BILINGUAL PUBLISHING GROUP

Forum for Linguistic Studies

https://journals.bilpubgroup.com/index.php/fls

ARTICLE

Educational Policy on Rural Schools and Its Impact on Language Teaching: The Second Republic and the Beginning of Democracy

Estefanía Monforte-García [*] **, *José Luis Castán-Esteban***

Department of Education Sciences, University of Zaragoza, 44003 Teruel, Spain

ABSTRACT

This article analyses the impact of educational policies in rural areas from the Second Republic to the beginning of democracy, focusing on teacher training and its influence on language teaching. During the Second Republic, teacher training prioritised language teaching and solid pedagogical training with supervised internships, which favoured literacy, especially in rural areas. However, under the first Franco regime (1939–1959), the teaching profession was restructured under National Catholicism, prioritising ideology and patriotism over pedagogical preparation. This undermined language teaching and consolidated gender inequalities in teacher training. In the second stage, from the 1960s until Spanish democracy, the 1967 Curriculum promoted a real modernisation of the teaching profession, incorporating subjects such as 'Didactics of language and literature' and 'English language and its didactics'. It was hoped that this would boost language learning, especially in rural areas, where teachers had to adapt their teaching to a student body with scarce resources. However, educational regulation continued to focus on the urban environment, which was detrimental to rural schools, encouraging their abandonment and the concentration of pupils in remote centres. The rural exodus deepened this crisis, further weakening education in these communities. It was not until the compensatory policies of the 1980s that funding for rural schools was resumed, recognising previous mistakes. Although these measures were an improvement, the accumulated inequalities continued to represent a challenge for educational equity in these areas.

Keywords: Educational Policy; Second Language; Rural School; Second Republic; Francoism; Democracy

*CORRESPONDING AUTHOR:

Estefanía Monforte-García, Department of Education Sciences, University of Zaragoza, 44003 Teruel, Spain; Email: emonforteg@unizar.es

ARTICLE INFO

Received: 21 March 2025 | Revised: 16 May 2025 | Accepted: 19 May 2025 | Published Online: 12 November 2025
DOI: https://doi.org/10.30564/fls.v7i12.9185

CITATION

Monforte-García, E., Castán-Esteban, J.L., 2025. Educational Policy on Rural Schools and Its Impact on Language Teaching: The Second Republic and the Beginning of Democracy. Forum for Linguistic Studies. 7(12): 878–893. DOI: https://doi.org/10.30564/fls.v7i12.9185

1. Introduction

What was the educational policy for rural schools in Spain during the period of the Second Republic and the forty years of Franco dictatorship until the creation of a democratic State? One of the first studies we find about rural school is the study of Martí-Alpera (1911), and from this early work we will delve into the subsequent stages of educational development in rural Spain [1].

The most recent research into the history of education explores the Foucauldian theory of the archaeology of knowledge [2], understood as a theory that does not seek to reconstruct a linear history, but rather to analyze the historical conditions that make possible the emergence of specific discourses, practices, and forms of knowledge in particular contexts. At present, history is not understood in terms of ruptures or revolutions, but as a juxtaposition of continuities and discontinuities, and these have become instruments and objects of research [3,4]. Furthermore, in this evolution studying the relationship between the different political parties and their effect on education through educational reforms linked to their ideology is essential [5].

The study presented here is part of the R&D&I project 'Technological and methodological innovation for language teaching and generation of synergies in the rural environment' (PID2021-128182OB-I00) and aims to analyse the consequences on rural schools derived from the Spanish state applying an educational legislation that was mainly oriented towards urban settings. Its purpose is determine the impact that the different educational policies had on Spanish rural schools, with special emphasis on the training received by teachers during the period under study and its influence on the teaching of languages. To achieve the proposed objective, the educational legislation and key historical documents have been analysed, sources that reconstruct the evolution of rural schools from the initial measures carried out by the republican government until the beginning of democracy, with the approval of Royal Decree 1174/83 of 27 April on Compensatory Education.

2. Materials and Methods

This research is situated at the intersection of historical-educational analysis and Foucault's archaeological approach, understanding that discourses about rural schooling are not mere reflections of reality, but historical constructions shaped by power relations and dominant ways of understanding truth [6]. The theory of the archaeology of knowledge allows for the analysis of educational documents—such as laws, historiographical texts, or articles from pedagogical journals—not only in terms of what they say, but also in terms of how they contribute to defining which ideas about education are considered valid or acceptable at a given historical moment. This perspective helps to identify not only the content of policies, but also what is omitted or left aside, the changes in discourse, and the strategies that legitimize certain ways of understanding rural education over others.

From this framework, this research study defines that the educational policies with an urban perspective implemented in rural areas shaped the educational and social plans of Spanish towns, placing them at a disadvantage compared to cities. This hypothesis has a dual perspective: first pedagogical, since the application of the different educational policies brings with it its own educational reality; and second social, insofar as the educational legislation was developed at a specific moment in time, with events and conditions that must be interpreted, which have an influence on – and, at the same time, are influenced by – impacting the educational, political, economic and cultural context of the rural area where this study is set.

To outline the starting hypothesis, access to research sources and data processing was needed, and the use of a qualitative methodology framed within the constructivist paradigm, typical of the Social Sciences, was required. Understanding the impact of the different educational policies on the rural environment, alludes to a globality that demands inductive mechanisms, in order to interpret the characteristics of the effects of these policies, their influence over time and in context. The above is based on a series of research steps that have been defined as qualitative [7–10], and the use of a historical-pedagogical method through the historical-educational processing of key historical, educational, legislation and media documents of the time [11].

The heuristic phase (data research and collection) included access to historiographical sources based on two typologies: as primary sources, educational legislation in contemporary Spain; and as a secondary source, key documents on the history of education that have compiled information on that issue. In the case of primary sources, we reviewed the

collections of the Madrid Gazette (Republican legislation) and the Official State Gazette (Franco legislation). Regarding the most relevant secondary sources, the following studies are worth noting: Bello [12]; Lerena [13]; De Puelles [3,14,15]; Tiana [16,17]; Viñao et al. [18]; and Escolano [19], among others.

For the data analysis, a hermeneutic action [20] was carried out contrasting the data from the sources found, with the ideas, facts and events based on the contextual evolution, that is, on the educational, cultural, political, ideological, economic, demographic and social aspects of the rural areas of the Spain of that time. This interpretation was developed through an inductive thematic categorization process [21], identifying patterns of continuity and change across the different historical periods analyzed. The emerging categories were contrasted with the theoretical framework and historiographical background [15,19,22], allowing for the construction of an analytical narrative that explains the evolution of educational policies and their effects on the rural environment. Likewise, data related to language teaching have been categorized, allowing for the identification of how this area was addressed in each historical period and what implications it had for the development of students' linguistic competence. This article offers a concentrated explanatory synthesis of the analysed data.

3. Results

3.1. Educational Changes with the Second Republic

The monarchy gained the most votes in the 1931 election on 14 April in rural Spain, but, with the city vote, a republican regime was proclaimed. The cities in Spain were for the most part Republican, whereas the rural areas were prisoners of the traditional cacique rule and, to a large extent, of a conservative and traditional Church that was not very friendly towards change and even less so towards social ruptures.

The Second Republic is known to be a regime that prioritised the improvement of education [23–27]. Rodolfo Llopis [28], a teacher at the socialist Escuela Normal [Normal School] who took up his position as Director General of Primary Education, was aware, from the beginning, that the task of defending the Republic posed essential imperatives, some of which especially affected rural areas. He understood the need to "shake off the drowsiness of rural Spain" while also to "conquer rural Spain for the Republic" (p. 10), and would take the benefits of education and culture to, among other reasons, defend the Republic. This is why inculcating the values of the new political regime was necessary.

The school, its pedagogical reform and its teachers were considered an ideological weapon of the revolution [29] that would educate new generations and motivate them to implement intended changes in the country [30].

As many authors have noted, in the notable political and reforming drive of the Republic's first biennium, the regenerationism ideology of a democratic nature was closely associated with educational and school reform. This drive must also be understood within the context of a deeply unequal society divided between rural and urban areas, marked by high illiteracy rates—especially in the countryside—and a growing demand for social justice. The Republican school was thus conceived as a tool for transformation and cohesion, aimed at reducing the social, cultural, and territorial gaps that burdened a large part of the population [14,27]. The planning of this reform had already been designed by inspector Lorenzo Luzuriaga within the PSOE congress. It was described by the main actors of the first biennium, the minister Marcelino Domingo and his General Director of Primary Education [28,31].

3.1.1. The Principle of Secularism

The educational policy of the Republic not only addressed the secularisation of education, a permanent source of controversy up to now, but it did so from the French secular approach [32,33]. In addition to suppressing religion and its symbols in educational practice, educational secularism prohibited religious orders and congregations from teaching, threatening its very survival throughout all the schools [34]. A consequential significant social response was expected.

The new republican teachers were to shape the base of the Spanish educational system, as they did in the Third French Republic, and would be the "priests" of republican democracy [35] (p. 90).

3.1.2. New Teacher Plan and Its Influence on Language Teaching

The "new education" theorists: university professors associated with the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, an organisation that influenced educational reforms and introduced

modern pedagogy and various European philosophical currents[29]; teachers from the Normal School, or education inspectors, who understood that teaching training was an essential condition of the reform, as one of the pillars of educational regeneration was the reformation of educators[36]. Technical, cultural, political and ideological renewal was reflected in coeducation, which sought to ensure teachers who were to attend normal schools had secondary school certificates, and that teaching training should last three modules in addition to another teaching practice module. These elements defined the fundamental aspects of a new vision of Teacher Training Colleges and the teacher training process, illustrated in **Table 1** according to the Decree of September 29, 1931, on the Reform of the Teacher Training Colleges[36]:

Table 1. Subjects and weekly hours of the Professional Plan.

First Course	Second Course	Third Course
Subjects and Weekly Hours	**Subjects and Weekly Hours**	**Subjects and Weekly Hours**
Elements of Philosophy (3h)	Physiology and Hygiene (3h)	Paidology (3h)
Psychology (3h)	Pedagogy (3h)	History of Pedagogy (3h)
Methodology of Mathematics (3h)	Methodology of Geography (3h)	School Organisation (3h)
Methodology of Language and Literature (6h)	Methodology of History (3h)	Economic and social issues (3h)
Methodology of Natural Sciences and Agriculture (4h)	Methodology of Physics and Chemistry (6h)	Seminar work (3h)
Music (2h)	Music (2h)	Home Education (2h)
Optional extension of languages (2h)	Optional extension of languages (2h)	Specialisation work (3h)
Drawing (2h)	Drawing (2h)	Internships (6h)
Handicrafts and manual work (3h)	Handicrafts and manual work (3h)	
Handicrafts (3h)	Manual work (3h)	
Practical work (6h)	Practical work (6h)	

In the new curriculum, special importance was given to the teaching of languages, both Spanish language and literature and foreign languages, an example of which is the inclusion of the subject 'optional extension of languages' with 2 h per week from the first year. In addition to this, school placements were carried out for two months each year under the direction and guidance of teachers from the teacher training college and the Primary Education Inspectorate in accordance with Article 16 of the Decree on the Organization of the Education Inspectorate[37].

However, the implementation of these ambitious teacher training plans contrasted sharply with the actual conditions found in much of the rural school system. In the following two sections, we analyse how these pedagogical proposals coexisted with a context marked by structural precariousness and a shortage of teaching staff, which significantly constrained their application across the territory.

3.1.3. Republican Utopias and the Reality of the Rural Schools

Castillejo[38] and De Puelles[14] analysed the much debated – by the men of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza – need for the fusion of primary and secondary education, that is, free and compulsory schooling from three to eighteen years.

There was much talk of a single school, but no progress was made in the abolition of parallel schooling from the age of ten, characteristic of the dual system, nor was any made in reforming the secondary school curriculum during the first biennium.

Let us not forget that if the Republic made coeducation in institutes and normal schools compulsory, it did not do so for primary schools, and, apart from exceptional cases, it was not until 1937 with a decree by Wenceslao Roces, that the beginning of coeducation at all levels of the educational system was seen[39]. Thus, the rural republican school continued to be, for the most part, unitary and separated by sex, while mixed unitary schools were found in towns with a very small number of inhabitants.

One of the difficulties encountered by the Republican government was the insufficient number of schools to accommodate the school-age population, a factor that caused major educational problems[40]. Thus, the expansion of a school network was one of its main objectives[41]. Quantifying the number of schools that were actually built is difficult. Current references made by García-Salmerón[42] estimate that more than 2300 schools were built, with a total of 10,000 classrooms. However, at the start of the war, only 700 buildings had been completed, with a corresponding 3000 classrooms. In short, there were well-planned projects, but they

lacked in resources and people to carry them out, and more so in an environment of much social tension and confrontations with the Catholic Church, which finally collapsed in the terrible tragedy of the Civil War.

This abrupt change of context marked a turning point in the educational policy of the time. The Republican reforms, which aimed to modernize and democratize the school system—especially in rural areas—were interrupted by the outbreak of the civil conflict. What follows is an analysis of how the Spanish Civil War radically transformed both the material conditions and the pedagogical discourses, plunging the educational system into deep instability.

3.1.4. The Situation Caused by the Civil War

There is evidence that during the war, the new Francoist government educational policy was designed to dismantle republican reforms and establish an ideological culture that justified its "national uprising"[43]; it also sought to radicalise republican policies, conditioned by assistance to children within the context of war, and with an obvious indoctrination as a fully revolutionary approach, even of the troops, through Popular Missions and Militia Culture[44,45]. This was proclaimed in a document to teachers by the Ministry of Public Instruction[46]:

> The Spanish Republic – in the middle of the national liberation war – is carrying out the gigantic educational task of making culture available to the people. Workers, farmers, everyone who is contributing to the fight against fascism, know that the culture of the Republic is one of its most precious conquests (...). We do not ignore those who fight us on the other side of the trenches, protected by invading armies, champions of the dark past of illiteracy that lacked culture and was an embarrassment for our country (p. 3).

This meant the dismissal of all civil servant "enemies of the regime" and a consequential lack of thousands of teachers in the republican areas: many went to the front as officers, another large part were purged and dismissed, and some changed to fight for the other side.

Many teachers were forced to participate in anarchist collectives[16]. There are stories that describe how teachers left their schools because of the proximity to combat zones, little importance of their villages, because of the abuses committed by labour unions and political entities that banish those who do not dare to live under them[47], referring to the collective practices of the socialists of Aragon, in whose towns teachers had to teach and work only to have their salaries given to the collectivised community that supplied them with their needs[48].

Regarding the poor functioning in the republican areas, there is a report by the Central Inspectorate during a visit made to the "loyal" zone, that notes: "teaching staff are professional, a behaviour that is not in line with Spain's usual operations"[49]. Passivity, reluctance, closed schools... that was the general trend[50] (p. 58).

3.1.5. Serious Deficiencies of the School Colony Projects

The Central Delegation of Colonies denounced that in certain towns, evacuated children were sent to food collection lines instead of to school[51]. There are municipalities that lied about the number of children they had, so that the government would increase the subsidises sent to them. It was also reported that children slept together and that they spent days in bed until the only clothes they had, dried[52]. Furthermore, due to the scarcity of locations available to teach, it was reported that the day was separated into morning and afternoon shifts, with a reduction in hours. This reality meant that pedagogical quality, renovation, innovation and therefore reformation was impossible[53].

Ideologically, the defence of a revolutionary education was essential, as noted by the teacher Valls[54]: "school neutrality" and "respect for the child's mind", "are two hackneyed clichés", and he goes further: "the teacher's attitude in the proletarian school is clear: it is a matter of creating a socialist mentality, to whose service we must conquer the child's mind – and take possession of it. The principle of authority is opposed by materialistic criticism and self-determination" (p. 33).

On 21 September 1936, the National School officially ceased to be secular; on the fourth of the same month, co-education was prohibited in National Secondary Education Institutes, and on the 22nd in Normal Schools and Labour and Commerce Schools; the teaching of Religion and Morality or Sacred History was declared compulsory in Primary Schools, Normal Schools and Institutes[55–57].

3.2. The National Catholic School of Francoism

On the Francoist side, purification and the implementation of new school programmes were the prologue of what would be an educational policy based on the principles of National-Catholicism [38,58]. These measures were implemented in a context of deep political repression and authoritarian reconstruction of the country, where the ideological control of education was a priority for the new regime. Post-war society was marked by fear, censorship, scarcity of material resources, and the imposition of a National-Catholic moral code, which was promoted as the aspirational model for the new Spain [29,59].

Undoubtedly, the first decade of the dictatorship was when the regime's survival was most at risk. The underhanded but absolute confrontation between the Falange, spokesperson for totalitarian aspirations, and the Church, a candidate for ideological monopoly over the mind, manifested itself openly in the field of education [60]. During those first years, secondary school was reformed—Law of 1938—as was the university—Law of 1943. In 1945, the military defeat of the Axis powers cued Franco's first strategic shift, and the National Syndicalism ceded precedence to National Catholicism.

In educational terms, the Primary Education Law of 1945 was approved, which sought to provide absolute uniformity, both in content and values, to all Spanish primary education, turning it into a powerful tool of expansion and consolidation of the regime's ideology [61].

3.2.1. Personnel Policy

During the first years of Francoism, a multitude of rural unitary and graded schools for boys and girls lacked teachers, since teachers were one of the sectors most affected by the post-war purge [62]. Many vacant postings in rural schools were filled by soldiers without specific training, which revealed the extent to which the general will of policy makers was reflected, in the sense of adjusting these teachings not only to a specific social class, but to equally limited objectives regarding what a teacher should "know" [63] (p. 56).

3.2.2. The Primary Education Law of 1945

For the Franco regime educational ideologues and policy makers, the great evil and defect of contemporary Spanish pedagogy in the first part of the 20th century was having too many things imported from abroad, having observed and admired the dazzling urban culture, and not having focused on its own nucleus and centre, on its rural schools [63].

The primary education law of 1945 represents the absolute triumph of the Church in this area and with it the victory of a policy that condemned the State to almost absolute restriction until the very late 1950s [64]. But the most significant point was that the legal discrimination towards rural areas was maintained. The Teachers' Statute of 1948 established that National Schools located in villages or places with a scattered population of fewer than 500 inhabitants – excluding those that were or were considered annexes or neighbourhoods of another populations – whose postings were not covered in general transfer programme, would be given a special class for the purposes of providing them with personnel, being segregating from the general system [65–67].

As inspector general in the ministry, Serrano [63] noted, not without irony, the provisions of the Teachers' Statute to ensure teaching posts in rural schools were covered: "There are still those who, with disconcerting ingenuity, think of strange solutions to ensure there are teachers for those schools. These are usually three solutions given for this, and some of those, in our opinion the worst, have been enshrined in the Primary Education Law of 17 July 1945, Article 73 and section F) of chapter II of the Teachers' Statute, of 24 October 1947" (p. 58), which described the following [64]:

> Boys' schools in localities with a census of fewer than 501 inhabitants may be taught by local people who have completed civil or ecclesiastical studies […]. Likewise, in villages or places with a scattered population of fewer than 500 inhabitants, those people who, whether or not they hold a teaching degree, show the desire and aptitude to perform the teaching function at a rural school, may be responsible for the primary education in that town (p. 405).

First solution: when there is no teacher to cover the role of teacher in a rural school, a volunteer teacher from that town will be chosen. If someone in the town has studies, they will be responsible for schooling; if no-one in the town has studies, whoever shows desire or aptitude for the role can have it. And so the intrusion was enshrined in law. Serrano [63] continued:

The Spanish countryside is suffering, precisely, from

a very dangerous endemic that urgently needs to be contained and curbed: that of itinerant "teachers", many of them coming from confused social layers, some even from prisons, who without solvency and without control, poorly teach villages how to decipher the enigma of the alphabet, while also mixing their clumsy and unhealthy ideas into a paltry understanding of science.

In the least bad of cases, these people do the great harm that, satisfied with the knowledge they are given, the peasants then feel no greater desire to continue learning and, believing themselves already educated, remain stagnant in the most crass of ignorance.

Rural schools are given to teachers who have neither passed official exams nor provided long years of interim services. There are some who are very dignified and effective. But we do not judge people, just the procedure. And the procedure is terrible. Terrible, because it posts the least competent and most limited teachers in Schools.

Finally, there is a third solution that seems to offer more benefits, because they are integrated into its very essence: that Rural Schools be handed over to the Parish Priests. With all due respect, with the utmost respect, we do not see this as adequate.

Primary Schools, like all educational study, even more than all further studies, require structure. When this is lacking, the School fails (p. 59).

3.2.3. Teacher Training Curricula and Their Influence on the Teaching of Languages

In the first years after the war, there was a legal vacuum surrounding teaching studies which was attempted to be filled by the constant publication of scattered orders aligned with the ideology of national Catholicism. These provisions introduced the teaching of Religion and repealed certain articles of the 1931 Plan, partially re-establishing the 1914 Plan [68,69].

The particular circumstances of the post-war period, together with the large number of purged teachers, favoured the approval of more flexible regulations which extended enrolment deadlines and enabled intensive courses in teacher training colleges. These programmes sought to award degrees in an accelerated manner, with a strong patriotic focus and a low level of both theory and practice. The curriculum was limited to subjects such as Religion, Sacred History, 1st and 2nd year Music, Teaching Practices, Religion and Morals, History of Pedagogy, as well as Labours and Economics for girls and Calligraphy [69].

The publication of the Primary Education Act of 1945 and the Regulations for Teacher Training Colleges consolidated the curriculum and gave Teacher Training the status of university studies. Thus, in 1945, the first year was structured as follows: General Pedagogy, General and Applied Psychology, Extension and Methodology of Literature (Spanish Language and Literature), Extension and Methodology of Science (Mathematics), Religion and its Methodology, Practical Specialisation Courses and Physical Education and Sports. In addition, all teacher training students were obliged to take a vocational specialisation with a choice between agricultural, industrial or commercial training.

However, there were gender differences in the structure of studies. While students had to choose two practical courses between Languages (French or English), School Singing, Artistic Education or Post-school Organisations, female students only had to choose one, as they were obliged to take Home Education [70]. A curriculum which gave little importance to the teaching and learning of languages, especially in the education of women.

In 1950, a new curriculum was introduced which, during the first years, did not present significant changes, maintaining the teaching of Religion and Home Teaching subjects at all levels. However, greater importance was given to the subjects of Pedagogy and Psychology, and an attempt was made to improve the effectiveness of school practices by integrating them into all courses. This plan remained in force until 1967, when another plan was approved, which contained a proposal for teacher training with a more technical profile and a predominance of special didactics. Specifically in the field of language teaching, significant advances were made, with the inclusion in the 1st and 2nd years of the subjects 'English Language and its didactics' with 2 hours per week and 'Didactics of Spanish Language and Literature' with 3 hours per week in the 1st year and 2 hours per week in the 2nd year [71].

3.2.4. Teacher Training Curricula and Their Influence on the Teaching of Languages

José Ibáñez Martín's role in the Ministry of National Education is of note due to the manipulation of school textbooks: recovery of the most conservative and traditionalist thought; intense classism that is implanted at all levels of

the educational system; advantages of all kinds given to private and confessional education; isolation of research and the conversion of the Board of Expansion of Studies (JAE) into the Higher Council for Scientific Research (CSIC)[72]. In summary, "the principle of authority – the magister dixit [the teacher says] – prevailed again in education, and Saint Thomas Aquinas once again became the central axis of the theoretical thought of the official Spanish ideology – together with the Twenty-Seven Point Programme of the Falange"[73] (p. 549).

The dismissal of Ibáñez Martín as head of the Ministry of National Education in 1951 and the appointment of Joaquín Ruiz Giménez established a modest national reconciliation. The exalted nationalism of previous times was mitigated, and more modern pedagogical and technical content were introduced, through documents such as the Cuestionario Nacional [National Questionnaires for Primary Education][74]. These changes included successive school construction plans, especially from 1964, occurring in a large percentage of Spanish towns and cities, and which are still in operation[75].

The 1953 National Questionnaires for Primary Education[76] were a first attempt to regulate teachers' pedagogical activity, which, from a didactic perspective, was an innovative document in many respects. Approaches that are still valid today: "You must flee from all verbalism, from all memorisation, from all wandering through the fields of what is spectrally removed from the orbit of realities in which the interests and desires of the child move" (p. 10).

After a significant stagnation in education, these years were a great leap forward. Pedagogically, certain important innovations took place, such as the creation in 1958 of the Centre for Orientation and Didactic Documentation in Primary Education (CEDODEP)[77].

3.2.5. School Practice

To demonstrate non-compliance with the established curriculum, only two schools– Lucena del Cid and Santo Ángel de Vallecas – organised their curriculum according to the 1945 law, differentiating between instrumental, formative and complementary education[78,79]. Many schools taught a shortened version of the 1945 curriculum, leaving out several of the artistic subjects that had never been part of any official curriculum, such as Urbanity.

In addition, in certain rural populations and suburban areas "the doctrines of the Movement are hardly felt", and there was even opposition in families of the new regime, which would contribute to curbing teachers' interest in imparting certain issues that would make students politically aware and hinder their integration into the environment. Most teachers did not feel prepared to impart these new subjects nor identified with their content, to the extent that they could not do anything but "...sing patriotic hymns"[80] (pp. 119–133).

Similarly, school textbooks decontextualised learning in rural areas as their obvious connotations and urban dominance were far removed from the rural students' real lives and experiences.

The publication of the 1953 National Questionnaires had an immediate impact on educational practice, and this reality is very clearly recorded in pedagogical memoirs. Those written before 1954 state that the schools studied had some Questionnaires, almost always prepared by the Provincial Inspectorate.

Most of the school experiences testified to practices rooted in nineteenth-century pedagogy, with the use and abuse of resources as old as choir lessons, monitors and assistants, "give or take" lessons after rote learning, reading in a circle or correcting dictations on the blackboard[81]. The survival of these practices, rejected both by the republican school reforms and by the Francoist technical guidelines, give an idea of the roots of what Tyack and Cuban[82] (p. 167) have come to call "school grammar", i.e., the survival of a school culture that is impervious to any type of reform and that operates with its own patterns of continuity over time.

For all these reasons, rural schools in Spain at the beginning of the sixties were much more similar to the schools of the previous century than to the ones it has twenty years later.

3.2.6. Technocratic Dictatorship and Educational Policy

In 1959, the first Franco regime ended and another period began in which technical and economic issues predominated over political ones, continuing to preserve what was essential to the regime: the concentration of essential powers in Franco. In this year various mechanisms began to be formally institutionalised to facilitate the adaptation, consolidation and continuity of Francoism as a political regime[83].

In 1962, the professor of chemistry Manuel Lora

Tamayo was appointed Minister of Education with the purpose of initiating a significant reform, and his first symbolic change was to rename the Ministry of National Education (MEN) to the Ministry of Education and Science (MEC)[84]. Lora Tamayo carried out a policy focused fundamentally on the need to modernise primary education. His great work was Law 27/1964 of 29 April[85], which extended compulsory schooling to the age of fourteen, with the aim of providing the country with the powerful industrial development of a skilled workforce. From now on, the school construction policy would have permanent institutional support, thus assisting the 1970 drive to both make compulsory schooling effective and resolve the issue of teaching posts being left unfilled, a problem that was more than a hundred years old[86].

Along with this, the formulation of a basic education curriculum for ages six to fourteen would facilitate the transition towards a general education for all Spaniards, an objective that will be met by the General Education Law of 1970[87].

Be that as it may, the 1960s also brought economic development plans, which, despite the notable imbalances they produced, gave rise to the greatest transformation that Spain had undergone that century[88]. The plans especially affected public works, industrialisation, services and the mechanisation of agriculture and, albeit to a lesser extent, education. Development produced great social changes but the regime could not, by its very nature, channel the growing aspirations of a society that demanded greater public liberties.

Two stabilisation plans were carried out during the period in question. The first (1964–1967), was concerned with correcting the deficiencies derived from the lack of classrooms, reduced compulsory schooling, low teacher salary and rural postings[89]. At this time, and until the economic crisis of the 1970s, schools continued to function as a "transmitter of ideology", and inadequately and insufficiently, took on a role as "transmitter of qualifications" as well. It is a known fact that the rural exodus was made up of people who lacked sufficient cultural training and did not have professional qualifications[90].

The second stabilisation plan arose as an immediate consequence of the provisions of the first, within the framework of the 1967 consolidated text on the 1945 Primary Education Law[91]. The construction of national schools intensified with the purpose of working a towards graded school structure, the organisation of unitary schools was abandoned and policies of structural grouping were adopted that would be decisive for the educational actions of the future 1970 General Law on Education[92].

As late as 1967, Minister José Tamayo's study plan for Normal Schools[71] finally moved Teacher Training to university levels as, prior to that, finishing secondary education had actually been more challenging and previously received more recognition than teacher training courses. In addition, in the field of language teacher training, significant progress was made with the incorporation of the subjects 'Didactics of Language and Literature' and 'English Language and its Didactics' in the first two years. These subjects attached particular importance to the development of the teacher's competence in the linguistic field, as well as to the teaching of didactic strategies for their application in the classroom.

3.2.7. The 1970 General Education Law

During the second half of the 20th century, educational systems began to connect worldwide through networks created by international organisations[93]. As a consequence, the educational policies of different countries during this time began to show notable similarities around a very specific concept of education. The General Education Law will go down in the history of Spanish education as an attempt – happily achieved – to break its almost one hundred year old bipolar structure that resulted in two divergent educational paths for two school populations that had different social backgrounds and academic futures: one for the working and peasant class – a primary education that led to nowhere – and one for the middle and upper classes that began at age 10 with the opportunity to move on to secondary and university education[87].

With the advice of the omnipresent "grey eminence" of Díez Hochleitner and the publication of the famous White Paper (1969), the foundations of a new law were laid[94]. If educational laws have the purpose of adjusting between the productive system and the educational system on one hand, and the educational system and the political system on the other, in this case, that axiom was only 50% fulfilled. Because rarely has there been a law with a greater degree of mismatch between the political system and the educational system[13].

One of the greatest achievements of the 1970 General Education Law was the implementation of a compulsory

eight-year education programme: basic general education. It was a reform that maintained all the signs of authoritarian regenerationism. Once again, an attempt of a top-down reform was made, responding to the challenges resulting from the economic and social change produced during the 1960s [95].

Although the reform did not have access to the financial resources it required, and although the ambitious objectives formulated were not achieved, it can be said that it effectively partly modernised the Spanish educational system and laid the foundations for subsequent reforms. A few decades later, it represented the best attempt at pedagogical modernisation in contemporary Spain made in recent history, at least in its technical elements, even if not in its ideological ones.

As one of its best achievements, the 1970 reform implemented a compulsory eight-year programme – basic general education – for the school-age population, thus ending an unfair and secular distribution of formal education that condemned most Spanish children to a poor primary education, while a small minority benefited from further secondary and university education designed only for them [87].

The 1970 Law adopted guidelines and criteria for pedagogical modernisation, but also standardised and depersonalised thousands of schools located in rural areas, by implementing technical criteria that eliminated thousands of school units throughout the Spanish territory through school concentrations.

It definitively and exclusively adopted a graded school system as an organisational aspiration for Basic General Education, for all Spanish children between the ages of six and fourteen. The other possible models, for example the unitary school, typical of many of the rural schools throughout Spain, were now considered residual and to be eliminated.

The two great pillars of the problem, the difficult geographical access to many localities and their low number of inhabitants, conditioned the implementation of the 1970 General Education Law and an organisational and management model for rural schools called "school concentration", which comprised grouping all the students in the region into a "rural macro-centre" located in the main town of that region, as it was the easiest to access – at the cost of closing all the other small schools in that region – justified by the Ministry because of high maintenance costs and low performance [87].

Such was the situation that, in 1983, and with the advent of Royal Decree 1174/83 of 27 April on Compensatory Education [96], the ministry made the decision to withdraw the system of school concentration to reopen the small schools in the villages, mainly due to the following reasons:

- The precariousness of school infrastructures, despite the fact that the reduction in spending from the closure of small schools should have, theoretically, generated more investment for it.
- A lack of specialist teachers for secondary school students, which caused enrolment ratios to drop for this educational level.
- An absence of the supposed improvement in the quality of teaching and the academic performance of the students that had originally motivated the implementation of the school concentration model.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

After analysing key documents on the history of education and the educational legislation in force at the time as sources of this study, we are in a position to confirm our starting hypothesis: the Urban educational policies implemented in rural areas shaped the educational and social plans of Spanish towns and placed them at a disadvantage compared to cities.

There were two stages in the history of Spanish rural schools during the 20th century. The first spans until the 1960s, when Spanish society was eminently rural in all its aspects, including schools. This stage closely continues on from the rural school model of the 19th century in its organisation, materials, agents and even objectives. Schooling belonged to a Spain that had not yet developed because it was poorly equipped and fundamentally neglected, and is seen by government municipalities to be a state obligation and a tax that must be paid despite not providing the population with useful knowledge.

The training received by teachers during this period and its influence on language teaching can be divided into three periods: the Republic and two periods during Franco's regime. During the Republic, the curriculum gave great importance to the teaching of languages, both Spanish and foreign languages, and promoted solid pedagogical training with supervised school practice. Special importance was given to the teaching of reading and writing, both in the mother tongue and in second languages, a crucial aspect in

the rural context, where teachers had a fundamental role in the literacy of the population.

In the first Franco regime (1939–1959), teacher education was substantially modified due to the need to restructure the education system under the principles of national Catholicism. Pre-Republican educational models were restored, with a strong religious component and a limited curriculum, which prioritised ideological and patriotic training over pedagogical preparation, and which neglected language training. In rural settings, as in urban settings, it would lead to a stagnation in literacy and language skills development. In addition, gender differences in teacher training were established, relegating female teachers to subjects linked to the domestic sphere instead of strengthening their preparation in language teaching. The Primary Education Act of 1945 consolidated teacher training as university studies, but without strengthening the teaching of reading, writing and second languages.

In this context, the power struggles within Francoism—particularly between the Falange and the Catholic Church—were not merely symbolic or ideological, but had direct and profound effects on the educational system. This tension led to unstable and contradictory educational policies that impacted teacher staffing, curriculum orientation, and school organization. In rural areas, these conflicts resulted in a constant oscillation between authoritarian and clerical models, which hindered the establishment of a coherent pedagogical approach and further exacerbated the structural precariousness already present in rural schools.

Added to this was a period when rural schools were not an attractive destination for teachers because their rights were infringed on. In short, Bello's[12] assertion that schools were a burden for towns and villages is corroborated[12].

In the second phase, beginning in the last forty years of the century, although teacher training improved with the 1967 Curriculum, which promoted a real modernisation of language teacher training, integrating subjects such as 'Didactics of language and literature' and 'English language and its didactics', it was hoped that this reform would allow for greater competence development in language teaching. This approach was particularly relevant in rural areas, where teachers had to adapt literacy teaching to students with limited educational resources. However, the study carried out shows that strong grievances and neglect towards rural schools and communities continue to be consolidated as a result of regulations that are insensitive to the reality of a rural world in decline[97] through actions such as the following:

On one hand, the 1967 consolidated text of the Primary Education Law, together with successive development plans, initiated a policy of school concentrations, the construction of domestic schools, and in parallel, a rural exodus that questioned the unitary and mixed school model. A reduction in illiteracy in the 1960s and 1970s was associated with a new social, urban model and with more highly qualified jobs. The 1970 General Education Law regularised this educational policy: graded and larger schools, improved teacher training, now elevated to the rank of university studies, and compulsory education until the age of fourteen, when students could then move on to study in secondary school or professional training. This higher education could no longer be given in small towns, nor in population centres, fostering school segregation as before.

An insufficient budget, teachers aspiring to move to big cities, inappropriate legislation, and an environment that generated neither the jobs nor the quality of life enjoyed elsewhere, resulted in the languishment of rural schools. Language teaching, especially literacy and foreign languages, was subordinated to inadequate curricula and a lack of specific teacher training, which perpetuated educational inequality in rural areas[80]. Historical analysis shows that only during periods of greater investment and planning—such as during the Second Republic or with the 1967 plan—was the formative value of languages for the comprehensive development of rural students recognized, thus expanding on the findings of Molero[35]. It would take another decade for the elements of educational quality: personalised attention, curricular flexibility, integration of the environment, heritage and slow learning rates, to be recognised as such, leading to Royal Decree 1174/83 of 27 April on Compensatory Education[96]. A significant investment of resources, willingness on the part of families, support from regional administrations and committed teachers form the basis of the rural schools that we inherit today as already stated in González et al.'s study[97].

Through this study we have confirmed how the analysis of educational policy from a rural perspective facilitated the discovery of the social inequality present during different periods of the history of education. In this regard, it is essential to connect the lessons of the past with the current challenges

faced by rural schools. Although the Royal Decree of 1983 [96] laid the foundations for a more equitable rural school system, significant issues persist today, including depopulation, unequal digitalization, and limited access to human and material resources [98]. According to the most recent report from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training for the 2023–2024 academic year [99], many rural schools continue to face difficulties in providing a comprehensive educational offering—particularly in foreign language teaching and in sustaining innovative projects within multigrade classrooms. We therefore emphasize the value of historical and policy-oriented studies like the one presented here, which examine the effects of educational policies across different periods. Such research can serve as a tool for reflection and support more equitable decision-making by educational authorities. We also believe this approach is essential for the appropriate planning of desegregation and inclusion policies that address the needs of today's diverse social groups, incorporating strategies that go beyond merely technical solutions—an idea aligned with the work of Bonal [100].

The main limitations of this study are the disappearance of important archival collections, mainly in the period of the Second Republic and the Civil War in the Ministry of Education. Also the lack of independent sources, both in the press and in the testimonies of the protagonists, conditioned by the political and ideological confrontation of the period. As for its later projection, it would be extremely interesting to compare it with other rural territories with dictatorial systems, such as Mussolini's fascist Italy or Salazar's Portugal.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization, E.M.-G. and J.L.C.-E.; methodology, E.M.-G.; formal analysis, E.M.-G. and J.L.C.-E.; investigation, E.M.-G. and J.L.C.-E.; resources, E.M.-G. and J.L.C.-E.; data curation, E.M.-G. and J.L.C.-E.; writing—original draft preparation, E.M.-G. and J.L.C.-E.; writing—review and editing, E.M.-G. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

Funding

This research was supported by R&D&I project 'Technological and methodological innovation for language teaching and generation of synergies in the rural environment' (PID2021-128182OB-I00).

Institutional Review Board Statement

Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement

Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement

The data supporting the findings of this study are available in the sources and bibliographic references cited in the manuscript. All information used comes from published materials properly referenced in the bibliography section.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

References

[1] Martí-Alpera, F., 1911. Rural Schools: Teaching. Organization. Construction. Installation. Dalmáu Carles Pla y Cª: Barcelona, Spain. (in Spanish)

[2] Dussel, I., 2020. Foucault and the history of schooling: theoretical assumptions and historiographical debates. Cadernos de História da Educação. 19(2), 345–359. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14393/che-v19n2-2020-5 (in Spanish)

[3] De Puelles, M., 2004. State and Education in Liberal Spain, 1809–1857. Pomares: Barcelona, Spain. (in Spanish)

[4] Del Pozo, M.M., 2013. The Spanish educational system: old problems, new perspectives. Commemoration of a bicentennial (1813–2013). Bordón: Revista de Pedagogía. 65, 13–17. (in Spanish)

[5] Dobbins, M., Christ, C., 2019. Do they matter in education politics? The influence of political parties and teacher unions on school governance reforms in Spain. Journal of Education Policy. 34(1), 61–82. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2017.1406153

[6] Foucault, M., 2009. The Archaeology of Knowledge. Siglo XXI Editores: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[7] Sandín, M.P., 2003. Qualitative Research in Education: Foundations and Traditions. McGraw-Hill: New York, NY, USA. (in Spanish)

[8] Mèlich, J.C., 2008. Narrative anthropology and education. Theory of Education. Interuniversity Journal. 20, 101–124. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14201/986 (in

Spanish)
[9] García-Bravo, W., Martín-Sánchez, M., 2013. Hermeneutics and pedagogy: Educational practice in the discourse on education. Pulso. 36, 55–78.
[10] Rossman, G.B., Rallis, S.F., 1998. Learning in the Field: An Introduction to Qualitative Research. Sage: New York, NY, USA. (in Spanish)
[11] Ruiz, J., 1997. The historical method in historical-educational research. In: Gabriel, N., Viñao, A. (Eds.). Historical-educational research. Ronsel: Barcelona, Spain. pp. 131–202. (in Spanish)
[12] Bello, L., 1934. Rural life and the school. Revista de Pedagogía. 145, 5. (in Spanish)
[13] Lerena, C., 1976. School, ideology, and social classes in Spain: A critique of the empiricist sociology of education. Ariel: Barcelona, Spain. (in Spanish)
[14] De Puelles, M., 1980. Education and ideology in contemporary Spain (1767–1975). Editorial Labor: Barcelona, Spain. (in Spanish)
[15] De Puelles, M., 2011. Politics and education in contemporary Spain. Editorial UNED: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[16] Tiana, A., 1987. Libertarian education and social revolution: Spain, 1936–1939. Editorial UNED: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[17] Tiana, A., 1997. Education in Spain: Two crossroads. Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza. 28–29, 103–126. (in Spanish)
[18] Viñao, A., Ruiz, J., Tiana, A., et al., 2012. New historiographical perspectives on education in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain. Ministry of Education: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[19] Escolano, A., 2002. Education in contemporary Spain: Educational policies, schooling, and pedagogical cultures. Biblioteca Nueva: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[20] Bauman, Z., 2010. Hermeneutics and Social Science (Routledge Revivals): Approaches to Understanding. Routledge: London, UK. (in Spanish)
[21] Taylor, S., Bogdan, R., 2002. Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods. Paidós: Barcelona, Spain. (in Spanish)
[22] Nóvoa, A., 2002. Ways of Thinking about Education in Europe. In: Nóvoa, A., Lawn, M. (Eds.). Fabricating Europe. Springer: Dordrecht, Netherlands. pp. 131–155. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/0-306-47561-8_10
[23] Pérez, M., 1975. Education during the Spanish Second Republic. Cuadernos para el Diálogo, Edicusa: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[24] Molero, A., 1977. The educational reform of the Spanish Second Republic: The first biennium. Santillana: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[25] Samaniego, M., 1977. The educational policy of the Spanish Second Republic during the Azaña biennium. Editorial CSIC: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[26] Lozano, C., 1980. Republican education, 1931–1936. University of Barcelona: Barcelona, Spain. (in Spanish)
[27] Sánchez, A., 2003. The battle for the school: The educational system in the Constitution of the Second Republic. Fundación Genesian: Seville, Spain. (in Spanish)
[28] Llopis, R., 1933. Revolution in the School: Two years in the Directorate General of Primary Education. Biblioteca Nueva: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[29] Agulló, M.D.C., Fernández-Soria, J.M., 2014. The Francoist Purge of the Teaching Staff of the Normal Schools of Alicante, Castellón and Valencia. Revista de Educación. 364, 297–321. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2014-364-260 (in Spanish)
[30] Official State Gazette, 1931. Constitution of the Spanish Republic of 1931. No. 155, 17 July 1931.
[31] Domingo, M., 1932. The School in the Republic. The Work of Eight Months. M. Aguilar: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[32] Álvarez, M., 1998. Politics and Secularization in Contemporary Europe. Studia Histórica. Historia Contemporánea. 16, 143–166. Available from: https://revistas.usal.es/uno/index.php/0213-2087/article/view/5879 (in Spanish)
[33] Moreno, M., 2003. Religious Policy and Secular Education in the Second Republic. Pasado y Memoria: Revista de Historia Contemporánea. 2, 83–106. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14198/PASADO2003.2.04 (in Spanish)
[34] Official State Gazette, 1931. Decree of May 6 eliminating compulsory religious education in schools under the Ministry's authority. No. 126, 6 May 1931.
[35] Molero, A., 2009. The Second Republic and Teacher Training. Tendencias Pedagógicas. 14, 85–94. Available from: https://revistas.uam.es/tendenciaspedagogicas/article/view/1905 (in Spanish)
[36] Official State Gazette, 1931. Decree of September 29 on the reform of Teacher Training Colleges, no. 273, 29 September 1931.
[37] Official State Gazette, 1932. Decree on the Organization of the Education Inspectorate, no. 342, 2 December 1932.
[38] Castillejo, J., 1976. War of Ideas in Spain: Philosophy, Politics, and Education. Ediciones de la Revista de Occidente: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)
[39] Official State Gazette, 1931. Decree of August 28 to establish coeducation in all official secondary education institutions, no. 161, 28 August 1931.
[40] Pérez, M., 2000. Education during the Second Republic. Revista de Educación. (Extraordinary issue), 317–332. (in Spanish)
[41] Official State Gazette, 1934. Decree of June 15 on school construction, no. 168, 15 June 1934.
[42] García-Salmerón, M.P., 2013. Radiography of Public School Buildings in Spain (1920–1937): The Dis-

torted Image of the Second Republic. Aportes. Revista de Historia Contemporánea. 28(83). Available from: https://www.revistaaportes.com/index.php/aportes/article/view/55 (in Spanish)

[43] Official Bulletin of the National Defense Council of Spain, 1936. Ministerial Order of September 21, 1936.

[44] Safón, R., 1978. Education in Revolutionary Spain (1936–1939). Ediciones La Piqueta: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[45] Fernández, J.M., 1984. Education and Culture in the Civil War (Spain 1936–1939). Nau Llibres: Valencia, Spain. (in Spanish)

[46] Ministry of Public Instruction and Health, 1938. The Republic is Culture for All, Popular Talks. What the War Means. Ediciones Españolas, S.A.: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[47] Mur, M., 1996. Libertarian Education in Aragon, 1936–1938. Aula: Revista de Pedagogía de la Universidad de Salamanca. 8, 77–91. Available from: https://gredos.usal.es/bitstream/handle/10366/69239/Educacion_libertaria_en_Aragon,_1936-38.pdf (in Spanish)

[48] Propaganda Commission, Libertarian Youth of Caspe, 1937. Nuevo Aragón. 12 June 1937.

[49] Ministry of Education, Primary Education Inspection Section, 1938. Report of the Ministry of National Education. Ministry of National Education Press: Madrid, Spain.

[50] Fontquerni, E., Ribalta, M., 1982. Education in Catalonia during the Civil War: The CENU. Barcanova: Barcelona, Spain. (in Spanish)

[51] Gazette of the Republic, 1937. Ministerial order of March 1 establishing the Central Delegation of School Colonies under the General Directorate of Primary Education, 1 March 1937. Ministry of Education Archive, Box 1347.

[52] Herrero, J.I., 2019. The Education of Children during the Spanish Civil War: An Analysis through Testimonies. Cabás. 22, 73–92. DOI: https://doi.org/10.35072/CABAS.2019.56.18.008 (in Spanish)

[53] Crego, R., 1993. The Ministry of Public Instruction and School Reform during the Civil War. Editorial UNED: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[54] Valls, V., 1936. The teacher in capitalist society and in proletarian society. La Nueva Pedagogía. 1. (in Spanish)

[55] Official State Gazette, 1938. Law of 20 September 1938 on the reform of secondary education, no. 85, 23 September 1938.

[56] Official State Gazette, 1943. Law of 29 July 1943 on the organisation of the Spanish University, no. 212, 31 July 1943. Available from: https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/1943/07/29/(1)/con (cited 20 March 2025).

[57] Bonito, J.C., 2014. Reform and counter-reform of primary education during the Second Spanish Republic and the rise of fascism (1932–1943). Latin American History of Education Journal. 15(21), 89–106. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19053/01227238.2468 (in Spanish)

[58] Laudo, X., Vilanou, C., 2015. Educational discourse in Spain during the early Franco regime (1936–1943): toward a genealogy of doctrine and concepts. Paedagogica Historica. 51(4), 434–454. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2015.1046889

[59] Mayordomo, A., 1997. National-Catholicism, Technocracy, and Education in Francoist Spain (1939–1975). In: Escolano, A., Fernandes, R. (Eds.), The Paths toward Educational Modernity in Spain and Portugal (1800–1975). Fundación Rei Alonso Henriques: Zamora, Spain. pp. 147–174. (in Spanish)

[60] Muñoz, J., 2012. The Political Construction of Spanish Identity: From National-Catholicism to Democratic Patriotism? Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[61] Grana, I., 2012. Education during Franco's Era through Life Histories. In: Moreno, P.L., Sebastián, A. (Eds.), Heritage and Ethnography of Schooling in Spain and Portugal during the 20th Century. SEPHE & CEME, University of Murcia: Murcia, Spain. pp. 483–494. (in Spanish)

[62] Sonlleva, M., Sanz, C., 2020. The Purge of Primary School Teachers in the City of Segovia (1936–1939). El Futuro del Pasado: Revista Electrónica de Historia. 11, 457–497. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14516/fdp.2020.011.016 (in Spanish)

[63] Serrano, A., 1941. The Rural School. Escuela Española: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[64] Official State Gazette, 1945. Law of 17 July 1945 on Primary Education, no. 199, 18 July 1945. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1945-7246 (cited 20 March 2025).

[65] Official State Gazette, 1948. Decree of October 24 approving the Statute of the National Primary Teaching Profession, no. 17, 17 January 1948. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1948-467 (cited 20 March 2025).

[66] Feu, J., 2001. Educational Policies around the Rural School. Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació. 110–133. Available from: http://hdl.handle.net/10256/16250 (in Spanish)

[67] Feu, J., 2005. Educational Policy and Rural Schooling during Francoism. Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació. 8, 63–77. Available from: http://revistes.iec.cat/index.php/EduH/article/view/746/51530 (in Spanish)

[68] Official State Gazette, 1939. Order of 14 July 1939 resuming the teaching of teaching for boys and dictating the rules to be followed by pupils, no. 208, 27 July 1939.

[69] Official State Gazette, 1940. Decree of 10 February 1940 establishing in full force and effect the Royal Decree of 30 August 1914 and corresponding provisions, no. 48, 17 February 1940.

[70] Official State Gazette, 1945. Order of 9 October 1945 which organises the first teacher training course and lays down rules for the functioning of the Teacher Training Colleges, no. 284, 11 October 1945.

[71] Official State Gazette, 1967. Order of 1 June 1967 establishing the syllabus for teacher training colleges, no. 136, 8 June 1967. Available from: https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1967-9754 (cited 20 March 2025).

[72] Official State Gazette, 1939. Law of 24 November 1939 establishing the Spanish National Research Council, no. 338, 28 November 1939.

[73] Tamames, R., 1979. The Republic: The Franco Era. Alfaguara: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[74] Official Bulletin of the Ministry of National Education, 1953. Order of 6 February 1953 providing for the publication of the National Questionnaires for Primary Education, 1 December 1953.

[75] Official State Gazette, 1953. Law on School Buildings of 22 December 1953, no. 358, 24 December 1953. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1953-16381 (cited 20 March 2025).

[76] Directorate-General for Primary Education, 1953. National Questionnaires for Primary Education. Publications Service of the Ministry of National Education: Madrid, Spain.

[77] Official State Gazette, 1958. Decree of 25 April 1958 establishing the Center for Documentation and Didactic Guidance for Primary Education, no. 116, 15 May 1958. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1958-7755 (cited 20 March 2025).

[78] Beltrán, J., 1956. Lucena del Cid: Its Educational Order Issues. Fondo Romero Marín 328, Museo Bartolomé Cossio, Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[79] Yerro, M., 1956. Pedagogical Work Conducted by the Santo Ángel School Group. Fondo Romero Marín 054, Museo Bartolomé Cossio, Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[80] Del Pozo, M.M., Rabazas, T., 2013. Educational Policies and School Practices: The Implementation of the 1945 Primary Education Law in the Classrooms. Bordón. Revista de Pedagogía. 65(4), 119–133. Available from: https://recyt.fecyt.es/index.php/BORDON/article/view/Bordon.2013.65408 (in Spanish)

[81] Escolano, A., 1996. Memory of Teacher Training. Aula, 8, 311–327. Available from: https://revistas.usal.es/index.php/0214-3402/article/view/3459 (in Spanish)

[82] Tyack, D., Cuban, L., 2000. Why Does the Grammar of Schooling Persist? In: In Search of Utopia: A Century of Reforms in Public Schools. Fondo de Cultura Económica: Ciudad de México, Mexico. pp. 167–214. (in Spanish)

[83] Official State Gazette, 1969. Law 62/1969, of July 22, providing for matters concerning the succession to the Headship of State, no. 175, 23 July 1969. Available from: https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/1969/07/22/62/con (cited 20 March 2025).

[84] Official State Gazette, 1966. Law 35/1966, of May 31, on the change of name of the Ministry of National Education to the Ministry of Education and Science, no. 131, 2 June 1966. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1966-9018 (cited 20 March 2025).

[85] Official State Gazette, 1964. Law 27/1964 of 29 April 1964 on the extension of the period of compulsory schooling to the age of fourteen, no. 107, 4 May 1964. Available from: https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1964-7546 (cited 20 March 2025). (in Spanish)

[86] Ferrándiz, J.M., 2002. Political Power and Education: The Control of Schooling (Spain, 1936–1975). Universitat de València: Valencia, Spain. (in Spanish)

[87] Official State Gazette, 1970. Law 14/1970 of 4 August 1970 on General Education and Financing of Education Reform, no. 187, 6 August 1970. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1970-852 (cited 20 March 2025).

[88] Delgado, L., 2020. Education for Development: OECD, Foreign Aid, and School Reform in Late Francoist Spain. Foro de Educación. 18(2), 127–148. Available from: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7573108 (in Spanish)

[89] Official State Gazette, 1964. Economic and Social Development Plan for the period 1964–1967, no. 215, 7 September 1964. Available from: https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1964-15152 (cited 20 March 2025).

[90] Sánchez, J., 1975. Rural Life in 20th-Century Spain. Editorial Planeta: Madrid, Spain. (in Spanish)

[91] Official State Gazette, 1967. Decree 193/1967, of February 2, approving the revised text of the Primary Education Act, no. 37, 13 February 1967. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1967-2626 (cited 20 March 2025).

[92] Official State Gazette, 1969. Law 1/1969, of February 11, approving the Second Economic and Social Development Plan, no. 37, 12 February 1969. Available from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1969-177 (cited 20 March 2025).

[93] Jones, P.W., Coleman, D., 2004. The United Nations and Education: Multilateralism, Development and Globalisation. Routledge: London, UK.

[94] Seage, J., 1969. The White Book of Education. Boletín de la Comisión Española de la UNESCO. 5, 29–35. (in Spanish)

[95] De Puelles, M., 1992. Technocracy and Politics in the 1970 Education Reform. Revista de Educación. (Extraordinary issue), 13–29. Available from: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=9830803

(in Spanish)

[96] Official State Gazette, 1983. Royal Decree 1174/83 of 27 April on Compensatory Education, no. 112, 11 May 1983. Available from: https://www.boe.es/eli/es/rd/1983/04/27/1174 (cited 20 March 2025).

[97] González, J.A., Llevot, N., López, M.P., et al., 2023. Rural Teachers against School Concentrations: The Origin of the Rural School Zones. Social and Education History. 12(1), 60–84. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17583/hse.11280 (in Spanish)

[98] Carrete-Marín, N., Domingo-Peñafiel, L., 2023. Digital Transformation and Open Education in Rural Schools. Revista Prisma Social. 41, 95–114. Available from: https://revistaprismasocial.es/article/view/5058 (in Spanish)

[99] Ministry of Education, Vocational Training and Sports, 2025. Facts and Figures. School Year 2024–2025. Sub-Directorate General for Statistics and Studies: Madrid, Spain. Available from: https://todofp.es/comunes/noticias/2025/datos-cifras-curso-escolar-2024-2025.html (cited 20 March 2025).

[100] Bonal, X., 2012. Education policy and school segregation of migrant students in Catalonia: the politics of non-decision-making. Journal of Education Policy. 27(3), 401–421. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2011.645168