. «Splendid pots of flowers decorate the classrooms and other different rooms. [...]. In this classroom, we have a lot of materials, most the result of the older students' craftwork» says one account about a girls grade school in Palma (Ferrá, 1940, p.1).

- Furniture and teaching materials

All the reports include information about the furniture and teaching materials, showing that in most schools items and materials were still kept from before the war. As well as typical school desks, tables and benches, some multigrade schools had round tables known as «collaborative tables», like Palma Multigrade School Number 2 for Boys, Algaida Grade School for Girls and San José Multigrade School for Girls in Ibiza, so that the class could be divided into groups according to the students' levels (Font, 1940; Morey, 1940; Ramis, 1945; Rosselló, 1946).

The school materials always included typical writing materials, such as a pencil, rubber, ink, chalk and paper. There were also blackboards, geometrical figures, maps, teaching sheets, celestial and terrestrial globes, collections of metric weights and measures, materials for geometry like

rulers, set squares and sets of compasses, and balls and ropes for physical education. Exceptionally, some schools had materials for natural science experiments (Marí, 1940; Riera, 1941) or projectors (González, 1940). In 7 schools cited in 8 reports, school collections of differing sizes were kept, featuring objects ranging from insects or minerals to dissected animals, fossils or plants (Forteza, 1948; Gil, 1940; González, 1940; Nicolau, 1940; Sabater, 1944; Sastre, 1944; Tugores, 1940; Vicens, 1944). By building up these collections, their contents could be used to teach science.

According to three accounts of schools in Mahón, Palma and Sa Pobla, some post-war schools still possessed materials associated with the active, intuitive teaching methods that had become popular in state schools in former decades. In reference to the materials at Mahón Grade School Number 1 for Girls, Quetglas wrote «There are few materials, since most were damaged when the school was bombed in an air raid during Red domination of the area. In the infant section, where the materials were not so badly damaged, there are Fröebel gifts, Montessori materials, an abacus, rings, skipping ropes, balls, little boats, dolls etc. and endless pieces of craftwork. The materials used to make them include plasticine, clay, sand, shiny and matt coloured paper, streamers, cardboard, toothpicks, beads, pencils and coloured strips of paper, pins, pearl cotton and wool, cane, soap, bits of wood, pebbles etc.» (Quetglas, 1940, p.1). At La Soledad Multigrade School for Girls in Palma, Montessori, Decroly and Fröebel materials were used (Rivas, 1942a). As for the materials used at Sa Pobla Grade School for Girls, the student teacher stated: «[...] to teach reading, the Montessori system is used; a system that was completely new to me since I only knew anything about it through texts for the pedagogy exam» (Cantalops, 1945, p.3), showing that at Balearic teacher training schools, the Montessori method was included in the theory of the subject pedagogy.

Lastly, as for the textbooks and reading matter that was used, we must remember that materials in school libraries had to be approved following the triumphant uprising against the Second Republic (Sureda, 2008). The Spanish Ministry of Education's Department for Culture authorized the materials that were used in schools. Of the 97 reports, 44 mention the textbooks and reading materials that were used. The most common were school encyclopaedias (Dalmau Carles, Seix i Barral, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, or Los Grados by Porcel). As for reading matter, we know from

some accounts, like the report on Sa Cabaneta Multigrade School for Boys (Pizá, 1940), that some reading books from the Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas⁷ were kept that had managed to survive the approval process, together with other new reading matter ideologically approved by the new regime.

– How schools were organized

A 1938 circular by the Spanish Ministry of Education (Spanish State Gazette, 1938) lists a series of mandatory instructions for primary schools. This served as a key reference during the post-war period until the approval of the 1945 education act. The circular refers generally to issues regarding the organization of schools. The analysed reports largely illustrate how these matters were put into practice, since almost all of them include some information on timetables, registration, how the teaching was organized, the contents of the curriculum, methods, educational practices, and discipline. In this section, a review will be made of relevant aspects for the purposes of this paper, although each individual aspect could be the future subject of a monographic study.

a. How the teaching was organized

Of the 59 schools described in the accounts, 26 were officially multigrade schools (with mixed level classes). However, due to their high student numbers, almost half of them separated the students into different levels in some way, insofar as their spatial and human resources allowed them to do this. For instance, many teachers divided their students into groups of a more or less uniform kind, with each group working on separate tasks or exercises even though they all shared the same classroom: «At my school there were [...] two main groups: the one we might call the primary group, with girls aged from 5 to 9, and the older group of girls, aged from 9 to 14. Each group was made up of twenty to thirty students of differing capacities and degrees of knowledge [...]» (Barbosa, 1941, p.2).

At the grade schools (33), the number of different levels into which the school was divided could vary, depending on the number of teachers and students. Within each level, children of different ages could

⁷⁾ An organization created during the 2nd Republic in order to promote culture and modern teaching and education, particularly in rural areas.

sometimes be found, who were then subdivided into smaller groups. Some reports mention the difficulties involved in such a diversity of students within each grade and even the difference in level within each of the sub-groups.

b. Registration and attendance.

Of the 97 reports, 59 include details of the number of registered students and the schools' attendance levels. There is clearly a problem of truancy due, according to some reports, to the parents' lack of interest in their children's education, particularly in the towns' poorer neighbourhoods. Another cited reason is the need for some families to be able to count on their children's help with agricultural work or family care, especially in the afternoons and at certain times of year. One report in particular explains that, after the month of April, the number of registered students would go up when new children joined who had just taken their First Communion, since instead of attending school, they had been attending classes with the nuns in their municipality in order to learn how to read and write and learn the catechism (Pizá, 1940). Although attendance was monitored, in some reports we learn that only when 50 absences were recorded was this considered to be a case of truancy, with the corresponding steps then being taken (González, 1940). The schools also had registration cards where, according to some reports, the students' political and social backgrounds were recorded «[...] in order to guide the child along the right pathway» (Cerdá, 1944, p.2).

c. Timetables.

As all the reports indicate, classes were given from Monday to Saturday, in the mornings and afternoons except for Saturday, when they were only held in the morning. The timetable could vary slightly from school to school. Officially, according to one of the reports (González, 1940), three hours of classes were supposed to be given in the morning and another three in the afternoon, with a 25-minute break in both cases and the recommendation that beginner-level classes should last for 30 minutes, elementary and intermediate ones for 40 minutes, and higher-level classes for over 40 minutes. The morning hours tended to be devoted to subjects that were thought to require more attention, whilst the afternoon was reserved for more abstract or more practical matters. The time dedicated to each subject was flexible, depending on the students'

needs at each school. Most of the reports coincide in stating that the schools followed certain common rituals, such as singing the national anthem first thing in the morning before entering the classroom as the Spanish flag was raised, or always saying certain prayers before leaving at midday and at the end of the day before the flag was lowered.

d. Subjects and the syllabus.

According to the 1938 circular, the curriculum had to be based on four main cornerstones of a religious, patriotic, civic and physical nature. General indications were given on how to ensure that these four key areas were integrated in all the subjects and in school culture in general in order to «[...] guarantee a school culture fully influenced and guided by the doctrine of the Cross.» (Spanish State Gazette 1938, p. 6155). All subjects and school practices had to be based on a series of moral and patriotic ethics consistent with the new regime.

All the reports highlight the integration of patriotic and religious principles, not just in subjects like religion, religious history and the history of Spain, but also in all the other subjects: «Religion and Religious History are not just another subject at this school. All possible occasions are used to try and instil a sense of religious faith in the children [...] When history is taught, attempts are made to inspire a sense of patriotism in the children that they will conserve for the rest of their lives» (Daviu, 1940, p. 4). Copying Catholic and patriotic maxims on the blackboard or into notebooks was also a common practice.

With a few exceptions, mornings were devoted to arithmetic, geometry, religious history, Spanish and world history (this last subject was not given in all schools), Spanish language, and physical and natural science. At break-time, in many schools gymnastic and even paramilitary exercises were done. Indeed, one of the regime's express recommendations was to pay attention to the children's physical education, reviving local games, with the teacher playing a role in their supervision (Spanish State Gazette, 1938). The afternoon was reserved for subjects like grammar, calligraphy, geography, good manners and public spiritedness (patriotic education), the catechism, Christian faith, physiology and hygiene, singing, guided reading, vocabulary exercises, dictations, drawing, handcrafts, and lessons based on things familiar to the children. The girls also used to do typical «female» tasks like sewing or embroidery, while the boys did arithmetical exercises associated with trades like those of a blacksmith, agricultural

or livestock farmer, or carpenter. Apart from highlighting the constant importance given to God and the Nation, most accounts do not describe the specific contents of each subject in any depth, although detail is given in the case of the methodology, as we will now see.

e. Teaching methods

76 of the 97 reports provide details of observed methodological and practical aspects. In a large number of cases (21 of the reports), the persistence of active, intuitive teaching methods can be observed, characteristic of reformist teaching ideas upheld during previous decades. Although recent publications have demonstrated the continuance of certain teaching practices of this kind during the Franco era (López Bausela, 2012; Agulló Díaz y Fernández Soria, 2014, Viñao, 2015), it is something that still draws attention. In the Balearics and the rest of Spain, educational practices founded on pedagogical naturalism were associated with progressive ideologies (Sureda 2008). Due to a lack of more detailed educational guidelines, during the early years of the Franco regime, the ideas expressed by some ideologists and pedagogues representative of Catholic traditionalism might have been taken as a reference. At this point, we can quote the words of Romualdo de Toledo, Director General for Primary Education: «[...] faced with lies about children's conscious awareness, we uphold the need for a dogma; faced with man's Rousseauism, we proclaim man's fall into original sin [...]. All these differences justify the pedagogical counterrevolution that Spain needs» (de Toledo, 1940, p.11.12). Even so, our reports seem to show that teachers still applied methods and practices more in line with intuitive Rousseau-inspired pedagogical ideas, albeit to teach subject matter consistent with imposed Catholic and patriotic dogmas.

More specifically, I am referring to the reports that describe teaching at S'Arracó (Pujol, 1940), Andratx (Moner, 1940; Barbosa, 1941), La Soledad (Solivellas, 1943; Rivas, 1942a), and Lluçmajor (Font, 1946) Multigrade Schools for Girls; and «Jaime Ferrer» (Ferrá, 1940), «Cecilio Metelo» (Socías, 1948; Ramis d'Ayreflor, 1948), «Santa Isabel» (Mercadal, 1948), Sa Pobla (Escribano, 1941; Cantallops, 1945), and Pollensa (Martorell, 1944) Grade Schools for Girls; Palma Number 2 (Daviu, 1940; Font, 1940), Marratxí (Galmés, 1940), Consell (Oliver, 1940), Puerto de Andratx (Rodríguez, 1944) and Ibiza (Tur, 1945) Multigrade Schools for Boys; and El Terreno (Cabrer, 1944), Pere Garau (Nicolau, 1940), Alaró

(Rosselló, 1941; Rayó, 1940), Mahón Numbers 1 and 2 (Quetglas, 1940; Andreu, 1941), «Jaime Ferrer» (Gil, 1940; Guibau, 1940) and «Mar y Tierra» Grade Schools for Boys (Sabater, 1944).

In the above reports, many remarks are made about the intuitive approach that was taken, stating that nothing was talked about in class unless the children could actually see it and adding that if it could not be seen *in situ*, then special sheets or drawings were used to aid learning and comprehension. The survival of this intuitive approach is also supported by one report about one of the above schools which describes the application of what were known as «lecciones de cosas» (lessons based on things, images or phenomena familiar to the children).

In one case, it is remarked that the aim of this intuitive method was to do away with traditional rote learning «[...] from the teaching methods used at this school, all of which are intuitive, since attempts have been made to eradicate memorizing. Explaining to the children and showing what is being explained so that they learn by seeing and listening, and also, if possible, through their sense of touch» (Gil, 1940, p.2). Having said this, according to most reports, to a greater or lesser extent memory-based learning was also a feature of almost all the schools. However, in schools where the continuance of active intuitive teaching methods was observed, memorizing was usually limited to certain subjects like religion, ethics, arithmetic, history and language or to certain types of subject matter, such as the times tables, prayers and maxims. Only a few show a total rejection of this practice, like «Jaime Ferrer» in Palma, where «Grammar was taught through lots of practical exercises (vocabulary, dictionary exercises, compositions, reciting etc.), following the established rule at grade schools, where rote learning was totally excluded, leading to surprising outcomes» (Ferrá, 1940, p. 9).

Mention must also be made of the following more unusual cases, where comments were made on the use of Decrolier centres of interest. According to one report, at Sa Pobla Grade School for Girls, «Lessons are almost always based on centres of interest, striving not to complicate things and mainly using a religious motif as the centre of interest. On those May days, I took the Month of Mary as the centre of interest and we talked about this typically Spanish, ancient tradition. We talked about flowers, insects and spring, and the little ones learnt new songs of praise to the Queen of Heaven and several poems which they recited at the end of the Month of Mary exercise» (Escribano, 1941, p.5). At «Jaime Ferrer» Grade

School for Boys, subjects that came up during outings to the countryside were taken as centres of interest (Guibau, 1940). Centres of interest were also used at Santanyí Multigrade School for Girls, taking advantage of the religious festivities in the school almanac and those of the municipality (Nigorra, 1948). Something similar also occurred at Ibiza Multigrade School Number 1: «A relatively unadulterated use is made of centres of interest in the commemoration of historical dates or in the celebration of major religious festivities» (Tur, 1945, p.9). At this school, the project method was also used, which teacher Mr. Fuentes regarded as helping to overcome difficulties and as boosting self-confidence and independent learning. According to this report, «Using the project method and the said criterion, the older children have studied many things that have served as research or for inventive purposes for them» (Tur, 1945, p.10).

Following the express guidelines of the Franco regime (Spanish State Gazette, 1938), weekly walks and outings were held in the Balearics, activities introduced to Spanish schools in the late 19th century. The aim was to strengthen Spanish children's bodies, weakened in years prior to the Civil War by illness and malnutrition. Also, these trips outside the classroom were supposed to be used to contemplate the beauty of God's Creation and to play games, do exercises and sing religious and patriotic songs, although some teachers also used them, as mentioned previously, to gather materials of interest for teaching purposes, to arouse the children's curiosity, or even to find centres of interest. Of the 97 reports, none states that no outings or walks were made and 42 bear witness to this practice, which continued despite the shortages of the post-war period.

f. Discipline

Discipline is mentioned in 41 of the 97 analysed reports. All of them reflect a dislike of physical punishment and none of them describes having witnessed it.

Although some accounts praise the use of discipline in schools for patriotic purposes, upholding it as necessary «[...] so that, in future, they will obey any orders that they are given and thus help to make our dear Nation great», (Rivas, 1942b), the rest of them do not make this kind of reference. Instead, they describe specific practices that were used to keep discipline, based more on positive reinforcement and rewards than punishments.

In the case of multigrade schools in particular, keeping children occupied was insisted upon as the best way of avoiding discipline problems. Most of the accounts say that the teachers preferred positive reinforcement to tangible prizes. Often a student's good behaviour was praised to the rest of the class or else the student was rewarded by sitting in one of the front rows. This type of practice was not used in some schools, however, like Mahón Grade School for Boys (González, 1940) or El Vivero Multigrade School for Boys (Balaguer, 1944), because the teachers did not believe that it was a good idea to compare students. Instead, positive reinforcement always took the form of points or recognition that only the child and his or her parents knew about.

In a minority of schools, tangible rewards were given, sometimes in order to promote the importance of religious faith or patriotism. For example, at Sa Pobla Grade School for Boys (Siquier, 1944), studious children were presented with biographies of famous figures from Spanish history, while La Soledad Multigrade School in Palma gave picture cards, drawing books or religious cards to the students who were most assiduous in attending Sunday mass (Rivas, 1942a).

Lastly, punishments normally consisted of copying out lessons, detention at break-time, being made to stand and read, or doing exercises on the blackboard.

Conclusions

A detailed analysis of the contents of these reports offers an insight into the reality of Balearic schools during the post-war period, reflecting the condition of the buildings and school facilities, registration and attendance levels, how the schools were organized, timetables, the curriculum, teaching methods, the books and materials that were used, activities, discipline etc. In short, they provide an insight into «what went on» in the classroom on an everyday basis, allowing us to «observe» things that we knew nothing about, since they form part of the *black box* that we have striven to open, using these accounts as sources.

Although we have focused on a specific geographical area, this study contributes by offering analytical models that can be extrapolated to other places and periods. A series of conclusions was also reached in relation to the questions that we posed at the beginning of this research study.

The first conclusion that can be drawn is the reports' value as a rich source of information on how schools functioned during the post-war period. In terms of classroom practices, this information is more detailed than that found in administrative, journalistic or other sources, since it has been directly obtained by the student teachers, who provide information about everyday life in schools and other matters, like the characteristics and state of the buildings and school facilities, registration and attendance levels, timetables, how the schools were organized, the curriculum, teaching methods, books and materials, the activities that were carried out, discipline etc.

The second conclusion is that, from the reports, we can infer that schools of the period were not as standardized as studies based on other sources seem to show. It cannot be assumed that official rules and guidelines were immediately put into practice in all schools in the same way or that ideological and educational guidelines were applied in standard form in all schools irrespective of their teachers and other circumstances.

The third conclusion is that, despite the Franco regime's evident desire to break away from the prevailing educational ideas of the Second Republic, the pedagogical guidelines that were laid down did not prevent the continuance of former educational practices that might seem contrary to or inconsistent with the philosophy of the new regime.

The fourth conclusion is that the observed continuities might be attributable, firstly, to the absence of a clear, coherent educational model consistent with the ideals of the new regime and, secondly, to the fact that, despite the selective approval of written material in schools, teachers did not radically alter the school culture they had known during the Second Republic and in previous years, conspicuous for its far greater coherence and more solid structure than the one that was now being imposed. We believe that this conclusion needs to be confirmed by conducting a broader study, based on a comparison of reports from other teacher training schools. Consequently, with this study, we hope that we have provided a useful analytical model for subsequent research that might either corroborate or contradict the conclusions drawn here.

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Teaching practice reports

(They all belong to *Fondo Escola Normal de Magisteri i Annexa (1842-1988)*, University of the Balearic Islands' History Archives (AHUIB), bundles 189-192)

Bundle 189

- Cañellas, A. (1940). Pollensa Grade School for Boys.
- Daviu, G. (1940). Palma nº2 Multigrade School for Boys.
- Ferrá, M. (1940). «Jaime Ferrer» (Palma) Grade School for Girls.
- Font, J. (1940). Palma nº2 Multigrade School for Boys.
- Galmés, P. (1940). «Pla de Son Nebot» (Marratxí) Mixed School.
- Gil, J. (1940). «Jaime Ferrer» (Palma) Grade School for Boys.
- González, J. (1940). Mahón nº1 Grade School for Boys.
- Guibau, F. (1940). «Jaime Ferrer» (Palma) Grade School for Boys.
- Marí, F. (1940). Ibiza Grade School for Boys.
- Mascaró, P. (1940). Campanet nº2 Multigrade School for boys.
- Mayol, J. (1940). «Mar y Tierra» Santa Catalina (Palma) Grade School for Boys.
- Moner, A. (1940). Andratx Multigrade School for Girls.
- Morey, R. (1940). Palma nº2 Multigrade School for Boys.
- Nicolau, R. (1940). Pedro Garau (Palma) Grade School for Boys.
- Oliver, A. (1940). Consell nº2 Multigrade School for Boys.
- Pizá, J. (1940). Sa Cabaneta (Marratxí) Multigrade School for Boys.
- Pujol, M. (1940). S'Arracó (Andratx) Multigrade School for Girls.
- Quetglas, J. (1940). Mahón nº1 Grade School for Boys.
- Rayó, F. (1940). Alaró Grade School for Boys.

- Solivellas, J. (1940). Lluçmajor Grade School for Boys.
Torres, A. (1940). Ibiza Grade School for Boys.
Tugores, R. (1940). «Jaime Ferrer» (Palma) Grade School for Girls.

Bundle 190

- Andreu, J.F. (1941). Mahón nº2 Grade School for Boys.
Barbosa, M. (1941). Andratx Multigrade School for Girls.
Escribano, M.C. (1941). Sa Pobla Grade School for Girls.
Pons, G. (1941). Alayor Grade School for Boys.
Riera, G. (1941). Sant Lluís nº2 Multigrade School for Boys.
Rosselló, F. (1941). Alaró Grade School for Boys.
Serra, B. (1941). Alcudia Grade School for Boys.

Bundle 191

- Ametller, F.J. (1945). San Cristóbal (Es Migjorn Gran) Multigrade School for Boys.
Balaguer, G. (1944). El Vivero (Palma) Multigrade School for Boys.
Cabrer, P. (1944). El Terreno (Palma) Grade School for Boys.
Cantallops, L. (1945). Sa Pobla Grade School for Girls.
Cerdá, J. (1944). La Soledad (Palma) Grade School for Boys.
Martorell, M. (1944). Pollensa Grade School for Girls.
Porcel, P. (1944). Andratx Grade School for Boys.
Rivas, A. (1942a). La Soledad (Palma) Multigrade School for Girls.
Rivas, J. (1942b). La Soledad (Palma) Grade School for Boys.
Rodríguez, A. (1944). Andratx Harbour Multigrade School for Boys.
Sabater, M. (1944). «Mar y Tierra» Santa Catalina (Palma) Grade School for Boys
Sastre, R. (1944). Mahón nº1 Grade School for Boys.
Siquier, B. (1944). Sa Pobla Grade School for Boys.
Solivellas, C. (1943). La Soledad (Palma) Multigrade School for Girls.
Tur, C. (1945). Ibiza nº1 Multigrade School for Boys.
Vicens, A. (1944). Calvia nº1 Multigrade School for Boys.

Bundle 192

- Balaguer, M. (1948). Grade School for Girls «Santa Isabel» (Palma).
Font, I. (1946). Multigrade School for Girls de Lluçmajor.
Forteza, F. (1948). Grade School for Girls del Coll d'en Rabassa (Palma).
Mascaró, A.F. (1948). Multigrade School for Girls de Pedro Garau (Palma).
Mercadal, S. (1948). «Santa Isabel» (Palma) Grade School for Girls.
Nigorra, M. (1948). Santanyí Multigrade School for Girls.
Ramis, A. (1945). Algaida Grade School for Girls.
Ramis d'Ayreflor, M.A. (1948). «Cecilio Metelo» (Palma) Grade School for Girls.
Rosselló, C. (1946). San José Multigrade School for Girls.
Socías, T. (1948). «Cecilio Metelo» (Palma) Grade School for Girls.

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