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The first issue of Historia scholastica Journal presents 10 studies, most of them in some way thematizing the impact of the totalitarian regime on the field of education. A. Canales focuses on the change of educational policy of the Franco Regime in Spain in the 1960s, which was in contradiction with the still prevailing political and ideological principles of Franco's Dictatorship. E. Protner's study provides insight into the discontinuity of pre- and post-war Marxist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, using the example of slovenian pedagogue Jože Jurančič. How communist ideology was reflected in the functioning of education in Yugoslavia, specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows in her study S. Šušnjara.

Three other studies focus on education in the area of states in the territory of the former Soviet Union. I. Nelin examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union, his study highlights the experiments in psychoanalytic education and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts.

E. Bērziņš and I. Ķestere examines how Soviet narratives in the field of history of education were deconstructed in the Baltic States and how historians constructed a new view of the national history of these states.

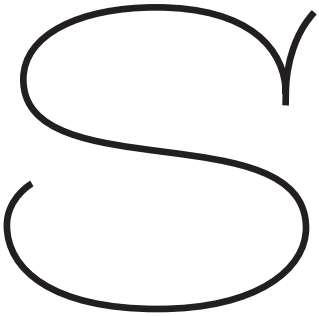
I. Ivanavičė and I. Stonkuvienė focuses on the mechanism of ideological assimilation of Lithuanian Roma through school and education in the Soviet Union; the study explores key dimensions of Roma education, including the construction of the New Soviet Man, the impact of forced sedentarisation, and the role of schooling in promoting linguistic assimilation, discipline, and social control. Belonging is an important phenomenon, the basis of which does not have to be only belonging to one ethnic group, as is the case in the study of Roma in Lithuania. F. Guerrini explores generational belonging in the generation of children born during the war. Her work focuses not only on specific research on belonging in the war generation, but also shows the theoretical perspectives of research on such a complex phenomenon as belonging.

Two studies in this issue relate to special education. J. Randák looks into the situation in special education in Czechoslovakia after the communists came to power in February 1948 and shows that the optimistic proclamations of the state representatives were often at odds with the real experience of teachers at special schools. K. Eliášková and M. Šmejkalová examine teaching of Czech language of visually impaired pupils at special schools from 1972 to 2010. The long period of research allowed the authors to examine not only the development of didactic approaches, but also the change in the ideological framework of education during this time.

While most studies deal with education in the second half of the 20th century, I. Garai investigates the issue of deprofessionalization of secondary school teachers in pre-war Hungary.

We believe that all of the submitted studies will contribute to the clarification of many unresolved research questions as well as stimulate interest in further research.

Jan Šimek



Studie
Studies

The Copernican Turn of Franco's Secondary Education Policy. A Paradoxical Case of the Global Architecture of Education[1]

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Abstract In the early 1960s, the educational policy of the Franco Regime underwent a Copernican turn. After two decades of intense privatization and constriction of the school network, the Dictatorship promoted an accelerated growth of the educational system led by the state. Despite its transcendence and its radical nature, the Spanish historiography has not addressed the explanation of this turnover. This article aims to advance in the articulation of an explanation based on the new priority of the Dictatorship in these years (economic development) and the decisive role of the international organizations to which it turned for advice. The functionalist theories prevailing in these organizations, which placed education as a prerequisite for industrial *take-off*, configured a Global Architecture of Education that included both prescriptions for modernization, new methods (planning) and, above all, a new language. The article explores how this Global Architecture of Education was introduced in Spain in contradiction with the previous educational policy of the Regime and, even, with the still prevailing political and ideological principles. It is argued that only from this international perspective is it possible to understand the paradoxical evolution of the late educational policy of the Dictatorship.

Keywords Franco Regime, secondary education, development, global architecture of education, functionalist theories of education, international organizations of education

1 This research has been conducted in the framework of the Spanish National Research Project PID2020-114249GB-I00/AEI/10.13039/501100011033.

The Quantitative Revolution

Traditionally, secondary education in Spain had had very poor coverage.[2] It was a very minority track which were reinforced in their elitist character after Franco's victory, which put an end to the popularisation attempts of the Second Republic and imposed a return to the more traditional university oriented secondary education. During the first fifteen years of the Franco Regime, the number of students grew steadily but moderately, and it was only in the mid-1950s, after the 1953 Reform, that a certain activation of enrolment was detected (Canales, 2021).[3]

Suddenly, however, after these two decades of lethargy, in the 1960s all quantitative indicators relating to secondary education shot up. Enrolment increased by an average of around 12% per year, with exponential increases of close to 20% in specific years such as 1961 and 1967. In total, between 1960 and 1970, in just 10 years, enrolment tripled. The total number of schools grew less, but still experienced a significant increase that led to a doubling. The number of teachers was the indicator that took the longest to take off, although it grew strongly in the final years of the decade to almost triple (Figure 1).[4]

These developments constitute a real quantitative revolution which finds its most precise expression in school enrolment rates. The gross enrolment rate in secondary education almost tripled during the decade, rising from 15% to 42%. The net rate doubled in only seven years, from 18% in 1963 to 34.7% in 1970. Starting from a very low base, by

2 At the end of the 1950s, the Spanish schooling rate in secondary education was only 27%, compared to 96% in the United Kingdom, 81% in Germany, 75% in France, 46% in Italy and even 32% in Greece. Only Portugal was below with 23% (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1962, p. 169). Another source citing OECD data establishes a rate of 9.7% between 15 and 19 years of age, compared to 30.8% in France, 17.6% in the United Kingdom and 15.7% in Italy (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1964, p. 52).

3 For an overview of education under Franco's Regime, see Canales, 2021.

4 Unless another source is indicated, all statistical data come from the series published by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics in the series *Estadística de la Enseñanza en España* and *Estadística de la Enseñanza Media en España*, different years.

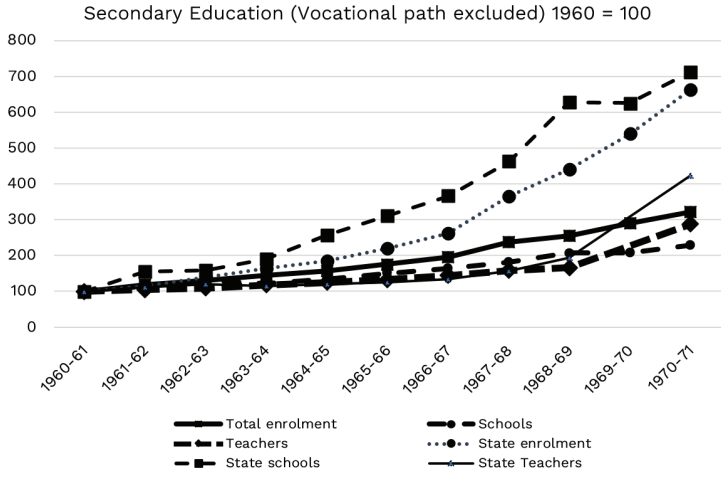

Figure 1. Secondary Education.

1970 net rates of over 40% had been reached at 12 and 13 years of age in secondary education in parallel to primary education. Similarly, gross rates at 15 and 16 years had tripled over the decade.

The Leading Role of the State

The above data leave no doubt about the radical quantitative expansion of the system. However, they are only the tip of the iceberg of a more profound change that is truly revolutionary: the leading role of the public sector in this expansion. While total enrolment increased by a factor of three, public enrolment increased by a factor of six and a half; while the total number of schools doubled, public schools increased by a factor of seven. Finally, public teachers also grew much more than the total number of teachers. This leading role of the state meant a real Copernican turn in Franco's educational policy.

The Radical Post-war Subsidiarity

Until then, the principle that had determined and tightly constrained the policy of the Franco Regime in secondary education had been the subsidiarity of the state in favour of the Catholic Church. After the civil

war, the Dictatorship relinquished the traditional functions of the state in this area and promoted the dismantling of the national education system to benefit the Church. This was a process unparalleled in Western countries, let alone in the fascist or fascistized dictatorships of the time, which zealously retained control over secondary education aimed at educating the new elite. In Spain, by contrast, half of the state secondary schools (*institutos*) were closed, and the resulting migrated number (119) remained unchanged for two decades, until 1961. In addition, a reform of secondary education was passed which radically deregulated the sector and freed private schools from the traditional state control through official examinations. The only accountability mechanism was a final examination before a board of university professors after the seven years of study. Before that time, there were no longer even official grades or marks, as each school was free to recognise or not the qualifications of another. The result of this combination of deregulation and radical pruning of the state network could not be other than the proliferation of private schools, mostly in the hands of religious orders and congregations. In 1943, the number of private schools was more than double that of 1933, the year in which the secularist law prohibiting religious orders and congregations from teaching was passed. But the progression did not stop there. By the end of the 1940s, the number had quadrupled, and in 1959 the 119 surviving *institutos* after the civil war were dwarfed by the 1180 private schools (745 belonging to the Catholic Church). There is no doubt that the first two decades of Franco Regime were a veritable *golden age* for Church schools (Canales, 2015).

This model withstood unchanged the intense pressures of its opponents, notably the fascists of the single party, who led the discontent of state teachers and parents through loud public campaigns. It was only in 1953 that the model was finally modified with the division into three cycles (4+2+1) and increased state regulation, without this reorganisation entailing a questioning of its subsidiarity. On the contrary, the entire preamble of the reform law was aimed at justifying that in no case was the state encroaching on or undermining the

rights of the Catholic Church, and additional legal guarantees were granted to it.

The First Intervention: Active Subsidiarity.
From the mid-1950s onwards, it is possible to detect a change of discourse in the Ministry of Education that pointed to the need to expand secondary education to traditionally excluded sectors. This approach did not necessarily imply an open questioning of the hegemony of private schools, as it did not affect the social sectors that traditionally nurtured secondary education, but rather aimed to target those sectors excluded either by income or geographic location. It was therefore a kind of active subsidiarity that did not question the rights of the Church, as the canonical Catholic position had always accepted the right of the state to intervene where the Catholic Church did not reach, as was now the case. Consequently, there was no direct growth in the public network of state schools – the Regime did not create a single one until 1961 – but alternative indirect formulas of collaboration with other agents were used. These were the Filial Sections, approved in 1956, the Free Adopted Schools of 1960, and finally the Delegated Sections of 1963.

The Filial Sections were secondary schools aimed at the population of the poor suburbs traditionally excluded from the provision of secondary education, located in the central and bourgeois areas of the towns. These schools offered the four-year lower secondary education, *Bachillerato Elemental*, but without Latin. They were set up in collaboration with private or social institutions which were the owners, mostly bishoprics or Church organisations (Cruz, 2017). The Free Adopted Schools had the same objective of reaching traditionally excluded sectors, but in the rural areas. In this case, the collaborating institutions were the local councils, which provided facilities, furniture and the salaries of most of the teachers, while the state guaranteed the academic level through two state teachers, one for Sciences and another for Arts (Cruz, 2013). Finally, the Delegated Sections, created in 1963, were no more than a physical extension of the state schools from

the centre, reduced to classrooms, in the urban suburbs which were growing uncontrollably due to massive rural immigration (Cruz, 2019).

The Open, Direct and Massive Intervention

This limited and discreet state action on the margins soon turned into open, direct and massive intervention at the very heart of secondary education through the creation of state secondary schools (*institutos*). After 20 years of stagnation, four new *institutos* were opened in 1961 and no less than 31 the following year, a sudden increase of almost 22%. Throughout the decade, an almost exponential average growth of 13% per year was maintained, with spectacular increases of 44% as in 1968. In total, the network of state schools tripled in just ten years, after 20 years of stagnation.

This new leadership of the public sector ended up by altering the traditional balance in favour of the private sector that had been established after the civil war. Over the course of the decade, private enrolment fell significantly from 50% to 40%, while state enrolment shot up from 17% to 35%, at the expense of free enrolment,[5] catching up with private enrolment only a year later.

To summarise, there are two basic features of Spanish secondary education during the 1960s. Firstly, an almost exponential quantitative expansion; secondly, a notable and decisive process of stateisation. If one takes into account that the policy of the Regime up to that time had been the restriction of the state sector, privatisation and subsidiarity towards the Catholic Church, one cannot but conclude that this was a radical, almost Copernican, turn which seems to demand an explanation.

In Search of an Explanation

Despite its revolutionary character, Spanish educational historiography has paid little attention to this Copernican turn in Franco's educational

5 Free enrolment consisted of pupils who were only entitled to take an official annual examination, but not to attend classes in recognised schools.

policy. This radical change tends to be interpreted as a mere return to normality, as the *natural* and *expected* response to the notable shortcomings and dysfunctions of Spanish secondary education. It is not, therefore, an issue that deserves special attention, but a logical adjustment, a kind of need in the process of modernisation or, if wanted, a return to pre-war pedagogical reason as the National-Catholic delirium of the victors relaxed. Ultimately, the self-evident goodness of the new policy spares explanation.

However, this approach ignores the fact that these shortcomings and dysfunctions were not new, and that the Regime had hitherto been completely indifferent to them. It is not, therefore, a question of discussing the goodness or convenience of the new policy, but of explaining why the Dictatorship suddenly cared so much about deficits it had hitherto disregarded. This previous indifference, moreover, was not surprising, since such shortcomings were, in fact, a consequence of the educational priorities of the victors in the civil war. There is, therefore, nothing self-evident, natural or mechanical in the new policy, but rather a radical rectification of policy that demands an explanation.

Juan Manuel Fernández Soria deserves credit for having, many years ago, unsuccessfully pointed out the answer to this question: the reasons for the Copernican turn in Franco's educational policy lay in a change in the Regime's source of legitimisation (Fernández Soria, 1998, pp. 151–86; Fernández Soria & Sevilla, 2021, p. 29). In the 1960s, Francoism detached itself from the imperial National-Catholic values associated with the victory in the civil war and prioritised peace and material well-being as the main source of its legitimisation.

From the late 1950s onwards, the Dictatorship pinned its hopes of survival on economic development. After a long period of resistance, the purist sectors were forced to abandon autarky and adopt a policy of economic liberalisation and openness to the West. A change that found its maximum expression in the 1959 Stabilisation Plan, a milestone that has traditionally been considered the boundary between the two phases of the Regime. The Plan, actually a massive international rescue of a bankrupt economy, gave way to the new stage known as developmentalism (*desarrollismo*), a period of little more

than a decade of extremely high growth rates that were accompanied by key socio-economic changes such as industrialisation, massive migration from the countryside to the towns and the development of the middle classes.

It could be argued that the educational expansion of the 1960s was a further consequence of this socio-economic change. Indeed, there is a broad consensus about the importance of the educational demand of these new middle classes produced by developmentalism, notably in secondary and higher education, and it seems plausible that the Dictatorship wanted to satisfy it. However, the synchrony of economic and educational change suggests that the latter was much more than a by-product of the former, for if it were, it would have had to take place some years later. On the contrary, education was not a consequence, but part of the core of the change programme.

The key to understanding Francoist new education policy lies in the place of education in the development programme. Obviously, the Regime did not design the new economic policy on its own, but relied at all times on the advice and supervision of the international development agencies that had been emerging since the end of the Second World War: the World Bank, the OECD and, in education, the UNESCO.

In the 1960s, the theoretical framework from which these institutions designed their development policies was constituted by Walt W. Rostow's Theory of the Stages of Economic Development (1960) and the Theory of Human Capital developed by Theodore Schultz (1964), Gary Becker (1958), and Jacob Mincer (1960). According to the first theory, all countries could aspire to industrialisation provided that they accumulated a certain amount of fixed capital to ensure *take-off*. Conforming to the second, this fixed capital included the human capital that was formed through education. The corollary of the combination of the two theories was none other than the belief that investment in education constituted a direct investment in economic development. Education was thus not a consequence of development, but practically a prerequisite. It was a central element of the development package that

could not be ignored without questioning the whole; otherwise, no doubt Francoism would have done so with great relief, but it could not.

The extension of education under state leadership remained a subject of caution and resentment. Large sectors of the Regime mistrusted these developments and wondered why they had fought, and won, a civil war. However, at that point, unlike in pre-war times, they lacked a language through which to formulate an alternative. The international developmentalist agencies were not only pointing the path, but they were also setting the language to walking it, a conceptual framework of ideas and models that has come to be known as the *Global Architecture of Education*.

The Global Architecture of Education

In 2006, Jones coined the concept of Global Architecture of Education to refer to the "complex web of ideas, networks of influence, policy frameworks, financial arrangements and organisational structures" (p. 43) that strongly constrain the way education is constructed around the world.[6] The idea that international agencies start from a set framework to propose solutions for the countries that seek their advice is certainly not new. The interest of the concept lies in the fact that it includes not only these "recipes", but also the language from which to interpret and analyse them (Tröhler, 2014, p. 5), a kind of conceptual mesh that points to what Schriewer (1996, p. 28) called at the time the *semantics of modernisation*. This dimension places educational discourse at the forefront and leads directly to the academic networks that produce and validate knowledge about education. Thus, the global architecture would not only establish what should be done in education, but even what should be thought about it.

This Global Architecture of Education is a particularly relevant theoretical framework of analysis for the Spanish case, since we are dealing with a regime that not only faced the incongruence of its educational

6 I thank Mariano González-Delgado and Tamar Groves (2021, p. 213) for the first contact with this concept.

policy with the new objectives of economic development, but also lacked a language through which to formulate an alternative. It could be said that the position of the second Francoism in the face of the new international prescriptions was almost one of defeat and surrender, since the post-war National-Catholic principles were completely extemporaneous in the West of the 1960s and even practically inoperative to articulate a real process of *appropriation* (Depaepe, 2012). In this sense, the Franco Regime was an extreme case of the tension between internal and external factors present in all modernising countries (Ossenbach & Martínez, 2011, p. 680).

The Plunge into the New Language

It seems quite clear that, from the early 1950s, the Francoist education authorities, led by Minister Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, were aware of the exhaustion of post-war policies, especially in secondary education. Hence the reform of the model of the victory in 1953, under the tutelage of the Vatican, with the aim of establishing a more solid and, above all, standardised basis for Catholic hegemony. At the same time, a positive view of the extension of secondary education, which was openly formulated as early as 1956, began to gain ground. However, it happened still within the framework of the victory and as a legacy of the fascist social programme embodied by the first education minister, Jesús Rubio García-Mina, who seemed to be more Fascist than Catholic.

Although relations with international organisations were established throughout the 1950s, insertion into the Global Architecture of Education did not take place until after the 1959 Stabilisation Plan and the adoption of French-rooted indicative planning, which gave rise to the Development Plans. At the turn of the decade, a new language, suddenly and spectacularly, burst onto the scene.

The most important milestone in this process was the incorporation in December 1961 of Spain into the OECD's Mediterranean Regional Project (MRP). The project provided advice on setting educational development goals to traditionally backward southern European countries such as Portugal, Italy, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece, and constitutes a paradigmatic example of the Global Architecture of Education

(Delgado, 2020, pp. 133–4). In April 1962, a course on integral educational planning, held in collaboration with UNESCO, displayed the adoption of the new formulas of policy making. Given the nature of the Dictatorship, the Army and, of course, two episcopal commissions could not be absent; but these were no longer the traditional National-Catholic forums of the early Franco Regime. Now the main technical ministries, the CSIC (the research council), the National Institute of Industry (the owner of the many state companies) and even the Higher Banking Council were also involved, and above all a new staff linked to UNESCO. At their head was the Spaniard Ricardo Díez-Hochleitner, Head of the Planning Division of this organisation, who was to play a key role in the application of this global architecture in Spain, as will be seen below. He was joined by Columbia professor and US State Department advisor Guy Benveniste and Frankfurt professor Friedrich Edding.

The course set out the objectives of Spanish education for 1970 as a substantial expansion of school leaving age to 14 in 1965 and to 16 in 1970, which was an audacious objective, given that it was still 12, and was not being complied (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 192, p. 199) This ambitious enlargement implied a radical reorganisation of the structure of the system: it was proposed to put an end to parallel schooling between primary and lower secondary from the age of 10, establishing a single primary education until the age of 12 and later a lower secondary education for all. This new lower secondary would not be common, but tripartite: 30% of pupils would take the traditional academic stream, 5% the teacher training schools and 65% the vocational track. Given Spain's meagre school network, the objective was hardly more than chimerical. Hence, from the outset, an exception to its fulfilment was envisaged and it was foreseen that 31.5% of pupils would take this secondary education in their same primary school with specially trained teachers and in special timetables. This exceptionality did not seem to worry the drafters of the report too much, as they stated that it would affect the "less intellectually gifted part" destined to provide unskilled manpower, in which they unblushingly included most of the rural pupils (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1962, p. 183).

This report of mid-1962 recognized that the work of the Spanish MRP commission was being carried out in parallel, with the participation of foreign scholarship holders from the OECD and under the coordination of the Spaniard Mariano Rubio, who would become Governor of the Bank of Spain in the second half of the 1980s, but at that time an expert of that international organization. This second report, dated barely a year and a half later, in December 1963, fully assumed the language of human capital. Already in its first sentence it referred to "human resources" and the whole prologue revolved around this concept and the policies to be implemented to prevent the lack of training of the manpower from slowing down economic growth (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1964, p. 7 and 13–14). The priority was, therefore, a notable quantitative expansion of schooling to reach 100% schooling from 6 to 14 years of age in 1970, starting from 88% from 6 to 10 and 68% from 11 to 13 in 1960. For higher ages, it was proposed for 1975 to go from 15% to 48% in the 14 to 17 age group and a much more modest growth, only from 4% to 6%, from 18 to 24. To summarise, for the secondary education age group, an increase of 50% was foreseen from 11 to 13 and no less than 220% from 14 to 18.

Given the magnitude of the expansion, the report focused on complex projections of the main factors and associated investment needs. But it was much more timorous in terms of curricular reform than its predecessor. It urged the creation of an eight-grade elementary school, up to 14, but maintained the lower secondary school in parallel from 11. As discussed above, the ministry complied with this plan and effectively promoted this exponential growth, although the 32% from 14 to 18 in 1970 (Viñao, 2011, p. 467) was still far from the 48% expected.

Educational Technocracy: Much More Political than It Seems

The new educational policy of the Franco Regime was part of the semantics of modernisation of the Global Architecture of Education, which understood education as a technical, basically quantitative issue (Martín & Delgado, 2020). If the provision of human capital was a requirement for development, it was clear that the priority in backward countries should be the enlargement of schooling, especially in

secondary and higher education. With this commitment to the technical management of quantitative expansion, the international educational discourse of the time seemed to erase at a stroke the major ideological and political issues that had been the backbone of the educational debate during the previous century. Probably the best example of this international developmentalist technocracy was the aforementioned MRP of 1961, which included in the same program six countries with very different political regimes: a Western democracy such as Italy, two parafascist dictatorships of the 1930s, such as Spain and Portugal, a socialist country such as Yugoslavia, and other authoritarian countries such as Greece and Turkey. All were in the same package, equalized only by their educational backwardness, as if ideological or religious values no longer played any role in their educational models (Tröhler, 2014. p. 7).

However, educational technocracy was much less technical than it seems at first glance. It is very common to denounce the ideological assumptions on which it was based, favourable to a certain model of expansion of Northern capitalism (Tröhler, 2014, p. 6). However, much less has been explored the opposite ideological side, i.e., its components in leading to freedom, equality and democratization, which in the case of the Franco Regime meant a frontal challenge to its foundational principles.

From the outset, the dominance of the experts implied unusual novelties in the ideological selection patterns of the personnel. The presence of a student opponent exiled, like Mariano Rubio, at the head of the Spanish MRP commission was at least surprising, as was, for example, the appointment as Rector of the University of La Laguna of Antonio González, a member of a repressed Republican family (González, 2011). It was understood that the technical management of the huge quantitative expansion required this kind of relaxation of the restrictive criteria of the victory, which at that point were seen as outdated faced to the new hegemonic principles of *modernization* and *planning* (Viñao, 2020). However, the ideological questioning of the Regime went much further.

Certainly, the MRP commission's report was clearly economistic and functionalist. Nevertheless, its analysis of the educational reality

was very critical from a social point of view. It denounced the early abandonment of most pupils for economic reasons, the influence of the cultural environment of families and the discriminatory nature of early selection towards the poorest sectors, in addition to the marginalization of the rural population (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1964, p. 61). We can obviate the progressive ideological component of all these issues through their subsumption in the functionalist suppression of bottlenecks in the provision of skilled manpower for development; but then, for the sake of consistency, we should do the same with the theories of reproduction, cultural capital and the rest of the critical theories of the radical educational sociology of the period.

Even something as simple and apparently neutral as the mere quantitative growth of the educational system had a deep ideological significance in Spain. Its underdevelopment had not only been a financial issue, but also the result of a harsh ideological and cultural confrontation, that ended up being one of the factors leading to a bloody civil war. Proof of this is that when the traditionalist forces gained omnipotent power thanks to their military victory, their first choice was to destroy the educational system by prioritizing catechism over the alphabet. In line with this approach, after the war, school building programs were halted, half of the state secondary schools were closed and thousands of teachers were purged for political and ideological reasons, in addition to the dismantling of the country's main scientific and intellectual groups. By placing quantitative expansion as a new priority in the 1960s, the educational technocracy of the second Francoism took a stand and closed the fierce debate of more than a century between the defenders of education and the traditionalist sectors that distrusted it. The Global Architecture of Education was based on the axiom of the goodness of the school system, from which it was derived that its expansion was an unquestionable objective and a responsibility of the state. Its assumption by the Franco Regime implied the recognition of the obvious failure of the educational principles for which it had waged a war. Fortunately for the Dictatorship, the rhetoric of international technocracy made it possible to disguise this major ideological rectification as a neutral adaptation to the needs of economic modernization.

But this masking could not hide the crude reality: the educational policy of the second Franco Regime was nothing more than a mad race to rebuild what had been destroyed and make up for the time lost in the previous two decades. It would be a good thing if historiography were as aware of this reality as the Francoist authorities were.

The 1970 Reform: the Final Paradox

In 1968, the new Minister José Luis Villar Palasí promoted a radical global reform of the entire educational system, the basic structure of which had been maintained since 1857. International technocracy again proved to be decisive here, as the minister turned to men who were very familiar with the Global Architecture of Education insofar as they themselves came from these international organizations. This was the case of the aforementioned Ricardo Díez-Hochleitner, the new Technical General Secretary of the ministry, who had worked for the ministry of Colombia, the OEA, the World Bank and directed the Educational Planning and Financing Division of UNESCO, and who was preparing to import to Spain the same recipes he had applied in Colombia and recommended for Asia or Africa (Viñao, 2020, pp. 131–2). This was also the case of José Blat Gimeno, another senior UNESCO official who temporarily left the organization to work on the Spanish reform. These personnel were basically alien to internal Spanish factors. To begin with, they did not think from the categories of a Spanish educational traditionalism defeated by the times but spoke the modern international educational language. Moreover, they had an additional element of autonomy: they did not participate in the Regime's game of political *families* and were not sensitive to the threat of dismissal, since their careers were solidly secured abroad. Only from this remarkable autonomy can be understand the audacity of the official diagnoses they made, such as "it could be said that two educational systems coexist in our country: one, for families of middle and high socio-economic category, and the other, for the less favoured social sectors" (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1969, p. 25).

These international staff resorted, like the good technicians they were, to the most realistic and pragmatic model available: the creation

of a common eight-grade elementary school. The debate that had been raging since the late 1950s on how to replace the parallel schooling between primary and secondary from the age of 10 onwards was resolved in favour of a common primary school and not, as most seemed to expect, with the universalization of lower secondary education, in the English or Italian way. This was a crucial new leap that Spanish historiography simply overlooks.

Undoubtedly, were technical and financial reasons what determined this choice. The meagre nature of the Spanish educational system, with schooling rates from 6 to 9 years of age barely exceeding 85% in 1967 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1969, p. 21), made the universalization of lower secondary education a chimera (it should be recalled that even the 1962 proposal on this direction contemplated an exception for one third of the pupils). Nor had hybrid schools been developed between the ages of 10 and 14, as in other countries, that would constitute a potential institutional basis for such an extension, since for this age group there was basically only the first cycle of classical academic secondary education (*Bachillerato Elemental*).

The involvement of the international technocracy in this process was reinforced with the creation of a Technical Assistance Commission for the Reform, under the presidency of former Colombian Minister of Education Gabriel Betancur, to whom Díez-Hochleitner had been a technical advisor. It brought together relevant figures from the international educational world such as Philip H. Coombs, former director of the International Institute for Educational Planning at UNESCO, Giovanni Gozzer, a UNESCO technician and director of the Centro Europeo dell'Educazione, and John Vaizey, a UNESCO expert and professor of economics at Brunel University (Ossenbach & Martínez, 2011, p. 697)

This technical level of educational policy was also complemented by the pedagogical disciplinary framework. Spanish academic Pedagogy had not remained oblivious to the developments in its environment and made the semantics of the global educational architecture its own. Even under the version of appropriation, the incorporation of Western didactic principles pointed to a renewal of methods and

practices and a new pedagogical conception that the law echoed (Mayordomo, 2021, p. 86).

The result of the whole process was a compulsory eight-year common primary school, followed by two branches of secondary education from the age of 14 onwards: the academic stream leading to university and the vocational training. The 1970 Reform has traditionally been accused of confirming the difference in prestige between the two by requiring the completion of primary school to gain access to academic education, while mere schooling was sufficient to follow the vocational track. In this way, a devalued pathway would be configured for the low-income sectors now incorporated into the system. This was undoubtedly the result, but we should not lose sight of the fact that the objectives of the law included a first vocational education for all young people. From this perspective, non-selective vocational training would be the way to put into practice the 1962 universalization forecast, which put the number of students who would go on to vocational studies at 65%.

The critical literature of the 1970 Reform is extensive and recurrent. It is only recently that a historiographical reconsideration of its advanced and comprehensive nature seems to be gaining ground (Fernández Soria & Sevilla, 2021, Delgado, 2021, Canales, 2022, Rico & Sevillano, 2024). At that date, only Sweden (1962), Italy (1962, until 14), England and Wales (1965 recommendation), and Norway (1969) had undertaken comprehensive reforms, while consolidated democracies such as France and Denmark did so much later, in 1975. Thus, the 1970 Reform becomes the great paradox in the history of Spanish education, since it involves the adoption of the formulas, methods, and policies of those who were defeated in the civil war and cruelly punished. This article argues that only from a perspective that takes into account the international organizations and the imposition of a new conceptual educational framework, which we call the Global Architecture of Education, is it possible to advance in the understanding of this paradoxical result.

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