

revista de
eEDUCACIÓN
Nº 374 OCTUBRE-DICIEMBRE 2016



Oficiales, colegiados y libres. Una revisión crítica de la estadística sobre el Bachillerato en España (1930-1970)

Oficiales, colegiados y libres. A critical review on the statistics of Spanish Baccalaureate (1930-1970)

José Ignacio Cruz Orozco



Oficiales, colegiados y libres. A critical review on the statistics of Spanish Bacallaureate (1930-1970)

Oficiales, colegiados y libres. Una revisión crítica de la estadística sobre el Bachillerato en España (1930-1970)

DOI: 10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2016-374-332

José Ignacio Cruz Orozco

Universidad de Valencia

Abstract

Statistical data is a relevant tool when it comes to analysing the present, past, global or partial education system. Despite its unquestionable importance, studies on the so-called history of school statistics in Spain are scarce, particularly those about XXth century. This work aims to analyse statistical data related to the Spanish Bacallaureate between 1930 and 1970. Particular stress was placed on the presentation of the information, its changes and reasons motivating them. In order to do that, firstly, we carried out a thorough review of the available statistical sources as well as their main features: origin, authorship, scope and limitations. Then, a mixed methodology, combining both quantitative and qualitative techniques, was implemented in order to triangulate the several statistical sources with relevant qualitative data on educational policies. Our main findings show both the underestimation affecting primary and secondary school enrolment rates in the II Spanish Republic and the criterion used for it. The direct relationship between the presentation of data and the priorities of educational policy and the modification of data according to the changes in the policy can also be drawn from the study. Finally, the serious detriment for research that was caused by a change from academic year 1966-67 when the existing series were abandoned for more than a century to implement a series of simple provincial summaries is underscored.

Keywords: School statistics; secondary education; statistical analysis; educational policy; Francoism.

Resumen

Los datos estadísticos suponen un elemento de gran relevancia para analizar la realidad educativa, independientemente de que esta sea, presente, pasada, global o parcial. Pese a su indudable trascendencia, los estudios de la denominada historia de la estadística escolar en España son muy escasos, especialmente los enmarcados en el siglo XX. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar los datos estadísticos referidos al bachillerato español en el periodo comprendido entre 1930 y 1970, haciendo especial hincapié en la presentación de la información, sus cambios y las razones que los motivaron. Para ello hemos efectuado, en primer término, una profunda revisión de las fuentes estadísticas disponibles y de sus principales características: origen, autoría, alcance y límites. Posteriormente, empleando un enfoque de técnica mixta con metodología cualitativa y cuantitativa, se han triangulado las diversas fuentes estadísticas entre sí y con datos y referencias cualitativas especialmente significativas de la política educativa. Entre las principales conclusiones se encuentran la constatación de la minusvaloración empleada en las tasas de escolarización y la red de institutos de segunda enseñanza del periodo de la II República y el criterio empleado para ello. También se ha comprobado la directa vinculación de la presentación de datos y las prioridades de la política educativa y su modificación de acuerdo con los cambios de esta. Por último, se ponen de manifiesto los graves perjuicios que supuso para la investigación el cambio producido a partir del curso 1966-67, cuando se abandonó la serie vigente durante más de un siglo para pasar a otra de simples resúmenes provinciales.

Palabras clave: Estadística de la educación; enseñanza secundaria; análisis estadístico; política de la educación; franquismo.

Introduction

Any papers that deal with Spanish education statistics should make extensive reference to the pioneering work of professors Guereña and Viñao. Among his many contributions, Guereña (1994) pointed out just over two decades ago the importance of including previous studies to introduce and contextualise the use of statistical sources, calling on researchers to examine the conditions under which they were produced and published. A couple of years later, Guereña, this time together with Viñao, (1996) stressed, in their comprehensive paper, the importance of writing a history of school statistics. Although other renowned studies were later published that used a broad volume of statistical data

(Carabaña, 1997; Fernández, 1997; Tiana, 2003, 2004, 2013; Viñao, 2004; Núñez, 2005; Canales, 2005, Guereña and Viñao, 2013), the latest historiographical analyses indicate that a focus on the study of the statistical sources themselves – the history of school statistics mentioned above and not their use, to varying degrees – has not been a primary objective of specialised research (Guereña, Ruiz-Berrio, Tiana, 2010).

Such scant attention would appear somewhat surprising, given that the data and the different numerical references based on said data – gross rates, percentages, longitudinal series, etc.- constitute a quantitative description of the current state of education. Some experts refer to this as “the statistical truth” or the “authoritative numerical reality” (García, 1981, 23). It is an element that is undoubtedly relevant and essential and which would appear to leave less room for interpretation, compared to other documentary sources.

Starting from the abovementioned premise, it is clear that statistical sources play a key role in a number of research papers that address the Spanish education system during the contemporary period, whether these deal with internal dimensions or its social projection. Of course, a correct approach to research should also include a critical analysis of said source, checking the reliability of data and figures, and interpreting why they are presented in one format or another. According to the approach put forward by Guereña, Viñao (1996, 15), statistical data should also be the subject of checking and critical review given that: “School statistics are on the one hand an assertion of expertise, and on the other hand, justification, accountability as well as propaganda and promotion of its achievements”.

This paper employs this approach and carries out a detailed, critical analysis of the official Spanish school statistics on baccalaureate studies between 1930 to 1970.¹ Over these four decades, Spain went from being a Republic to enduring both a Civil War and almost the whole of the Franco regime. This extended period allows a lengthy longitudinal study that incorporates a number of quite different education policies, thus enabling an examination of the comparisons and contrasts.

⁽¹⁾ The baccalaureate at that time began with an entrance exam that students took at the age of 9 or 10, and lasted for six or seven academic years, sometimes divided into a lower and upper stage (equivalent to middle school and high school), depending on the study plan in place.

Methodology and sources

For this paper, an exhaustive review was carried out of the official statistics for the baccalaureate. It should be noted that we use the term baccalaureate rather than high school studies or secondary education, to better reflect to the aims of our research paper. We focused exclusively on education statistics for the period 1930-1970, directly related to studies about post-primary education, on completion of which students were awarded a baccalaureate diploma. We do not include any forms of vocational training, or any other similar educational approaches that were available at that time, such as: Working Schools (*de Trabajo*), Schools of Arts and Trades (*Artes Oficios*), School of Commerce (*Comercio*), Standard School (*Normales*), Vocational Baccalaureate, etc., which educational authorities would sometimes group together under the single heading High School.

We have sourced information from the *Statistical Almanacs* and volumes of *Statistical Information on Education in Spain*, the official publications containing the quantitative values for education in the country. Given that there are practically no papers that analyse this data during the period our paper focuses on, we will endeavour to write a fairly detailed description of both sources. The *Statistical Almanacs* are the general texts used by the Spanish Administration since 1858 to provide quantitative information about Spanish society. The *Alamanacs* were, from a general perspective, a tangible reflection of the intervention model that the new liberal state was implementing and how it was affecting the country. If we take a closer look at education, they give us quite an accurate insight into the process, somewhat slow and convoluted, of building up the Spanish education system. Education was not a minor goal of the new regime, although it did not appear to be particularly dedicated to fulfilling its pledge. It is no wonder therefore that in the prologue of the very first volume, from 1858, there was a cautionary note concerning Public Education, warning of "... a part of the population that has still not managed to work, to exercise their rights and to contribute to their own and the general welfare: they must be taught." (INE, 1858, 5).

With regards to the baccalaureate, from the very outset, the *Almanac* provided basic general information in a table format, broken down by school, teaching staff and students per type of studies: official, collegiate or open. In other words, if they attended a public high school, a private

school or if they only had the right to sit the exam at one of the former. At that time, public high schools, in addition to their educational purpose, also fulfilled their important role of administering and supervising everything related to the baccalaureate within their catchment area. The table was accompanied by additional curricular information, a good part of which focused on the exam results and completion of the study programme (INE, 1858, 282). Over time, the way this information was both organised and presented underwent a number of different changes. Conversely, the *Almanacs* only provided very brief information about the private schools and their teaching staff.

It should be noted that in a number of years during the period under study, there were certain problems with consistency. During the years of the Republic, a single joint *Almanac* was published for the years 1932 and 1933 while the one for 1935 was never published at all. The information included from one year to the next could be quite different. For the 1931-32 and 1932-33 academic years for example, find the standard tables, while the remaining years only included brief general summaries.

The *Almanac*, following its forced hiatus due to the Spanish Civil War, did not reappear until 1943. That year's edition included the standard tables for the 1940-41 and 1941-42 academic years, with just a few references to that of 1939-1940. The final adjustments took some time to come about. The following editions were published every two years: 1944-45 and 1946-47 (García, 1981). As far as the information they contained was concerned, it reverted to having one table per high school. The volume for 1944-45 only provided information about the 1942-43 academic year, whereas the one for the years 1946-47 only covers the 1943-44 and 1944-45 academic years. At that point, the annual edition was standardised, providing data with a two-year lag.²

An analysis was also carried out on the volumes containing more specific information, which were published, under a variety of names that changed over the years, by the education authorities and the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE). The publication created by the governments of the Second Republic was called *Statistical Information*

⁽²⁾ The entire historical series of the *Statistical Almanacs*, from the very beginning to the present day can be viewed at the National Institute of Statistics website. The fact that it is available in an electronic format is enormously helpful to researchers and sets an admirable example to follow.

on Teaching Establishments. Published in a number of volumes, each one related to a specific stage of education, only two of which were published referring to the 1932-33 academic year: the first, on high schools and the second, on Universities (Heredia, Parejo 2007). The authorities under the Franco Regime continued publishing them after the Civil War, although they restructured the content to include all schooling levels in a single volume. The first of these from this new era, corresponding to the 1940-41 academic year, was published in 1943. The publication continued through to 1945 and was compiled by the Statistical Coordination Department of the National Ministry of Education (MEN, 1943).

At the end of 1945, the Statistics Act was passed, which led to the creation of the National Institute of Statistics, one of whose primary functions was the effective coordination of all statistical tasks for all government departments (García, 1981; Merediz, 2004). Consequently, the statistics corresponding to the 1946-47 academic year came under the full responsibility of the INE and were published under the title *Statistical Information on Education in Spain*.³ The reason behind the change of name was that for the very first time they included data from private education. The Director of the Institute also pointed out in the presentation that despite the change, it was a continuation of the series that was started prior to the War (INE, 1949). Although there were later changes, it is worth noting that the series has continued through to the present day under the title *Figures for Education in Spain*. Despite the changes in both name and publishing authority, it is the very same publication, and in certain documentation centres, they are all still classified under the heading *Statistical Information on Education in Spain*. In November 1985, the publication once again reverted to being the sole responsibility of the statistics department of the department of education (MEC, 1988).

With regard to its contents, it grew from humble beginnings—the disclaimer that appears at the start of the first volume of just under 150 A5-size pages made specific mention of the lack of paper and budget (MEN 1943)—to just a few years later providing relatively comprehensive and detailed information, especially once it had become the responsibility of the

³ It is a publication that despite its importance is difficult to track down. We were able to work with the entire series from 1940 to 1970, which is stored on microfiche at the Valencia Institute of Statistics. That whole series is titled *Statistical Information on Education in Spain*.

INE. From the mid-1940s onwards, it can be considered the most detailed source of information about the state of education in Spain, whereas the *Almanac* only contained summary information (Heredia, Parejo, 2007).

Furthermore, to expand the scope of the work and to be able to contrast data and figures taken from these quantitative sources, we have identified and analysed the major approaches to educational policy over this period. We have examined regulations, the policy positions of the politicians in charge, texts from the time and monographs, as well as specialised papers.

With regards to how all these sources of information should be handled, we thought it most appropriate to carry out as global an analysis as possible, and thought it appropriate to use a mixed methodology, combining both qualitative and quantitative techniques (Creswell, 2005). In this regard, we closely follow Flick (2004, 208) who indicated that with this particular approach, “the different methodological perspectives complement each other in the study of an issue: the two methods are conceived in terms of the complementary compensation of the weaknesses and blind spots of each single method”. Specifically, we have applied triangulation techniques, contrasting the data from the different statistical series against each other in addition to references taken from other qualitative sources (Jick, 2008).

One of the characteristics of this mixed approach, in our opinion, is that it enables us to maintain a focus on the centrality of the issue, allowing it to be examined from a number of different perspectives using a number of different techniques, without giving preference to any particular one (Flick, 2004). After establishing the links between the approaches of education policies and education statistics, we have reflected on why they were presented in a particular way, then we analyse the causes of some of the changes implemented, and lastly we reveal certain ways in which the information was manipulated and distorted.

Any research paper that relies on data about Spanish education statistics is faced with certain difficulties. One of the main ones, already alluded to, concerns the changes in criteria used when compiling the data, which disrupts some historical series, limits or even rules out long-term studies and forces researchers to estimate values. Another notable problem, touched upon earlier, is that it is impossible to view the original documents given that a large part of them were destroyed (Guerreña, Viñao 1996; Núñez 2005).

Francoism versus the Republic

The first aspect to be dealt with in this paper refers to a matter that at first glance might appear simple, but is more far-reaching than it appears; namely, establishing how many students studied at public schools and the extent of the network of high schools at the start of the 1940s. The answer would appear simple. In the corresponding *Statistical Information on Teaching Establishments* it can be seen that in the 1940-41 academic year, there were a total of 157,707 students, 1,773 more than the previous year (MEN 1943, 78). And as far as the number of high schools is concerned, it is widely documented that in the 1939-40 academic year, there were 113, which increased during subsequent years to 119 in the 1946-47 academic year (Spanish Ministry of Labour, 1943; Canales 2011; Cruz, 2015).

The problem arises if we want to check to see if there were more students and high schools at the onset of the Franco Regime than in the Second Republic. The *Almanac* for 1943 – the first to be published following the Spanish Civil War, let us recall – states that in the 1935-36 academic year, there were 124,900 enrolments in baccalaureate and that the average for the whole of the Second Republic had been 120,144. With regards to the network of high schools, it shows a total of 97 for this period (INE 1943, 224). The first governments under General Franco must therefore have increased the school enrolment rate and the network of high schools compared to the earlier republican governments.

This is not, however, the only source of information. The republican governments also published *Almanacs* and as can be seen in the 1936 edition for the 1933-34 academic year, there were 111 high schools and 56 middle schools catering to 130,752 and 14,255 students, respectively (INE, 1936, 17). From the above, it can be seen that there is a notable difference, of at least 25,000 students and some 80 schools between both tallies. The first question that springs to mind for any researcher is: which information is factually accurate?

Professor Canales (2011, 190) after carrying out in-depth research into the high schools shut down under Franco categorically states that we are dealing with a case of “statistical manipulation”. We entirely agree and can add reasons to bolster his point. Firstly, we can point to the clear trend in school enrolment rates in the academic years prior to 1933-34. Following the declaration of the Second Republic, it had risen by almost

30% (Cruz 2012, 249). It is not logical that there should be such a drastic difference, seeing as there was no change in orientation from the republican educational policies (Pérez, 1975).

But there is another, much more direct proof. In the 1960s, when the authorities launched expansionist education policies and had to take a more technical and less ideological view of the state of Spanish education (Puelles, 1999), other data was provided. The General Technical Secretariat of the Spanish Ministry of National Education began to publish information in its *Data and Figures for Education in Spain*, (Heredia, Parejo, 2007). In addition to other elements aimed at highlighting the expansionist mood of the new educational policy, it also included a series of figures for baccalaureate students from 1906 to 1959. There, as can be seen in Table I, it does present the data for the 1931-32 and 1932-33 academic years that had been published in the republican *Almanac*, although this was not the case for the 1933-34 academic year.

TABLE I. Comparison of official republican and Franco-regime school enrolment data for the period 1931-34

Academic Year	1936 Almanac	1943 Almanac	Data and Figures ...
1931-32	112,629 (105,649 I N + 6,986 I E)	105,649	112,629
1932-33	122,998 (114,645 I N + 8,353 I E)	114,645	122,998
1933-34	145,007 (130,752 I. N. + 14,255 I. E.)	130,752	130,752

Source: Created by the authors using the *Statistical Almanacs* for 1936 and 1943 and data issued by the Spanish Ministry of National Education 1960, 24-25.

I N: High Schools

I E: Middle schools

Therefore, what can clearly be seen following a comparative analysis of these three sources, is that, firstly, the authorities in charge of education statistics in the early 1940s reduced the enrolment figures for baccalaureate students during the Second Republic. The second matter that requires clarification refers to the almost certainly premeditated

inaccuracy that was used to reduce the figures. It is evident that ministry officials only included the figures for high schools and deleted at a stroke all the students enrolled in middle schools.

This action is perfectly in line with the policy of undermining the educational work carried out over the period of the Second Republic. And likewise, it managed to inflate the results of Franco policies, interpreting the statistics to their best advantage. There is one blatant example of figure manipulation, something that has continued over the years and has yet to be properly resolved. The summary enrolment tables for the later academic years included in certain *Almanacs* (1951, 775; 1956, 755; 1961, 874) and in certain volumes of the *Statistical Information on Education in Spain*, (1947-48 academic year, 61), have continued to use the erroneous data for the academic years corresponding to the Second Republic. This is the same case with the compilation of historical statistics that have been published over the years (Núñez, 2005, 214).

Another aspect calling for clarification is the quantification of the network of high schools. As has been widely documented, republican governments made huge efforts to increase the number of schools (Pérez 1995; Viñao 2004) as this was one of the cornerstones of their plans to *modernize* Spanish society. But they were also obliged to do so by applying secular measures that stopped religious orders from being involved in education. This highlighted expansionist policy was also inevitably reflected in the *Almanacs*. The one for 1936 indicates that in the 1933-34 academic year, there were 111 public high schools and 56 middle schools, giving a total of 167 schools, as can be seen in Table 2 (INE, 1936, 37).

As has been duly documented by a number of different authors, although this is not reflected in the official statistics, in the 1934-35 and 1935-36 academic years, the number of high schools continued to grow. The rate of increase was so great that during the Republic, the hundred or so high schools that had existed at the end of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship almost doubled in number (Canales, 2011; Lorenzo, 2003).

TABLE II. Comparison of the number of High Schools in the *Statistical Almanacs* for 1936 and 1943

Academic year	Almanac 1936	Almanac 1943
1931-32	101 (I N 80, I E 21)	80
1932-33	113 (I N 93, I E 20)	93
1933-34	167 (I N 111, I E 56)	111

Source: Created by the authors

N: High Schools

E: Middle Schools

The situation becomes less clear cut if we consult sources from the Franco Regime. In the 1943 *Almanac* (224), the number of high schools was listed as follows: 1931-32, 80; 1932-33, 93; 1933-34, 111, as can be seen in Table II. It also shows a figure of 97 high schools for the 1934-35 and 1935-36 academic years, and to top it all off: “Average of 1931-32 to 1935-36, 96”. We believe that this new data triangulation on the network of high schools confirms the obvious willingness to undermine the efforts made in education by the Republic and underlines the fact that this was done by making the statistical data for middle schools and their students simply disappear.

Another interesting aspect that warrants further clarification concerns the quantification of the network of high schools, specifically the rise in numbers that occurred up to the 1946-47 academic year. Statistical data indicate that in the 1939-40 academic year, the first following the Civil War, there were 113 high schools in operation. In the following academic year, two more opened, as did another two in the 1941-42 academic year. The following year, one more was added, and lastly, in the 1946-1947 academic year, another. With these new incorporations, the network stood at 119 high schools and this continued to be the case all the way through to the early 1960s, almost one and a half decades later.

Using quantitative criteria, the conclusion that can be drawn is that under the Franco Regime, six high schools were opened between 1939

and 1946. Even if we accept this as true, we believe that it is only part of the story. The truth is somewhat more complex and multifaceted when we go beyond the overall totals and examine those six high schools in detail, incorporating qualitative elements and setting them within the context of the parameters that defined the policy of the Ministry of National Education.

Let us start by listing them. It should be taken into account that the reduction in the network of high schools primarily took place between 1937 and 1939 (Canales, 2011; Lorenzo, 2003). It was a process comprising a number of amendments, making it a difficult task to clearly define the most extreme. Furthermore, there is no official list of schools that were operational in the 1939-40 academic year, which makes it difficult to clear up certain doubts. Duly taking into account these difficulties, and after comparing of a number of different lists, we believe that the high schools that were opened in the 1940-41 academic year were the following: the Ausías March in Barcelona and the Beatriz Galindo in Madrid. In the following academic year, the Monserrat and the Milà y Fontanals opened in the Catalan capital. In the 1942-1943 academic year, the Arrecife school opened and, lastly, in the 1946-1947 academic year, the Astorga high school.

Regardless of the specific reasons behind the opening of each one and the administrative language embodied in the regulations, what should be pointed out is that these schools were not opened *ex novo* by the Franco government. The truth of the matter is that they were already there. The Ausiàs March for example was the result of the conversion of the former subsidiary of the same name, of the Escuela de Barcelona school, located in the city's Sarrià district. This was the same case for the Milà y Fontanals, the other subsidiary of the Escuela de Barcelona located in the Eixample district. The Beatriz Galindo in Madrid, for its part was the former Antonio Nebrija high school, opened by the republican government (Lorenzo, 2003). As for the school in Arrecife, it had been founded as a local high school during the era of Primo de Rivera (López, 1995). Finally, the one in Astorga was opened during the republic regime in October 1933 (Gaceta de Madrid..., 1933, 729-730).⁴

⁴ The only one that does not seem to be part of this situation and which, despite many enquiries and research, we have been unable to determine whether it was the product of a transformation of a previously-operational high school, is the Monserrat in Barcelona

A direct and linear reading of the statistics indicates that six new high schools were opened over this period. But more in-depth research, supported by reliable documentary evidence, reveals that in fact those that had been closed down during or shortly after the Spanish Civil War were reincorporated back into the network. What is certain is that no new schools were built, except perhaps in the case of the Montserrat school. A few schools that had previously been operational were simply authorised to reopen, in accordance with a readjustment process.

The focus of the educational plan for the baccalaureate, as mentioned earlier in the paper, is clear. Measures to reduce the number of public high schools were key in giving predominance to the private colleges, especially those with ties to the Catholic Church, and in moving away from state-run establishments. The notable increase in concentration of the public network of schools carried out under the Second Republic, creating high schools in a large number of locations was halted completely and public schools were closed in some 60 locations. The momentum of this wave of school closures was such that it even included about a dozen local high schools founded during the era of Primo de Rivera. In this regard, the downsizing initiatives were not limited to dismantling the work of the Republic but at times went beyond even that (Canales, 2011).

Type of students

As pointed out earlier, Spanish education statistics traditionally categorize baccalaureate students according to the type of enrolment: official, collegiate and open. It is true that at times they were referred to by different terms. From early to mid-19th century through to the first decade of the 20th, open education was called *home schooling* and school enrolment was deemed *private*. Another change occurred in the early part of the 20th century and continued through to the end of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1929, with certain exceptions, when the collegiate enrolment and open education were renamed *non official collegiate* and *non official open*. This particular emphasis to distinguish high school students from those of other institutions was not, in our opinion, a mere administrative whim. It clearly formed part of the initiatives – modest at first then somewhat more in earnest during the period under Primo de

Rivera – to expand the network of public high schools (López 1995; Cruz, 2012). Viewed from another perspective, it underlines the action of the government to promote public or official education, the supervisory role of the public high schools within the unending rivalry between the public and private realms of Spanish education.

With the advent of the Second Republic, the categories of *official*, *collegiate* and *open* were established as the norm and flourished, becoming a widely-used reference from 1953, until the full implementation of the Education Act at the end of the 1970s eliminated the peculiar status of *open education students*. Meanwhile, during the 1940s and in the early 1950s, other changes occurred. In the 1940-41 academic year, enrolment was categorized into the following: official, collegiate and private. And in the following academic year: official, open, collegiate and private. Although we were unable to find any explicit clarification about the subdivision of the collegiate category, a number of different indicators, such as those included in the 1959-60 edition of *Statistical Information on Education in Spain* (7), clearly point to the fact that collegiate education grouped together the private colleges of the religious orders while private enrolment denoted students who attended private secular schools (Utande, 1975).

Said situation continued, in part, until 1953. The compilation of the *Statistical Information on Education in Spain* for the 1954-55 academic year (223-235), reverted to the more traditional classification of official, collegiate and open. The reason behind the change could be down to the passing in 1953 of the Secondary Education Act, which brought with it major changes to the concept and organisation of the baccalaureate (Lorenzo, 2003; Cruz, 2015). Among the measures to be implemented, the law made greater demands of private schools in general and also marked a more technical approach to how education statistics were prepared. Curiously enough, the increase in the streamlining of statistics was not reflected in the *Almanac*. It was not until the compilation for the 1968-69 academic year, published in 1970, that the publication incorporated the information that the Ministry had been using for the past 15 years.

It is obvious that this way of presenting the information, with a section specifically dedicated to the Church-run secondary schools and distinguishing them from the rest of the private schools, reflected the privileged role that the Church enjoyed during that time. That said, it is also evident that when education authorities, headed by Education

Minister Ruiz-Giménez, changed to a more interventionist and state approach, this was also clearly reflected in the statistical information provided by the department.

Another interesting matter that concerns the status of private education is the scarcity of any available information about it, especially during the 1940s. Despite the fact that it was a major subsystem in that decade – accounting for somewhere between 46% and 54% of baccalaureate students depending on the year – no information about them is included until the volume corresponding to the 1946-47 academic year. Its absence is so striking that ministry officials noted it on a number of occasions as a pending matter (MEN, 1945), although they would have to wait until the volume for the 1946-47 academic year for the inclusion of this information.

When these statistics were published, the Managing Director of the INE indicated that it was the first time that relatively detailed information about private education had included and expressly highlighted the difficulties encountered when carrying out the very first survey. The only data is a table containing the number of current schools, students and qualified teachers, grouped according to province and university district (INE, 1949, 158-160). We believe it to be a very revealing of the scarce information that the education administration had about this sector of the education system, and in particular, how little it had concerned ministry officials up to that point (Canales, 2015). Only when the INE, an entity outside the education administration, took over the responsibilities did certain references begin to be published.

This failing was, all in all, much less significant at the baccalaureate level than for primary school education. The supervisory role of the public high schools played an essential role here; given that all the school reports for the catchment area had to be centrally managed we have access to relatively reliable data about students, the type of enrolment and geographical breakdowns. It should be emphasised that for years, there were constant references from those in charge about the difficulty of compiling and presenting the information. For this very reason, in the 1960-61, 1961-62 and 1962-63 academic years, no primary education data was published in the *Statistical Information on Education in Spain* (Heredia, Parejo 2007).

The end of an era

In the 1960s, there was an appreciable increase in the baccalaureate expansion process, which those in charge of education policy called the *expansion of secondary education*. Said changes also affected the statistics. The growth experienced over this period obviously required the reorganisation and updating of data, which was crucial for the education planning tasks that, after decades of inaction, were once again beginning to gather momentum.

These political and administrative changes soon began to be reflected in the statistical information. Up until the 1967-68 academic year, the successive editions of the *Statistical Information on Education in Spain* continued to provide the regular information, much of which was quite detailed – teachers, students, location, etc.- for individual high schools. In the following academic year, only provincial totals were provided (Heredia, Parejo 2007). This change was in line with the changes already implemented to the *Almanac*, which from the 1960-61 academic year onwards only published data at a provincial level.

This is worthy of reflection. It cannot be denied that the notable increase in the network of high schools was almost exponential in nature. In the 1960-61 academic year, we see the same 119 high schools that had been there for almost the past two decades, but just six years later, in the 1967-68 academic year, there were a total of 205, to which should be added 144 detached annexes and 204 approved affiliate units (INE, 1970, 9). And the number increased at a constant rate, with new centres opening all the time. The information grew and as it did, it required additional space for publication. And not purely for quantitative reasons; the types of courses increased too. In addition to the general baccalaureate, there was also the technical baccalaureate with a variety of different specialisations. The types of educational institutions also grew. In addition to the secondary and primary schools there were: approved affiliate units, detached annexes, open secondary schools, technical institutes, trust schools...

Given the growing breadth and complexity of high school studies, a decision was made to substantially simplify the information provided, instead of simply providing data and figures as had been the model until that point. Thus the model that had been used from the dawn of the liberal regime with detailed information about each institute, was

abandoned and instead only provincial summaries were provided. This change represents a break that, although it may be justified for technical reasons, seriously hinders the task of the researcher by severely cutting back on the information that had been provided for over a century, information that placed schools as the focus of attention and the framework for all related information.

Furthermore, as there was no publication organized to compile all this detailed information, it was no longer made available to researchers. Consequently, it meant that those researchers focusing their work at a local and regional level had to make a huge effort just to be able to access the necessary information. Furthermore, the statistical reviews by province that had been published by the INE since the 1950s, and could have been a good support for this type of information, were not taken into account either (INE, 1971; García, 1981). It is undeniable that this shift considerably reduced the *statistical truth*, and as a result, diminished the research capabilities of researchers focusing on areas other than at a provincial and national level.

Conclusions

The main conclusion to be drawn from our research is that education statistics, like any other accurate reflection of political action, are not as pure and objective as one would imagine. How they are presented can also reflect specific political interests, and can even, as has been clearly documented, be the subject of deliberate manipulation. The data corresponding to high schools and students during Spain's Second Republic, provided by the statistical resources under the Franco Regime, are a clear example of this.

Likewise, less extreme examples show that the organisation and presentation of the statistical information do not only reflect technical criteria, but are also heavily influenced by the priorities of the education policy at that time. The non-existent or scant information for years about private education, its students and Church-run schools from the early 1940s to the mid-1950s, or the move towards a province-level model for presenting the information, are good examples of this.

From a methodological perspective, the possibilities offered by a mixed approach are obvious. As can be seen throughout the article, the

contrast and triangulation of different statistical sources, in addition to relevant qualitative data and references to education policy, enable us to expand the scope of the analysis, offer more reflections on the subject under study, and draw more in-depth conclusions that enrich and empower research.

We believe that examining educational statistics from a number of different perspectives, and especially establishing links with specific approaches of education policy, enables us to highlight certain points of interest as well as correct or qualify certain assertions. We sincerely believe that correctly interpreted statistical data provide very pertinent information. But if they are also then appropriately analysed and contextualised, complemented by and contrasted with documentary references from other sources, its informative potential is appreciably increased. It provides us with a more in-depth and comprehensive insight into the state of education, not only in the past, but also in the present.

References

- Canales, A.F. (2005). La expansión de la enseñanza media en la España del desarrollismo y la transición. En *Actes del Congrés. La transició de la dictadura franquista a la democràcia* (393-401). Barcelona: UAB, 393-401.
- Canales, A.F. (2011). “Innecesarios a todas luces”. El desmantellament de la xarxa d’instituts en la postguerra. *Educació i Història. Revista d’Historia de l’Educació*, 17, 187-212. doi: 10.2436/20.3009.01.78
- Canales, A.F. (2015). La enseñanza media en la España de la posguerra: una intensa privatización a favor de la Iglesia. *LaRivista*, 2, 79-87.
- Carabaña, J. (1997). VIII La pirámide educativa. En Fernández Enguita, M., *Sociología de las instituciones de educación secundaria* (90-107). Barcelona: ICE Honsori
- Creswell, J.W. (2005). *Educational Reseach. Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. New Jersey: Pearson.
- Cruz, J.I. (2012). Los institutos de segunda enseñanza en España. Datos sobre su implantación (1835-1936). *Educatio Siglo XXI* 30.1, 233-252.

- Cruz, J.I. (2015). La expansión de la enseñanza media. Realidades y argumentos. *LaRivista*, 2, 35-45.
- Fernández, M. (Coord.) (1997). *Sociología de las instituciones de educación secundaria*. Barcelona: ICE-Horsori.
- Flick, U. (2004). *Introducción a la investigación cualitativa*. Madrid: Morata.
- Gaceta de Madrid*, 30 de octubre de 1933, (729-730).
<https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1933/303/A00729-00730.pdf>
- García, M. (1981). *Historia del National Institute of Statistics 1945-1981*. Madrid: INE.
- Guereña, J.L. (1994). Estadística escolar. En Guereña, J. L., Ruiz Berrio, J. y Tiana, A., *Historia de la educación en la España contemporánea. Diez años de investigación* (51- 76). Madrid: CIDE.
- Guereña, J.L., Viñao, A. (1996). *Estadística escolar; proceso de escolarización y sistema educativo nacional en España (1750-1850)*. Barcelona: EUB.
- Guereña, J.L., Viñao, A. (2013). Power, Information and Control: school statistics and the Spanish educational system (nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century), *European Educational Research Journal*, 12, 70-80. doi:10.2304/eej.2013.12.1.70
- Guereña, J.L., Ruiz Berrio, J. y Tiana, A. (Coords.) (1994). *Historia de la educación en la España contemporánea. Diez años de investigación*. Madrid: CIDE.
- Heredia, V., Parejo, A. (2007). *Estadísticas históricas de educación y cultura en Andalucía. Siglo XX*, Sevilla: Instituto de Estadística de Andalucía.
- INE (1858-1970). *Anuario estadístico*. Madrid: INE (publicación anual)
<http://www.ine.es/inebaseweb/libros.do?tnp=25687#>
- INE (1947-1970). *Estadística de la enseñanza en España*, Madrid: INE (publicación anual).
- INE (1971). *Reseña Estadística Provincial. Valencia*. Madrid: INE.
- Jick, T.D. (2008). Triangulation as the First Mixed Methods Design. En Plano, V.J. y Creswell, J.W. *The Mixed Methods Reader* (pp. 105-118). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- López, R. (1995). *Ideología y educación en la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera (II). Institutos y universidades*. Valencia: Dpto. de Educación Comparada e Historia de la Educación.

- Lorenzo, J.A. (2003). *La enseñanza media en la España franquista (1936-1975)*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.
- Merediz, A. (2004). *Historia de la estadística oficial como institución pública en España*. Sevilla: Instituto de Estadística de Andalucía.
- Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (1988). *Estadística de la enseñanza en España. Niveles no universitarios. Curso 1984-85*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia.
- Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1942-1946). *Estadística de los establecimientos de enseñanza. Cursos 1940-41 a 1944-45*. Madrid: MEN (publicación anual).
- Ministerio de Educación Nacional, (1960). *Datos y cifras de la enseñanza en España*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional.
- Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, (1935). *Estadística de los establecimientos de enseñanza. Volumen I. Institutos de Segunda Enseñanza. Curso 1932-1933*. Madrid: A. Boué Alarcón.
- Núñez, C. E. (2005). Educación. En Carreras, A., Tafunell, X. (Coords.), *Estadísticas históricas de España. Siglos XIX-XX, Vol. I*, (155-244). Bilbao: Fundación BBVA.
- Pérez, M. (1975). *La enseñanza en la Segunda República Española*. Madrid: Cuadernos para el diálogo.
- Puelles, M. (1999). *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea*. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Sanz, A. (1956). *Resumen histórico de la Estadística en España*. Madrid: INE.
- Tiana, A. (2003). Educación para todos En Fernández y Pintassilgo, *Modernização Pedagógica e a Escola para todos na Europa do Sul no Século XX* (147-178). Lisboa: SPICAE.
- Tiana, A. (2004). La política educativa en los hechos: escolarización y financiación. En Carbonell, J. y Gimeno, J. (Coords.) *El sistema educativo: una mirada crítica* (109-124). Barcelona: Ciss Praxis.
- Tiana, A. (2013). El proceso de universalización de la enseñanza secundaria en España en la segunda mitad del siglo XX: Una aproximación estadística. *Bordón*, 65, 4, 146-165. doi: 10.13042/Bordon.2013.654
- Utande, M. (1975). Treinta años de enseñanza media (1938-1968). *Revista de Educación*, 240, 73-86.
- Viñao, A. (2004). *Escuela para todos. Educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX*. Madrid: Marcial Pons.

Viñao, A. (2010). La Enseñanza Secundaria. En Guereña, J. L., Ruiz, J. y Tiana, A. (Eds.), *Nuevas miradas historiográficas sobre la educación en la España de los siglos XIX y XX* (109-144). Madrid: MEC.

Contact address: José Ignacio Cruz Orozco. Universidad de Valencia, Departamento de Educación Comparada e Historia de la Educación. E-mail: jose.i.cruz@uv.es