UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

A Local Affair: Barcelona's Municipal Schools and Recreational Activities in Late Francoist Spain, 1950-1975

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

in

History

by

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The dissertation of Maria Victoria Carreras is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

University of California San Diego

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DEDICATION

For my parents.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC—*Acción Catolica*

ACDE-- *Associació Catalana d'Escoltisme*

BSC-- *Boy Scouts of Catalunya*

CNB—*Club Natació Barcelona*

DDE-- *Delegació Diocesana d'Escoltisme*

FAN-- *Federacion Andaluza de Natación*

FCN--*Federacion Catalana de Natacion*

FEN -- *Federacion Española de Natación*

GBSC -- *Boy Scouts of Catalunya*

GMM -- *Germanor de Minyons de Muntanys*

GSJ-ME—*Guies Sant Jordi-Minyons Escoltes*

HOAC-- *Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica*

ICE --Institució Catalana d'Escoltisme

ILE-- *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*

IME-- *Instituto Municipal de Educació*

ME-GSJ -- *Minyons Escoltes-Guies San Jordi*

MM-BSC -- *Minyons de Muntaya- Boy Scouts de Catalunya*

JAC -- *Joves d'Acció Catòlica*

JEC-- *Catholic Student Youth*

JOC --*Juventud Obrera Cristiana*

WOSM --*World Organization of Scouting Movement*

LIST OF FIGURES

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation analyzes the institutional frameworks that allowed for alternative sites of socialization outside of the parameters of the Franco regime, 1939-1975. This time period has traditionally been characterized as an era of political, social, and cultural oppression in which the regime tended to focus on a conservative fascist vision that stressed a homogenous Spanish nationalism and discipline. By focusing on the city of Barcelona, the capital of the northeast region of Catalonia, this study challenges the established discourses that have suggested that citizens did not have "choices" under an authoritarian regime. Local elites in the city of Barcelona focused on social reform programs that targeted one segment of the population that had the potential to alleviate existing social problems: children. By using childhood as a category of analysis, the dissertation examines how Barcelona's elites were able to maintain some

autonomy in organizing their own community. The community of Barcelona, however, was neither homogenous nor horizontal. The elites sought to "civilize the masses" as part of a larger goal of improving and modernizing the city according to their own standards and values. Through the analysis of the methodological objectives and pedagogical approaches of municipal schools and recreational activities, this study examines elite socialization projects for children within this localist modernizing agenda. The result is a larger social reform program in which some of the most influential people in Barcelona were able to roll back restrictions placed on the city of Barcelona after the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939.

Introduction: Alternatives Sites of Socialization under an Authoritarian Regime

This dissertation examines how the existence of alternative municipal institutions during Francisco Franco's regime (1939-1975) provided the people of Barcelona with sites of socialization outside of the parameters of the authoritarian and centralized dictatorship. By focusing on educational and recreational sites for children, some of Barcelona's elites created social reform programs centered around their vision of modernity and community life. What we end up seeing is a tension between a form of resistance to the regime and a reassertion of internal hierarchy within the city. On the one hand, there are preexisting socio-cultural institutions that resisted the dictatorship. On the other hand, there was also a vertical class hierarchy in a city known for class warfare. With minimal-to-no access to national politics under a dictatorship, the sites of socialization imagined and managed by elites not only altered the urban landscape but simultaneously established new channels of power and authority.

Using Barcelona as a case study helps us identify points of continuity that survived from the pre-Spanish Civil War Era (1936-1939). Prior to the Civil War, Barcelona stood as a modern cosmopolitan city at the vanguard of industrial innovation. Economic and industrial growth fostered a prosperous and notable elite class that had a profound influence on the city's social and cultural dynamic. People in early twentieth century Barcelona witnessed developments in urbanization, social reform, and the democratization of cultural spaces, which included sports, recreation, and education. The establishment of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya (Commonwealth of Catalonia) in 1914, a deliberative assembly with only administrative functions, successfully created cultural and scientific institutions, all of which were in Barcelona. In addition to establishing a series of institutions, the Mancomunitat launched social reform projects that were intended to improve the quality of life of Barcelona's citizens. Some of those projects included

improvement of the urban landscape and public health policies, as well as supporting and funding educational reform projects that were based on international pedagogical models. The aim of the institutions and urban improvements was to bolster Catalan language and culture while simultaneously attending to the livelihood of the Catalan people. Although the Mancomunitat was short-lived and was dissolved under the Miguel Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-1930), it had a lasting impact on Barcelona's social and cultural landscape in the decades to come.

More than in any other era, Barcelona thrived during the democratic political regime of the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939). An institution of self-government, known as the Generalitat de Catalunya, was governed by a statute of autonomy approved in 1932 by the Spanish Cortes. Under the presidencies of Francesc Macià and Lluis Companys, the Generalitat pushed for many of the progressive agendas first enacted during the Mancomunitat. In Barcelona, this meant the expansion of an alternative education system that was premised on reform under the larger umbrella of Catalan culture and the expansion of cultural spaces, knowledge, and activities to the working-class population.

The progressive efforts were cut short with the outbreak of the Civil War, and most narratives emphasize the rupture that the war represented in Barcelona's political history. During the Civil War, Barcelona was at the center of revolution and conflict. Barcelona was one of the target cities of the military uprisings in July 1936, where the Spanish military and nationalists orchestrated an uprising intended to overthrow the Popular Front government of the Second Republic.[1] On July 19, 1936, civilian volunteers began to report to military quarters as the word

[1] For more on Catalonia during the Spanish Civil War, see: Josep Puigsech Farràs, "Popular Front, War and Internationalism in Catalonia During the Spanish Civil War." *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 37, 1, (2013); Agustí Colomines i Companys,

spread that rebel troops were within proximity of the city. While most of the Spanish Army in the city supported the military coup, the Civil Guard, Assault Guard, and the *Mossos d'Esquadra* (Catalonia's autonomous police force), remained loyal to, and fought in support of, the Republican government. Soon these forces would welcome the support of the anarcho-syndicalist union, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). Although rebel troops were defeated within a day, Barcelona became the center of political conflict. As the CNT became one of the most powerful organizations in Barcelona, it began to seize arms, buildings, and make their way into several factory and transportation committees, prompting the Spanish Revolution of 1936.[2] Businesses such as railway companies, streetcars, and electric companies, to name a few, were collectivized and managed by the workers. This marked the beginning of a large wave of harsh repression against individuals opposing the revolution, typically those of privileged classes. For the next three years, Barcelona became a battleground of competing political ideologies.

As the last city occupied by the Nationalists troops, Barcelona experienced monumental atrocities as bombardments destroyed its landscape in 1939. The progressive Barcelona of the early twentieth century virtually vanished when the Franco regime outlawed the written and

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"Representing Catalan National Identity. Catalonia During the Spanish Second Republic and the Civil War," *The Anglo-Catalan Society* (2008); Julian Casanova, *Anarchism, the Republic and Civil War in Spain, 1931-39* (London: Routledge, 2005); Julian Casanova, *The Spanish Republic and Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[2] For more on the Spanish Revolution, see: Albert Balcells. "Collectivisations in Catalonia and the Region of Valencia during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939." *Catalan historical review* 10 (2017): 77–92; Chris Ealham, "Anarchism and Illegality in Barcelona, 1931-7." Contemporary European History (1995): 133-151; Chris Ealham, *Class, Culture, and Conflict in Barcelona, 1898-1937* (London: Routledge, 2005).

spoken use of Catalan, and incarcerated, exiled, and, in extreme cases, executed prominent Catalan elites and politicians, as well as working-class activists. The revolutionary uprising further added to the weakening of social stability as once successful businessmen and prominent elites lost power and authority. In the wake of the Civil War, it was hard to imagine that the city of Barcelona and its people could reinstitute pre-war autonomy. The prospects of having any form of autonomy or spaces of socialization outside of state approved institutions seemed nonexistent.

The parameters of the Franco Regime, which spanned over a thirty-six-year period, changed, and fluctuated over time but there are several markers that have defined the regime. Francoism, broadly speaking, is characterized as centralized, authoritarian, conservative, National-Catholic, militaristic, and anti-communist. The Spanish state under the regime can be defined as a centralized, authoritarian state that oppressed and censored all political opponents and non-government trade unions. Small and rural towns were patrolled by the Guardia Civil (Civil Guards), whereas larger cities were monitored by the heavily armed Policía Armada (Armed Police) who were distinguished by their grey uniforms. The regime sought to unify and homogenize the nation under a unitary Spanish nationalism. Basque, Catalan, and Galician languages and cultures were repressed, while other regional traditions, such as bullfighting and Flamenco, were adopted as part of the national identity. The regime also promoted militarism and hypermasculinity for men and subservient domesticity for women, thus reinforcing traditional gender roles. From a young age, boys were reared to become honorable, patriotic citizens of the state while young girls were expected to take an interest in activities designed to transform them into good wives and mothers.

The Catholic Church, perhaps more than any other institution, became the backbone of the regime's moral foundation. Franco eliminated the republican measures that had undermined the official status of the Church's social and spiritual values. At the same time, the Church was afforded with the power and privilege it had historically enjoyed. Control over the education system was one of the primary ways the Church reasserted their authority, especially after republican efforts to abolish Catholic education during the Second Republic. Under the Franco regime, the Church understood its privileges as a form of *reconquista* (reconquest) over the moral and social life of all Spaniards. A 1941 law granted the Church the right to establish its own religious organizations, which included the Acción Católica (AC). With time, other Catholic organizations were founded, allowing for the Catholic values to have greater reach in the everyday lives of Spaniards.

The second group with a large amount of influence over the lives of people in Franco's Spain was the *Movimiento*. Founded in 1937, the *Movimiento* was a single organization that integrated all approved political groups and served as a link between state and society.[3] What stood out about the *Movimiento* were some of its "semi-fascist" symbols, incorporating the *falange's* blue uniform, the emblem of yoke and arrows, and the fascist salute. Moreover, the *Movimento* worked on overseeing and disseminating information to the public. Carlos Barrera points out that newspapers and radio stations were used for the dissemination of the *Movimento's* Values.[4] In fact, Barrera noted that 75% of the 48 newspapers between 1936 and 1964 belonged

[3] The *Movimiento* predominantly included the *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista* (FET y de las JONS), the sole trade union known as the *Orgnanización Sindical Española* (OSE), and civil servants who were required to take an oath supporting the principles of the *Movimiento*.
[4] Carlos Barrera, *Periodismo y Franquismo* (Barcelona, Ediciones Internacionales Universitarias, 1995), 61.

to the *Movimiento*. While the *Movimento*'s members worked on mobilizing the population with regime-controlled organizations, it never really reached the level of other campaigns, notably in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and the Movimiento's influenced declined over time.

This dissertation contends that there was a degree of continuity of pre-Civil War practices as Barcelona's elites created alternative sites of socialization during the authoritarian regime. By looking at educational spaces that targeted children, which included municipal schools, swimming programs, and scouting excursions, we see how the people of Barcelona subtly challenged the regime's authoritarian and centralizing ideologies with distinct conceptions of modernity. This study suggests that at a time when the main channels of association were the Catholic Church and the *Movimiento*, other institutions were nonetheless able to thrive and offer the people of Barcelona with an alternative. What this study equally demonstrates is that the regime was not entirely successful in silencing and eliminating ideas and values from the pre-Civil War era and highlights the continuities in active learning methods, sporting culture, and social reform.

The larger social reform projects carried out in Barcelona under Franco's regime were facilitated by pre-existing historical and institutional factors and conditions that either survived or were resurrected from the first third of the twentieth century. The Instituto Municipal de Educación (IME) was developed by Artur Martorell, a notable pedagogue who was trained by early twentieth-century educators and introduced active learning methods in Spain as an educator and municipal official for the *comissió de cultura* (Cultural Commission) during the Second Republic. The IME was able to function during the dictatorship because it was deemed a branch of the *comissió de cultura*, thus bypassing Francoist educational policies. Equally important was Catalonia's popular sporting culture. Sport in Barcelona, and in Catalonia more broadly, had

made gains in nationalizing the masses and creating cross-class relationships.[5] Stepping back from studies on professional and more popular spectator sports, such as *futbol* (soccer), to focus on participatory sports like swimming and the scouting system, we see how smaller associations helped develop this city's physical culture.

A local history allows us to assess the degree to which the centralized authoritarian regime was able to implement its policies on the ground. By showing that there were alternatives for ordinary citizens and a degree of pluralism in educational, recreational, and religious institutions, some of the limits to the regime's authoritarian policies are revealed. Critical inquiry into local institutions uncovers pockets and spaces within society in which the citizens had an opportunity to shape their future using ideas and methods that challenged and contradicted Francoist policies without directly attacking the regime.

Historicizing the Franco Regime:

This study will focus on the thirty-six-year dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975), a regime that underwent noteworthy evolution while adapting to the developments in modern society. Because of its evolving nature, scholars have found it difficult to define the essential nature of the regime. Competing moral narratives have further exacerbated that conundrum in which more left-leaning scholars hold on to the position that the regime was fundamentally fascist, violent, and oppressive. Other scholars have suggested that the regime evolved from "hard" to "soft" because of gradual liberalization policies in the latter half of the dictatorship. This debate is further complicated when looking at it from a comparative perspective and

[5] James Stout, "Breakaway Nations: The Use of Sports and Physical Culture to Create a Cross Class Catalan identity during the Second Republic" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2016), 24.

assessing the political developments of other European countries at the time.[6] This dissertation examines this "soft" period critically, arguing that gradual economic liberalization created mostly unintended consequences, which in turn opened opportunities for local autonomy within the limits of an authoritarian regime.

No one would dispute the highly repressive nature of the regime in the early decades. Instead, scholars have debated the degree of continuity and change over time within the parameters of the authoritarian regime.[7] Scholars such as Michael Richards, Pedro Barruso Barés, and Hilari Raguer Suner have emphasized the oppressive measures that continued to define the regime even after the decline of the intense repression of its first decade.[8] In contrast, Javier Tussell adopts an evolutionary model in which the regime evolves from a semi-fascist to authoritarian regime.[9] Ismael Saz defines the regime as a "fascistized" hybrid in which the regime had enough elements of fascism to distinguish it from other right-wing models, yet not enough to constitute it a fascist regime. Other scholars have focused on topics such as culture,

[6] Nigel Townson, "Spain is Different?: The Franco Dictatorship," in *Is Spain Different: A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Nigel Townson, ed. (Eastbourne: Sussex Press, 2015).
[7] Ismael Saz, *España contra España: los nacionalismos franquistas* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003).
[8] Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Carlos Ferran and Amago Samuel, eds., *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of the Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010); Pedro Barruso Barés, "From Popular Tribunals to Purgative Committees: Violence and Repression in Guipúzcoa during the Civil War and the early years of the Franco regime (1936-1945), *Pasado y Memoria* 4 (2005): 49-64.; Julius Ruiz, *Franco's Justice: Repression in Madrid after the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).; Peter Anderson, *The Francoist Military Trials: Terror and Complicity, 1939-1945* (London: Routledge, 2010).
[9] Javier Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).

associations, and social services in which ordinary Spaniards had choices and a voice but also benefitted from state welfare provisions.[10]

To understand the social and cultural shifts after the 1960s, it is important to explain the general periodization of the political evolution of the regime.[11] The first phase, from 1937-1945, has been recognized as the fascist-influenced era. This phase began during the Civil War and was characterized by extreme violence, military control, and fascist influence. The second phase from 1945 to 1957 is noted as the National-Catholic phase. The shift in the regime's political orientation was brought about in 1946 when the Spanish Cortes recognized Spain as an organic and Catholic democracy. This declaration allowed Catholic leaders to not only justify collaboration, but also exercise their power and authority over new and existing organizations.[12] The third phase, 1957-1969, known as the technocratic phase, was an era in which capitalist development and industrialization became the main goals. The objective was to foster economic growth and raise the standard of living for Spaniards, while maintaining an authoritarian political structure. This last phase is the center of the most vigorous debate about continuity versus the "liberalization" of the regime.

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[10] Neal Rosendorf, *Franco Sells Spain to America: Hollywood, Tourism and Public Relations as Postwar Spanish Soft Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2014); Pamela Radcliff, *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain: Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transition, 1960-78* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2011); Carme Molinero, *La Capación de las Masas: Política Social y Propaganda en el Régimen Franquista* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008).
[11]For a synthesis and thorough discussion on periodization see: Enrique Moradiellos, *La España de Franco, 1939-1975: Política y Sociedad* (Madrid: Editorial Sintesis, 2000). For scholarship on the arguments of different periodizations see: Javier Tusell, *La dictadura de Franco* (Madrid: Alianza, 1988), Manuel Tuñón de Lara, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, and Julio Valdeón Baruque, *Historia de España* (Barcelona: Labor, 1991), Paul Preston, *The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the Military in Twentieth-Century Spain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), Juan Pablo Fusi, *Franco: Autoritarismo y poder personal* (Madrid: El Pais, 1985), Stanley G. Payne, *El primer franquismo, 1939-1959: Los años de la qutarquía* (Madrid: Historial 16-Temas de Hoy, 1997).
[12] Some of these organizations included the Workers' Catholic Action Guild (HOAC), the Workers' Catholic Youth (JOC) and the Catholic Student Youth (JEC).

Scholars argue about the origins of the social and cultural trends brought about by the economic transformation in the 1950s. The regime began with the totalitarian ambition to reinstate and normalize traditional values, which included religion, social hierarchy, patriotism, and gender role differences. These ambitions never fully materialized, and, by the 1960s, traditional values were weakened as a younger, more rebellious generation challenged the pre-existing order. The expansion of civil society opened new sites of sociability and new forms of mass culture, which resulted in the increase of leisure activities within a more economically prosperous society. However, in some instances, the regime exploited these channels and used them to gain the support of the masses.

This study accepts the role of an emerging civil society in initiating social and cultural changes but reconsiders the periodization, which most scholars place in the 1960s, by turning the focus to the local level. Victor Pérez-Díaz argues that "economic growth, social changes, and the demographic changes of the sixties, including rural migrations and industrial relations, created the opening for an expansion of civil society."[13] Businessmen, university students and professors, and workers, for example, became agents of social change.[14] However, if we delve deeper into local communities and their civil societies, we find that people were actively pushing for democratic changes as early as the 1950s. Iris Marion Young's distinction between private, civic, and political associations can be utilized to make this argument. Young defines private associations as self-regulating and inward-looking and as sites of sociability exclusive to

[13] Victor Pérez-Díaz, *The Return of Civil Society: The Emergence of Democratic Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 3.
[14] Carmen Castro Torres, *La prensa en la transición Española, 1966-1978* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2010); Tamar Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Pamela Radcliff, *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain: Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transitions, 1960-1978* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

members of a group; civic associations as outward-looking with a core membership, but also accessible to the wider community and which often contribute to some greater good; and political associations as organizations that explicitly focus on claims with the intent of influencing state policy formation.[15] If we consider sports and local leisure activities, we see how the reemergence of civil society at the local level in some places took place a decade prior when activities that were previously private associations became civic.

In terms of periodization, I also challenge the argument that suggests that there was a complete rupture in 1939 with all traces of progress from the previous political regimes wiped out, despite the Franco regime's intention to do so. Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez has suggested that in the first decade of the regime, interests and ways of practicing politics of the Restoration (1875-1930) remained.[16] The old methods of politics that previously used the representative structure of the Restoration survived and flourished under the centralized Francoist state. As the subsequent chapters will suggest, there was also a degree of continuity from the Second Republic. Republican values not only survived but adapted to the bureaucratic structure of the authoritarian regime. The result, as I will demonstrate, was growing social pluralism. The final phase, 1969-1975, was the disintegration of the nationalist coalition and the gradual end of the regime. The byproduct of economic development provoked tensions between a more modern, diverse population and the conservative political system.

While all scholars have acknowledged that economic and demographic transformations did bring about changes to Spanish society, those most critical of Francoism have emphasized

[15] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 160-3.
[16] Antonio Cazorla-Sanchez, "Dictatorship from Below: Local Politics in the Making of the Francoist State, 1937-1948," *Journal of Modern History* 71 (1999): 882-901.

the ongoing repression and censorship of the population that remained.[17] The Catalans, Basques, Galicians, working classes, artists, and intellectuals were sectors whose language, culture, and autonomy was prohibited and marginalized in 1939 after the Civil War. The dissertation acknowledges the harsh policies but argues that local elites were able to take advantage of gaps in regime authority. Thus, elites and politicians, at least in the city of Barcelona, utilized legal channels of the institutional infrastructure to roll back restrictions placed on the Catalan community during the latter half of the regime. As these new and existing channels of association grew and expanded, so did the fervor for Catalan expressions.

As Julián Casanova has claimed, under Franco the Church had hegemonic authority over many aspects of private and public life.[18] The primary and most notable institution was the Acción Catolica, which in 1946 had a little under half a million members.[19] The Church's main purpose was to restore and protect the moral righteousness of Spain. One of the Church's missions was to reconquer the masses who they claimed had been seduced by atheistic ideologies. The Church organized a series of campaigns to increase attendance at Sunday mass, encourage baptisms, and marriages. Alarming statistics of low Church attendance prompted missions to expand deep into poor and working-class communities which happened to identify with the Republican side. A statistical example from a working-class neighborhood in 1941 Madrid documented that a priest reported that 5.5% of the residents attended mass, while ten

[17] For more on the repressive nature of the regime, see Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Gutmaro Gómez Bravo and Jorge Marco, *La obra del miedo: violencia y Sociedad en la España franquista (1936-1950)* (Barcelona: Ediciones Peninsular, 2011).
[18] Julian Casanova, "Faces of Terror: Violence during the Franco dictatorship," in *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*, Carlos Jerez Ferrán and Samuel Amago, eds. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 104.
[19] In 1946, the AC had 442,000 members.

thousand children remained unbaptized.[20] With full support from the regime, the Church went to great lengths to establish a series of Catholic organizations to both increase attendance at mass and provide a moral and spiritual foundation for Spanish citizens.

The education system was perhaps the main institution within which the Church exercised its greatest influence. The role of the Church was to develop a national educational curriculum for the public school system while maintaining its private school structure. The goal was to abolish the Republican education system that sought to secularize public education and eliminate private religious education. The new national curriculum would emphasize religion, Spanish nationalism, obedience, and strict adherence to moral codes. In theory, the Church's task was to embed these ideas in the national curriculum and create a uniform education system. The reality, however, was that the Church ultimately had an uneven influence over the general Spanish population. Although the Franco regime was able to achieve a relatively uniform national curriculum, the problem was that the menial educational budget, coupled with poor attendance, meant that only a limited portion of school-aged children attended school.[21] As the first chapter will detail, this disparity contributed to the growing gap between the middle and working class, but also provided an opening for the expansion of semi-autonomous municipal schools.

Moreover, during the second half of the regime, scholars agree that there was a growing heterogeneity within the Church. Under the Acción Catolica, branches such as the Juventud

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[20] A priest reported that 5,000 of 90,000 residents attended Church. Statistics information from Pamela Radcliff, *Spain 1808-Present* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017).

[21] Of the 3,208,745 children, only approximately one million attended school. Of that million, about 850,000 attended private schools because of the lack of public institutions. Antonio Cazorla, "Early Francoism, 1939-1957" in *Spanish History since 1808*, José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, eds. (London: Arnold Press, 2000), 267; Narciso de Gabriel, *Alfabetización y Escolarización en España* (1887-1950) *Revista de Educación* 314 (1997), 230.

Obrera Cristiana (Young Christian Workers-- JOC)[22] and the Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica (Workers Brotherhood of Action--HOAC)[23] emerged. Despite their strictly religious origins, the Catholic associations came to serve as networks of support for working-class communities by merging ideas of socialism with Catholicism. Changes in the Catholic Church, prompted by the II Vatican, drove a further wedge between the Church and the regime. While the Church hierarchy remained loyal to the regime, by the 1960s, groups of bishops and priests became activists for the marginalized working-class communities with calls for social justice inspired by Vatican II.[24] In many cases, these associations challenged the regime and the Church hierarchy. Sara Martín Gutiérrez has pointed out that the HOAC helped mobilize working-class women in the workforce by using religious institutions as a source of empowerment.[25] Similarly, Mónica Moreno Seco notes that social changes, increasing political tension, and religious crisis had a profound influence on the evolution of gender identities.[26] Notions of femininity and masculinity were constructed in part because of the increasing demand for equality between men and women. These perspectives are part of the literature that has argued that there was a level of

[22] Founded in 1924 by Belgian Priest, Joseph Cardajin, with the aim of evangelizing and improving the lives of working-class people who he believed society had neglected.
[23] Founded in 1946 by Guillermo Rovirosa with the publication of the newspaper *Tu* began to criticize several aspects of the regime.
[24] Francisco Torres Barranco, *Botas, casco y mono de obrero sobre el altar* (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2018); Francisco Torres Barranco "Los movimientos obreros especializados de Acción Católica de la Diócesis de Cádiz: JOC y HOAC. Una aproximación histórica y apostólica," *Universidad de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones* (2015); Daniel Arroyo-Rodríguez, "Iglesia y Justicia Social: Los Curas Obreros En La Diócesis de Cádiz y Ceuta (1966–1979)." *Confluencia (Greeley, Colo.)*35, 1, (2019): 160–62.
[25] Sara Martín Gutiérrez, *Obreras y Católicas. De formación a la movilización. Roles de género y compromise temporal de la Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica Femenina (HOACF) en España (1946-1970)*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (2017).
[26] Mónica Moreno Seco, *Cruce de indentidades: masculinidad, femininidad, religion, clase y juventud en la JOC de los años sesenta*, *Historia y política* 31 (2017): 147-176.

Catholic heterogeneity that existed in Francoist Spain where factions within the Catholic Church and institutions did not always support the regime's agenda.

This dissertation adds to that growing literature by demonstrating that, in Francoist Spain, being a Catholic or a Catholic association did not automatically mean that one supported the regime. The Church and leaders of Catholic organizations recognized that the Church was fully protected by the regime and thus used this privilege to create "Catholic" associations to establish their own communities. This autonomy is predominantly evident in scouting associations where several troops emerged under the umbrella of the Acción Catolica but challenged the regime in subtle ways. In this context, I expand on the scholarship that looks at the heterogeneity of Catholicism during the regime.[27]

Three themes characterized Francoist educational policies. The first was efforts to homogenize by rolling back educational advancements made during the Second Republic. Coeducation, secularism, and experimentation with modern pedagogical ideas from abroad were all eliminated and replaced with gender-segregated schools and a Catholic-centered curriculum that emphasized obedience, Spanish nationalism, and morality. With the help of the Catholic Church, the Ministry of Education oversaw the development of the national curriculum and the state-approved textbook, *Enciclopedia Alvarez*. The second theme was the effort to improve the quality of the education system. As Carolyn Boyd highlighted, in 1953 the Spanish curriculum had little impact in the classroom, due to poorly trained teachers, limited classroom resources,

[27] Florentino Sanz Fernández, *La Juventud Obrera Cristiana: Un Movimiento Educativo Popular* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2001), Mónica Moreno Sanchez, *Cruce de Identidades: Masculinidad, Femeninidad, Religión, Clase y Juventud en la JOC de los años sesenta*, *Historia y Política* 37 (2017): 147-176., Sara Martín Gutiérrez, *Obreras y Católicas. De la Formación a la Movilización. Roles de género y compromise temporal de la Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica Femenina (HOACF) en España (1946-1970).* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017).

and low expectations.[28] Students in public schools with less economic means learned from inexpensive, and mass-produced textbooks like *Enciclopedia Alvarez*.[29] Schools with more funds were able to use books emphasizing Spanish patriotism and biographical collections that were originally printed a decade prior. As a result, Minister of Education Joaquín Ruiz Giménez attempted to modernize and standardize the classroom. Despite the initiative taken by the regime to standardize and improve national education, there were some limits. The aim to "standardize" was limited to creating a manual to distribute to teachers on what and how to teach. In the long run, the methods were ineffective, and teachers received little to no training.

A more serious systematic effort to improve the quality of primary education began with the First Development Plan which spanned 1964 through 1967.[30] Substantial changes to the Spanish education system included the increase of the obligatory schooling age to fourteen, pay raises and standardized training for teachers, new curricular objectives, annual evaluations of student performances, and dividing elementary school into eight grades. The changes in the primary school system were ultimately meant to better prepare Spanish citizens for the workforce, as the Certificate of Primary Studies became a requirement for employment.[31] The practical goal of the national education system was to foster a citizenry that had the skills

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[28] Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997)
[29] Ibid.
[30] The First Development Plan (1964-1967) was set to improve the living standard of the population. Inspired by the success of France's "Plan Monet," did have positive effects on the social and economic transformations. Conversely, the plans were met with unprecedented shortcomings which included, but not limited to, social and political tensions and regional imbalances that ultimately led to a scattered urban growth and thus growing tensions among the greater Spanish population. Jesús Zaratiegui, "Indicative Planning in Spain (1964-1967)," *International Journal of Business, Humanities and Technology* 5 (April 2015): 33-43.
[31] The Certificate of Primary Studies was created in 1949 but not fully implemented until after 1964.

necessary to enter the workforce in a rapidly changing economy. This desire to better educate the Spanish population opened new opportunities for institutions to educate the community. The unforeseen consequence, however, was that in the city of Barcelona it left a space for local educational alternatives.

In this study, I look at the alternative municipal education system in Barcelona that survived from the pre-Civil War period and remained intact in some capacity throughout the regime. I not only look at municipal schools but expand the concept of educational sites to include recreational activities such as swimming programs and scouting, both of which played instrumental roles in socializing Barcelona's children in spaces that were not controlled by the regime. An in depth look at alternative sites of socialization allows us to rethink the nature of the regime and of localist agendas. While the existence of alternative education systems highlights the partial autonomy held by local institutions, they also supported some of the regime's ideologies. Thus, what we end up seeing is an educational system that was able to adapt to the regulations of the regime to survive and maintain partial autonomy.

Catalonia Before and During the Regime:

Catalonia offers a fruitful terrain for scholars interested in complicating the history of the Franco regime and the relationship between national and local power. Catalan historiography has been inextricably linked to Catalan nationalist politics and, for that reason, it is not uncommon for historians of Catalonia to connect ideas and conceptions of the nation to a shared and distinct past.[32] Scholars of nationalism have debated on whether the nation's shared past is a modern

[32] Giovanni C. Cattini, "Myths and Symbols in the Political Culture of Catalan Nationalism (1880-1914): Myths in Catalan Nationalism (1880-1914)." *Nations and Nationalism* 21, 3, (2015): 445–60; Michael A. Vargas, *Constructing Catalan Identity: Memory, Imagination, and the Medieval* (Springer International Publishing, 2018); Roser Pujadas Comas D. Argemir,

concept or can be traced to pre-modern societies. Modernists such as Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson contend that the nation is a product of post-eighteenth-century social transformations.[33] Primordialists, such as Anthony Smith, argue that ideas of the nation and ethnic identities are fixed and can be traced back to pre-modern societies.[34] This dissertation expands on the modernist approach by suggesting that membership in the Catalan nation is more than just a shared "past"—it is also about shared "experiences."[35] While the shared experiences have been important in creating a community and a collective future, the categories and tenets of Catalan history, culture, and language have roots in the premodern era. Yet, the use of modern technologies since the mid-nineteenth century have been essential in progressively imagining an identity that is inclusive.

While nation building and nationalism have been inseparable from the work of Catalan historians, few have focused extensively on the nationalization of the masses. The scholarship on Catalan history, particularly of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has focused extensively on the cultural and political projects of elite and industrial bourgeoisie.[36] From *La*

"Memoria y Retorno Del Exilio Republicano Catalán (Memory and Return of the Catalan Republican Exile)." *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 1, 1, (2004);

[33] Ernest Gellner, "What is a Nation?" translated and annotated by Martin Thom, from Homi K. Bhabha, ed. *Nation and Nsarration* (London: Routledge, 1990): 8-22; Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London : Verso, 2006).

[34] Anthony Smith, "The Origins of Nation," *Ethinc and Racial Studies* 12 (July 1989): 340-67.

[35] Joan Lluis Marfany, *La Cultura del Catalanisme* (Barcelona: Empuries, 1995); Giovanni C. Cattini, "Myths and Symbols in the Political Culture of Catalan Nationalism (1880-1914)." *Nations and Nationalism* 21, 3, (2015): 445–60.

[36] Gary McDonogh, *Good Families of Barcelona: A Social History of Power in the Industrial Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), J.K. Thomson, *A Distinctive Industrialization: Cotton in Barcelona, 1728-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Joan Fuster Sobrepere, *Barcelona i estat centralista: Indústria i política a la dècada moderna* (1843-1854) (Barcelona: Eumo Editorial, 2006). J.T. i Bages and J.T. y Bages, *La tradició catalana*, vol. 390 (Editorial Selecta, 1966); Manuel de Montoliu, *La Renaixenca i els Jocs Florals* (Barcelona: Editorial Alpha, 1962); Jordi Galí, *La renaixença catalana. Persones i*

Reinaxença and the *Jocs Florals*, the literary revival movements of the mid-nineteenth century, to the development of political movements in the early twentieth century, these projects have focused predominantly on Catalonia's upper classes. Meanwhile the literature that has examined the Catalan working class has centered on class-conflict, non-Catalanist political organization, and protests.[37] More specifically, the scholarship has focused on anarchist protests and factions, as well as competing tensions with socialists in the press and organizations.[38] I expand on the existing scholarship by looking at both the vertical and horizontal elements that helped expand Catalan culture in the twentieth century. In doing so, this study tells a story of how elites imagined the parameters of a Catalan culture that served and integrated the greater community, including the working class.

A focus on social reform can help outline the distinct contours of the Catalan society, based on the shared experiences established with the Mancomunitat de Catalunya. Established in 1914, the Mancomunitat had limited political authority, yet was significantly impactful in the

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institucions (Barcelona: Barcelonesa d'Edicions, 1997). Joan-Lluís Marfany, *Nacionalisme espanyol i catalanitat (1789-1859) : cap a una revisió de la Renaixença* (Segona edició. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2017).

[37] Natalia Mora-Sitja, "Exploring Changes in Earnings Inequality during Industrialization: Barcelona, 1856-1905) *IDEAS Working Paper Series* from *RePEc* (2006);Angel Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution, and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State*, 1898-1923 (New York: Berghahn, 2007).

[38] Julian Casanova, "Barcelona, May, 1937." International Journal of Iberian Studies 20, no. 2 (2007): 155-158; Julian Casanova and Paul Preston, Anarchism, the republic, and civil war in Spain, 1931-1939 (London: Routledge, 2005); Chris Ealham, "Anarchism and Illegality in Barcelona, 1931-7." *Contemporary European History* (1995): 133-151; Chris Ealham Class, culture, and conflict in Barcelona, 1898-1937 (London: Routledge, 2005); Josep Maria Antentas, "Catalonia: The National Question and the Labor's Strategic Dilemmas" *Labor History* Vol 61 (2020): 621-639; Jose Peirats and Chris Ealham. *The CNT in the Spanish revolution* (Meltzer Press, 2001); Angel Smith. "Anarchism, the general strike and the Barcelona labour movement, 1899-1914." European History Quarterly 27 (1997): 5-40.

cultural history of Catalonia and Barcelona.[39] Catalan elites believed that the central Spanish government was not acknowledging and supporting the different cultures and languages that existed in the country, Thus, one of the main objectives of the Mancomunitat was to promote cultural projects that bolstered the culture, language, and customs of the Catalan people. But the Commonwealth was not concerned with culture alone. Rather, the Mancomunitat undertook the task of attempting to alleviate the shortcomings of the central government in public services and infrastructure.

The two official presidents of the Mancomunitat, Enric Prat de la Riba and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, led programs to improve the infrastructure of roads, ports, railways, charities, education, and healthcare. Politicians and intellectuals believed the central government of Madrid had blocked Spanish progress and thus lagged in comparison to its European counterparts.[40] The social projects, therefore, centered around welfare provisions for the greater population with particular attention to projects that protected children, established private retirement funds, and assisted the unemployed. Additionally, the Mancomunitat undertook the task of controlling the spread of diseases that had been eradicated in other countries but still threatened the Spanish population, such as tuberculosis and malaria. The campaigns revolved around not only treating the illnesses but educating the public on how to treat and prevent communicable diseases. These newfound campaigns changed the social and urban landscape of

[39] Albert Balcells, Enric Pujol, and Jordi Sabater, *La Mancomunitat de Catalunya I l'autonomia* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Catalans, 1996), Albert Balcells, *El projecte d'autonomia de Catalunya del 1919 i el seu historic* (Barcelona: Parlament de Catalunya, 2010), Jaume Barrull Pelegrí, ed, *L'obra de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya a les terres de Lleida, 1914-1923* (Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2014).

[40]For politicians' critique of the state see Enric Prat de la Riba's April 6, 1914 speech after being elected president of the Mancomunitat "Missatge d'Enric Prat de la Riba de 6 d'abril de 1914," *La Mancomunitat de Catalunya i l'autonomia*, 534-537.

Catalonia and allowed members of the Mancomunitat to devise a vision of modernity centered around a government's concern with social reform.

The advances made by the Mancomunitat were dissolved in 1924 under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship.[41] The first dictatorship, which spanned from 1923 to 1930, forbade the teaching of Catalan language and other forms of cultural expression which included, but was not limited to, singing the Catalan national anthem or flying the *Senyera* (Catalan flag). During this time, the main targets were schools and other cultural institutions that promoted Catalan language. The aim of the dictatorship was to *españolizar* (Hispanicize) the population, and thus the dictatorship imposed the teaching of Castilian in public schools with the hopes of eliminating Catalan.[42]

During the Second Republic, Catalan politicians and elites were able to bring back many of the reform projects from before the dictatorship, thus consolidating the Catalan tradition of governmental social reform.[43] This was possible because the governments from 1931 to 1933

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[41] Lluis Costa i Fernandez, *La dictadura de Primo de Rivera, 1923-1930: Comunicació i propaganda a les comarques gironines* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2005); Fernando del Rey Reguillo, "El capitalism catalán y Primo de Rivera: en torno a un golpe de estado," *Hispania* 48, 168 (1988): 289-307; Josep María Roig Rosich, *La Dictadura de Primo de Rivera a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1992); Angel Smith "The Catalan Counter-revolutionary Coalition and the Primo de Rivera Coup, 1917-23," *European History Quarterly*, 37, 1 (2007): 9-24; Enric Ucelay, "La Diputació durant la Dictadura: 1923-1930," in *Història de la Diputació de Barcelona*, vol 2, Borja de Riquer, ed. (Barcelona: Diputació, 1987), 178-259; Enric Ucelay, "La Repressió de la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera," in *El poder de l'Estat: evolució, força o raó* (Reus: Centre de Lectura de Reus, 1993), 153-210.

[42] Alejandro Quiroga, *Making Spaniards: Primo de Rivera and the Nationalization of the Masses, 1923-1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 135.

[43] Angeles de Palma del Teso, "Las competencias de la Generalitat de Cataluña en materia de protección pública de menores." *Revista d'estudis autonòmics i federals*, no. 5 (2007): 413–45; David Martínez Fiol, *La Sindicació Dels Funcionaris de La Generalitat de Catalunya (1931-1939)* (Bellaterra : Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2006); Avelina Miquel Lara, Bernat Sureda Garcia, and Francisca Comas Rubí, "Social and Educational Modernisation in Spain: The Work of Segell Pro Infància in Catalonia (1933-1938)." *Paedagogica Historica* 54, 4, (2018):

carried out a series of reforms that included the expansion of the public education system, separation of Church and State, labor reforms, agrarian law reforms, and most notably, a statute of regional autonomy for Catalonia. The new autonomous government, the Generalitat de Catalunya, expanded the municipal education system and established a series of civic cross-class organizations and activities. As the regional reforms were starting to gain popularity, and civic associations began to gain the support of people from across the social spectrum, the Civil War broke out. The projects launched and expanded during the first half of the decade were eliminated after the Nationalist victory.

In the early years of the Franco regime, the prospects of bringing back reforms seemed impossible. Scholars such as Josep Benet, Joan Villarroya, Josep Massot i Muntaner, Josep María Solé Sabaté, and Santi Cortés have considered the harsh repressions against Catalan culture, intended to make it disappear from public life, as an attempt at cultural genocide.[44] They have all emphasized that politicians and elites who had spearheaded projects in the previous political regime had either gone into exile, been imprisoned, or died. As during the first dictatorship, repressive laws were placed on non-Castilian languages while simultaneously launching campaigns to nationalize the masses around a homogenous Spanish nationalism in the 1940s. In contrast, Enric Pujol Casademont has more recently suggested that by the 1950s, there was a revival within Catalan intellectual circles in which culture became the forefront as a tool to

410–32; Agustí Colomines i Companys, "Representing Catalan National Identity. Catalonia During the Spanish Second Republic and the Civil War." *The Anglo-Catalan Society* (2008).

[44] Josep Benet, *Cataluña bajo el régimen franquista*. 1. ed. (Barcelona: Blume, 1979); Josep M. Solé Sabaté, *La repressió franquista a Catalunya (1938-1953)*. 2a. ed. (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2003); Josep Maria Solé i Sabaté and Joan. Villarroya i Font, *La repressió a la guerra i a la postguerra a la comarca del Maresme (1936-1945)*. 1a ed. (Montserrat: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1983); Santi Cortés, *València sota el règim franquista, 1939-1951: instrumentalització, repressió i resistència cultural*. 1. ed. (València : Institut de Filologia Valenciana, 1995).

contest the regime.[45] He argues that the revival of Catalan language and literature within Spain in the 1950s paved the way for cultural and political blossoming in the 1960s. While Casademont considers the 1950s as a period of cultural revival, his analysis focuses on the mass print and circulation of Catalan literature and the explicit display of Catalan culture.[46]

In terms of anti-Francoist resistance, Casademont, like other scholars such as Albert Balcells, Juan Diez Medrano and Gloria Román Ruiz, focuses on the sixties and seventies, a time when the regime was developing economically and increasingly opening its doors to international influences, as the period in which such resistance became possible.[47] Events such as the Fets del Palau de la Música (Events of the Palau de Música), the rise of Nova Canço (New Song) movement, and the establishment of Òmnium Cultural have been identified and studied as sites of cultural and nationalist resistance during the latter half of the dictatorship[48] I

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[45] Enric Pujol Casademont, "Culture, Language, and Politics. The Catalan culture resistance during the Franco regime (1939-1977)," *Catalan Historical Review* 13 (2020): 69-84.
[46] Ibid, 73-75.
[47] Casademont, 76; Albert Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present* (London: Palgarve Macmillan, 1995);Juan Diez Medrano, *Divided Nations: Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Gloria Román Ruiz, "Mocking the Dictatorship: Symbolic Resistance in Everyday Life During Francoism in the 1960s." *European History Quarterly* 52, 2 (2022): 179–99.
[48] The Fets del Palau de Música was an event that took place in the Palau de la Música Catalana on May 19, 1960. The events at the Palau celebrated the 100th anniversary of Catalan poet Joan Maragall. The significance of the event was not so much the celebration of Maragall, but of the explicit Catalanist activism. With a theater full of ministers from the national government, several attendees began to sing the Catalan national anthem and distributed anti-Francoist propaganda. Among the people arrested was Jordi Pujol, future president of the Generalitat of Catalunya. The Nova Canço musical movement in the 1960s that promoted Catalan-language music inspired by American and British music. Some of the notable artists of the time include Joan Manuel Serrat, Llúis Llach, Salomé, and Raimon. Òmnium Cultural was a Barcelona based association that promoted the Catalan language and culture during the Franco regime. Although the regime closed the association in 1961, Òmnium continued to operate in a clandestine manner until it was authorized re-open in 1967. For more on these events see: Jaume Sobrequés, *History of Catalonia* (2008); Josep Clara i Resplandis, "Repercussió ripollesa dels Fets del Palau de Música (1960). Les pintades de Setcases." *Institut Ramon Muner* (2013); Pepa Novell, "Cantautors Catalanas: De la Nova Canço a la Nova Canço d'ara. El Paso y el Peso del

problematize the anti-Francoist narrative by suggesting that cultural expression, particularly alternative educational methods and local sporting culture, predated the sixties and seventies and that small-scale, localized activities in the 1940s and 1950s paved the way for the larger movements. Thus, I expand on the scholarship that considers the 1950s as a turning point for Catalan culture. However, I consider that these movements predated the 1950s and did not have to be anti-Francoist to provide alternative spaces and contribute to greater social pluralism. Thus, there were spaces within society where people could speak and learn Catalan and participate in activities associated with Catalan culture without it necessarily being a result of anti-Francoist resistance.

The Special Case of Barcelona:

Within Catalonia, Barcelona offers scholars a peculiar and interesting case study of alternative social structures during the Franco regime. As the capital of Catalonia, Barcelona became the epicenter of political, social, cultural, and industrial innovations and, in many ways, also became the testing grounds for many social reform projects, given that it was the capital of the Mancomunitat and Generalitat. As such, the city had developed long-standing social and cultural institutions that were better able to withstand different political regimes. From a variety of educational institutions (including schools and libraries) to cultural institutions and medical centers, Barcelona stood at the center of cultural abundance, social innovation, and urban transformation.

Pasado," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10 (2009): 135–47; Carlos Aragüez Rubio,"The Catalan nova cançó: origin, evolution and significance of a cultural phenomenon of the second part of the Franco regime | La nova cançó catalana: génesis, desarrollo y trascendencia de un fenómeno cultural en el segundo franquismo." *Pasado y memoria*, 5 (2006): 81–97; Isidor Marí i Mayans, "Òmnium Cultural: 50 Anys Al Servei de La Llengua, La Cultura i El País." *Estudis Romànics* (2013); Francesc Masriera i Ballescà, "El monument d'homenatge a Pompeu Fabra de 1968, porta d'entrada d'Òmnium Cultural a Mataró" *Institut Ramon Muntaner* 122 (2018).

During the dictatorship, many of the cultural institutions that had come to define Barcelona in the early twentieth century remained. The degree of continuity that existed was a result of several components: Barcelona's *comissió de cultura* (cultural commission), special municipal laws, and a particular elite class that had extensive knowledge of pre-Civil War traditions and held local political offices. This placed Barcelona in a unique position that allowed its leaders to carry out projects that may have seemed unattainable in other cities or regions. If we look at the history and experiences of Catalonia from the bottom up, we see that there were semi-autonomous spaces that challenged the regime. A look at the social and cultural institutions in Barcelona suggest that elites and politicians utilized legal spaces and partial autonomy from the state to draft their vision of a modern society. An analysis of the everyday, on-the-ground experiences allows us to see how these pockets in social and cultural venues remained (at least partially) untouched by the regime's influence.

What do we learn from a local study about the limits of regime authority? Local elites utilized paradigms for social reform rooted in Barcelona's past. The presence of previously established local institutions allowed Barcelona's elites and politicians to attempt to establish alternative paradigms with the hopes of bringing progress and prosperity to the community. The specific historical, cultural, and institutional conditions in Barcelona provided its elites with the necessary infrastructure. The institutional spaces afforded elites and politicians with the opportunity to develop and propagate ideas to the broader community. Although distinct in its circumstances, Barcelona's conception of a modern society served as an alternative model for other cities. As examples will demonstrate, Barcelona's elites had a degree of ideological flexibility which allowed elites in other areas to attempt to emulate Barcelona's ideas within their local and regional cultures. Beyond serving as an alternative model, the localist perspective

suggests that the regime's authority had a limited reach. The regime was unable to abolish all the ideological and institutional infrastructure of the past or impose a centralized homogeneous program at all levels.

An in-depth look into Barcelona also addresses the tension between local and national identities. This dissertation will grapple with the elite's process of creating social reform programs that serve the greater good of the local community as well as how they also took advantage of several opportunities that would allow them to reassert their authority at the local level. At a time when the regime attempted to unify and homogenize the nation under a unitary anti-multicultural Spanish nationalism, Barcelona was able to develop a local identity within the parameters of the regime's restrictions. The reform and urbanization projects, as we will see, often reinforced a local social hierarchy that benefitted Barcelona's middle and upper classes. This is not to say that working and poorer classes did not have access to the same spaces as the upper classes. Rather, their access came with some limitations which inevitably allowed middle-class culture to dominate.

Central to understanding how alternative educational and socialization methods flourished during the regime, it is important to look more closely at the important role children and conceptions of child rearing have played in modern history. Childhood, as many scholars have argued, is linked to modern, liberal-capitalist society.[49] The pure, innocent child, as we

[49] For the most part, the scholarship has agreed that childhood is a modern concept. There are, however, scholars that have suggested that the idea of the child existed in the premodern era. For more on childhood in the premodern era see: Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) and Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990). Wolfgang Edelstein, "Cultural Constraints on Development and Vicissitudes of Progress," in *The Child and Other Cultural Inventions*, Frank Kessel and Alexander Siegel, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1983): 48-88. Stefan Tanaka, "Childhood: Naturalization of Development into a Japanese Space," in *Cultures of Scholarship*, Sarah Humphreys, ed. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997).

know it today, did not become a separate social category until the nineteenth century. Viviana Zelizer suggests that the child is a priceless asset of a culture of modernity.[50] In Stefan Tanaka's view, childhood has become a symbol of a new regressive society, of temporariness, and of immanence.[51] Childhood emerged as part of a process central to nineteenth century intellectual efforts to bring order to emerging nation-states. This dissertation supports the modernist perspective and demonstrates how the child has been central to the programs that sought to make sense of the authoritarian regime and bring order to the city of Barcelona.

The history of childhood in Spain remains relatively new. Early work by Richard Lindeman was successful in highlighting the life of children during the Spanish Civil War.[52] Additionally, earlier scholarship has looked at refugee children that migrated to other parts of the world after the Civil War.[53] These studies have provided an interesting perspective as to how the international community responded to the Civil War. More recently, scholars such as Anna Kendrick have brought more attention to childhood experiences within Spain. Her study of childhood in the early-twentieth century positions Spain in a transnational network of ideas by suggesting that Spanish intellectuals embraced new ideas about childhood and education grounded in modern medical research. At the same time, Kendrick details the tensions between established Catholic ideologies and emerging secular education. I expand on Kendrick's argument by showing that even under an authoritarian political regime, Spain, but more

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[50] Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
[51] Tanaka, "Childhood: Naturalization of Development into a Japanese Space," 22.
[52] Richard Lindeman, "They Still Draw Pictures: Drawing Made by Spanish Children during the Spanish Civil War, circa 1938," Mandeville Special Collections Library (University of California San Diego, 1998).
[53] Hywel Davis, *Fleeing Franco: How Wales gave shelter to refugee children from the Basque Country during the Spanish Civil War*; Karl Qualls, *Stalin's Niños: Educating Spanish Civil War Refugee Children in the Soviet Union, 1937-1951*

specifically the city of Barcelona, continued to embrace modern pedagogical trends and grapple with the national, Catholic-based agenda.

Theoretical Frameworks:

At the center of the dissertation is the discussion of how local elites attempted to govern people's beliefs and behaviors and how Barcelona's community gravitated toward the alternatives provided by local institutions over the regime's ideology and structures. Given that this project looks at multiple and overlapping themes, distinct frameworks are necessary to explain the dynamic between the internal hierarchy and autonomy from the state.

The concept of governmentality is central to understanding the wider range of control mechanisms used to gain mass support. As defined by French philosopher Michel Foucault, governmentality refers to the "art of government" where the government is not exclusive to the state but rather to the wider range of institutions used to control large populations. Thus, we can say that governmentality involves the willing participation of governed bodies.[54] Although the concept was first developed by Foucault, scholars have evolved the concept to explain the contours of modern societies more broadly.

Foucault has inspired numerous scholars who have carried out governmental analyses of childhood such as Jacques Donzelot, Philippe Ariès, and Nikolas Rose, to name a few. Donzelot looks at the invention of a wide range of biopolitical technologies—the nuclear family, social work, and social policy—used to represent the family's role in maintaining social order in modern societies. For Donzelot, the child is at the center of society and the body used by the

[54] Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1973–1974* (London: Picador, 2008), *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974–1975* (London: Picador, 2004), *On the Government of the Living: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1979–1980* (London: Picador, 2014).

state to enter the private sphere. With the help of social workers and medical experts, the state was able to "govern from a distance" by entering and controlling the family without direct intervention.[55] The child was, to an extent, controlled by hygienic, medical, and philanthropic authorities that allowed the child to act autonomously so long as they were acting within the norms of bourgeois society. Recent scholarship by Majia Holmer Nadesan has expanded the scholarship on governmentality to include risk management. By focusing on biopolitical technologies that have shaped everyday understandings of childhood and childrearing practices, Holmer Nadesan suggests that biopolitical knowledge is not only shaped by philanthropic and medical experts, but also by economic authorities and every day average people.[56]

Beyond Foucauldian approaches, the concept of play and its relationship to children and child development has been a central topic in the literature on childhood more broadly. Johann Huizinga was one of the first scholars that unpacked the nature of play in modern society. Huizinga characterizes play as a form of thought. However, it is distinct because it is not shaped by the structures of social life. Play, therefore, embraces a level of spontaneity that is not reflected in everyday life. Noel Dyck has expanded on this concept by suggesting that play indeed is something that is not serious and thus does not mimic everyday life. In fact, it challenges the structures of social life in that real, spontaneous play does not have rules or structure. Thus, in this sense, play can be understood as an act that encourages children to be spontaneous and think freely.

Another approach, led by Thorstein Veblen, suggests that in our modern world, play, and even sports more broadly, can serve to shape and control a group of people. Veblen argues that

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[55] Jacques Donzelot, *Policing of Families*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).
[56] Majia Holmer Nadesan, *Governing Childhood into the 21st Century: Biopolitical Technologies of Childhood Management and Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2-3.

sport represents and reflects the predatory nature of society, particularly working-class sports. For this reason, umpires are required to enforce rules, regulations, and general codes of conduct. In Veblen's view, play is a structured activity that has the means to control its participants. Sally Anderson's study on Copenhagen's inner-city recreational center for badminton holds that sport is a site that promotes state-mandated ideas of sociability.[57] In this sense, play and sport are used as a means of control—as spaces in which national ideologies can be learned.

What I will argue is that play was used as a form of education to socialize Barcelona's children to both encourage spontaneity and teach general codes of conduct. Play was used in two manners by Barcelona's elites. On the one hand, play was employed in both schools and in scouting as a way for children to learn and to be creative in a manner that was unique and engaging. On the other hand, adults (teachers and troop leaders) were able to use play to assess the development of the child. This challenged the regime's sense of unstructured time which was relegated to militaristic, controlled, and regime approved exercises for both boys and girls.

I situate my work within Foucault's idea of governmentality and expand on the existing scholarship that has looked at the relationships between a series of technologies that emerged in liberal nation-states and flourished in democratic political regimes. I explore those same technologies—education, philanthropy, medicine, and economic elites—in an authoritarian regime. Educational programs, whether in the municipal schools, swimming programs, or scouting, were sites of intervention in which local politicians, with the help of philanthropic and medical experts, worked to manage the people of Barcelona. What I suggest is that the same objective was carried out in authoritarian regimes using the same institutions. The difference,

[57] Sally Anderson, "Bodying Forth a Room for Everybody: Inclusive Recreational Badminton in Copenhagen," in *Sport, Dance and Embodies Identities*, Noel Dyck and Eduardo Archetti, eds. (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 23-53.

however, is that local institutions were used to gain power in opposition to the state. Within the city of Barcelona there were competing governmentalities, and sometimes local institutions trumped national ones.

Nobert Elias' idea of the "civilizing process" is used to understand the methods employed by elites to reassert their authority. Elias suggests that the changes of habits, mainly the control of impulses and emotion, and the feeling of personal shame and embarrassment of displaying animal-like behavior is directly linked to the relationship between social structure and the centralization of authority. At the heart of his argument is the idea that the development of society is not linear. Rather, it is in a constant flux: as the state and its mechanisms change, so does human behavior.[58]

I use Elias' idea of the civilizing process to underscore how Barcelona's elites regained their authority over the population. Part of that process involved bringing back pre-Civil War values that focused on the physical, intellectual, and emotional well-being of the citizens. However, the type of authority that they were trying to establish was a "softer" authority in which they were trying to ingrate the people of Barcelona consensually, especially in a post-extreme repression environment. Social reform became key to establishing that authority and developing a Catalan concept of modernity rooted in Catalonia's history. Those attitudes included, but were not limited to, bourgeois ideas of mannerisms, culture, and hygiene. What is

[58] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1994). He introduces "figurational sociology" to understand the relationship between civilization and state formation. While the figurational concept was not a new, Elias used the model for understanding the relationship between power, behavior, and emotions and how that relationship contributes to the micro-macro divide. Sociologists define figuration as a network of active independent human beings forming a dynamic whole. For Elias, the fact that actors constitute a unit of society, it does not mean that figurational concept implies that there is a direct, linear goal. Rather, figurations are continually in flux.

particular about the larger case of Barcelona is that the mechanisms of change were put forth by the local government and thus challenged national ideas. Barcelona's citizens were socialized to become members of a local community, rather than national community.

In terms of theorizing the development of autonomous spaces and institutions vis a vis the national community, the dissertation uses the concept of civil society to identify the traditional spaces and forms of hierarchies that resisted the dictatorship.[59] While the definition and parameters of civil society vary according to the realms (inclusion versus exclusion of the market), the level of autonomy (Marxist notion of hegemony versus liberal claim of independence), and the parameters of group participation, civil society can be defined a contested space between the state and the private sphere in which individuals collectively pursue public interests.[60] In this dissertation I argue that civil society is the set of social relationships and structures that are able to maintain a degree of autonomy, despite influences and pressures from the state. It is precisely this autonomy that allows civil society to foster principles and ideas different from the state.

Scholars of Spanish history have gravitated towards civil society theories to explain Spain's democratic transition in the late 1970s. Transition theorists contend that the existence of a plural and vibrant civil society can undermine the stability of dictatorial regimes, as they can tend to promote alternative political cultures to those imagined and carried out by regimes.[61] This

[59] Derrick Purdue, ed. *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and Problems* (London: Routledge, 2007); Briony Jones and Dit Fatogoma Adou Djané, "Reading the 'uncivil' in Civil Society Resistance to Transitional Justice in Côte d'Ivoire." *Political Geography* 67 (2018): 135–44; Lise Rakner, "Don't Touch My Constitution! Civil Society Resistance to Democratic Backsliding in Africa´s Pluralist Regimes." *Global Policy* 12 (2021): 95–105.
[60] Radcliff, *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain*, 2.
[61] Classical text on civil society in Spain is Víctor Pérez Díaz, *The Return of Civil Society: the Emergence of Democratic Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). For more general perspectives see: Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore:

perspective also implies that the understanding of democratic transition requires a longer chronological view that looks at the gradual and increasing expression of collective voices in opposition to, or at the very least, independent of regime discourse. The existence of independent thought poses a threat to the legitimacy of established regimes as it allows to for the development of autonomy and pluralism. In the case of Spain, this longer-term perspective on the origins of a more plural civil society overlaps with the debates about the nature of the Franco regime. As noted, I argue that the regime evolved over the thirty-six years in response to the developments of modern society. The evolving nature of the regime provided space for diverse and pluralist associations and contributing to the revival of civil society in the final years of the dictatorship.

To frame these actions, I draw on the theories of civil society that emphasize the participation of Spaniards who mobilized within their respective professions—including, but not limited to teachers, lawyers, and lawyers—as well neighborhood and family associations that encouraged civic engagement.[62] Pedagogues, local politicians, swimming club board members, scouting organizers, and troop leaders all fit into the paradigm. Within these dynamic spaces, influential people in Barcelona's society had the agency to change the everyday lives and practices of Barcelona's citizens. Not only can previously marginalized and repressed groups be seen as agents in setting the parameters of a modern society, but furthermore, their actions directly helped provide an alternative model to Francoist policies.

Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).; Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Nanetti. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[62] Carmen Castro Torres, *La prensa en la transición Española, 1966-1978* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2010); Tamar Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

What I suggest is that the revival of civil society, particularly in the case of scouting, reveals a more complicated story in which civil society served as an autonomous space to develop alternative ideas. Barcelona's elites used spaces, such as the Catholic Church, that traditionally supported the regime to develop ideas independent of the regime. In this example, the Church became a contested terrain between regime conservatives that attempted to use religion as the moral foundation of Spanish society, and members of the Church that as early as the 1950s took advantage of their autonomy to use the Church as a network of support.

Note on Terminology

Throughout this dissertation, I have used the word "elite" as a term that encompasses individuals in the city of Barcelona who were politicians, pedagogues, or individuals in leadership positions within swimming clubs and scouting organizations. Within the history of Catalonia, the "elite" class have traditionally been identified as the upper-class families who have had significant economic and social influence within the city of Barcelona. Gary McDonogh defined this group as the "Good Families of Barcelona," a relatively small cluster of families that were not only economically wealthy, but also possessed other forms of social and cultural capital.[63] I categorize the individuals within this dissertation as "elites" because they were part of a new emerging middle-class population that held a degree of power whether in the form of economics, politics, or social or cultural capital. Using the term elites allows me to think about some of the individuals who had ideas and projects as part of a growing "elite" group. Although I term their objectives as "elite projects," in many cases these were projects spearheaded by individuals who often times had personal objectives. Rather than simply

[63] Gary McDonogh, *Good Families of Barcelona: A Social History of Power in the Industrial Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

referring to some of the individuals by their profession, I chose to also identify them as "elites" to acknowledge their status and position, at least in the city of Barcelona. Thus, by identifying them as "elites" I hope to acknowledge their influence in attempting to establish municipal-wide educational or recreational projects.

Similarly, the term "local" is used to describe institutions positioned within Barcelona city limits or the ideas adopted by those regional institutions. While the educational and scouting ideas originated in other parts of Europe, they were adopted by institutions in Barcelona in order to socialize children. Scouting, more specifically, was an activity that had been adopted as part of Catalan culture more broadly. Yet, much of the activity detailed took place amongst troops located within the city of Barcelona. Thus, "local" in this context is used when referring to the people and institutions that adopted internationally inspired pedagogies within Barcelona exclusively, with the aim of improving the city of Barcelona.

Finally, because this dissertation situates the history of Barcelona within the larger historiography of the history of Spain during the Franco regime, the term "national" requires explanation in this context. Within the scholarship of Catalan history, "national" refers only to the region of Catalonia. However, in this dissertation "national" refers to the people and policies related to the Spanish state. I have chosen not to use "state politicians" for strictly formal reasons. That is, because the Franco regime abolished the institution of the Generalitat of Catalonia, there were no national politicians or political figures within the region.[64] Thus, rather than referring to Madrid level officials as state politicians, I refer to them as national politicians.

[64] The Generalitat was able to maintain existence abroad under the leadership of Josep Irla (1940-1954) and Josep Tarradellas (1954-1980).

When differentiating between Spanish and Catalan ideas or politicians, appropriate distinctions have been made.

Chapter Summary:

In order to analyze how Barcelona's elites used pre-existing local institutional frameworks as sources of alternatives, the dissertation is organized along thematic lines with a relatively parallel chronological thread running throughout. A thematic structure allows for better insight into how individual institutions rooted in Catalonia's history were able to flourish. At the heart of each chapter is the task of measuring how elites used education and sports, which are linked to Catalonia's history, as both a source of empowerment and as an alternative site of socialization to regime structures.

Chapter one analyzes the institutional frameworks that allowed for the creation of a municipal education system in 1950s Barcelona that was controlled by local elites and Catalan pedagogues. It focuses on the municipal institution—the Instituto Municipal de Educació—and the way it aimed to bring back the alternative pedagogical system from the pre-Civil War era. It explains that there were limits to the Spanish legal system that allowed local elites to carve out a space for experiences outside of the parameters of the regime. The municipal educational structure was distinct from that of the national one in that Barcelona's pedagogues were privy to the lived reality of Barcelona's residents and adapted to the needs of the local community. At a time in which the Catholic Church had sweeping powers over education, the municipal schools of Barcelona provided children an alternative site of socialization outside of the Church and the *Movimiento*.

Chapter two examines how municipal schools implemented alternative pedagogical methods. I present examples of the day-to-day operations of two the most popular municipal

schools of the time: the Escola del Bosc and the Escola del Mar. Although faced with some challenges, the municipal schools were able to reincorporate alternative pedagogical methods that had characterized the local education system: critical thinking, leadership, community-building, and Catalanism. The ability to maintain continuity under an authoritarian regime illustrates that spaces existed in which ordinary citizens had choice (in this case the choice of education for their children) and had semi-autonomous intuitional spaces.

Chapter three focuses on the construction of swimming pools in the city of Barcelona, providing an example of how urban sporting infrastructure allowed the urban elite to reorient the social matrix. The pool construction project that began in the 1950s was a unique process that allowed city officials, who also served the board members of swimming clubs, to insert themselves in poor and working-class neighborhoods and carry out local "civilizing" projects. The social reform programs had a dual purpose: to clean up the city of Barcelona and develop educational programs aimed at children with the hopes of preventing the spread of diseases while maintaining a degree of authority by altering the urban landscape and promoting modern bourgeois values. Chapter three also highlights the vanguard role of Barcelona as a modern city that served as a model for other programs in Spain, notably in the city of Sevilla. By the 1960s, swimming became so popular that it prompted Franco to use the construction of Barcelona's municipal pools as an arena within which to project a softer image of the regime.

Chapter four expands on the use of sport and leisure as alternative sites of association by focusing on the transformation of Catalan scouting under an authoritarian political regime. Scouting in the city of Barcelona transformed into a civil organization that was partially protected because of its "non-political" status. In the aftermath of the civil war, scouting evolved in ways that allowed individual troops to maintain continuity with traditional scouting methods.

Scouting doubled as a subversive educational site that would challenge the Francoist education system. Critical inquiry into the scouting movement at the time suggests that it contributed to debates about what it meant to be a modern citizen in Franco's Spain through disputes over child development and modernity.

This dissertation contributes to a more complex understanding of Franco's regime by showing that alternative sites of socialization existed outside of the parameters of state and Church- controlled organizations. Competing, and at times overlapping, notions of education and social reform complicate homogenous and top-down understandings of the structure and power of the dictatorship. Additionally, it also considers how engagement in activities deeply rooted in Catalan culture reinforced Catalan identity during the regime, despite efforts by the dictatorship to repress alternative nationalisms. In this sense, participation within those activities were used to maintain Catalan identity without defending Catalan language and culture. By looking at a local study during the regime we get a greater understanding of the limits of a centralized dictatorship to implement its policies on the ground. The result is the development of a local autonomy and local hierarchy that develops within the parameters of an authoritarian dictatorship.

Chapter I: Municipal Schooling: The Instituto Municipal de Educación

Introduction:

On March 23, 1953, in accordance with the municipality of Barcelona, municipal bureaucrat and pedagogue, Artur Martorell i Bisbal established the Instituto Municipal de Educación (IME)[65], an all-in-one pedagogical center, located off of Plaça d'Espanya in the Sants-Montjuïc district, which aimed to bring together under one roof all of the organizations and services necessary to improve the city's education system.[66] These would include necessary support services for teachers, in addition to auxiliary services that would create a safe and healthy learning environment for students and teachers alike. For the first time, additional support was offered to educators, parents, and students from the registrar's office, department of hygiene, and the library as well as pedagogical training and psychological services. The various programs and services offered by the IME established the parameters for the education of a new generation of children aligned with locally generated priorities and values.

This chapter explores the institutional frameworks that allowed for the creation of the IME as part of a municipal education system in 1950s Barcelona controlled by local elites and pedagogues. While Francoist officials at the state level believed that public schooling would be the ideal site to establish and uphold the primacy of a unified national Spanish culture, local officials of the IME aimed to create an education system adapted to the development of the wants and needs of Barcelona's residents. Without directly challenging state authority, the local

[65] The *Instituto Municipal de Educacion* (IME) would become what today is recognized as *Institutio Municipal d'Educació de Barcelona* (IMEB) in 1993.
[66] Artur Martorell i Bisbal, "Instituto Municipal de Educacion." 1953. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67179, Carpeta 4. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.

elites' educational project would unintentionally disrupt and destabilize the imposition of a uniform blueprint for childhood development and socialization.

Close analysis of the IME and Barcelona's municipal schools highlight the loopholes in the Spanish legal system, which allowed for the existence of alternative experiences outside the parameters imposed by the authoritarian regime. In doing so, this chapter carves out a new space in the debate over education under the dictatorship and illustrates how local authorities were able to create an educational system with goals distinct from those of the authoritarian regime. At the same time, local elites used this space as a source of empowerment to assert their hegemony in the post-civil war social order in Barcelona. My argument underscores not only Barcelona's development of a system of local education, but also explains how administrators exploited the gaps in state oversight of education that allowed for more local autonomy than would be expected in an authoritarian state.

The scholarship on Spanish education during the Franco regime can be divided into two camps. On the one hand, there are scholars such as Carolyn Boyd who have argued that despite the changes Spanish education underwent since the 19th century, the Franco regime was the first time that Spain had a uniform education system. Her thesis relies on the fact that the Catholic Church had a monopoly of control over the education system during the Franco regime as it worked with the Ministry of Education to shape the education curriculum of public schools and maintain full control over the private school network.[67] In fact, most of the scholarship that emphasizes the role of the Church in the education system tends to place great importance on religion in creating that homogeneity. Alfonso Álvarez Bolado suggests that the Church used the

[67] Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 3.

ideas of National Catholicism to justify and reinforce their privileged position within society.[68] Boyd and Alvarez suggest that, in comparison to previous political regimes, the Franco regime was able to reach this uniformity because of its totalitarian ambitions during its early years.

On the other hand, there is the scholarship that challenges that narrative of uniformity and unpacks the divisions and inequalities in the Francoist education system. Francisco Morente Valero suggests that to understand the tenets of the Spanish education system, you must recognize the broader historical context such as its rupture from republican education, its ideological foundations, its restrictive legislation, the material realities, the teachers' pedagogical training, and the needs of students.[69] One of the key things Morente highlights is that, despite the fact that the Church reinforced Francoist ideology, there was conflict between the Church and the Falange over who would control the education system.[70] In terms of inequality, Antonio Cazorla has pointed to the growing gap in society that was reflected in the under-investment in the education system. Cazorla argues that the key to understanding the under-investment lies in the regime's efforts to maintain social and political hierarchies.[71] It was estimated that in 1954 only 0.9% of the state budget was allocated to education. This was significantly lower than in other parts of Europe, namely Germany and Italy, which allocated 2.5% and 2.68%, respectively, to their education systems.[72] To add to the dilemma, estimations find that, in the 1950s, only two-thirds of children were enrolled in formal schooling and, within that group, only one-third

[68] Alfonso Álvarez Bolado, *El experiment del nacional-catolicismo*, (Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Diá, 1976).
[69] Francisco Morente Valero, "La Enseñanza durante el Franquismo" in *La vida quotidiana durant el franquisme, 1939-1975*. (Barberà del Vallès: Ajuntament de Barberà del Vallès, 2004), 63.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Antonio Cazorla, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*. (Malden: Blackwell-Wiley, 2009), 91.
[72] Ibid.

attended class regularly. Because the Catholic Church had such a profound influence over the upper- and middle- class populations, it was these groups that would most likely have their children enrolled in and attending school. What we can take away from his claim is that education during the Franco regime was neither uniform nor well-structured. Rather, it was riddled with just as many complexities as in the previous political regimes. In the long run, it was this disinvestment and inequality that facilitated the growth of alternative sites of education, such as municipal schools.

We cannot speak of Catalan education without acknowledging its historical ties to Catalanism. Catalan education emerged at the turn of the century parallel to the rise of regional politics. While the conservative *Lliga Regionalista* and the republican *Unió Federal Nacionalista Republicana* may have been at odds with one another, both groups supported the development of a Catalan-centered education system. This meant that the education system would be centered around Catalan language and culture, as well as appropriating modern pedagogical ideas continuously supported by the incumbent Catalan political party. The education system set up by conservatives under the *Mancomunitat* would expand during the Second Republic after 1931 by the *Esquerra Republicana Catalana* (ERC). Catalan education has been inseparable from Catalanism and thus came under scrutiny during the Franco regime.

In general, there is agreement that the Franco regime either repressed or neglected the education system in Catalonia. But there is a broader debate about the legacy and development of the Catalan education system from the end of the 19th century, which followed different models than the Spanish state during the Restoration and Republic. On the one hand, there is the camp that argues for the inclusive nature of the Catalan education system, especially in contrast with the rest of Spain. These scholars have argued that the republican virtues of the education

system made it accessible to families across the social spectrum.[73] Notable Catalan pedagogue, Rosa Sensat, worked with the Mancomunitat of Catalunya and the city of Barcelona to bring about quality education for children of diverse social backgrounds. Similar projects had already been established in France in what was known as the *colonies de vaccances*. The French *colonies de vaccances* were summer school/ summer camps for working-class children whose bodies and health were compromised by industrialization. The goal of the *colonies* was to provide both public education and social assistance to children, and in some cases, to win over the loyalty of parents as well.[74] Like the French *colonies*, municipal education was meant not only to provide quality education to children, but also access to a variety of social services to support their intellectual and physical development.

On the other hand, other scholars hold that the education system developed in Catalonia, despite these innovations, was hierarchical in nature. Joan Lluis Marfany, for example, argues that the institutional innovations in Catalonia since the nineteenth century have been spearheaded by elites and businessmen.[75] Indeed, the new educational movement was supported, not only by Republicans but by the right-wing Regionalist League of Catalonia, which in 1916 established the Cultural Commission (*Comisión de Cultura*) in the city of Barcelona.[76] Yet, the same elites

[73] For more on the scholarship that supports the inclusive nature of the Catalan education system see: Jaume Carbonell, "Recorregut per un segle d'escola a Barcelona," Marta Mata, "Un segle de relació entre ciutat, administració educative i Ajuntament de Barcelona," Carme Alcoverro, "Les peripècies de la llengua catalana a l'escola al llarg del segle xx," *Un segle d'escola a Barcelona: Acció municipal I popular, 1900-2003*. (Barcelona: Ediciones Octaedro, 2003).
[74] Laura Lee Downs, *Childhood in the Promised Land: Working-Class Movements and the colonies de vacances in France, 1880-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).
[75] Joan Lluis Marfany, *La Cultura del Catalanisme*. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, 1995.
[76] Sara González Gómez, Bernat Sueda García, and Francsica Comas Rubí, "La renovación escolar del Ayntamiento de Barcelona y su diffusion fotográfica (1908-1936)," *Revisata Española de Pedagogía*, no. 268 (2017): 522.

drafted the parameters of Catalan identity and, thus, the innovative content of the local educational curricula.

For the period of the Franco regime, scholarship on the history of Catalonia has highlighted a debate between repression and resistance. Jordi Mones i Busquests and Victor Liébana Lopez have detailed that schools in Catalonia underwent significant changes which included the purging of Republican educators and the replacement of the secular republican ideologies with conservative Catholic values.[77] The same scholars have noted that former teachers, with the help of Catalan pedagogue Marta Mata Garriga established the Associació de Mestres Rosa Sensat, an educational institution that trained teachers to speak and teach Catalan, as well as fostering a classroom that valued democracy and active learning. Another position in the debate is that teachers played an active role in challenging Francoist education. Raimon Portell i Rifà and Salomó Marquès Sureda have argued that Republican teachers were active in challenging the religious-based curriculum of the regime. However, the teachers they focus on are usually exiled teachers.[78] Those studies have tended to focus on the views of pedagogues while abroad and then their application to the Catalan education system after the 1960s. More recently, however, Tamar Groves has suggested that through pedagogical renovation we see how everyday practices in the classroom contributed to the making of Spanish democracy. But like scholars of the totalitarian camp, she argues that the first pedagogical movement took place in the late 1960s with the Associació de Mestres Rosa Sensat.

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[77] Scholars that have emphasized this position include: Jordi Mones i Busquests, *L'escola a Catalunya sota el Franquisme* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1981) and Victor Liébana Lopez, "L'escola a Mollet Durant la postguerra (1939-1953)," *Institut Ramon Muntaner* (2019): 321-333.

[78] Raimon Portell i Rifà and Salomó Marquès Sureda, *Mare de Déu, quina escola!: Els mestres contra Franco* (Barcelona: Ara Llibres, 2008).

What I propose is that the former pedagogues living in Catalonia played an active role in bringing back the active learning methods as early as the 1950s. If we focus on Artur Martorell's efforts, and his position within local politics, we see that Barcelona's unique circumstances allowed for the municipal schools to teach alternative pedagogical methods. What is more, I suggest that the teacher training programs also predated the 1960s. Martorell, with the help of psychologists and other educational institutions abroad, developed a network of support for teachers within the IME. Interestingly, yet not surprising, Martorell would help with the establishment of the Associació de Mestres Rosa Sensat before his passing in 1967.[79]

This chapter takes a middle ground in the existing debates on Spanish education during the Franco regime and the Catalan model of education. Looking at records from the IME, we see that the Catalan education system simultaneously pursued what pedagogues believed to be innovative and inclusive learning, while still creating and maintaining social hierarchies. As the subsequent sections will demonstrate, the IME followed in this dual tradition. Thus, it was able to offer a more comprehensive education system and welfare provisions to students and their families in need while still maintaining social inequalities.

One of the points of agreement in the historiography is the repressive nature of the education system during the Franco regime. Boyd describes the era as a period in which National Catholic ideology, coupled with Falangist influence, created an authoritarian Spanish nationalism that was intentionally exclusionary.[80] Marta Mata categorizes the period of the Franco regime as a time of "educational repression," arguing that it is not until the democratic era where we see

[79] Octavi Fullat Genis, ed. *Artur Martorell. Un educador del nostre temps.* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1995)
[80] Boyd, 234-235.

liberalization of the education system.[81] I challenge these positions and argue that there was space for local initiatives by politicians and elites. Various successful efforts were more complex than the simple dichotomy of totalitarian control or neglect. At the same time, there was not a simple dichotomy between repression and opposition. Thus, these local projects did not arise out of resistance or opposition to the authoritarian state. Instead, the loopholes within the authoritarian educational framework inadvertently allowed for Catalan education to revive during the dictatorship and set the foundations for it to flourish and thrive after 1975.

The disinvestment in the national education system, which made it difficult to win over the hearts and minds of people, allowed for alternative channels of education to grow and thrive. This chapter will highlight how the regime was unable to be "present" in all matters, allowing for a degree of autonomy in certain spaces. If we look at the local level, there are examples of more robust and organized education systems that emerged in the vacuum created by the state, and which aimed to adapt to the wants and needs of diverse residents.

While the IME is representative of local initiative and power during the dictatorship, it also exposes the loopholes, or unintended consequences, in the Francoist education system. Article 5 of the Fueros de Los Españoles of 1945 claims: "all Spaniards have the right to receive an education and instruction whether within the family or in private or public institution of their choice."[82] Additionally, article 2 in the *Ley de 17 de Julio de 1945 sobre Educación Primaria*, titled "*Derechos de la Familia*," states:

> "The family has the primordial and inalienable right and the inescapable duty to educate their children and, consequently, to choose the people or centers where

[81] Marta Mata, "Un segle de relació entre ciutat, administració educative i Ajuntament de Barcelona," *Un segle d'escola a Barcelona: Acció municipal i popular, 1900-2003*. (Barcelona: Ediciones Octaedro, 2003), 112.
[82] Jefatura del Estado. *Fuero de los Españoles*. Boletin oficial del Estado—Numero 199. July 18, 1945. 358.

> they are to receive primary education, subordinating it to the supernatural order and what the common good requires in the Laws of the State."[83]

The key word in both articles is *choice*. Parents had a degree of autonomy in choosing the type of education they wanted for their children. As a result, Barcelona's municipal education system emerged and operated as a legitimate educational institution and had the same rights as any other public or private institution.

Another gap in the Francoist education system was the limited reach of Catholic schools. The goal of the Catholic Church was to reconquer Spanish society by developing a curriculum that centered on obedience and rigid moral codes.[84] In comparison to education throughout Europe, Spanish Catholic pedagogy has been viewed as backward and anachronistic.[85] The average public school day began and ended with prayer followed by instruction using textbooks that premised Catholicism as the source of Spanish culture and national values.[86] In fact, some schools still used Father Jeronimo Ripalda's seventeenth-century catechism text[87] but with some modern adjustments in which they denounced modern social and political movements.[88] The history textbooks celebrated Ferdinand and Isabel, known as the "Catholic Monarchs", and lambasted nineteenth-century liberalism. Therefore, the aim of Catholic pedagogy was not

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[83] Ley de 17 de Julio de 1945 sobre Educación Primaria. Boletin oficial del Estado—Numero 199. July 18, 1945. 387.
[84] William J. Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of American Press, 2000), 454.
[85] Cazorla, 90.
[86] For more on the Catholic pedagogy and the day to day lives in the classroom see: William J. Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998* Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of American Press, 2000); Gregirio Cámara Villar, *Nacional-catolicism y escuela: la socialicazión politica del franquismo* (Jaén: Hesperia, 1984).
[87] Father Jeronimo Ripalda was a Spanish Jesuit priest known for his catechism book *Doctrina christiana con una exposición breve, compuesta por el Maestro Hieronymo de Ripalda de la Compañía de Jesús*.
[88] Callahan, 455.

necessarily providing students with the skills necessary to become members of an industrial society but rather to restore an old version of Catholic unity that had become obsolete since the nineteenth century. However, while the aim was to reach the masses, the Church was only successful in influencing the middle and upper classes which constituted most of its student population. As William Callahan points out, historically the Church has paid more attention to secondary education, thus leaving primary education on the margins.[89] Establishing primary schools was mainly a local affair where individual religious orders created schools in "urban centers where a middle-class clientele could afford to pay tuition."[90]

Exploiting these gaps and opportunities, the local elites in Barcelona saw local education as the potential to change their future—that of the children and of the city. For Artur Martorell and other pedagogues, the municipal schools became the microcosm of the type of society they wanted to build. Furthermore, they were able to build on the active education system that emerged and became popular throughout Europe at the turn of the century, including in Catalonia. Even though the Franco regime officially rejected this "modern" education, which was linked to Republicanism, elements survived as an alternative form of education in Spain during the Franco regime, especially in Catalonia.

"Alternatives" in this case extends beyond the pedagogy of the educational system and encompasses notions of modernity. Through its evolution, the Franco regime embraced the goal of "modernizing" and implemented innovative ideas such as the New Movimento Principles (1958), the Organic Law of the State (1967), and the introduction of technocrats in the government. The national government welcomed the presence of professionals focused more on

[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

economic growth as a means of gaining consent. Yet, there was a disjuncture between the regime's intentions and reality. In Barcelona, local elites pursued their own vision of modernization through education.

How was the IME able to emerge under the Franco regime and become an alternative educational institution outside of the national and Catholic private school system? I argue that the IME members that held a political office at the municipal level were able to exercise a degree of autonomy through the protections provided by their influence and the institutional resources of the municipal government. As the head of the Cultural Bureau of the city of Barcelona in the 1950s, Artur Martorell already had a position within the municipal government and was able to establish the IME in 1954. In subsequent sections, I delve further into Martorell's influential positions within the cultural, political, and educational milieu and how they provided the platform necessary to establish and operate a municipal education system.

I will show that within this network the IME was an experiment (or perhaps a continuation) of large-scale social engineering and relied on the expertise and knowledge of multiple social services — a novelty in a country where the source of expertise on virtually all social matters was expected to be the Catholic Church. Standing at the confluence of public education and social assistance, the IME created a vast network that was mediated by the relationship among pedagogues, psychologists and psychiatrists, and medical experts.

To describe the goals of the municipal education system, I will be using the term socialization rather than indoctrination. Scholars that have used the term "indoctrination" to describe the national education system do so when describing the influence of the Catholic Church, whose

end goals were to rear loyal, Catholic, Spanish citizens.[91] Although this scholarship has rendered valuable information on the Church's influence on the education system, it does not address the aims of municipal schools. The objective of the municipal schools was to create an educational system that encouraged critical thinking, challenging ideas, and individual development. It is precisely through the process of socialization that a child was supposed to develop through various interactions with peers and educators beyond the grasp of strict indoctrination. For the children of Barcelona, municipal schools were simply one of the existing institutional spaces that encouraged individual development as children interacted with teachers and classmates.

Education in Spain: From the 19th century to 1939

The Liberal State:

To understand education during the Franco regime, it is important to contextualize it within the history of education in Spain since the early 1800s. The beginning of Spain's modern education system spans the nineteenth century—a time when emerging nation-states sought to create a shared sense of the past and establish national unity. The establishment of a modern Spanish education system grew in tandem with the consolidation of the liberal state.[92] While liberals created a blueprint of an educational system in 1814, it was not until 1857 that the Spanish Cortes approved a national educational law known as the Ley de Moyano. The forging of a stable system that would, in theory, consolidate the liberal state depended on collaboration with different governmental entities such as the Ministry of Development, which was in charge of regulating elements of the schooling system, including textbooks, curriculum, and personnel.

[91] Among those that have used the term indoctrination to describe education in Spain are Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria*; Alejandro Quiroga, *Making Spaniards*; Pamela Radcliff, *A History of Modern Spain, 1808-Present*.
[92] Boyd, 3.

The Catholic Church's impact on Spanish society is often taken for granted as a standard fixture, but it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the Church was afforded the right to establish the moral and religious content for primary and secondary school curricula and teaching development. The formal involvement of the Church was an extension of the Concordat of 1851, a pact established by the conservative elites that were concerned about emerging democratic revolutions throughout Europe in 1848 influencing Spain. As a result, the Church ended up having significant influence over the education system, with bishops allowed to inspect primary and secondary schools to guarantee that curriculum conformed with the doctrine of the Catholic Church.[93] Despite partial influence, the Church hierarchy was still not satisfied. They believed that the government still had full control over education while "the authority of the Church directs nothing."[94] Still, the partial autonomy the Church received with regard to education in the consolidation of the liberal state paved the way for the National-Catholic rhetoric that would be central to the two dictatorships in the twentieth century.

Despite the Ley Moyano establishing state funding for education, the funds were limited throughout the second half of the 19th century, which forced municipal and provincial authorities to shoulder the financial responsibility for the education system. The gradual diffusion of power, by way of funding, and the influence of the administrative bureaucracy allowed for competing professional, social, and political interests at all administrative levels. At the local level, the Ley Moyano was either open to interpretation or completely ignored as *juntas* of governmental officers and ecclesiastical representatives were given autonomy over governance of schools. As a result, these groups handled the responsibilities that included monitoring school finances,

[93] Callahan, 29.
[94] Ibid.

pedagogy, and administration. While in the late 19th century this act may have been a byproduct of *caciquismo*[95], the power of local governance would prove to be an important channel for groups and people with alternative visions in education. But in the end, not even the local governments were able to fill the gap to provide universal education. Since that time, Spanish education has continuously grappled with two separate issues: the capacity of educational ambitions and the development of a uniform curriculum.

The Restoration:

The ultimately incomplete and decentralized education system established under the liberal state welcomed competition from sectors of society that attempted to establish the necessary social and cultural conditions to transform the state and Spanish society. During the Restoration, as Stephen Jacobson and Javier Moreno Luzón highlight, education was the premier way for people to improve their lives.[96] By the turn of the 20th century, improvements were made to the education systems as Restoration politicians allocated substantial financial support and resources to pedagogy. Education was becoming an increasingly important sector of society, prompting Prime Minister Francisco Silvela to establish the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1900. Despite administrative "improvements," serious accomplishments remained minimal. Spain still lagged behind its European counterparts in universal access to education. Between 1887 and 1910, illiteracy only declined 10% (from 52 to 42 percent) among the male population and 16% (77 to 61 percent) for women. [97] Additionally, statistics from 1908 suggest that of the

[95] *Caciquismo* refers to a political system dominated by local political bosses known as *caciques*. During the Restoration, *caciques* were the main political figures. Local parties were often led by *caciques* who aspired to governmental posts.
[96] Stephen Jacobson and Javier Moreno Luzón, "The Restoration, 1875-1914," in *Spanish History Since 1808*, José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, eds. (Oxford University Press), 104.
[97] Ibid., 104.

3,154, 216 school-aged children (6-12 years old), more than half were were not enrolled in neither public nor private schools.[98] Liberals worked on rolling back some of the more conservative and religious elements within the education system by reducing the participation of ecclesiastical members in curriculum development and inviting the participation of people that had a better sense of modern pedagogy such as public-school teachers and university professors.[99] Yet, these efforts were not enough. Especially after the "Disaster" of 1898, a discourse of national "failure" blamed the Restoration and its education system for holding back Spain's necessary modernization.

Alongside the official education system, one of the innovative non-governmental initiatives that emerged during this time was the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (The Free Institution of Education).[100] The ILE was an education project that developed in the late nineteenth century and continued to expand well until the Civil War. Founded in 1876 by a group of professors who strove for educational freedom by rejecting the religious dogma and conservative liberalism of the time, the ILE had a significant impact on intellectual development of the urban middle classes during the Restoration. The initiative came in the wake of the Restoration's efforts to limit academic freedom in the universities if it went against the

[98] Narciso de Gabriel, Alfabeticación y Escolaricazión, *Revista de Educación* 314 (1997): 232. 1,666,144 students were not enrolled.
[99] Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975*, 47.
[100] Lorenzo Luzuriaga, *Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la educación en España* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1957), Elvira Ontañón, *Un estudio sobre la Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la mujer* (Valencia: Editorial UPV, 2003), Antonio Jiménez-Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente* (Madrid: Taurus, 1973), Raquel Vázquez Ramil, and Angel Serafín Porto Ucha. *Mujeres y educación en la España contemporánea : la Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la Residencia de Señoritas de Madrid*. (Madrid, España: Ediciones Akal, S.A., 2012).

conservative Catholic rhetoric. The institute, which was inspired by the ideas of German philosopher Karl Krause, was first introduced at the Complutense University of Madrid.

Krausism advocated for academic freedom from religious dogma. His ideas were widespread in Spain during the Restoration, where it had the greatest popularity in all of Europe.[101] Professors aligned with the ILE carried out a series of successful projects such as the founding of *The Bulletin of the Free Institution of Education* (1881) and the Center for Historical Studies. The Bulletin published contributions from notable foreign and Spanish intellectuals of the time, such as Charles Darwin, Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, Maria Montessori, Leo Tolstoy, H.G. Wells, Santiago Ramón y Cajal, Emilia Prado Bazán, Eugenio d'Ors, Antonio Machado Álvarez (Demófilio), and Antonio and Manuel Machado, to name a few. The goal of the Center of Historical Studies, which was supervised by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, was to critically investigate the past, as opposed to the heroic and triumphant narrative of the Inquisition or of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel. The ILE was successful in creating and supporting a series of artistic and intellectual networks prior to 1939, after which some members were forced into exile and all progressive educational materials suppressed.

[101]Krausism in Spain can be viewed as a cultural movement in the nineteenth century that centered around the publications of Karl Krause's writings. Around 1840, Julián Sanz del Rio began publishing a series of political journals advocating for political liberalism. By 1861, the movement had expanded and caught the attention of young intellectuals. By 1876, Francisco Giner de los Ríos and Gumersindo de Azcárate, initiated the idea of creating a Free School that would be regarded as a "Krausist" idea. Gonzalo Capellan,"Krausism in Spain Beyond Philosophy: Religious Tolerance, Social Harmony, Political Reformism and Modern Pedagogy." *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Studies* 3, no. 12 (2021): 16–25; López Morillas, The Krausist movement and ideological change in Spain, 1854-1874 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

Other educational initiatives like the ILE attempted to address the need for innovative popular education to meet the needs of a growing mass society. Spanish republicans in the early 20th century believed that the essence of social transformation was education. Twenty-five years after the establishment of the IME, notable Catalan pedagogue, Francisco Ferrer Guardia, founded the Escuela Moderna (The Modern School) in Barcelona. These schools provided children with an education that stressed and encouraged critical and individual independent thinking that would give citizens the power and ability to naturally reject the dogmatic and hierarchical structure of religious-inspired education.[102] Through the shift to active learning practices, educational reformers prioritized coeducation, questioned the hierarchy of family and state, and challenged the "right" of the Church to have primacy over education.[103] With time, the Modern School had its own center that included a series of departments such as the laboratory, natural history museum, a library, and a publishing center where they were able to print their bulletin. As the first coeducational and secular educational center in Barcelona, its ideas were subject to criticism by conservatives.

Beyond the Modern school, Spanish republicans in cities across Spain pursued these goals outside of the formal schooling systems and through alternative channels such as adult schools, neighborhood centers, and working-class associations. During this time, the project was still in its embryonic stage and impacted a small number of people. Yet, the network created by republicans through these spaces had a profound impact on an emerging mass political culture and the education system by enabling the common people to learn and begin to formulate ideas

[102] Anna Kathryn Kendrick, *Humanizing Childhood in Early Twentieth-Century Spain*. (Oxford: Legenda, 2020), 4.
[103] Ibid.

and a political identity.[104] Increasing dissonance between the traditional parties in power, as well as with the emerging new political parties, like the Republicans and Socialists, further undermined the hopes of establishing a singular and unified education system.

Complicating the efforts to establish a uniform state education system were the parallel projects based on regional identities, particularly in Catalonia. Efforts to introduce a Catalan education came at the turn of the century, notably with the rise of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya (the Commonwealth of Catalonia) in 1914. While the Mancomunitat only held administrative powers, it was responsible for the establishment of public institutions, including health and education. The tenets of Catalan education were framed by the dominant Catalanist political party, the *Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya* (Regionalist League), who encouraged the Mancomunitat to allocate funds for the creation not only of schools, but also public health and urban infrastructure institutions at the regional level.[105] Additionally, despite any political tensions the Regionalist League had with the Republican politicians, they both supported the construction of new learning centers and modern pedagogy.

The education system that the Mancomunitat funded and supported was significantly distinct from the national one. Catalan politicians, elites, and pedagogues, whether conservative or republican, modeled their ideas on the progressive "active learning" system that had gained popularity in several parts of Europe and the United States at the turn of the century. Active learning is the process of acquiring knowledge in which the student is directly engaged with the process, rather than passively absorbing and regurgitating content. Children are often placed in

[104] Pamela Radcliff, "The emerging challenges of mass politics," in in *Spanish History Since 1808*, José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, eds. (Oxford University Press), 144.
[105] For more on the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* see Albert Balcells, Enric Pujol, and Jordi Sabater, *La Mancomunitat de Catalunya i l'autonomia* (Barcelona: Proa, 1996).

small classrooms, work closely with the same teacher for several years, and learn through play in addition to more formal methods. Notable pedagogues such as John Dewey, Maria Montessori, Lev Vygotsky, and Jean Piaget, to name a few, presented a series of ideas to make education a more fruitful experience for children.[106] The push for a new form of education came in parallel to the growing needs of modern society. As Eugen Weber suggested, education played a significant role in transforming people into modern citizens,[107] and his argument can be applied to other countries that attempted to foster a loyal citizenry.

Catalan pedagogues adopted these reform ideas as part of a parallel project that supported the effort to develop a Catalan national identity and educated the population for a modern society that supported Catalonia's more industrialized, urban community. Barcelona's outdoor schools, which emerged in the first third of the twentieth century, were part of a larger social reform project pioneered by Catalonia's national elites.[108] The pioneer of the new education movement in Barcelona was Hemergelio Giner de los Ríos (1847-1923), brother of Francisco Giner de los Ríos, founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (The Free Institution of Education).[109] Giner

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[106] For more on active learning at the turn of the century, see John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy Education* (New York: Free Press, 1997); Maria Montessori, *The Montessori Method: Scientific Pedagogy as applied to child education in "the children's houses" with additions and revisions by the author* (Ridgefield: Roger A. McCaffrey Publishing, 1992); Lev Vygotsky, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Process* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Jean Piaget, *The Child's Conception of the World* (London: Routledge, 1929); G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905).

[107] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976.

[108] Sara Gonzàlez Gómez, Bernat Sureda García, and Francisca Comas Rubí, "La Renovación del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona y su diffusion fotográfica (1908-1936)." *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, 75 (268): 521.

[109] The ILE was an educational institution founded by Julian Sanz del Río, a professor who was inspires by Krausism.

served as a professor of psychology, logics, and moral philosophy at the Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza de Barcelona and sympathized with republican ideologies. Despite being a member of the Unión Republicana, he was popular among the conservative elite who supported all aspects of education reform. In 1908, Giner and other pedagogues proposed that part of the funds allocated to culture be used for the construction of outdoor schools. It was not until 1916 that the city established the *Comision de Cultura*, prompting the construction of educational institutions and increasing attention towards children and infants.[110]

A notable leader in the active learning movement was Rosa Sensat. Sensat was a Catalan pedagogue educated in Barcelona, Madrid, the Institut Rousseau in Geneva, and other notable European schools.[111] Her training and expertise helped introduce new educational trends to Catalonia during the first third of the twentieth century. In 1914, she became the director of the girl's section of the Escola del Bosc in Barcelona. With the financial support of the Mancommunitat, Sensat taught courses and participated in conferences on the municipal education system. In fact, she also extended her expertise by speaking in summer school programs and at the Institut de Cultura i Biblioteca Popular de la Dona. The most significant part of Sensat's efforts was the push for the *colonies escolars municipals*–outdoor schools originally intended to provide a clean educational setting for children of predominantly working-class families that were in poor health. While the system was a success in remedying a series of illnesses within the lower class, it also became a model for quality education that would extend to children of the middle and upper classes.

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[110] Gonzàlez, "La Renovación del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona y su diffusion fotográfica (1908-1936)."

[111] While Sensat has been the more popular, some lesser-known pedagogues include Margarita Aranda Baciero and Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia. For more on see Kendrick's *Humanizing Childhood in Early Twentieth- Century*.

The First Dictatorship:

During the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-1930), the regime viewed education as a method to save the nation from social disorder and nationalize the population. Primo de Rivera viewed himself as a regenerationist who had the power and potential to fight anything that stood in the way of national progress.[112] Thus, he attempted to institutionalize a single-party Catholic corporatist military dictatorship. With that came the desire to finally implement a uniform national education system, in which children would be educated in Catholicism and Spanish patriotism.[113]. With the support and influence of the Catholic right, Primo de Rivera delegated most of the educational responsibility to the Church. To implement this uniform system, municipalities had the presence of army officers who served as "governmental delegates," and whose sole responsibility was to promote national and patriotic values in schools and in the community. The aim of these delegates was to monitor teachers who were potentially spreading anti-patriotic ideas.[114] Unlike liberal politicians of the past, the Primo de Rivera dictatorship claimed a more activist role as it truly sought to homogenize not only the fractured nation, but also the weakened education system.

But the support of the Church and conservative Spanish elites did not guarantee a consensus over educational reform and national history. In fact, even National Catholics had competing interpretations of national history. Some believed that the historical narrative should focus on the Middle Ages, emphasizing beliefs about the *patria* and racial superiority. Others, however, thought that the true narrative of Spanish nationality could be found in the 16th century

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[112] Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975*, 167.
[113] For more on the nationalization of primary schools, see Alejandro Quiroga, *Making Spaniards: Primo de Rivera and the Nationalization of the Masses, 1923-30* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), chapter 6.
[114] Ibid., 112-113.

at the height of Spain's empire. National Catholics emphasized that the ideal qualities of Spanish citizens were "courage, veracity, sobriety, impulsivity, and nobility."[115] The debates over educational reform during the 1920s, particularly among Catholic conservatives, demonstrated that, even within a dictatorship, there were still competing ideologies over historical identity and national narratives, and thus still no uniform curriculum.

As part of the project of unifying national patriotic education, the Primo de Rivera dictatorship would dissolve the Mancomunitat, as an expression of what was viewed as a competing and divisive national identity. The main efforts went into establishing a national curriculum and anti-regionalism. Thus, the *primoriverista* education system depended on the expansion of the Castilian language and culture as the core of the nationalization process. The aim was to "cure" the education system and stop the spread of unpatriotic values in schools. Despite these objectives, not enough funds were allocated to expanding the educational footprint. Instead, ensuring schools were complying with regime "policies," delegates closely monitored public and private schools, penalizing teachers that spread anti-patriotic rhetoric. But the surveillance system set up by the dictatorship was not meant to penalize uncooperative teachers. Rather, it was also used to reward patriotic teachers propagating the values of the dictatorship. In the end, the military operated surveillance system had unforeseen consequences. Civilian professionals grew hostile to the dictatorship, thus prompting increased state control. Despite multiple and serious efforts of forcing mass indoctrination, the *primoverristas* were unsuccessful at achieving it.

The Second Republic:

[115] Ibid., 185.

The inauguration of the Second Republic in 1931 would bring about significant and radical changes to Spain's education system, which was one of the main targets of the new republican leaders. Republicans believed that with the new constitution and administrative framework it was necessary to uproot "traditional obstacles to popular sovereignty, economic progress, and social justice."[116] The new constitution established a series of reforms, one of which was the guarantee of free universal education. Once exclusive to elites, the Second Republic education system attempted to provide people of diverse socio-economic backgrounds with access to education. In this sense, education was viewed as a way of uniting a divided society, particularly across social classes. As a result of funding, this aim was not fully achieved. Another main objective was to remove the Church's influence on the education system. The most significant advancement in republican educational policy was to embrace the ideas put forth by the ILE at the turn of the century, including them as part of the government agenda. The new policy embraced active learning methods, including coeducation, secularism, and the marginalization of religion. But these changes were resisted by Conservative Catholics, and education became a major wedge between the left and right.

Tensions between Republicans and Conservatives began early in the Second Republic. The 1931 government mandated the closure of Catholic schools but faced the problem of not being able to build enough schools to replace them. During the Second Biennium, the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right (CEDA) aimed to abolish the social reforms of the First Biennium. Within the realms of education this meant that the government either slowed down or delayed the process of Catholic school closures.[117] In terms of the curriculum, Republicans and

[116] Boyd, 196.
[117] The Republic was able to fund the construction of approximately 14,825 schools by 1936, as part of its promise to create enough school capacity to offer universal education. Boyd, 196.

Conservatives had conflicting ideas over the definition of a Spanish national identity and how much latitude the government was willing to give the Church. The open struggle between Catholic conservatives and progressives would come to an end after the Civil War. The Francoist government went to great lengths to eliminate the progressive educational doctrine of the Second Republic and restore the Church's role in operating their own schools.

Perhaps one of the key changes from the Primo de Rivera was the acceptance of regional identities and language in education. In Catalonia during the Second Republic, the new Generalitat de Catalunya (Government of Catalonia)[118] utilized its new powers to design and implement a Catalan-language education system that built on the progressive pedagogy of the early 20th century. In 1931, Spanish Minister Marcelino Domingo approved the use of Catalan in primary schools. Two years later when the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (1932) was drafted, the autonomous government declared the teaching of Catalan would be allowed at all educational levels.

The changes that occurred at the national and regional level allowed for significant changes to be made at the local level. A key figure in Barcelona was Artur Martorell, who became the educational and technical advisor of the city while also becoming a professor at the Escuela Normal de Maestros de la Genralitat de Catalunya (Normal Schools of the Generalitat of Catalonia) and the Autonomous University of Barcelona.[119] Early in his professional career,

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[118] The Generalitat de Catalunya is the institutional political system of self-government. The Generalitat is comprised of 3 branches: the Parliament of Catalonia, Presidency of the Generalitat de Catalunya, and the Executive Council of Catalonia. For more on the Generalitat, see: Francesc Bonamusa and Josep Maria Bricall, *Generalitat de Catalunya: Obra de Govern, 1931-1939* (Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de la Presidència, Barcelona, 2006).

[119] Various Authors. *Artur Martorell: Un educador del nostre temps* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d'Ensenyament, 1995); Salvador Domènech i Domènech, *Els alumnes de la República: Els Grups Escolars de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008).

Martorell worked closely with the Mancomunitat and municipal schools. In 1914, he graduated from the Normal School of Barcelona with the highest honors, published an article titled "Ve l'estiu," and began organizing summer school training programs for teachers.[120] In 1919, he became a teacher and the director of the Escola Municipal Patronat Domenech in the Gràcia district. He would remain there until the beginning of the Second Republic where he assisted the city in expanding its educational program under a new political regime.

During the Second Republic, Martorell, who was working for the city's department of culture, began to prioritize teacher training programs. In 1931, he began to organize summer school education programs once again, where one of the main topics was Catalan language in the classroom.[121] Martorell also tried to extend education beyond normal schools, arguing that teachers should have courses and training available year-round. Not only did he organize the summer school, but he also taught some courses as well.[122] The course would run successfully until the beginning of the Civil War and resume once again in 1956.

In the city of Barcelona, the education system thrived until the end of the Spanish Civil War. While the Republic was short lived, educational advancements were not. Salvador Domènech notes that at the beginning of the 1930s, only 9,500 children were enrolled in school. By 1936, the city's Grups Escolars (school groups) comprised a total of one-hundred and forty-six schools with an enrollment of 77,000 students.[123] Despite the growing number of schools,

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[120] Pere Darder, "El formador de mestres," *Artur Martorell: Un educador del nostre temps*. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Ensenyament, 1995), 58.
[121] Pere Darder, "El formador de mestres," *Artur Martorell: Un educador del nostre temps*. (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Ensenyament, 1995), 58.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Domènech, 268. While Domènech notes the number of enrolled students, it is not known how many students attended school.

only twelve were deemed municipal schools[124] that continued to apply alternative educational methods. The modern pedagogical practices used in the municipal schools, such as the Escola del Bosc and the Escola del Mar, laid the foundations that would allow, decades later, new sets of experts and elites to maintain progressive educational ideas at the height of the dictatorship.[125]

Education During the Franco Dictatorship

Upon coming into power, the Franco regime attempted to establish a homogenous, state-controlled education system that championed militant and authoritarian Spanish nationalism within the educational discourse. Thus, the regime attempted to eliminate all traces of Republican education by purging thousands of leftist teachers and centralizing the education system and its curricula. In the Francoist bureaucratic system, education was controlled by the Ministerio de Educación Nacional (Ministry of National Education or, simply, Ministry of Education). The Catholic Church was granted sweeping powers over education and was in charge of drafting the curriculum and approving all textbooks.

Although religion had been deemed an essential component of the Francoist ideology, there were some tensions between the two as well. For example, Falangists glorified the age of empire and drew inspiration from the sixteenth century, whereas Catholics claimed that empire "was a means towards spiritual ends," a viable model for contemporary life."[126] Catholics swore their allegiance to the *patria* and the Caudillo (Francisco Franco), viewing him as the savior of national spirit, while the Falangists stressed obedience to the nation and the New State, without viewing Franco in the same light. Despite some of these points where they were at odds, both

[124] Only four of the institutions were actual schools whereas the other eight were smaller educational centers that tried to apply the active learning pedagogical methods.
[125] This was true at all levels of education. The teaching of Catalan in schools would allow for the preservation of the language during the dictatorship.
[126] Boyd, 236.

Catholics and Falangists viewed education as the instrument that would instill in Spaniards a sense of patriotism, discipline, and solidarity.[127]

In emphasizing Catholicism, the aim was to eliminate traces of secular education that were popularized in the Second Republic. Instead, the day-to-day classroom would operate in a highly structured manner and welcomed the introduction of textbooks focusing primarily on the humanities. The first plan of reorganization included the purging of republican teachers, the re-Christianisation of the classroom, which included the restoration of crucifixes in the classrooms, as well as the renationalization of primary education.[128] The Primary Education Act (1945) consolidated the Church's control over primary education and established that school would be free and compulsory for children between the ages of six and twelve.[129]

Despite early efforts to standardize education, school enrollments did not improve. António Canales points out that official statistics attempted to cover up the actual numbers of student enrollment. Data from 1944 suggests that 56% of school-aged children were enrolled, but 42% of those students did not attend school.[130] Even after the Primary Education Act was passed, the enrollment rates remained low. According to Manuel Puelles, the enrollment rate for children between six and fourteen was still at about fifty percent in 1951.[131] In fact, by the end of the

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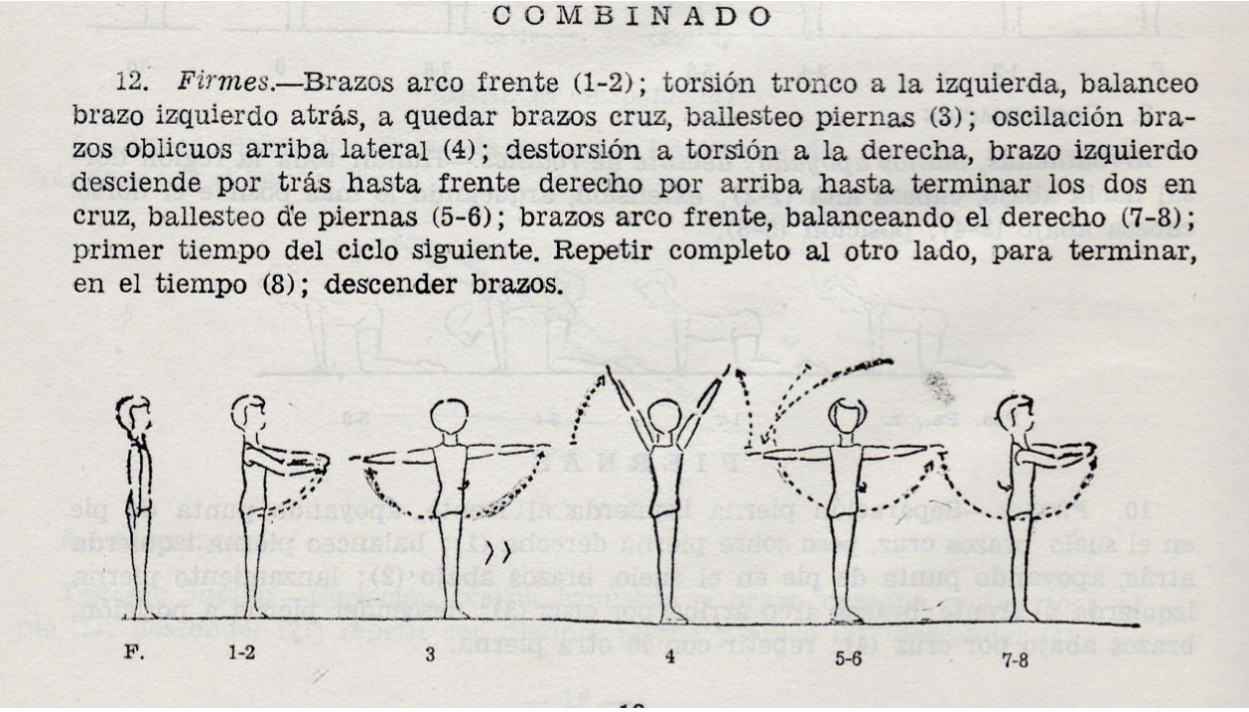
[127] Ibid.
[128] António Canales, "Education in Spain under the Franco Regime, 1936-1975," *Oxford Research Encyclopedias, Education* (2020), 6.
[129] "Ley de 17 de julio de 1945 sobre Educación Primaria." Boletín Oficial del Estado, num 199: 385-416.
[130] Canales, 6-7; Ramon Navarro, *La enseñanza primaria durante el franquismo (1939-1975)* (Barcelona: PPU, 1990).
[131] Manuel de Puelles Benítez, *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea (1767-1975)* (Labor: Barcelona, 1980). Narciso de Gabriel notes that the population of school aged children (6-12) in 1950 was 3,208,745. We could approximate that about one million children were not schooled.

1950s, the Ministry of Education reported that one million children were not in school.[132] The results suggest that despite setting forth a structured curriculum there was limited reach to the regime's educational ambitions.

The Francoist education system maintained gender separation, which reinforced traditional views that relegated women to the private sphere and elevated men in public spaces. This, in fact, obligated the regime to open additional schools for girls and women.[133] The national textbooks were saturated with images and narratives of the Catholic religion and Spain's imperial past. While there was some inclusion of math and science, the overwhelming majority of the textbooks focused on history and the humanities.[134] Memorization of religious and patriotic rhetoric was central to the education system, along with physical activity. Falange-approved manuals depicted military-like physical education, such as the image below, which shows the Sección Femenina's physical activity guide for young girls (Figure 1.1).[135] Education was gendered, but when it came to patriotic indoctrination using militaristic methods, gender was not as significant. The pictures depict rigid and orderly movements, similar to what was seen in military handbooks, indicating that the ideals of obedience and discipline were extended to both boys and girls. As future Spanish citizens, everyone was expected to model similar behavior regardless of gender.

[132] Canales, 7.
[133] Boyd, 249-250.
[134] *Enciclopedia Alvarez*, was the main textbook that was approved by the Ministry of Education.
[135] Sección Femenina de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S. *Lecciones de Educación Física de 1a, 2a Enseñanza y Comercio*. Tercera Edicion. Madrid, 1961., 18.



COMBINADO

12. *Firmes.*—Brazos arco frente (1-2); torsión tronco a la izquierda, balanceo brazo izquierdo atrás, a quedar brazos cruz, ballesteo piernas (3); oscilación brazos oblicuos arriba lateral (4); destorsión a torsión a la derecha, brazo izquierdo desciende por trás hasta frente derecho por arriba hasta terminar los dos en cruz, ballesteo de piernas (5-6); brazos arco frente, balanceando el derecho (7-8); primer tiempo del ciclo siguiente. Repetir completo al otro lado, para terminar, en el tiempo (8); descender brazos.

Figure 1.1—Sección Femenina Exercises

The regime leaders believed that they had a foolproof primary school education system that would be able to create patriotic and obedient Spanish citizens. Unlike previous political regimes, the Francoist government had a more coherent approach to teaching and telling the story of Spain's historical past in a way that would benefit its political goals. With the help of the Church, the regime had a standard curriculum that would, in theory, imbue future generations with a sense of social discipline and national loyalty.

But over the course of the regime, we also begin to see changes in classroom activities. As Spain's economics improved by the 1960s, schools implemented skills that would be more useful in modernizing society. Gabriel Barcelo-Bauza and Llorec Gelabert-Gual argue that as a result of population growth resulting from the growing economy and increase in tourism,

Mallorca began to see an increase in road traffic in the last third of the twentieth century.[136] In fact, this was a phenomenon that occurred across Spain. The problem was that many cities began to witness an increase in traffic accidents.[137] Thus, on April 29, 1961, the Ministry of National Education established the obligatory teaching of traffic safety in primary schools.[138] In Mallorca, national primary schools taught children about traffic safety through role-playing as they took on the roles of drivers, pedestrians, or traffic guards. This situation, brought about by economic growth, forced the regime to change its rigorous, traditional curriculum to include contents that would better help Spaniards navigate their everyday lives.

While the regime had a relatively clear and uniform curriculum, it had limited reach. In comparison to other parts of Europe, Spanish schools continued to have low attendance and investment in public education remained low. The official educational program harbored internal contradictions that would pave the way for alternative educational systems and pedagogical ideas to emerge. In addition, the gap within the laws on education, that promised parental choice, provided the possibility of alternatives as well. Finally, in Barcelona, long-standing educational traditions dating back to the turn of the century created an opportunity to capitalize on the fragile education system. The parameters, ideas and infrastructure for the schools were already set--it

[136]Gabriel Barcelo-Bauza and Llorenc Gelabert-Gual, "Road Safety Education during the Franco Regime: the first Children's Traffic Parks in Majorca (1962-1975)." *Historia y memoria de la educación*, no. 10 (2019): 345–379.
[137] Several charts providing numbers are included in Barcelo-Bauza and Llorenc Gelabert-Gual, "Road Safety Education during the Franco Regime: the first Children's Traffic Parks in Majorca (1962-1975)," 347-348.
[138] "Orden de 29 de abril de 1961 relativa a la obligatoriedad de la enseñanza de las reglas de Seguridad en la circulación por las vías públicas reguladas en el Código de Circulación vigente, en todas las Escuelas Primarias," *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (BOE) no. 108 (6 de mayo de 1961): 6875-6876.

was simply a matter of local initiative to attempt to bring back the active education system during the dictatorship.

Making the IME Possible: Municipal Infrastructure

The development of the IME during the Franco regime could not have been possible without a combination of the appointment of José María de Porcioles, Artur Martorell's voice within local politics, and the city's larger network of municipal services. First, José María Porcioles, mayor of Barcelona from 1957 to 1973, was the longest appointed mayor of the city under the Francoist government. Although often deemed as a Francoist, he was part of the Lliga Catalana in his youth. He fled Spain in 1937 and upon his return he joined the Nationalist Front. During his time abroad in France, he remained in contact with conservative politicians in Valladolid. With their help, he continued to pursue his political ambitions and became a delegate of social service in the city of Lleida in 1938. Martí Marin has argued that his shift from being part of the Lliga Catalan to a Falangist demonstrates that perhaps Porcioles had greater political ambitions than ideological ones.[139] This hypothesis is probable given that to this day scholars and the general public[140] continue to debate Porcioles' intentions as Mayor of Barcelona.

Like most politicians, Porcioles has been characterized as both a great and controversial figure. For some, Porcioles was a man that brought progress and modernity to the city of Barcelona. He has been celebrated for bringing about *las tres C* (the three Cs): a municipal charter (1960), a compilation of Catalan civil rights (1960), and the ceding of the castle of Montjuïc back to the city.[141] Porcioles' mandate has been characterized as a period of mass urban

[139] Marín, *Porcioles*, 88.
[140] Germa Iturrate, who was interviewed for this dissertation, brings up the point that to this day the residents of Barcelona still debate whether Porcioles was truly a Catalanist or Falangist.
[141] Martí Marín i Corbera, *Porcioles: catalanisme, clientelisme, i franquisme*. (Editorial Base, 2005), 113, 135.

development that reignited the re-emergence of a "Grand Barcelona" after the destruction of the civil war. The improvements of basic infrastructure, new streets, and improved transportation made Porcioles a popular figure among many in the city.

Other views highlight that Porcioles was a Francoist sympathizer who only brought about changes to the city as a pragmatic effort to remain in power.[142] He has also been a subject of current criticism because of controversial decisions including the remodeling of buildings in the Eixample neighborhoods, thus disfiguring its aesthetic appeal, and the demolition of the modernist building, Casa Trinxet.[143] As the city began to expand and modernize, noteworthy historical buildings ran the risk of becoming obsolete.

Despite competing views of Porcioles, Barcelona grew and thrived as living conditions improved, streets were cleaned up, and city officials were afforded the opportunity to carry out civic projects, like the construction of new schools. At a fundamental level, the municipal school system provided children from across the social spectrum with an opportunity for quality education. Beyond that, control over local institutions functioned as both a space for local elites to develop their own vision for the city and an opportunity to re-establish authority over Barcelona's residents. From this perspective, Porcioles' contradictory image as a power-seeking local booster epitomizes the complex role of local elites.

The second important element in the city's educational reform project was Martorell's presence in local politics, facilitating the establishment of the IME. After a six-month prison

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[142] The earlier for of Martí Marín Cobrera leans more heavily on Francoist perspective by delving deeper into the "Francoist municipalities" of Catalonia. See: Martí Marín Cobrera, *Els Ajuuntaments a la Catalunya Franquista* (Barcelona: Pagès editors, 2000) and "Franquisme i poder local. Construcció i consolidació dels ajuntaments feixistes a Catalunya, 1938-1949" *Recerques* 31 (1995): 37-52.

[143] Casa Trinxet was a modernist building built by noted Catalan architect Josep Puig i Cadaflach. The building was constructed in 1904 and demolished under Porcioles in 1965.

sentence July to November of 1939, Martorell returned to work for the city's Delegacion de Servicios de Cultura (the Department of Cultural Affairs).[144] It seems rare that a former Republican pedagogue and municipal employee would return to work for the city. However, this may be a rare case of leniency given that while in prison, Martorell helped educate other prisoners. The following year Martorell returned to work for the city of Barcelona, but it would take a few years before he could try once again to pursue his pedagogical ambitions. With the support of Tomàs Carreras i Artau[145], the city councillor for cultural affairs and former ethics professor at the University of Barcelona, along with the Mayor, Martorell's innovative projects could be implemented. In 1945, Martorell became the director of the Municipal Pedagogical Institution, a branch of the Department of Culture. By 1950, he began working in the Department of Culture as the education negotiator and eventually the creator and director of the IME in 1954. With the support of bureaucrats such as Carreras, Martorell was able to bring into fruition his vision of a Barcelona with an alternative education system.

The final element that made the establishment of the IME possible was the large social service network facilitated by the institution's association with the Delegacion de Cultura. As a branch of the Delegacion de Servicios de Cultura, the IME relied on the support of a larger network of municipal services that included the section of hygiene and the University of Barcelona, for example. Unlike the national public schools that relied on the support of the

[144] This department originated in 1916 under the Mancomunitat with the objective of centralizing and managing activities related to culture and education. It oversaw not only municipal schools, but cultural centers, libraries, and museums, each of which was free to operate autonomously. Domenech, 32.

[145] Tomàs Carreras i Artau was formerly a member of the Lliga Regionalista. In 1932, he was elected as MP for the Province of Girona for Catalan Parliament. He went into exile during the Civil War and returned in 1939. From 1943 to 1953, he served as culture city council for the city of Barcelona.

Church, the IME relied on a larger network of local institutions that was able to grant it the opportunity to assist students in their physical and intellectual development.

What made the local initiative possible was also the Ley de Régimen Local of 1950. Article 6 of the *titulo preliminar* (preliminary title) states that in order for municipalities and provinces to carry out set objectives, they are able to "acquire, pose, reinvigorate, permeate, carry out all types of goods, celebrate contracts, establish projects and public services."[146] Additionally, article 101, Section F, states that in terms of administrative responsibilities, the municipality was responsible for "instruction and culture; physical education; campsites; religious festivals; and lay traditions."[147] With assistance from the department of hygiene, the University of Barcelona, and the Superior Council of Scientific Investigation, the IME was in a privileged position that allowed it to establish the foundations of a local education system.[148]

The IME: An Organized Alternative to National Education

When established in 1954, the aim of the IME was to create a unified institutional body that sought to centralize municipal schools under municipal authority. In this way, the IME exemplified the dual goal of pursuing local autonomy from the state and centralizing under the control of local officials. Navigating within the limited parameters of an authoritarian regime, the IME upheld the original objectives of the municipal schools—to assist the intellectual and physical development of Barcelona's poor children and deliver an alternative pedagogy. But by the 1950s, the innovative pedagogy of the municipal schools had appealed to middle- and upper-

[146] Ministerio de la Gobernacion. "Decreto de 16 de diciembre de 1950 por el que se aprueba el texto articulado de la Ley de Régimen local, de 17 de julio de 1945." Boletin oficial del Estado. Núm 363. 29 diciembre 1950, 6037.
[147] Ibid., 6041.
[148] Jose Maluquer, "proposta d'acrod presenta pel delegate de cultura al plenari a la creació de L'IME (23-III)." Fons d'Educacio. Caixa 67183. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.

class residents. The IME oversaw approximately one-hundred and twenty-seven municipal schools that were a combination of nurseries, primary schools, and schools for children with disabilities.[149]

Under IME supervision, the new municipal system was a coherent and uniform alternative that facilitated local, elite control over individual schools. The regulation of enrollment was a method of ensuring control and stripping some autonomy from individual schools. With the help of the registration services and a psychological laboratory, the IME was able to dictate whether a student was admitted or not. Enrollment was no longer regulated or controlled by each individual school. Sources suggest that this was part of a more systematic and organized method to keep track of education in the city of Barcelona. A 1956 report by the registrars' office details the various tasks as part of its responsibility. For example, in addition to handling 13,645 enrolments, they also prepared the rosters for 43 preschools, 43 girls' schools, 27 boys' schools, and 14 co-ed schools.[150] Registration services were the core of the IME's structure as it centralized administration, allowing administrations in each school and other departments to focus on other matters.

The local education system was distinct in that it had the autonomy to carry out its desired pedagogical projects and was able to do so by centralizing municipal education. While national public schools were obligated to follow a specific curriculum, municipal schools had autonomy in their pedagogical approach. As the next chapter will demonstrate, each school had its own curriculum and pedagogical objectives. The novelty was that while previously schools

[149]Numbers are taken from a list provided by the Oficina de Matriculas for the 1956-57academic year. "Estadistica del Trabajo Realizado en las Oficinas de Matrículas durante el año 1956." Fons d'Educacio. Caixa 67183. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.
[150] Oficina de Matriculas. "Estadistica del Trabajo Realizado en las Oficinas de Matrículas durante el año 1956." Fons d'Educacio. Caixa 67183. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.

with alternative pedagogical models often existed outside of the formal, national education system, they were able to create a network that supported the innovative pedagogy of the municipal schools. Thus, a unified institutional body was simply more than centralizing authority around one governing body: it was also about creating a formal institutional network that supported an alternative model during an authoritarian regime.

Individual Departments

Each of the departments in the IME played an instrumental role to help bring about order and structure within the schools and to carry out the general pedagogical objectives. The objective of the registration was to facilitate enrolment, while allowing the IME to centralize its authority and oversee all municipal schools. The pedagogical library was intended to provide resources for teachers to further educate them on the latest pedagogical trends. The psychological laboratory served the greater student population by assessing their psychological well-being and providing additional services when necessary. Similarly, the department of hygiene worked on not only maintaining the schools' cleanliness but also collaborated with doctors to evaluate and document student health. Despite the fact that there was a clear objective for each department, the founders of the IME still had to convince the city that there was a need for an alternative to the state's education system and explain why all departments had to be under the same roof.

In 1953, José Maluquer,[151] lieutenant mayor of the Department of Culture, drafted a four-page justification of not only the establishment of the IME, but why all departments should be in the same establishment. One of the reasons put forth was so that the more developed departments

[151] Like Porcioloes, it was likely that Malaquer was a municipal official appointed to office by the regime. On November 24, 1962, *Mundo Deportivo* published an article that stated that Poble Nou's swimming club would celebrate a tournament in his honor, similar to the spectacles celebrated for Franco.

could help the less developed ones. For example, "the department of hygiene, had neither a broader municipal reach nor the adequate equipment necessary, such as a psychotechnics cabinet, while others are insufficiently endowed."[152] This quote demonstrates that while Malaquer argued that there was a need to have multiple departments in one center, he acknowledged that there were some shortcomings and that all departments were not well equipped. He nevertheless suggested that having all the departments together would make up for the shortcomings of one or more departments.

Another argument in favor of having several departments in one building was sheer convenience. The *junta municipal de 1a enseñanza* 9 (municipal branch of primary education) and the office of enrollment should be at the same location because "the enrolment personnel will be able to follow instructions from enrolment."[153] Including the department of hygiene in the same building would make it easier for the entire enrolling process "so that students, once they have enrolled, can simultaneously, receive a medical exam and vaccinations."[154] The IME, it seems, would not only streamline the registration, but also be more convenient for administration. It is not entirely clear whether having all these departments under one roof streamlined the process, but administrators such as Malaquer made that claim as a push to get the IME approved.

The centralization of these individual departments did facilitate the IME's ability to function as a legal and autonomous institution under the city's Delegacion de Cultura. This allowed the IME to benefit and flourish for two reasons. First, it would, according to Malaquer,

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

conserve its "personality and internal structure."[155] Other institutions, such as the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas and the University of Barcelona were also autonomous organizations that maintained their internal structures while being part of the Delegacion de Cultura. In a way, the city's cultural service department operated in a federalist manner. While there was a general structure to the Delegacion de Cultura, the sub-delegations were able to operate autonomously with their own rules and regulations.

Second, as an autonomous institution under the Delegacion de Cultura, the IME benefited from relationships with other municipal institutions. As the IME strove to provide pedagogical support for its teachers and health and medical services to its students, having close relationships with pedagogical and social service departments was crucial. In this sense, the IME was much more than a conventional "education" system that focused solely on schooling. Rather, it was truly a more holistic system that went beyond educating students in a classroom but also providing social services, which were just as crucial to the intellectual and physical development of the child. In other words, in its structure, the IME exemplified the "whole child" modern pedagogical framework that its schools would also aim to implement.

Pedagogical Blueprint of the IME

The pedagogical structure of the IME drew on international developments in many parts of Europe and the United States, along with the Second Republic, as sources for its ideas. Municipal pedagogy championed critical thinking and active learning, empowered teachers and parents, premised on whole child development, and linked public health and education. But what really seemed at the core of the IME's agenda was to bring back Barcelona's innovative horizontal education system that focused on the child as a whole and was attentive to their

[155] Ibid.

intellectual and physical well-being. This section will look at some of the alternative pedagogical aims found within Barcelona's municipal schools. Each of the themes provide an alternative method to what Francoist national public schools provided.

The IME not only embraced emerging new pedagogy but provided teachers with the opportunities to attend workshops abroad. With thousands of Republican teachers purged by the dictatorship, training new teachers without experience in the earlier methods was crucial. In addition to the annual conferences, trainings, and seminar courses on the latest European pedagogical trends, the IME had a close relationship with universities in France, Switzerland, and Italy and would send teachers on year-long academic training courses.[156] On October 22, 1958, Martorell wrote a letter to UNESCO's Director of Pedagogical Information for a more detailed overview of courses offered in the above-mentioned countries. Almost a month later, on November 17th, administrator Georges Daillant provided Martorell with details of educational centers (most based at universities) in France, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy. Martorell later received a series of correspondence from different courses such as the French music school and the Italian Center of Pedagogical Studies. The latter center sent an entire course list for a program that would be held from July 27 to August 27, 1959. Over the span of the month, students enrolled in the program would participate in eleven workshops with a variety of topics focusing on primary school education that included, but were not limited to, culture in primary school and applying Montessori methods.[157] While it is unknown how many teachers from Barcelona's municipal schools attended courses offered abroad, what we can infer from

[156]IME, "Curs de Perfecionament a l'estranger correspondencia." 1958-1959/61. Fons d'Educacio. Caixa 67184. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.
[157] Centro di studi pedagogici, "Università Italiana Per Stranieri Perugia. Anno Academico 1959." Fons d'Educacio. Caixa 67184. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.

Martorell's correspondence with the different centers is that there were efforts made by the IME to send its teachers abroad, and that teachers were presumably eager to learn new pedagogical methods.

It is unclear whether the adoption of pedagogical methods from other parts of Europe was an explicit effort to challenge the regime, although it implicitly challenged the regime's official cultural and economic autarchy. What is certain is that there was a desire to readopt Republican pedagogy introduced by the ILE and, in Catalonia more specifically, by Rosa Sensat. The desire to reinstate the educational framework introduced in Catalonia by Rosa Sensat in the early twentieth century expanded during the Second Republic. The framework Martorell adopted as part of the region's curricula stressed the development of a child's own natural abilities and allowed children to grow at their own pace. Educators were provided a better understanding of the various levels of child development through training courses. Sensat was one of the first who introduced methods of active learning to Spain after attending courses in France, Italy, and Switzerland. In this way, the IME marked the first step in the re-emergence of an alternative way of learning informed by local institutional networks.

During, and after the Civil War, Republican educators were removed from teaching positions, while some were even exiled. The purge of leftist educators was especially symbolic of the elimination of ideas that challenged the Francoist government. The teacher training programs made education more comprehensive as it focused on more than just the student and considered programs for teachers. It was important not only to be knowledgeable about the emerging pedagogical trends but also employ them in the classroom. After thousands of Republican teachers were removed from their positions, and some sent into exile, appropriately trained teachers were key to rebuilding the municipal education system.

A Horizontal Educational System

Within the local education system, there was less of a top-down authority of administration than was the case in the Francoist system, despite the institutional centralization of the IME. Thus, the IME centralized its operations but delegated a good deal of autonomy to schools, teachers and parents. Within the local education system, the expertise of the teachers was respected (and encouraged) as was the participation of parent involvement in a child's development. The empowerment of teachers and parents created a horizontal education system—a structure that was distinct from the vertical, hierarchical national education system. The IME made this possible by providing educational programs and support for teachers and parents to to support a child's development. Through the teacher training programs, library, and supplemental support, the IME made sure that all the adults in a child's life were able to properly assist in their intellectual and physical development.

Sanitation and hygiene, for example, were pressing issues in Barcelona. Rather than relegating the responsibilities to the medical or hygiene departments, teachers had the ability to intervene. Teachers were now able to educate students about matters of hygiene and work directly with sanitation experts regarding any student concerns. In fact, the IME considered teachers "privileged observers" for their ability to carry out the daunting and laborious task of caring for the intellectual and physical wellbeing of the student.[158] Within the realms of hygiene and within the administrative hierarchy, the teacher now held a powerful position.

Martorell believed that the IME should include an extensive library and pedagogical support with the intention to import foreign models and reintroduce a model of active learning

[158] Resumen Estadistico de la Labor Realizada por el Personel del Servico de Higene Escolar: Año 1958." Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67180. Carpeta 8. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

that had been rejected by the regime. Maintaining a well-educated teaching staff was a top priority for the directors of the IME. The first seven points in Article 1 address the IME's obligation to provide teachers with the most up-to-date pedagogical currents. Article 1C states the IME will "make sure that teachers are given access to information on the latest pedagogical currents, workshops, and seminars from around the world."[159] Access to the current pedagogical trends extended beyond formal education itself for the educators of the time. Rather, it was a pioneering effort to develop a broader philosophy regarding the latest pedagogical trends. If the educational system was to shape the future citizenry, then the teachers educating them had to have the appropriate training.

Teacher education extended beyond regular working hours, encouraging the IME to accommodate teachers' busy schedules. On February 6, 1958, Barcelona's secretary general Juan Ignacio Bermejo, circulated a notice in which he relayed a message from the mayor requesting that jobs where employees were working after-hours required formal justification. The reason the mayor and city officials gave was that "jobs with extraordinary hours can be carried out only when indispensable, as stated in paragraph 2 section 35 of the budget executions of 1958."[160] In response to the *circular* 823, the IME had about a week and a half to respond and justify the need for after-hour services for several of its departments. The head of pedagogical services argued that "pedagogical services is large" as it assisted and worked alongside other departments. However, within the response, the pedagogical library was the department that should be allowed

[159] "Reglamento Organico del Institutio Municipal de Educación." Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67178. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[160] Juan Ignacio Bermejo y Gironés. "Circular no 823" in "Resposta IME a la circular No 823 referent a la regulació del Treballs de Tarda (servei pedagogic, laboratory de psicologia escolar, oficina de matricules). Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67178. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

to work after hours. The pedagogical library served both teachers and professionals, alike. Thus, they stated that " beyond the institution's regular hours, the [library] should remain every night from 6 to 9 and from 4 to 6 on Saturday afternoons during times when teachers are not in the classroom."[161] The department prided itself on being able to provide courses and conferences that are offered at different times. Without the extended hours, "teachers, who would be the ones interested, would not be able to attend." [162] For this reason it was important for the department to remain open after hours, with the appropriate personnel, Ms. Delolós and Ms. Margarit, to attend to the public.[163] Within the IME, some components of education happened beyond the traditional working hours.

This horizontal education system that empowered teachers and parents challenged the Francoist educational curriculum in two ways. First, unlike the Francoist education system where teachers were expected to disseminate a designated curriculum, in this system teachers had the autonomy to design their class according to both the school's objectives and to the needs of the students. The objective of the educator was to understand the intellectual capacities of all students and guide them through a process of maturation as they developed within the classroom.[164]

Second, the involvement of the parent was extended to educational efforts in the home with the hopes of reaching the broader populace and normalizing specific customs and habits in the home. Making sure that students performed well in school and became exceptional citizens

[161] "Servicio Pedagogico" in "Resposta IME a la circular No 823 referent a la regulació del Treballs de Tarda (servei pedagogic, laboratory de psicologia escolar, oficina de matricules). Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67178. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.

was a collaborative effort. The psychological laboratory suggested that teachers, parents, and all adults within close proximity to children were expected to keep a close eye on abnormal behaviors.[165] The parents had the task of keeping a close eye on the child and making sure they did not exhibit behavioral or psychological problems.[166] But ultimately, the task of the parent was to provide the support their child needed in order to develop a strong mind and body. Just as the success of the IME depended on the collaboration between distinct departments, so too did the success of the child. That success depended on the careful observation and guidance of adults within proximity to the child. Thus education was a collective effort in which all adults in their life should support a child's development in some capacity.

A 1954 publication in *Solidaridad Nacional*,[167] a Spanish newspaper, part of the Movimiento's publications, reveals that one of the primary objectives of the laboratory was to identify gifted children, which supported the goal of individualized whole child learning. The article notes, "at the scholastic psychological laboratory, gifted children will be selected for scholarships."[168] And while the article further lauds all of the great things that will be carried out by the laboratory, it also highlights the fact that in Barcelona there are not many intellectually deficient children. [169] The unknown author states that only 3 in 100 of Barcelona's children are

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[165] "Laboratorio de Psicologia Escolar del Institutio Municipal de Educaión" Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67182. Carpeta 22. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[166] "Laboratorio de Psicologia Escolar del Institutio Municipal de Educaión" Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67182. Carpeta 22. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[167] *Solidaridad Nacional* was a Spanish newspaper published in Barcelona from 1939-1974. As the primary newspaper of the Spanish Vertical Organization (Organización Sindical Española, OSE) also known as the *Sindicato Vetical*, welcomed the participation of notable Spanish authors such as Manuel Vazquez Montalbán, Robert Saladrigas, and Luis Marsillach.
[168] "Un nuevo servicio municipal en beneficio de la infancia," *Solidaridad Nacional*. Jueves 19 de Agosto de 1954.
[169] Ibid.

in need of urgent special attention.[170] This statement is made not only to suggest that Barcelona also had assistance programs for those who may have needed it, but also implied that the city was home to a highly intelligent citizenry. The source of the data is unknown, which introduces the question of whether these statistics are fact or used for propaganda. Either way, the article concludes by urging parents to take advantage of the services and have their child evaluated. It notes, "the institution puts at the disposal of parents the possibility of knowing their children's abilities and guidance they should provide."[171] Without the parents' support, and without the collaborative effort of the adults, the institution would not have been able to provide quality holistic education that met the needs of each child.

The IME attempted to educate parents by adopting the best practices possible and providing general information about a child's physical development. For example, the IME placed great importance on nutrition and, in 1960, published a series of pamphlets on what were the proper foods (and quantities) to feed children from birth to the age of twelve.[172] Items such as milk and vegetables were variables that were constant throughout childhood development. The department of hygiene encouraged parents to gradually introduce all types of foods—vegetables, fruits, meats, fats, and sugars. From twelve months to the age of five, parents were encouraged to boil potatoes and vegetables to make it easier for children to eat them.[173] By the age of seven, children could have the same types of foods adults consumed, but in moderation.

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[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] There were a series of 5 pamphlets focusing on the development of children from five different age groups: 12-18 months, 1 ½ and 3 years old, 3 to 5 years old, 7 to 10 years old, and 10 to 12 years old. Cartilla de Alimentación. Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67176. Carpeta 10. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[173] Ayuntamiento de Barcelona: Delegacion de Servicio de Sanidad. ¿Que necesita su hijo para crecer fuerte y sano?: Entre 3 y 5 años and Entre 7 y 10 años. Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67176. Carpeta 10. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

The pamphlets revealed some potential roadblocks. The IME was aware that many of the students were from low-income families that may have had trouble accessing select types of recommended food, so they provided cheaper alternatives on certain items. For example, eating cow or horse liver was just as healthy as eating chicken or rabbit.[174] Similarly, consuming codfish and palometa were just as good as hake and sole fish.[175] Eating healthy did not mean that a family had to spend beyond what they could afford. Rather, it was about being educated on proper nutrition.

Finding alternative foods for lower-income families and ensuring proper preparation were two elements that the municipal schools also adopted from Maria Montessori, who believed that diet played a fundamental role in a child's development and recognized that all food items were not accessible to people from across the social spectrum. Yet, this did not mean that poverty should be an excuse for a poor diet. The important part was for the mother to receive proper education on nutrition and the child's diet to support proper development. Montessori believed that this was especially the case "in neighborhoods where standards of child hygiene are not yet prevalent in the home."[176] Thus, schools should play an important role in providing poorer and working-class children with a large part of their diet. This did not mean, however, that wealthier children were better off in every way. Wealthier families still required guidance. Montessori believed that wealthier families had the means to have more advanced, one-on-one training to develop additional knowledge of children's diets.

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[174] Ayuntamiento de Barcelona: Delegacion de Servicio de Sanidad. ¿Que necesita su hijo para crecer fuerte y sano?: 12 a 18 meses. Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67176. Carpeta 10. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Maria Montessori, *The Montessori Method: Scientific Pedagogy as Applied to the Child Education in "The Children's Houses" with Additions and Revisions by the Author.* (Roger A. McCaffrey Publishing: CT), 125.

The horizontal education system instituted through the IME paved the way for greater integration across the educational system in the final years of the dictatorship. In the final decade of the regime, we see an evolution in parent participation from parent involvement in the child's education to parent associations. This phenomenon was not exclusive to Barcelona. Parents' associations were one of the many types of civil society associations that formed in the final years of the regime advocating for citizen rights.[177] In 1972, parents of students attending the Escola del Bosc established a parents' association in which they could collaborate with directors and teachers to carry out scholastic objectives, help publish news regarding the school, and carry out social events between parents and teachers, among other things.[178] With time, parents would begin to have more direct involvement in their children's education through the associations. But even before this development, during the last years of the regime, politicians and elites in Barcelona found ways to create a horizontal education system in a vertical authoritarian regime.

The "Whole" Child in Alternative Education

As should be clear already, one of the particularities of the IME's pedagogical ideas was focusing on "whole" education. I refer to whole education as a model that includes the intellectual, physical, and psychological development of the child. While Francoist education focused predominantly on morals and ethics, municipal schools, with the help of medical experts, worked on rearing healthy bodies. The psychological laboratory and the department of hygiene worked to try and assess the physical and intellectual aptitude of each child.

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[177] Tamar Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), Pamela Radcliff, *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain : Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transition, 1960-78* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[178] "Estatutos que regiran a la "Asociacion de padres de almunos de la escuela municipal de bosque de Montjuich." Fons de la Generalitat de Catalunya: Departament de Justicia. Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.

The laboratory used evaluation guides from schools during the Second Republic and from around the world to assess the development of students. One of the samples used was from the techniques used by the Colegio de San Ignacio, located in the affluent neighborhood of Sariá, during the 1930s. The first page is intended to report the general state of the child during a given academic year.[179] The second page has a more comprehensive breakdown of a student's psychological and pedagogical development. Adults evaluating the students used a pie chart that looked at 24 points for each student such as the ability to concentrate, verbal expression, and critical thinking, to name a few.[180] The final page provides a detailed breakdown of a student's physiological development and sanitation. What stands out in this last section is the way in which "sanitation" also includes observation of their physical state. The observer is to examine the student's vision and tonsils, as well as evaluate their skin and scalp. At the same time, there are categories, such as the ears and the nose, that are a bit ambiguous. It is unclear whether the examiner was to assess their hearing and sense of smell or how clean those body parts were. One might assume that the categories were intentionally ambiguous, allowing the examiner to make general observations about the physical state of the child.

By focusing on the development of the child as a whole, educators were able to get a better assessment of the child and its developmental needs. Whereas the Francoist education system was focused predominantly on rearing pious loyal Spanish citizens, the IME's pedagogical strategies suggest that when it came to child rearing, more emphasis should be placed on the overall development of the child.

Critical Thinking as a Marker of Intellect

[179] "Informes del Gabinete Paidometrico: Colegio de San Ignacio- Barcelona-Sarriá" Fons d'Educacio. Caixa 67184. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.
[180] Ibid.

Critical thinking was an important component of the alternative pedagogy championed by municipal officials. Instead of using textbooks and materials approved by the Church and the Ministry of Education, each school had the autonomy to create the curricula that best fit the needs of its students. Specifics of the schools' curricula and day-to-day life experiences will be detailed in the next chapter. In general, however, the IME found ways to assess not only the students' ability to think critically, but also their ability to internalize and apply what they were learning in school.

One of the ways that critical thinking was measured was through a series of examinations that aimed to assess a students' ability to use reason and good judgment. In order to create their own system of assessment, the IME obtained sample examinations from other places throughout Spain, such as Madrid and Valencia, as well as other countries such as France and Italy. A source acquired from the Instituto San Jose de Calasanz de Pedagogía, a research institution located in Madrid that focuses on pedagogical research, provides insight into how such evaluations were carried out. While the sources come from a pedagogical research institution, they were part of the psychological laboratory's resource base. One of the tests acquired from the institution was an exam titled *malas acciones* (bad actions). The two-part exam was intended to test a student's ability to identify good and bad behavior. In the first section, the students are given four passages followed by six questions in which they are to identify and rank the "bad" characters in the passage.[181] The questions begin by asking "Quien es la niña/o mala/o" (who is the bad girl/boy?) followed by "Y la/el que sigue?" (And the following?)[182] This first part of the exam seems to have been intended to be effortless, allowing the students to easily categorize the actions of the

[181] "Malas Acciones" Fons d'Educacio. Caixa 67184. IMEB. Ajuntament d'Barcelona.
[182] Ibid.

people in the scenario. The second part, however, was more analytical in nature and intended for the students to be more critical in their responses. These questions described a general scenario, followed by questions asking: "está bien o mal?" (Is it good or bad?) and "por qué?" (Why?)[183] The follow up questions suggest that this was intended for the student to think about and analyze the scenario they were presented. In fact, the beginning of the second part of the exam states, "now you will look at questions that are ambiguous, meaning, you will not know who is good or bad and you will tell us what you think."[184] It is not entirely clear what the Instituto San Jose de Calasanz de Pedagogía's objective was in creating the exam, or if the IME used it in any manner. Given the nature of the questions and the fact that the exam did not require memorization or recall information, we can assume that the exam could have been intended to assess a student's critical thinking skills, as well as intellectual development. It is not entirely clear as to how exactly the IME's psychological laboratory drafted their evaluations, but what we can see is a sample of the broader pedagogical resources from which pedagogues and psychologists consulted to create an examination template for the IME.

Public Health, the Body, and the Mind

The alternative pedagogical system extended well beyond the classroom and aimed to address broader issues of public health. The department of health and hygiene (also known as scholastic prophylaxis[185]), like the psychological laboratory, worked to preserve the health of students. It was one of the more robust departments as it had several responsibilities: determining

[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] "Servicio de Coordinacion y Productividad. Inspecion de Servicios." Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67182. Carpeta 8. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona. 9 de marzo 1966.

a child's psychophysical aptitude before enrolment, monitoring students' health, monitoring infectious diseases, and taking care of the health and hygiene of the municipal schools.[186]

Hygiene provided a surprising window into the educational ambitions of local officials. Education and health, more broadly, played an important role in the project to rebuild, clean up and beautify the city of Barcelona from the 1950s onwards. The concern for children, as evident in the educational reforms, was used to provide a link between elites and the local government, who were then empowered to control the potential rise and spread of infectious diseases. The child became the embodied site to fix the issue of sanitation through education, which, in this case, involved the establishment of a department concerned with issues of hygiene within the local education system.

This preoccupation with hygiene in the schools could, in large part, have been a byproduct of the Polio epidemic that shook the childhood population in Spain between 1956 and 1963. José Tuells suggests that the regime refused to acknowledge and confront the disease[187] and it was not until 1963 that vaccination campaigns began to confront the epidemic.[188] Thus, the issue of disease, hygiene, and infectious transmission was relegated to the local level.

All students had their first encounter with the department of hygiene after they officially enrolled. The objective of the first medical evaluation was to "determine the psychophysical state of the child and unmask the contagious diseases."[189] If by any chance a child had any contagious diseases, or if the doctor discovered there was something wrong, then they would proceed to come up with methods to treat or cure the child. The procedure was not a method of weeding out

[186] Ibid.
[187] José Tuells and Berta Echániz-Martínez, "The fight against polio through the NO-DO newsreels during the Francoism period in Spain," PLoS One 14 (11): 1.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.

students but rather taking care of those who were enrolled in one of the municipal schools. The objective was to identify and treat those who could put others at risk. The department went beyond simply treating children, but also provided medical services to teachers and students' families. The only group of students that were excluded from the services were those enrolled in national schools.[190] From this, we understand that the IME extended its services to members of the community that were linked to the institution.

Beginning in 1958, the IME kept a statistical record of the services carried out by the employees in the department of hygiene. The lists included detailed accounts of what illnesses students contracted over the course of the year, how many students were treated in the nurses' office, and the number of medical services offered to students in auxiliary medical facilities. In addition to documenting the contracted illnesses, all of those employed by the IME, regardless of department, made suggestions for future research projects or methods for improving hygienic conditions. Also starting that academic year, the department made a greater effort to conduct regular medical physical exams in schools. The theory behind the objective was that a periodic physical examination throughout the school year under the supervision of the teacher was essential for the evaluation of the child.[191]

With the help of the department of hygiene, the IME was able to attend to the health needs of each student while making sure any contagious diseases did not spread. At a critical moment in which Spain was developing and welcoming the international community, maintaining a healthy population was important. Children who attended schools became the

[190] Ibid.
[191] "Resumen Estadistico de la Labor Realizada por el Personel del Servico de Higene Escolar: Año 1958." Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67180. Carpeta 8. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

primary concern.. Nevertheless, the child was an extension of the broader community and thus concern over public health was used as a means of control over the people of Barcelona.

Social Engineering and A Local Civilizing Process

In addition to the altruistic educational agenda, the IME also embodied the local elite's efforts to civilize the greater population through the monitoring and socialization of the lower classes. The May 1954 issue of *Gazeta Municipal* published an article detailing the establishment of the IME, including a list of its departments and a descriptive proof that their pedagogical objectives complied with the rules and regulations of the *Ley de Régimen Local* of 1950.[192] Journalist and conservative politician Antonio Royo Villanova[193], described education as a socialization mechanism that is adaptable to any environment in which the members of the community (i.e. family, municipality, nation, etc.) have agency over future citizens by physiologically, psychologically, and morally shaping them into members of that particular community.

Dating back to the early twentieth century, the municipal schools controlled the application and admission process as an opportunity for experts to weed out undesirable characteristics while also targeting certain populations. The screening process was not new to the 1950s. Rather, it was part of the municipal school system and an important part of the admission process in the first half of the century. The Escola del Bosc had a relatively strict guideline as to which students would be admitted. Children of poor backgrounds living in neighborhoods with poor hygiene, and thus with poor health, were considered over children who did not have these

[192] The official name of the law is the *Ley de Régimen Local*, 16 de Diciembre de 1950.
[193] Antonio Royo Villanova was a conservative politician and journalist best known for his writings on anti-Catalanism in the twentieth century. Although it may come as a surprise that Royo published an article detailing Barcelona's alternative education system, he lauded the IME for its ability to establish a centralized institution that would serve the community.

struggles.[194] At the same time, students who exhibited signs of mental illness, deviant behavior, or came from a family with a criminal background, were not considered for admission into the schools.[195] In this sense, the enrollment office allowed the IME to manage all applications to all the schools within the city. The meticulous application process was a way to eliminate candidates with developmental or mental disabilities that were not fully suited to be enrolled in municipal schools, while at the same time accepting the working-class children who most needed "civilizing."

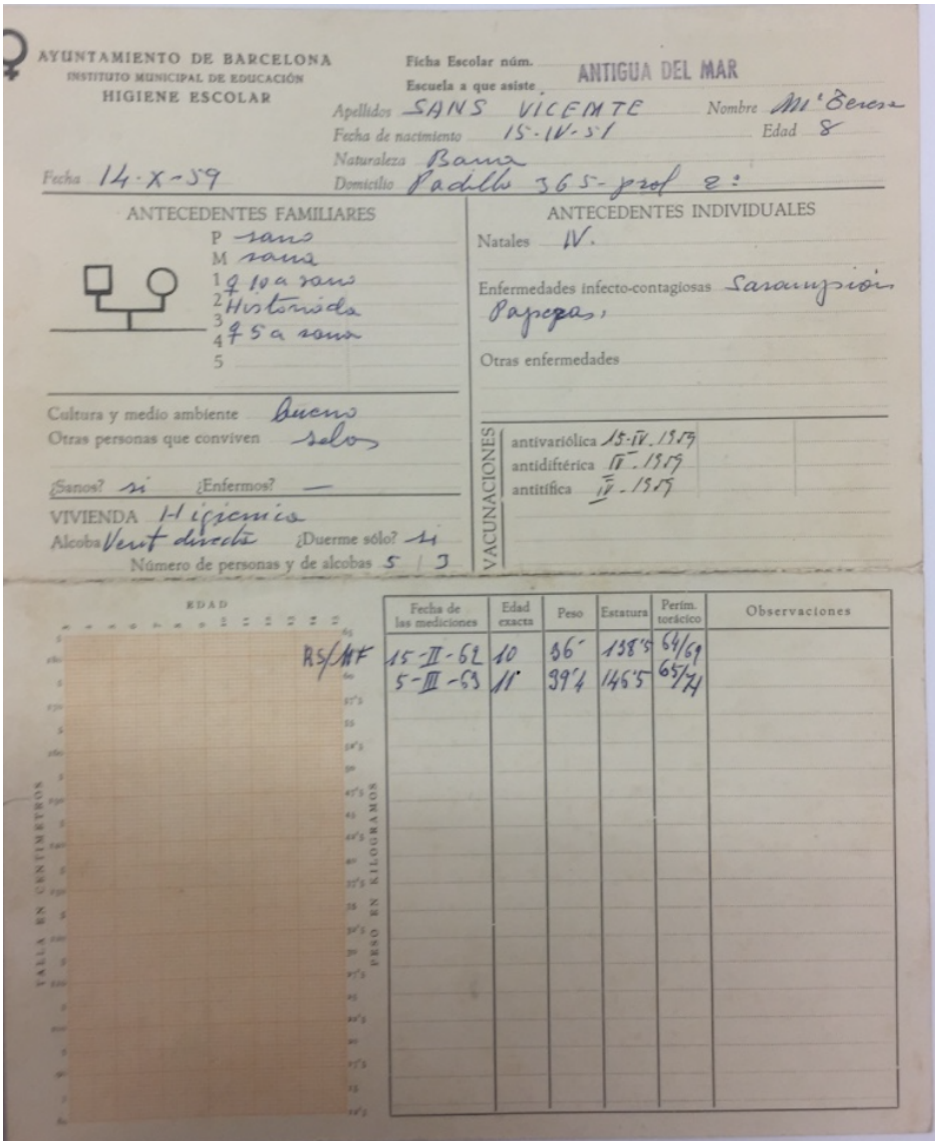
Once the students were admitted into the program, the careful observation of individual students remained. Observation and evaluation was a two sided process; on the one hand, it was used to foster whole child learning, while on the other it could be a mechanism of control and surveillance. Each municipal school kept a file of each student that documented their physical and intellectual development, a concept that dates to the origins of municipal schools. The students were tested in mathematics, language arts, and arts. Furthermore, the file noted what some of their favorite subjects were. In terms of health, the schools also kept close records of medical issues, including oral health. In other words, the purpose of enrollment services was to keep comprehensive records of each student and have it accessible to the appropriate department when necessary.

One of the methods of control used to both assist and monitor students was through medical exams. With the help of the department of hygiene, the IME and doctors kept a detailed medical card for each student. The double-sided form documented the student's medical information and also included the details of their parents' and siblings' medical conditions. Some

[194] "Esuela al Aire Libre: Establecida en el Parque de Montjuich". Institució Municipal de Educació. Sin Dada. 1.
[195] Ibid.

of the important medical information detailed was any underlying medical conditions, dates of their last vaccines, height, weight, and body measurements.[196] Some of the more particular details were questions regarding their home life and the hygienic conditions of the home. A completed medical record from 1959 (Figure 1.2) indicates that the student lived only with their family, and they were all healthy.[197] The records further indicate the overall hygienic conditions of the home, the number of bedrooms, and assessed the ratio of number of people in the home to the number of bedrooms. This record indicates that the home in which the student lived was hygienic and they slept in their own room. It is not clear how exactly they obtained that information: if there was someone from the IME that went to the home to attain those statistics or if the parents provided that information. But what we can draw from this information is the way in which we see a broader concern over disease and the homelife affecting the well-being of other students and the community. The IME did not only serve to educate but also monitor the well-being of the community by getting a glimpse into the home and health life of the people in the city.

[196] Higiene Escolar. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona. "Fitxa del servei d'higiene escolar (complete)," Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67182. Carpeta 14. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1959.
[197] Ibid.


AYUNTAMIENTO DE BARCELONA
INSTITUTO MUNICIPAL DE EDUCACIÓN
HIGIENE ESCOLAR

Ficha Escolar núm.
Escuela a que asiste ANTIGUA DEL MAR

Apellidos SANS VICENTE Nombre Mª Teresa
Fecha de nacimiento 15-IV-51 Edad 8
Naturaleza Barna
Domicilio Padilla 365-pral 2ª

Fecha 14-X-59

ANTECEDENTES FAMILIARES
P sano
M sana
1 9 10 a sans
2 Histerida
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4 9 5 a sana
5

ANTECEDENTES INDIVIDUALES
Natales IV.
Enfermedades infecto-contagiosas Sarampión Paperas.
Otras enfermedades

Cultura y medio ambiente Bueno
Otras personas que conviven solos

¿Sanos? si ¿Enfermos? —

VIVIENDA 1-1 higiénica
Alcoba Vent directa ¿Duerme sólo? si
Número de personas y de alcobas 5 / 3

VACUNACIONES
antivariólica 15-IV-1957
antidiftérica IV-1957
antitífica IV-1957

EDAD
TALLA EN CENTIMETROS
PESO EN KILOGRAMOS
RS/MF

Fecha de las mediciones	Edad exacta	Peso	Estatura	Perím. torácico	Observaciones
15-II-62	10	36'	138'5	64/69	
5-III-63	11	39'4	146'5	65/74	

Figure 1.2—Student Medical Card, 1959.

Fostering a hygienic city depended on the creation of healthy bodies. The objective of the municipal schools was to assist the intellectual and physical development of children within the city whose parents were of a humble background.[198] The services were aimed at children whose environmental conditions, such as poor plumbing, made it difficult for them to develop at the

[198] *Escuelas al aire libre y servicios anejos*. Ayuntamineto de Barcelona: Delegación de Cultura. Instituto Pedagógico Municipal. Barcelona, 1949. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67178. Carpeta 25. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 5.

same rate as other children around the same age, situating underprivileged children in an inferior position and making them susceptible to diseases.[199] Therefore, "being placed in favourable conditions can compensate for their slow development and poor plumbing at home and transform them into completely normal children."[200] What the IME was trying to do was elevate underprivileged children to improve the overall health of the population and presumably improve the productivity of the labor force that was the engine of growth for "Grand Barcelona".

Conclusion:

This chapter uses the IME to demonstrate that the regime was not able to fully control and homogenize Spanish education. I hold that local institutions, with the help of municipal officials, were able to create an alternative education system with values and goals distinct from, if not necessarily in opposition to, those of the regime. While the main primary source of support of the national education system was the Church, the schools under the IME's umbrella relied on a vast network of municipal services that assisted children and their families in matters beyond the classroom. Concern over intellectual development and proper health and hygiene was channeled through an organized enrollment department, while pedagogical services attended to the needs and training of the teachers.

The space for this alternative, local education system stems from Barcelona's privileged position in both the pre-civil war era and under the Franco regime. As the center of active learning, Barcelona welcomed the support of pedagogues like Giner de los Ríos, Sensat, Ferrer and Martorell, for example, in the first half of the twentieth century. Under the authoritarian regime, the city capitalized on the *Ley de Régimen Local* of 1950 and took advantage of

[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.

privileges afforded to them by expanding their cultural institutions. The IME was able to exist because of gaps from above, local initiatives and institutions that provided infrastructure, and pedagogues and local elites with a vision of education for both public good and social control. At the same time, there is no evidence that the IME directly challenged or opposed the dictatorship. Thus, it does not fit neatly into the usual binary between state control and opposition that dominates the framing of the Franco regime in much of the historiography.

Nevertheless, the carving out of autonomous space did result in the expansion of power and authority for municipal officials and elites, even if simply at the local level. Setting up the parameters of an alternative education system that was informed by concerns over hygiene, the home, and nutrition can be understood as a means of empowering themselves and establishing a hierarchy within the city of Barcelona. At a time when access to national politics were inaccessible, local services like education was a space where Barcelona's elite could attempt to reestablish their authority, even if only at the local level. In a sense, children became a political tool used by national and local elites to disseminate their vision of society through monopolizing the space of education. While public welfare and social control may seem like contradictory goals, within a bourgeois vision of the modern city, they could be viewed as complementary.

The alternative way of learning championed by the IME's pedagogues opens a new perspective on the power of local institutions under the Franco regime. The educational project did not emerge out of opposition to the authoritarian state and therefore does not support either of the main arguments about education under the Franco regime, based on the dichotomy between totalitarian control or neglect. Despite the Church's influence over the education system and the regime's totalitarian efforts, we can see that there was a gap in institutional structures and legislation that allowed for the existence of an alternative education system. This is not to

say that the IME and the municipal schools were able to solve the sweeping challenges that schools faced, especially in poorer neighborhoods, but they at least provided a space that could support childhood development beyond the confines of the classroom. What stands out about the IME, as well as Barcelona's municipal school system of the time, is the emergence of alternative perspectives that existed within the parameters set up by the supposedly "omnipresent" regime.

Chapter II: Learning Outdoors: A Glimpse at Day-to-Day Life in Municipal Schools

Introduction:

While the IME was established in 1953, municipal schools had existed as early as 1914. Constructed with the aim of providing sickly children with a clean and healthy learning environment, they experimented with modern pedagogical ideas from around the world. While municipal schools had the support of the Comissió de Cultura of the city of Barcelona, they were never part of a centralized institution that focused on the needs of the schools. Interestingly, the development of the IME under the Franco regime was the first time that the city of Barcelona was able to offer an array of support—from medical evaluations for students to pedagogical support for teachers—while allowing each school to operate autonomously.

This chapter looks at the day-to-day operations of two municipal schools —the Escola del Mar and the Escola del Bosc —and how they implemented alternative pedagogical methods during the Franco regime. It assesses the continuities of active learning educational methods from the Republican period that survived under an authoritarian political regime. I argue that while the regime attempted to foster competent, obedient, moral, and loyal Spanish citizens, the evidence from the two case studies in this chapter suggest that with the support of the IME, Catalan pedagogues and municipal administrators aimed to foster critical thinkers. Close reading of teacher and student personal journals, student assignments, school publications, and oral testimonies reveal that Barcelona's municipal schools were able to maintain some alternative educational ideas. While it is difficult to prove that the intellectual effort to provide an alternative education system was an explicit challenge to the state, I conclude that, at the very least, alternative sites of socialization that focus on critical thinking, leadership, community-building,

and independence undermined the regime's emphasis on obedience, religion, rote learning, and Spanish nationalism in the formation of future citizens

The Escola del Bosc and Escola del Mar provide us with an unusual opportunity to delve into the day-to-day experience of how education functioned in a semi-autonomous space. While there are other municipal schools, the schools used in this chapter are two schools that have retained vast archival material from their origins to the present day. The history and everyday life at the schools are, more or less, pedagogically continuous from the pre- and post-civil war era. The records from the municipal schools offer glimpses into students thinking critically, working collaboratively, and student and teacher evaluations. More broadly, the sources detail the process whereby teachers and students interacted with one another daily to build a pedagogical approach that was rooted in these everyday interactions. The day-to-day experience of life at the municipal schools, then, forged new understandings of childhood, of normal physical and intellectual development, and of citizenship. Through active learning, children engaged in a series of activities that mimicked real-world scenarios and encouraged students to think critically, while building community amongst their peers.

At the heart of daily experiences lay themes of leadership, hands on learning, and whole development that was facilitated through observation and feedback. The municipal schools developed a series of hands-on activities which placed students in leadership positions where they were expected to develop through challenging tasks. The alternative education system championed by municipal schools also introduced an unconventional means of evaluation for the time—observation. Through observation and by providing insightful feedback, teachers assessed students according to their ability to think critically, interact with their peers, and develop over time.

One of the key challenges to the Francoist education model was the secularism of the municipal schools. The Church had sweeping powers over public and private education, as it worked with the Ministry of Education to ensure that approved textbooks reinforced a Spanish nationalism premised on Catholicism, obedience, and patriotism. Municipal schools, however, attempted to maintain their secular curriculum despite the fact that they adopted some of the regime's religious-based agenda. The religious-centered education of the regime utilized rote learning and encouraged gender-segregated schools, while Barcelona's municipal schools were part of a Republican culture that encouraged active learning and co-education. During the Franco regime, municipal schools were able to maintain part of the pre-civil war culture as they continued to offer secular education and encourage active learning while forced to eliminate co-education.

Another important element in the alternative education tool kit was the concept of play. In the early 20th century, Spanish teacher Teodoro Causí and philosopher Manuel García Morente understood play as more than a medical or utilitarian tool. For them, play was existential, a "reflection of the child's essential being."[201] Notable pedagogues Maria Montessori, Rosa Sensat i Vilà, and Margarita Aranda Baciero centered their classrooms on activities that gave primacy to the child's sensations, physical exploration of objects, and engagement with the natural world. The education system championed by Montessori and her contemporaries was unique in that the child gained agency over their learning and development through play.

There were, however, some limits to the continuity of the republican education system under Franco, as the municipal education system also emphasized hierarchy, obedience, and

[201] Anna Kathryn Kendrick, *Humanizing Childhood in Early Twentieth-Century Spain*. (Oxford: Legenda, 2020), 135.

authority. Schools found themselves integrating aspects of religious education in a unique manner while still prioritizing active learning. The result was a hybrid, semi-autonomous space in which schools incorporated elements of the regime-approved curriculum while maintaining some of the alternative education methods.

The scholarship on the ambitions and implementation of the new education movement in Spain is still relatively recent and remains thin. In addition, there is little scholarship on the survival of elements of active learning and alternative pedagogy during the dictatorship. For the early 20th century, the work has predominantly emphasized the altruistic ambitions and their implementation in the outdoor schools. Anna Kendrick, for example, argues that implementation of alternative methods was influenced by promising new scientific and philosophical methods. Sara Gonzàlez, Bernat Sureda, and Francisca Comas contend that the objective of outdoor schools was to prevent diseases, improve hygiene, engage in the active learning process, increase physical exercise, and promote the need for modern infrastructure to support child development.

Gonzàlez, Sureda, and Comas consider the pedagogical success of the schools. By using photographic evidence, they suggest that the municipal schools were able to implement methods that demonstrated success by capturing the importance of sleep, proper bathing techniques, adequate nutrition, exercise, and medical observation as a form of preventative medicine.[202] I counter that photography alone cannot assess the achievements of active learning. Measuring long-term achievement is challenging in this case, given that it is difficult to evaluate whether students held on to the knowledge and education they received in school. My objective then is not to measure success, especially in the more hostile context of the dictatorship, but to

[202] Sara Gonzàlez Gómez, Bernat Sureda García, and Francisca Comas Rubí, "La Renovación del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona y su diffusion fotográfica (1908-1936). *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, 75 (268): 531.

demonstrate the survival of some of these alternative educational methods and their role in providing a counterpoint to the model offered by the Franco regime.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part looks at municipal schools in the pre-Civil War era. More specifically, it details the history of the municipal schools and their pedagogical tenets in the period before the Civil War. The second half looks at how the schools were able to maintain some, but not all, of the alternative methods developed in the early twentieth century, despite the regime change. By looking closely at students' class assignments, journal reflections, and the teachers' daily journals, we are able to evaluate the pedagogical continuities—and discontinuities—under the Franco regime.

Barcelona's Outdoor Schools in the early Twentieth Century

The establishment of outdoor schools in the early twentieth century introduced alternative educational principles to the city of Barcelona and throughout Spain. The pedagogical principles that have defined the municipal school's alternative education methods are premised on play, critical thinking, hands-on learning, and developing the child as a whole (i.e. focus on physical and intellectual development). This approach, which was already popular in Europe and parts of the United States, invited independent thinking, marginalized religious indoctrination, and encouraged intellectual development. Moreover, in many cases, schools were in open and remote areas where students were able to engage with their natural surroundings. Engagement with nature allowed sick students to develop healthier and stronger bodies. This new system rejected the hierarchical structure associated with the Old Regime and embraced egalitarian values associated with republican culture.[203]

[203] For more open-air schools Laura Lee Downs, *Childhood in the Promised Land : Working-Class Movements and the Colonies de Vacances in France, 1880-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), Geert Thyssen, "Odorous Childhoods and Scented Worlds of Learning:

Outdoor schools began in Europe at the turn of the century and were typically child-led and play-based, where the role of the adult was to facilitate learning with minimal to no intervention. In industrial areas, the aim of the schools was to provide educational and medical support to children affected by industry and poor living conditions. Thus, education in open spaces such as the beach and forest provided sickly students with the natural and clean environment necessary for healthy growth and development.

What was unique about Barcelona's experience was that it was one of the few places in Spain where a strategic plan was set forth and carried out by the city, not by the state. Pedagogues in Barcelona adopted the outdoor school paradigm not only to correct some of the shortcomings of industrialization, but also to introduce a different style of education system. What was perhaps even more unique to Barcelona's example in comparison to other European educational projects was its link to Catalan identity. Catalan pedagogues used alternative education as a distinctive method that focused on identity premised on defending the Catalan language and culture. The broader cultural nationalist project allowed for a cross-political alliance of social reformers, and the alternative Catalan municipal education system drew the support of elites from different political parties. The objective was to create schools that would promote model citizens and workers, while implementing a large project aimed at improving education, municipal services, and health within the general population.[204] The Mancomunitat's health inspectors concluded that 40% of the children living in Barcelona's working-class

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a Sensory History of Health and Outdoor Education Initiatives in Western Europe (1900s-1960s)." *The senses & society* 14, no. 2 (2019): 173–193; David Dee, "'Wandering Jews'? British Jewry, Outdoor Recreation and the Far-Left, 1900-1939." *Labor history* 55, no. 5 (2014): 563–579; Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

[204] Domenech, 339.

neighborhoods lived in unsanitary conditions. Furthermore, half of the child population living in poor living conditions were at risk of tuberculosis because of bad sanitation and over-crowded housing; only 11% of the children living in impoverished neighborhoods were considered healthy.[205] The quest, thus, was to create a system that combined innovative pedagogy and preventative medicine for the health and well-being of not only Barcelona's children, but the city more broadly.

Barcelona's outdoor schools emerged in the first third of the twentieth century as part of a larger social reform project spearheaded by Catalonia's elites,[206] who, with the financial support of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, founded the municipal schools to build an alternative learning education system that prioritized Catalan culture. Concerns about the impact of industrial society – including pollution, poor health, and vagrancy—were also at the heart of the push for alternative education. Rapid industrialization brought about pollution that affected the well-being of the greater population, particularly children, which also undermined the productivity of the workforce. Yet the concern extended beyond the child's health and included concerns about children not socialized in safe spaces. Thus, the larger social reform project promoted by elites was supported across the political spectrum by those with similar concerns about the impact of industrial society.

The leader of the new education movement in Barcelona was Hemergelio Giner de los Ríos (1847-1923) — brother of Francisco Giner de los Ríos, founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE). Giner served as a professor of psychology, logics, and moral philosophy at the

[205] Ibid.
[206] Sara Gonzàlez Gómez, Bernat Sureda García, and Francisca Comas Rubí, "La Renovación del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona y su diffusion fotográfica (1908-1936). *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, 75 (268): 521.

Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza de Barcelona and sympathized with republican ideologies. Despite being a member of the Unión Republicana, he was popular among the conservative elite who supported educational reform. In 1908, Giner and other pedagogues proposed that part of the funds allocated to culture projects be used for the constructions of outdoor schools. City Council members initially decided to provide funding for the construction of four schools implementing an active education model. The decision was reconsidered after the public-school teacher's association criticized this action by claiming that it would be better to allocate funds toward the improvement of existing schools rather than building new ones. Ecclesiastical authorities also criticized the new schools for the secular pedagogy that favored co-education.[207] In the end, Republicans revoked the funds out of fear that it would provoke tensions within republican circles.

When the conservative Catalanist political party, the Lliga Regionalista, founded Barcelona's Comisión de Cultura in 1916, they also put together a commission that welcomed the participation of diverse professionals who would help bolster local education. The role of the commission was to come up with a progressive educational system, similar to that of other European nations. The progressive education system, as detailed in the previous chapter, gained the support of conservative and republican parties. Manuel Ainaud i Sánchez, who had traveled through Europe studying active learning methods, was put in charge of pedagogy; Josep Goday oversaw scholastic architecture; and Enrique Mias managed hygiene. Key to the growth of the municipal education system was Ainaud's connections with other well-known intellectuals such as poet Ventura Gassil and Artur Martorell, who worked hard to keep active learning alive in the city of Barcelona during the Franco regime. With the help of the technical commission,

[207] Gonzàlez, 522.

Barcelona's cultural sector managed the Escola del Bosc de Montjuïc and founded the Escola del Mar (1922) and the Escuela del Parc del Guinardó (1923). With the support of private donors, the city also helped construct better quality, modern buildings in some of the poorer neighborhoods.[208] Goday, who was influenced by the intellectual and cultural Nourcentrism movement, designed several schools, which included Baixeras, La Farigola, Milà i Fontanals, Institut Lluïsa Cura, Ramón Llull, Lluís Vives and Pere Vila.[209]

The construction of the schools was one of the most important, and celebrated aspects of the municipal school system. The new schools reflected the modernization of the city—both in terms of values and infrastructure. Since the outdoor schools were not like the traditional schools, spatial conceptualization was taken into consideration. A school like the Escola del Mar, for example, needed sufficient space for beach equipment, areas to freshen up after swimming, and a classroom for the few hours spent indoors. The new schools would become a reflection of evolving modernization of Barcelona throughout the 20th century.

One of the lasting marks of the local education system was the medical attention provided for special needs students. The outdoor schools were originally established for children with health problems in Barcelona. One of the first schools that pedagogues used the latest innovative medical and scientific practices to reorganize and assist in carrying out medical observations was the Escola del Cecs, Sordmuts i Anormals (1911), a school specifically for the blind, deaf-mute, and "abnormal."[210] From the onset, the technical commission worked on creating a diverse

[208] Ibid., 523.
[209] Gonzalez, 523. Goday also helped to remodel several schools throughout the city such as *Dolors Monserdá, Baldiri Reixach, Jacint Verdaguer, Carles Aribau, Francesc Pi i Margall, San Raimon de Penyafort*.
[210] The literal translation of *abnormal* is abnormal. However, within the context, it refers to children with physical and intellectual disabilities.

education system that was able to accommodate the needs of people with disabilities. At the same time, pedagogues stressed the importance of physical activity and engagement with nature for a child's development. Thus, in addition to stressing active learning methods, the Escola del Mar and Escola del Bosc became sites of pedagogical experiments and models for other schools in Catalonia and throughout Spain.

Concern over educational reform and modernization for the greater good of the population came to the forefront in the 1930s under the Second Spanish Republic. The 1931 Constitution prohibited religious orders from teaching and deemed education free and secular.[211] As a result, during this period municipal education expanded, as a result of greater social, cultural, and, to a degree, economic opportunities to develop and extend the municipal education project. Under a political regime that supported the efforts of municipal schools and alternative education, the municipality launched Grups Escolar—a program established to improve the overall conditions of primary education in the city of Barcelona.[212] The plan included efforts to improve the infrastructural and hygienic conditions of existing schools and building new schools.

The growth and increasing popularity of Barcelona's schools was made possible because of the collective efforts of Barcelona's citizens that advocated for the city's younger generations. Serious efforts to improve education and educational infrastructure occurred for two reasons: the city government's push to improve infrastructure and pressure from Barcelona's citizens. The

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[211] Alejandro Quiroga, "Forging Democratic Citizens: Mass Nationalization on a Local Level in the Spanish Second Republic (1931-6)," *European Review of History* 26 (2019): 506.
[212] Salvador Domènech i Domènech, *Els alumnes de la Republica: Els Grups Escolars de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008), Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Un Segle d'Escola a Barcelona: Acció municipal i popular, 1900-2003* (Barcelona: Ediciones Octaedro, 2003), Maria del Mar Del Pozo A., "La Escuela Nueva en España: crónica y semblanza de un mito," *Historia de la Educación.* vol. 22, (2003): 317-346.

city government recognized that the cultural commission had invested a large amount of money in buildings that were in poor condition. The city claimed that there was "a large amount spent on simple expenses such as renting premises for schools, but were forced to accept flats that were not in good condition."[213] As a result, municipal officials believed that honest efforts needed to be made in order to improve the infrastructural conditions of schools.

But efforts made by the city were also prompted by citizen protests. In fact, the city celebrated parent involvement. Former students recall their parents' active role in their education by participating in protests and helping collect neighborhood signatures. Emília Arnau remembers her "parents participating in a protest demanding a dignified school for the Sants neighborhood while also collecting signatures."[214] Similarly, Pere Rosés recalls that his mom, Salvadora Senabre, and his aunt, Hermínia Senabre, collected signatures from the neighborhood to try and make a building on Lleida street "a school, a scholastic group, and not a police station for Guardia Urbana."[215] Under a supportive political regime, local politicians and parents alike were able to actively and openly protest for better educational conditions for Barcelona's children.

Salvador Domenech considers that the vibrant teaching staff contributed to the success and growth of municipal schools during the Second Republic. What is particular about the role of the teacher is that they were present to facilitate learning and supervise their interactions with one another as they played and worked collaboratively to figure things out. In 1908, Barcelona's department of culture released a publication stating that:

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[213] Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Els Grups Escolars de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Obradors Vilajoana, 1931), 7-8.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Domenech, 103.

> "The teacher will always be the key to the arch. There are no external media, there are no systems or regulations that have, by themselves, sufficient potentiality to form an intelligence and a character. Only direct contact with another superior intelligence, with another noble and vigorous character, can be effective. For this reason, the success of this school effort will depend almost entirely on the teachers who come to lend their collaboration."[216]

Although written in 1908, the statement was relevant during the Second Republic because the Comissió de Cultura tried to place the same importance on the educators as originally imagined even prior to the establishment of the Macommunitat.

Similarly, one of the other points of continuity from the time of the Mancommunitat was the connection between health, local government, and education. The preoccupation with medicine and the health of the students is part of a larger discussion of the state and its relationship with the people. In Barcelona, schools were not viewed as spaces of indoctrination through rote learning. Unlike national public schools, the municipal schools focused on the child as a whole, paying particular attention to their physical health in addition to education. The local government instead prioritized the students' physical and intellectual development alongside the general welfare of the people of Barcelona.

The Case Studies and their Alternative Pedagogy

While Barcelona is home to twenty-five municipal schools, the Escola del Bosc and the Escola del Mar warrant special attention. Apart from being two schools with a robust archival source base, the Escola del Bosc and Escola del Mar are also where we see some continuity of alternative educational principles from their origins into the Franco regime. The day-to-day experiences of the two schools before and after the civil war are useful to illustrate the various

[216] Ajuntament de Barcelona. *Presupuesto Extraordinario de Cultura* (Barcelona: Carbonell i Esteva, 1908), 21.

ways in which a more progressive pedagogy was implemented. They are similar in that they both encouraged critical thinking and sought to improve the health of children enrolled in schools.

The two schools were established almost a decade apart. The Escola del Bosc became Barcelona's first municipal school and the first outdoor school in Spain in 1914, pioneering the way for the outdoor school movement throughout the country. With the help of Rosa Sensat, the director of the girls' school, and Antolí Monroy, the director of the boys' school, the Escola del Bosc adopted active learning principles established by the Le Bureau International des Escoles Nouvells.[217] These methods had already been used in other countries such as Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and England. In Catalonia, some private schools adopted progressive learning methods, but the Escola del Bosc was the first public school to apply active learning to the entire curriculum and make it accessible to children of lower and working classes.

In 1921, under the direction of Manuel Ainaud Sánchez[218], director of the Comissió de Cultura, the Escola del Mar was inaugurated. The Escola del Mar was unique in that the city built an entirely new school that had all of the necessary features of an outdoor school. The

[217] For details on principles see: League of Nations Publications. (Switzerland: n.p., 1923) 58-59.
[218] Manuel Ainaud Sánchez was a pedagogue and artist who served as the director of the Comissió de Cultura and a member of the cultural councilor of the Generalitat de Catalunya. Ainaud took a series of art classes at the Ataneu Obrer de Barcelona (Workers Atheneum of Barcelona) where he would learn from noted Catalan artists such as Antoni Gelabert and Joan Roig. In 1909, he began teaching at the Escola Horaciana, a school that was at the forefront of modern pedagogical ideas. Early in his teaching career, he dedicated his efforts into developing free, quality public schools. In 1915, he became president of the Ataneu Enciclopèdic Popular (Popular Encyclopedic Atheneum) and began to organize campaigns advocating for better public education. At the same time, he traveled to France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland where he learned first-hand about active learning methods. Upon his return to Barcelona in 1917, he became the director of the Comissió de Cultura, pushing for the construction of additional municipal schools, including the Escola del Mar and the Escola del Guinardó. For more on Manuel Ainaud, see Rafael Aracil and Antoni Segura, eds., *Educació, Municipis i República* (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2006).

school building was designed by noted architect, Josep Goday Casals[219], with an open, two-story design, and easy access to the beach.[220] Located on the first floor was the administrators' office, the nurses office, the room for the janitor's, the daycare room with dining hall, and a small kitchen.[221] On the second floor were four classrooms and a large auditorium which was used for conferences, auditions, and other performances.[222] The original school description plan made an effort to highlight the sanitary apparatuses by detailing that there were several restrooms and changing rooms on both floors.[223] I argue that the establishment of the Escola del Bosc in 1914 and Escola del Mar in 1921 allowed municipal officials to set the parameters of forthcoming schools.

Critical Thinking in the Outdoor Classroom

Rather than instructing the student on how to engage with the abstract world, teachers allowed students to use their intuition and evaluate how they solved complex problems.[224] This pedagogical approach encouraged the child to act autonomously without adult intervention. The function of the teacher, therefore, was to observe the students' actions and help guide their development. The directors of the Escola del Bosc stated that the school "was not a place where you learn lessons, but a place where you learn to live, and a place in which you learn to live in

[219] Josep Goaday i Casals was a Catalan architect and Art Historian associated with the Noucentrisme movement in Catalonia. He was the municipal architect of the city of Barcelona and chief architect for the Comissió de Cultura. Some of the most notable architectural projects included the municipal schools La Farigola de Vallcarca, Lluís Vives, Grup Escolar Pere Vila, Ramon Llull, Milà i Fontanals, and Lluïsa Cura.
[220] Documents describe floors as "baix" (lower) and "primer" (first) floors. The lower and first floor would be considered first and second floors, respectively, in North America.
[221] Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escola del Mar*, Barcelona 1921, 16-17.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Exact numbers were not specified.
[224] Domenech, 342.

this real world that every day is more complex."[225] To carry out these practices, the school marginalized the use of encyclopedias and textbooks for grade school children and instead focused on close observation of the child.

Similarly, the first director of the Escola del Bosc, Pere Vergés[226], viewed the school as an artistic space in which his role as the director was to encourage the teachers to be artists and to pay attention to the individual needs of the children to maximize a child's development.[227] While the Escola del Mar did not use textbooks, they did base many of their lectures on the work of German poet and writer Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Catalan writer, philosopher, and art critic, Eugeni d'Ors. Both Vergés and teachers[228] were supposed to create a comfortable space for students to learn and maximize their potential. But more importantly, perhaps, was the fact that most of the time would be spent outdoors learning about subjects such as math and literature. In other cases, students spent the majority of the time playing and engaging in various forms of physical activities. As Agam Syahirl suggests, the outdoors provides an arena in which learning becomes contextual and meaningful.[229] The outdoors provided students with a greater

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[225] Ajuntament de Barcelona. *Escoles a l'aire lluire del Parc de Montjuich* (Barcelona, 1921).
[226] Born to a working-class Catalan family, Pere Vergés was educated in the modern school in the Poble Sec district. At the age of 19, he obtained his teaching degree but continued to expand his education by participating in Eugeni d'Ors seminar classes organized by the Normal Schools of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya.
[227] Domenèch, 352.
[228] The teachers that Pere Vergés worked with in the first year to carry out this plan was: Mercè Barba, Teresa Cadanet, Josefina Bayona, and Magí Sedó. As years passed, Vergés would welcome collaborative support of Àngela Solés, Maria Genís, Felip Salades, and Josep Maria Barbat.
[229] Agam Sayhil, "The Implementation of Outdoor Study Methods in Improving Students Critical Thinking Skills in Social Study," *International Journal Pedagogy of Social Studies* Vol 2(1)(2017): 1-2. For more on learning outdoors and critical thinking see: Fatemeh Aminpour, Kate Bishop, and Linda Corkery, "The Hidden Value of In-Between Spaces for Children's Seld-Directed Play within Outdoor School Environments," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 194 (2020): 103683; Iñaki Larrea, Alexander Muela, Nekane Miranda, and Alexander Barandiaran.

space to engage with their environment, unpack problems, and find meaningful solutions to problems.

Critical thinking in the context of the municipal schools meant that the schools marginalized traditional materials such as textbooks as a means of instruction in favor of individual free thinking. The alternative approach incorporated into the outdoor model prioritized intellectual development without the rigid structure for grade school children. This method of learning afforded children with the space in which students could explore their surroundings, work collaboratively with peers, and serendipitously come to conclusions about the world around them. This method was unique at the time in Spain, given that it challenged the religious-inspired education system. An education system premised on critical thinking would encourage students to develop as individuals while they simultaneously learned how to become members of a community that valued and championed individual development and free-thinking.

The Whole Child and the Social Services

The focus on the health of the child and the attempt to integrate it into the municipal education system was one of the pedagogical ideas that differed from the national public education system. While national public schools focused predominantly on general education and religious instruction, municipal schools also included matters that extended beyond school such as medical attention, hygiene, and family education. The implications behind divergent objectives stem from the conflicting vision of the role of the state. The school was a "sanitary" school, with the aim of curing children of infectious diseases by providing medical services to students in need. Other schools at the time did not assist students with poor health.

"Children's Social Play and Affordance Availability in Preschool Outdoor Environments." *European early childhood education research* journal 27, no. 2 (2019): 185–194.

Given that the Escola del Bosc enrolled children who required medical assistance, it was imperative to have medical oversight of the students' health. With the help of Barcelona's department of hygiene, doctors carried out monthly medical checks that included measurements and weight checks with more extensive evaluations every six months. Additionally, doctors served as advisors, helped determine the appropriate diet and physical activity levels for the children, and provided follow-up medical support as needed. The Escola del Bosc was the first school in Spain that incorporated these objectives into its educational model. The vanguard role of the Escola del Bosc set the parameters for similar schools in subsequent years. The emphasis on health and the assistance of the department of hygiene helped enable the Escola del Bosc's pedagogical objectives.

In the case of the Escola del Mar, the original school description plan made an effort to highlight the sanitary apparatuses by detailing that there were several restrooms and changing rooms on both floors.[230] For a school whose mission was to provide a clean learning environment, it was imperative to have the appropriate teaching tools to support students such as showers, changing rooms, and space for medical services. Since the Escola del Mar was an outdoor school, it was only natural that the majority, if not at least half, of the time was to be spent outside. The school was adequately equipped with chairs and other equipment that children would use during their time on the beach. The Escola del Mar was built at the center of the Barceloneta beach as an innovative educational landmark that provided a clean and healthy environment for Barcelona's vulnerable populations. Yet, beyond a healthy environment, it put the local government in a more active role by providing welfare provisions to students in need.

[230] Exact numbers were not specified.

Learning Outdoors

One of the clear differences between schools like the Escola del Bosc and Escola del Mar in comparison to other schools in Spain at the time, and even within the city, was that most of the class time was outside playing and engaging in physical activity. The argument made by pedagogues such as Sensat was that children who were ill would benefit from being outside, away from industrial sites and breathing fresh air. Since the objective of outdoor schools was to improve the health of children, it was only natural for most of the school day to take place outside. To achieve this, school days were structured in a manner that adequately balanced outdoor and indoor activities, as well as the appropriate time for meals. When both schools were established, the directors highlighted the importance of having a structured schedule that was premised on learning outdoors. Yet, beyond the physical component, learning outdoors provided a change of pace for both teachers and children, making students more enthusiastic about learning.

At the Escola del Bosc, students found a balance between outdoor recreational activities and standard subjects such as literature and mathematics. The school day began at nine in the morning with a thirty-minute breakfast. From nine-thirty to noon, students engaged in a variety of activities for thirty minutes each. These activities included geography, reading, and physical sciences, to name a few. Every other day, the curriculum would include physical education from ten-thirty to eleven. From noon to one-thirty in the afternoon, the students would eat and engage in recreational activities. From two to two- thirty, students engaged in a series of writing exercises which included composition, diction, and grammatical exercises. From two thirty to three thirty, the students engaged in lighter activities as they played, drew pictures or engaged in

other forms of arts and crafts. And in the final thirty minutes, from three-thirty to four, students had a snack before heading home.[231]

Additionally, images from the Escola del Bosc suggest that some of the classes that would traditionally be indoors, such as math and literature, were also held outdoors. Figure 2.1 depicts an all-boys class sitting at tables and taking notes as their teacher points to a chalkboard. Such images are typically seen in a traditional indoor classroom. However, holding class outdoors had the potential to increase the students' enthusiasm while simultaneously enhancing relevance of subjects through hands-on learning. A more positive experience in school makes for a more engaged classroom where students are eager and excited to learn.

Figure 2.1--Escola del Bosc. Ajuntament de Barcelona. 8 May 1914.

The Escola del Mar took a similar approach. Upon arriving at school, students would immediately engage in physical activity. The day started at 8 am, and upon arrival, they would change into their swimsuits. From 8 to 10am, all students engaged in breathing exercises, sunbathing, swimming in the ocean, and eating breakfast.[232] There was a 30-minute break, allowing for students to change and make their way to the classroom by 10:30am. For the next

[231] Domenech, 345 and Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escoles a l'aire lluire del Parc de Montjuich*, 23.
[232] Ibid.

hour, the students had class. Later, from 11:30 to 12pm, they transitioned to more engaging activities such as song, dance, games, and gymnastics. At noon, students and teachers would spend an hour having lunch, followed by another hour of recess at the beach. At 2pm, students would once again return to the classroom for another hour of instruction before thirty minutes of respiratory exercises from 3 to 3:30pm. After exercises, the students had their last hour of class from 3:30 to 4:30 pm. In the last thirty minutes, students enjoyed a snack on the beach, sang, and made their way home.

Play was an integral part of the outdoor education system in that it allowed students to demonstrate natural development. Early twentieth-century pedagogue Teodoro Causí understood play not as a preparation for future development, but rather as an expression of a child's growth and vitality.[233] Thus, the objective was to adapt education to a child's natural mode of growth and development by making play a central component of the curriculum. At the Escola del Mar, the objective was to try and provide as much outdoor time as possible:

> "The other hours of the day will be spent playing, resting, singing, doing rhythmic exercises, and in a special way receiving the complete treatment of naturist care on the beach, taking the air, sun and sea bath, with a preponderance of one or the other according to each specific case and according to the doctor's prescription.
>
> In order for the work to be carried out by the Escola del Mar can reach its maximum efficiency, many of the classes, as long as the good weather allows, they will be on the beach and very often the children will wear no other clothing than the bathing suit."[234]

At both the Escola del Bosc and Escola del Mar, the outdoors was a central component to their active learning methods by providing the environment for children to engage with nature and learn through play. Outdoor schools stood apart from other schools in Spain because they

[233] Kendrick, 140.
[234] Escola del Mar, 13.

demonstrated that the outdoors was not just a space to engage in physical activity but also a space to support intellectual and emotional growth.

Catalanism in the Classroom

Perhaps one of the unique features of the municipal school system prior to the civil war was its commitment to revitalizing Catalan culture. Municipal schools embraced a kind of cultural nationalism that focused on the defense of language and culture by teaching in Catalan and exposing students to the literary works of prolific Catalan writers. The schools were the first of their kind for two reasons: their commitment to establishing an alternative education system and for prioritizing Catalan language. This, however, did not mean that founders wanted to completely marginalize the use of Castilian. The objective was to develop a public school system where Catalan was the primary language of instruction, but Castillian was included.

The Escola del Bosc, as the first municipal school, became the first school to teach and prioritize Catalan.[235] With that objective in mind, Sensat, who was one of the first directors, was able to establish the parameters of a Catalan language active learning school. But given that the school would serve sickly children, many of whom may not have been Catalan, it was important to acknowledge that the school did not intend to depreciate Castilian speakers:

> "If it is wanted for the School to be a living image of the domestic household, if it is to precisely inspire the child from his first moments, trust and love, so he can reveal himself with spontaneity, if the first impressions he receives from School are to be caring and pleasant, it is necessary to speak to him in his native language, it is the only one he knows, and he puts it in relationship with the outside world for expression of his necessities."[236]

[235] Domenech, 346.
[236] Ajuntament de Barcelona. *Comisión de Colonias Escolares y Escuelas de Boasque no 3* (Barcelona: Henrich, 1914) 136-137.

By focusing on both languages, the pedagogues acknowledged that Catalonia was a multilingual community and teaching both languages was necessary. The novelty, in this case, was the focus placed on Catalan language and culture at the center of the educational curriculum.

Unlike the Escola del Bosc, the Escola del Mar did not have an explicit statement regarding language, but they did stress that it was also a Catalan-centered school because of its director and staff. The Escola del Mar was able to carry out its pedagogical objectives in part because the school director, Pere Vergés—along with Sensat, Giner de los Ríos, and Martorell—had been characterized as one of the leading pedagogues of the active learning movement in Catalonia during the first third of the twentieth century. Vergés earned a teaching degree at the age of nineteen in 1915. Around the same time, he extended his pedagogical knowledge to students at the Normal School[237] and participated in classes taught directly by Eugeni d'Ors.[238] By 1920, he supervised all the schools located in the city's second district, L'Eixample, before becoming the director of the Escola del Mar in 1921.[239] The extensive education Verges received

[237] The Mancomunitat did not have the means to establish an entirely new Normal School focusing on active learning methods. Thus, in 1914, the Mancomunitat started summer school programs that would train teachers in active learning methods. By 1919, the Mancomunitat had greater funding and was able to offer classes on Catalan language, culture, history, and geography. Albert Balcells, *La Mancomunitat de Catalunya, 1914-1925. El primer pas vers l'autogovern des de la desfeta de 1914* (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2014)

[238] Eugeni d'Ors was a Catalan writer and philosopher known for spearheading the Catalan cultural and ideological Noucentrisme movement. He was an avid contributor to the popular Catalanist newspaper, *La Veu de Catalunya*, which was founded by Enric Prat de la Riva in 1899. He held several notable positions in the city of Barcelona, such as the secretary general for the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and in 1917 became responsible for public education under the Mancomunitat. He would hold seminars in which pedagogues such as Pere Vergés and Artur Martorell attended. After Prat de la Riva's death, D'Ors, who was at odds with Josep Puig i Cadafalch, distanced himself from the Lliga Regionalista and the Mancomunitat and moved to Madrid.

[239] Vergés was the director of the Escola del Mar from 1922-1966.

made him a ready candidate to lead the Escola de Mar in a similar direction as the Escola del Bosc.

The commitment to Catalanism within the local education system made the outdoor schools unique in the European context but part of a larger movement that aimed to strengthen Catalan culture. Not only did Catalan elites succeed in establishing and funding several municipal schools, but by extension, contributed to the growth of Catalan culture as younger generations learned about the nation's language, history, and customs. Municipal schools became synonymous with an education system that valued and prioritized the popular language and culture of a large portion of Barcelona's community.

Conclusion—Alternative Municipal Schools in the Pre-Civil War Era

After the civil war, thousands of teachers were either removed from their positions, exiled, or faced imprisonment. The progressive ideas of the Second Republic would pose a threat to the traditional, religious, authoritarian regime. Despite these setbacks and challenges, schools creatively found ways to include some of the alternative pedagogical methods in the classroom.

With a particular emphasis on critical thinking, whole child development, learning outdoors, and Catalan identity, pedagogues and politicians established an educational model that would set the parameters for Barcelona's municipal schools. These schools not only embodied an alternative pedagogical structure but also reinforced the diverse political climate that existed in early-twentieth century Barcelona. Just as schools were beginning to develop their pedagogical projects, their efforts were interrupted by the civil war. The (Instituto Municipal de Educación) IME's efforts to bring back the alternative pedagogical ideas established in the first half of the

century can be understood as a continuation of the pedagogical project that was paused during the war.

Municipal Schools during the Franco Regime: Pedagogical Continuity and Change

What remained from the alternative education tradition after the war was the ability to encourage critical thinking, the focus on whole child development, learning and playing outdoors, and a very subtle Catalanist agenda. Teachers encouraged students to partake in a series of activities that allowed for individual development and autonomy, fostered critical thinking, and focused local community-building over rote learning. These continuities not only allowed the municipal schools to preserve the essence of the alternative pedagogy, but to also provide parents with the option of an education system that was different from that of the regime.

Even though medicine was no longer a priority, concern over student health was still there, as part of a "whole child" focus. By the 1950s, Barcelona stood as a modern industrial city and thus most children did not experience the same health issues as they did at the turn of the century. Municipal schools decreased the overall attention to medical concerns while still administering medical exams and providing care for students in need. With the rise of polio, schools took all measures possible to prevent the spread of communicable diseases including medical exams, maintaining the buildings, and attempting to educate the public on proper hygienic habits.

The most notable changes from the pre-war period were the suppression of overtly Catalanist pedagogy, the inclusion of Spanish national rhetoric, and the shift to rote learning in the classroom. The enforcement of national pedagogy included the hierarchical structure of surveillance, teacher purges, more religious education, and gender-separated classrooms. The regime imposed limits on the republican-inspired educational agenda, forcing municipal schools

to abandon the overt Catalanist discourse, secular classrooms, and co-educational activities to comply with Francoist regulations.

Authoritarian Intervention in Municipal Schools

The national government's intervention in the municipal education system had significant long-term ramifications. Chances of reviving the alternative education system in its entirety from decades prior was difficult after the Civil War. After 1939, the regime removed politically problematic teachers and pedagogues from their positions.[240] Confronted with a new era of politics in which the regime controlled the education system with the help of the Church,[241] municipal schools changed their original pedagogical structure enough to accommodate the new rules while still remaining operable with some of their guiding principles. National officials observed schools and classrooms while the schools implemented the regime's ideologies of nationalism, religion, and obedience —the core of the national curriculum

While national officials were often present in the schools to observe their everyday operations, the purpose of their visits were ambiguous. One could assume that the purpose of the officials was to monitor the daily life of the schools; however, evidence suggests that the schools expected the officials to help rather than carry out any form of surveillance. On March 22, 1953, one of the municipal observers noted that delegates from National institutions visited the school. He recalled:

> "we [are pleased to manage] the visit from the *jefe del teniente* of the Youth [Front], Mr. de Miguel, accompanied by Mr. Martinez de la Guardia, Delegate of the [SEU] and from Mr. Farancon, head of Arenys [del Mar's] shelters. They ate with us after [running through] the different

[240] Antonio Cazorla, "Early Francoism, 1939-1957," in *Spanish History since 1808,* José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, eds. (London: Arnold, 2000), 267.
[241] Ibid, 261.

> departments, promising [to intervene] in order for us to resolve the different problems that are affecting us."[242]

After this journal entry documenting the visit, there was no follow up that referred to any changes made after the visit. The ambiguity of the visit complicates our understanding of national surveillance and control, at least within schools. Observations carried out may not have been intended to solely "police" schools but to assist schools and get a sense of what improvements could be made in schools throughout Spain.

Although it is difficult to pin-point why municipal schools decided to adopt some aspects of the national curriculum, what the decision does suggest is that there were some limits to the alternative education system under the Franco regime. Not only did schools introduce topics of patriotism, masculinity, nationalism, and militarism to boys, they used rote learning to teach those topics. Verbatim transcriptions, drawings of national figures, and step-by-step descriptions were methods used to demonstrate their knowledge of concepts important to the regime. The regime managed to have a place, ideologically, in the municipal classrooms.

Rote learning was the primary method of teaching of the regime. One of the most important primary topics that municipal schools adopted was Spanish nationalism. While it is not entirely clear how or why some schools adopted the pedagogical principles of the regime, what we know is that students enrolled in municipal schools were taught in a similar manner as national schools. Topics of nationalism were usually gendered and focused on patriotism, militarization, and religion. Thus, examples from the municipal schools' inclusion of Spanish nationalism only renders a picture of topics taught in boys' classrooms.

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[242] Ajuntament de Barcelona. "Diario Escolar 1952-1953." Escola del Bosc—Diaris Escolars. Caixa 67311. Carpeta 2. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

Evidence for rote learning can be found in student assignments. Thus, it is clear that many statements in the notebook are transcriptions of other sources because the sentence structure, punctuation, and overall prose indicate that students did not come up with the themes and drafted sentences on their own. It is not known whether the transcriptions are from books or perhaps dictated to the students, but we do catch a glimpse of what assignments may have been like at national public schools.

Gender segregation and the reinforcement of masculinity as part of a Francoist Spanish nationalism was present in the new curriculum. At the Escola del Bosc, each of the boys' classrooms had a notebook titled "Formación del Espiritu Nacional." The notebooks included compilations, drawings, and writings from students on diverse topics such as religion and patriotism. In the 1957-58 notebook from Jaime Marti Lopez's classroom, one of the excerpts is titled "España te necesita hecho un hombre" (Spain needs you to be a man) by G. Perpiñaa, who at 8 years old, transcribed an excerpt describing the qualities of a man. A man, according to the text, "is to know how to renounce to what is convenient to other ideas … to understand bad habits and begin to become someone else … You are not going to be any young man, you are, if you work on, [going to be] one of the many men that Spain needs."[243]

Themes focusing on military and militarization were taught through physical education. Passages in the notebooks detail the movements of how to march in a particular manner. An entry by Juan Requeseus, 13 years old, tells about Unification Day (April 19) and detailed the steps to a physical activity for students ages 11 to 15 years old. The outline of the exercise is

[243] Ajuntament de Barcelona. Escuela Municipal de Bosque de Montjuich. Formación del Espiritu Nacional, Cuaderno de Rotación, curso 1957-58. Caixa 67313. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.

titled Gimnasia Tabla de Abril and detailed the move that they would work on in that particular month. Other pages of the notebook would include the exercise routine for the given month. The month of April had eleven fundamentals and basic routines. Exercise number 6 was detailed as an "ordinary march with leg flexion every six steps." The sequence progressed from an ordinary march to a "calm march" where the toe of the foot was pointing directly forward while they sang.[244] Both the description and the exercises themselves mimicked military movements that would have been approved by the national Ministry of Education.

Spanish nationalism was a second theme that was part of the public national education system adopted by municipal schools. An extensive 5-page passage about the discovery of the Americas was written in reference to El Día de la Hispanidad (Hispanic Heritage Day). Prior to the transcription, the section opens up with a general introduction of what Hispanic Heritage Day was and why it was celebrated:

> "October 12 is a Spanish national festive day and also Hispanic towns in America as an homage to the Spanish nation, as a progenitor of nations to which it gave inheritance to the indestructible links of its blood and its culture. The Americans think, feel, and speak like us. Together we form a community of spiritual values called Hispanism. That is why Hispanic Heritage Day is a holiday, love among Hispanic nations of America, and their common [motherland] Spain."[245]

The inclusion of this nationalist curriculum could be evidence of both or either subservience or dissimulation. An oral interview from a former student, Germa Iturrate, suggests

[244] Ajuntament de Barcelona. Cuaderno de Rotación. Escuela Municipal de Bosque de Montjuich Barcelona. Grupo "Manelick," curso 1957-58. Professor: Ramón Masip Claramunt. Caixa 67313. Carpeta 2. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[245] Ajuntament of Barcelona. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Cuaderno de Rotación. Escuela Municipal de Bosque de Montjuich Barcelona. Grupo "Manelick," curso 1957-58. Professor: Ramón Masip Claramunt. Caixa 67313. Carpeta 2. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.

that the school's choice to include some practices of the national curriculum were to create a façade in order to avoid sanctions by regime officials.[246]

Despite the fact that schools were protected as a legal institution, part of the city's Comision de Cultura, the regime's curriculum highlights the limits of the municipal school's autonomy. Rote learning was used to teach students what they should know about the regime's core values: Spanish nationalism, masculinity, and militarism. But the inclusion of Francoist educational policies does not mean that municipal schools abandoned their pedagogical goals. Rather, only particular lessons focused on Francoist curricular content.

Continuities in Municipal Schools

Critical Thinking

Perhaps the most important point of continuity in the education system was the emphasis on critical thinking. Critical thinking, which remained at the core of municipal education, implicitly undermined authoritarian expectations of obedience, as students were encouraged to be creative, reared to become competent leaders, and expected to work collaboratively to build community. A focus on critical thinking directly challenged the national public school's use of rote learning and indoctrination of concepts like nationalism and militarism. Having an education system that fostered and encouraged individual thinking is one component of what set the municipal school system apart from national public education before and after the civil war. Students participated in assignments that challenged them to use their judgment under the supervision of teachers, instead of just being taught what to think. The evaluation and supervision of students was distinct in that teachers tracked their development over time as opposed to simply applying discrete grades on assignments without a larger context for their

[246] Iturrate, Oral Interview.

performance. A more holistic approach allowed teachers to assess a student's overall strengths and weaknesses and better understand how to help them improve. This challenged the religious-based education ideology of the regime that used rote learning to instill patriotism and religious values to its future citizens. While some of the stifling methodology of the national public school system inevitably made its way into the municipal school classrooms, critical thinking remained a core focus.

Creativity in the classroom encouraged freedom of thought with minimal adult intervention. Student drawings from younger students suggest that the concern was not so much about perfection but about having a general sense of the concepts they learned. For example, Rene Perez's (age 7) assignment is titled *productos de la granja* (Farm Products) in which she was asked to write two simple sentences: "In the farm you raise animals and various fruits. Farms send a lot of animal and vegetable products to the city."[247] Accompanying the statement was a drawing of a ham leg, milk, apple, potato and a spike.[248] Rene's assignment also includes imperfect, multi-colored village houses. Curiously, she mentions that her locality is Barcelona, however, she draws images of village houses that resemble barns. Typically, assignments include corrections made by teachers when it comes to spelling and punctuation. Yet very few of the assignments from the municipal schools include extensive feedback or markings. This suggests that there was greater emphasis on allowing and encouraging students' creativity, despite inaccuracies.

Encouraging students to be creative also enabled them to develop their unique leadership styles. Students in the municipal schools were expected to evaluate themselves and their peers on

[247] Ibid. Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.
[248] What the student termed a spike is wheat.

their leadership skills, and, from these evaluation records, we know that students valued seriousness, effort, and engagement as qualities of a good leader. Enrique Pedrol, age 12, for example, gave a positive review of the dining hall representative, claiming that "he has been able to observe all of the kids at school, although it is not as easy as it seems."[249] While the student observed had a difficult task, Enrique acknowledges the effort made to carry out a daunting task. In another example, he lauds some of the students who were engaged in their task the entire time: "Sandoval of Angélica's [class], who apart from being very engaged, his class has been victorious."[250] Enrique, however, criticized students for their inability to take their roles seriously, "the representative from Garbi, Vallecillos, even though his group came in 2nd place, I cannot give him an award because he was always joking around when they came down to the dining hall."[251] At the end, he provided an overall assessment and three points of improvement:

> "1st, they should put less toys on the table. 2nd, the descent to the dining hall should be made in silence, because if they go down on a bad note, it will continue on a bad note. 3rd, there are many students, with the excuse that they are speaking with the professor, speak throughout the entire meal with their friends, surely the professors should be aware of this."

An integral part of fostering leadership was the ability to not only to take one's job seriously, be engaged, and put forth maximum effort, but also to be able to identify those qualities in others. As the students took on leadership roles, they appeared to make note of everyday activities and document particular patterns. As students drafted assessments and self-assessments, in some cases, they reflected on the qualities of a leader—a person who is able to take initiative and work for the greater good of his or her peers.

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[249] Representante General del Comedor, Curso 1973-1974. Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67230. Carpeta 4. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[250] Ibid. Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.
[251] Ibid.

Another quality of a critical thinker was developing the ability to work collaboratively for the collective good of their community (i.e., classroom and school). Role playing was one of the ways in which students developed this ability within their school. Former student Germa believed that, "through various activities, we [students] learned how to become critical thinkers and leaders."[252] Some of the tasks of the students included escorting students to the dining hall, cleaning the bathrooms, checking the meteorological station at the Escola del Mar, and serving in the privileged position of class/group leader. All of these tasks expected students to use reason and judgment when necessary. Even performing basic tasks such as cleaning the bathroom, was seen as a benefit to the classroom and the entire school more broadly.

To create a harmonious community, it was important to identify positive behaviors that would help advance collective well-being as well as address negative behaviors that would hurt the greater good of the general population. Negative behaviors could potentially compromise the well-being of the group, and thus, poor behaviors were singled out and the team was not awarded points as punishment. Students were keen to document their peers who were not able to control classrooms and acted irresponsibly. However, the students in leadership positions were also enthusiastic to report when their peers were responsible and able to manage classrooms – reward and punishment went hand-in-hand. Responsibility and maintaining authority over a classroom were positive behaviors that students mentioned when writing about their peers. Identifying different types of behaviors provided insight into what the students understood to be the categories of a harmonious community.

In one of these reports, Aurelio Jacas explained that in April 1970, the highest rating went to Molina de Platero's classroom because "they always made sure that their group was

[252] Iturrate.

never yelling [when it was time to go to the dining hall]."[253] In another instance, thirteen-year-old Adela Montull, was head of the general council of the green team in December 1970 and January 1971. In a five-page report, Adela provided her critique of the other students who held leadership positions. Her opening statement gives the impression that all of the leaders performed their tasks relatively well: "in general, the class councils have been well."[254] But very quickly, however, she provides an in-depth breakdown of who performed their tasks the best and the worst. Adela notes, "the best council [members] have been Muñoz from Angelica, he has done a good job because the boys listen to him at all hours. Jacas of Garbí has also done a good job because the boys listen to him."[255]

Negative behaviors that were identified were the inability to command authority. In some cases, students deducted points from peers for being passive. In one entry, a student communicated that on many occasions another students' actions were passive, due to the fact that there were many who were acting up. They go on further to note those acting up, specifically Cid and Bada, while there was only one student mentioned for paying attention.[256] In other cases, students criticized a classmate for his lack of authority. Manuel Alarcon, provided an extensive report as consul general in which he discusses why he deducted points from individuals who were not able to command authority and rewarded those who demonstrated the ability to do so.

[253] "Quaderns de Cròniques del Cònsul General: Cònsul General II: Curso 1970-71-72" Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67230. Carpeta 2. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[254] "Quaderns de Cròniques del Cònsul General: Cònsul General II: Curso 1970-71-72" Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67230. Carpeta 2. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid.

Alarcon stated that Nieto's group received the "worst" review because "he was always late and was not able to command authority."[257]

In other instances, class leaders hinted at the fact that some classrooms did not behave because their class leader was not able to model proper behavior. Adela Montull noted that "the worst council [members] have been Garcia from Corezos because he did not have much authority and joked around. And Vazquez from Platero has been pretty good because put in all he could, but the boys did not pay much attention to him."[258] Adela acknowledged that Vazquez was attempting to do all he could as head of his class, but had less compassion for Garcia who did not take his role seriously. Additionally, another student leader informed Adela that "the girl in charge of the dressing room told me: Eva of Naustica, who is in charge of the dressing rooms, talks a lot and is always playing around. Because of her, her group has lost one-tenth of a point."[259] The basis of a harmonious community depended on a student's seriousness in approaching a task, their engagement in activities, and the ability to command authority. These were not only characteristics of a responsible leader, but qualities that would possibly ensure an engaged and cohesive community. Through leadership positions, students learned how to become members of a community as they worked collaboratively and learned how to assess their own performance and that of their peers. It was important for students to learn how to work in groups, in different positions, and make decisions for the greater good of their peers, not necessarily themselves. Through role playing, students had the opportunity to explore different interests, positions, and even levels of engagement with peers.

[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid. Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.
[259] Ibid.

To incentivize the students to think about the greater good of their community, teachers rewarded students with points throughout the month. Although students accumulated points as individuals, all the points went towards a group evaluation. At the end of each month, the teacher made three final remarks on positive and negative behaviors, as well as provided advice on points of improvement. The advice on improvement ranged from being more orderly in common areas, to suggestions on how to keep the floors and garden area cleaner. The points were issued as a reward for the team that demonstrated leadership and collaboration. Germa recalls several instances in which students were put in certain positions to see if they would think in the greater interest of the individual or of the groups. He recalls: "The head of each color group had a tremendous responsibility. There were times when a teacher would say 'head of color, come here. You are allowed to say who is allowed to go out to recess and the rest stay.' You had the last word. So then we would deliberate and usually say 'we will all stay.'"[260] In other instances, teachers would evaluate the comradeship and solidarity among student leaders. Germa remembers other times in which he had seen group leaders get in trouble and would exercise their power, saying "so and so, and so and so, you stay here too."[261] While points were given both to individuals and groups, in the end, all points would be accumulated with a winning team at the end of each month, creating a sense of community among the students.

The continuous focus on whole-child learning was facilitated by observations of behavior, tasks, and leadership, rather than simply the grading of specific assignments. Through leadership roles, teachers were able to track a student's individual development and their ability to interact in a group setting. The observations were not simply made to point out what students

[260] Iturrate, [1:09:30]
[261] Ibid., [1:10:29]

were doing right or wrong but rather to provide individuals and groups with tips on how to improve on the subsequent month's tasks.

A 1970 journal entry from the Escola del Mar details close observation of students in their classroom leadership positions regarding how well the students performed their responsibilities, as well as their general behavior. In October 1970, one of the teachers documented the performance of the students in different leadership positions. Laura Gallego, representative of the green group, performed her tasks accordingly, as documented by a teacher.[262] On the other hand, Dolores Herrera, the library representative of the green group, exhibited "inappropriate behavior" for a girl who held such a privileged position. The teacher writes "she arrives late; she has several pending tasks and has not completed any of them; has excuses for everything."[263] For that reason, she did not receive any points for completing her task.

To get a more complete observation of a student's ability in a leadership position, the students switched tasks on a monthly basis. In the month of October, Amalia Gallego, who was in charge of hygienic services, did not perform all of her tasks in the way she was expected. Her notable personality flaw, as identified by the teacher, was her desire to speak at all times. In fact, her teacher noted that she neglected to complete her assigned duties satisfactorily because she would wander off with her friends to talk and play.[264] The following month, Amalia was in charge of library duties and performed them at an exceptional level. The teacher noted: "she

[262] Quadern Escrits per Professors. Valoració del Consell de Govern de l'Escola. "Curso 1970-71" Caixa 67230. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.

showed a lot of interest in completing her tasks. She took initiative and for that reason she will receive the maximum points possible."[265]

In another case in October 1970, a student in charge of the *casa nueva* received a subpar evaluation. The observer notes that Manuel Alarcón has "failed in his behavior, and thus does not provide a sobering example."[266] For her evaluation, she did not go into much depth but merely stated that she was unable to follow up with her responsibilities. Interestingly, in the following month, the evaluator was taken back at a student's level of engagement. Alarcón was responsible for the dining hall and the teacher notes: "It has been a while that we have not had a head of dining hall with such seriousness and efficiency. He has been able to organize the exit of classes and has … For this reason, a maximum mark, 0'3 p.g. and also deserves a special prize."[267] Although it was not explicitly mentioned, this evaluation suggests his high level of engagement and potential for leadership. It is one of the few evaluations that alludes to a possible reward.

This approach ensured that teachers did not judge a student by one assignment alone but were careful to evaluate them as a whole. In the previous example we see that Alarcón was initially criticized for his lack of leadership abilities in one task, but lauded for his efforts the following month. Mercedes del Pulgar's evaluation demonstrates that the teachers were privy to the development of students throughout the month. Mercedes was in charge of organization and cleaning and received the following remarks: "In the beginning this girl failed because she did not care, especially in the morning, about the student cleaning the music and dining room,

[265] Ibid.
[266] Quadern Escrits per Professors. Valoració del Consell de Govern de l'Escola. "Curso 1970-71" Caixa 67230. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
[267] Ibid.

making these places unorganized. Subsequently, she has committed. The rest of her actions have been discreet."[268] In this case we see how Mercedes's teacher did not automatically "categorize" her or attempt to intervene and "correct" her behavior. Rather, she allowed Mercedes to carry out her responsibility and noted that by the end she became serious about her task, demonstrating that the students had the ability to correct their behavior if given time and space.

Close evaluation of the students' performance allowed teachers to observe, judge, and reward those who either satisfactorily or exceptionally completed assigned tasks. It is not entirely clear how much intervention or guidance teachers provided students when they carried out their activities. But what we can take away from the process is that observing students in their leadership roles allowed teachers to guide student development in real-world scenarios.

Critical thinking in the classroom was premised on creativity, leadership, and community building. By engaging in role-playing activities, students were free to be creative and solve problems on their own. Rather than being told what it means to be a member of the community, students learned for themselves through trial-and-error and working with one another to find solutions to everyday problems in school.

Whole Child Learning and Social Reform

The concern over fostering a healthy mind and body in the public schools is inextricably linked to the social obligations of the local government. We see the role of the government as a provider of social benefits and services to its community at the local level, while at the national level there was greater preoccupation with Francoist indoctrination, marginalizing the needs of the people. Local elites used welfare reform as part of a larger goal of improving the living conditions of the city. This was nothing new given that the establishment of the municipal

[268] Ibid. Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.

schools originally stemmed from the Mancomunitat's social reform programs. Remarkably, through the municipal education system, local elites were able to advance their vision of a modern, healthy society.

The focus on whole child learning ensured that the pre-civil war tradition of evaluating the child based on their development in a series of tasks, over an extended period, was central to the municipal education system. The ability to choose methods of evaluation beyond issuing letter grades was a reflection of the ability of teachers to exercise a degree of autonomy in the classroom. This was especially symbolic in the aftermath of the civil war when the Francoist government purged Republican teachers from schools. Thus, the distinct method of evaluation is not only impactful because of its emphasis on whole-child development but also in empowering teachers under an authoritarian political regime.

To ensure that students learned in a clean and safe environment, a member of the municipality was assigned to each school to observe and assist. An observation book of the Escola del Bosc from 1952 suggests that the municipality had people monitoring the day-to-day operations at school. The purpose of the observations was to assess what the general needs of the school were, provide support when a teacher was unable to work, and report the findings to municipal officials, notably Artur Martorell. It is not entirely clear who the individual was who went and observed in 1952, but we know that a woman was sent to closely observe the girls' classes at the Escola del Bosc.[269]

The first journal entry from March 17, 1952 details that she "arrived to the municipality ready to [take on] her role, but they have, they say, a lot of [tasks], and asked me to return the

[269] Ajuntament de Barcelona. "Diario Escolar: Marzo 1952." Escola del Bosc—Diaris Escolars. Caixa 67311. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

following day."[270] On the following day, Martorell picked her up, and they both went to the Escola del Bosc at around 10 am. Once there she notes, "we were greeted with much kindness by the director who then introduced me to the professors."[271] It seems that the observer was contracted to work at the school and report back to the municipality. By her third entry (March 20th), she expressed some concern over the possible magnitude of the project. As the director took her around the school, she noted all of the needs of the students, and seemed to feel overwhelmed. She expressed "Dear God: help me to revive the peace in this school. Let my presence not be a motive to anger anyone."[272] From this statement, she insinuated that there may have been some apprehension about her presence and perhaps some pushback from teachers and staff. Yet, this is the only time throughout the journal that she expressed any form of doubt.

Another manner in which the municipality continued to provide support was by making sure that the schools were a safe and healthy space for students to learn. On March 3rd, Jose Malaquer and an architect, Mr. Vega[273], paid a visit to the Escola del Bosc. Although the exact purpose of their visit is unknown, what is clear is that they were concerned about the conditions of the school's infrastructure:

> "They have [walked through] the school and we attained a favorable impression in respect to …. They have promised us that a new pavilion will be constructed to amplify the grade [levels] of boys and girls, as well as painting the dining hall and offices."[274]

No follow up statements were made by observers on whether the Malaquer or Vega followed through with their promises, but what we can take away is that the observations from municipal

[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.
[273] First name was not mentioned in the source.
[274] Ibid.

officials were meant to find ways to help improve the infrastructural conditions of the school. At the end of May, a municipal observer reported that they had been very busy because "the clay in the dining room fell and we had to make the repairs, which had everyone on edge because we had to eat outside in the rain."[275] Once that problem was solved, the school then focused on physical health and cleanliness by adding showers and routine medical check-ups. This was verified in the observer's report. On June 17th, she reports: "Tuesday: Shower [availability]. All of the [girls] that brought a towel, which is practically all of them, took a shower."[276] On the following day, she reports that Dr. Ojeda went to the school and carried out a follow-up medical check-up. The follow up could be in reference to an entry from Friday, June 6th in which she addresses the progress of a group of girls who took medicine for tuberculosis.[277] She notes, "Friday: the girls that take *tuberculina*[278], two present noticeable reactions."[279] The concern over health, as mentioned, was not new as the schools continued to integrate services for children who were ill.

Municipal observations carried out by municipal observers and officials were intended to provide schools with support. This act is a continuation of the type of support that the city provided to outdoor schools since their origins. What was particular in this case was the fact that there were no routine visits over a prolonged period. Rather, there was a designated municipal observer present at the school every day to provide support to staff, teachers, and students at any moment. The outdoor schools were encouraged and supported by politicians and pedagogues at

[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Tuberculina refers to the medical treatment of those who have, or been exposed to, tuberculosis.
[279] Ibid. It is not entirely certain whether the girls had tuberculosis or had been exposed to tuberculosis and were only receiving treatment.

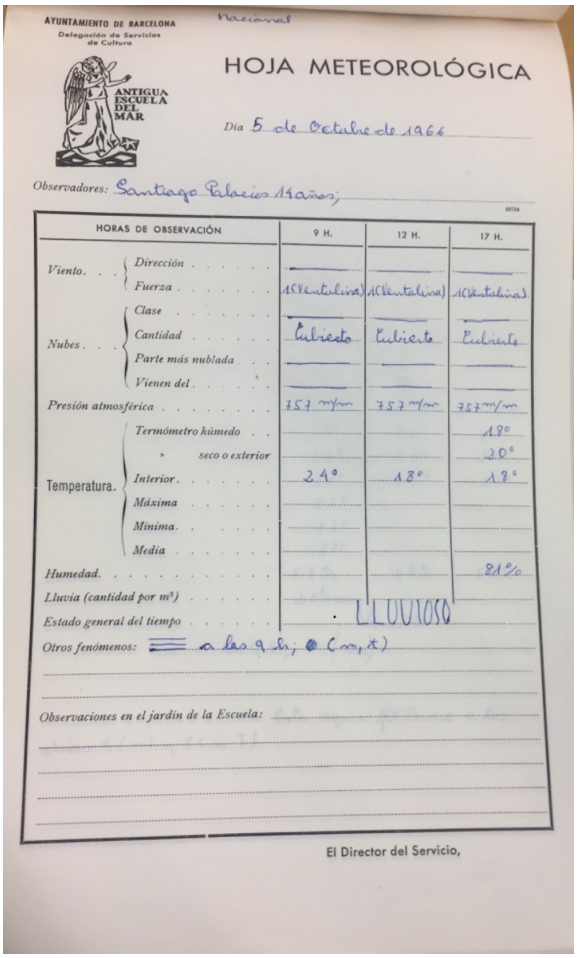
the turn of the century who wanted to provide the children in Barcelona with a quality education and, 40 years later, the objective remained the same.

Learning and Playing Outdoors

In the post-civil war era, municipal schools continued to utilize the outdoors as the primary space for learning. Engagement with the outdoors in the municipal schools was different from that of the national public schools in that the outdoors was used beyond just physical education. The outdoors was an extension of the classroom, a space in which students could gain hands-on experience. The objective was for students to encounter challenges and find ways to overcome them, either individually or collaboratively, and use reason to analyze any given situation by observing and using available evidence.

Placing children in challenging scenarios encouraged students to think critically. The meteorological station in the courtyard of the Escola del Bosc served as one of the most engaging, yet difficult, assignments for the students. Each morning a student, or a group of students, would fill out details of the day and weather in the meteorological notebook. The students assigned to that task had the very important role of documenting and reporting the weather conditions to the school. It was a position in which the student could apply their scientific knowledge but also a position that was under observation by a teacher and fellow peers. A completed report shows that a student, Santiago Palacios (14 years old), was expected to document the direction and potency of the wind; the type, quantity, direction, and location of clouds; thermostatic pressure; and the interior, exterior, maximum, and minimum temperatures (Figure 2.2). Additionally, the student was expected to write down the weather and make general observations. In this example, Santiago categorizes the day as “variable” and notes that it rained

at nine in the morning.[280] All of this was carried out at nine in the morning, noon, and five in the afternoon. This provided an exciting and hands-on arena for children to engage with real-world applications of what they were learning.


AYUNTAMIENTO DE BARCELONA
Delegación de Servicios de Cultura

Nacional

ANTIGUA ESCUELA DEL MAR

HOJA METEOROLÓGICA

Día 5 de Octubre de 1966

Observadores: Santiago Palacios 11 años;

HORAS DE OBSERVACIÓN		9 H.	12 H.	17 H.
Viento	Dirección			
	Fuerza	1(Ventolina)	1(Ventolina)	1(Ventolina)
Nubes	Clase			
	Cantidad	Cubierto	Cubierto	Cubierto
	Parte más nublada			
	Vienen del			
Presión atmosférica		757 m/m	757 m/m	757 m/m
Temperatura	Termómetro húmedo			19°
	» seco o exterior			20°
	Interior	24°	18°	19°
	Máxima			
	Mínima			
	Media			
Humedad				81%
Lluvia (cantidad por m³)				
Estado general del tiempo			LLUVIOSO	
Otros fenómenos:		a las 9 hr; ● (cont.)		

Observaciones en el jardín de la Escuela:

El Director del Servicio,

Figure 2.2—Escola del Bosc. Meteorological Observation Form, October 5, 1966.

While the task of filling out a worksheet itself may have been easy, students faced a series of challenges associated with the activity. A student who had previously been head of meteorological services the year prior expressed that when she was once again head of that position, she did not want to do it, but ended up stuck with it: “this time [when I went] to choose

[280] Hoja Meterológica. 5 de Octubre de 1966. “Hoja Meterológica. Curso 1966-67” Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d’Educació. Caixa 67228. Carpeta 1. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.

a position, in [my] color, there was not a boy or a girl that wanted this one. I did not want the position of director of metrological services because even though I have already had it, I was scared and it seemed too difficult."[281] The student later expressed that she enjoyed making the observations but had difficulty documenting what she observed. In a different instance, Rosa,[282] age 13, of the green group expressed: "I have really enjoyed this position [metrological services], but in the end, it became a bit difficult."[283] Rosa attributed some of the difficulties to be the result of absences, students who did not know what they were doing, or issues with punctuality.[284]

Confronting, managing, and solving challenges while playing outdoors helped reinforce pre-civil war principles that highly valued play and the outdoors. The simple act of playing and engaging with the outdoors in a distinct manner challenged the regime's regimented curriculum. Rather than being told how to solve problems, students were encouraged to figure it out on their own. Although play is typically defined as an activity meant for recreation and enjoyment without serious or practical purpose, students learned a series of valuable lessons through play. Thus, during the Franco regime, play and the outdoors were used for educational purposes in which students could further exercise their critical thinking skills.

Subterranean Catalanism

The inclusion of Spanish nationalism in the classroom did not mean that Catalan identity and linguistic expressions entirely disappeared. The overt display of Catalan cultural symbols

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[281] "Director del Servicio Meterológico" Curso 1973-1974. Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67230. Carpeta 2. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona.
Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.
[282] Last name unknown.
[283] Director del Servisio Meterolóico, Curso 1973-74. Institució Municipal de Educació. Fons d'Educació. Caixa 67230. Carpeta 2. IMEB. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Note: Children's original text in Spanish translated with grammatical errors included.
[284] Ibid.

and language were prohibited, yet this did not mean people saw the schools as Spanish schools. When former student Germa thought about some of the day-to-day activities at school, he suggests that the inclusion of Spanish nationalist symbols was simply a cover up. Germa never expressed any form of political views, but from his repeated use of Catalan throughout the interview and the emphasis on pieces of information that he highlighted as "Catalan," such as outdoor play and critical thinking, one can infer that he understands his years as a student in the Escola del Mar through a Catalanist lens. Germa remembers that every classroom had a portrait of Franco and recalls:

> " Every Thursday they played the [national] anthem as they raised the Fascist [Falangist] flag and made us sing the anthem. The entire school, 300 children or so singing. But what I think is that they did it to [put on a face] for the neighborhood, a way for us to be heard and seen as we raised the flags. But in reality we were a very Catalanist school but with discretion."[285]

For Germa, elements of the national education system were included to assimilate with the community and deflect any suspicion.

The Escola del Mar, and likely other municipal schools, continued to teach Catalan to its students. Catalan-language literature was used in the classroom but later hidden in different parts of the school. Germa notes that "we learned Catalan in secret and they [teachers] hid the books in old showers. I did not know that they hid the books. It was something that I later learned. They taught us Catalan and we [students] found it to be normal."[286] Discrete and clandestine methods were used to maintain continuity of Catalan culture in a time when the public and spoken use of Catalan were prohibited. But at the same time Germa's anecdote suggests that there were also limits to the regime's ability to repress the use of non-Castilian languages. Schools, at least in the

[285] Iturrate, Interview. Date. The interview was conducted in Castilian; however, the interviewee switches to Catalan when mentioning that they were a Catalanist school.
[286] Iturrate, [10:15].

case of the Escola del Mar, were a safe space with a degree of autonomy that allowed for this phenomenon to occur.

While there was no overt display of Catalan symbols during the regime, we see an effort to maintain the school's tradition as a Catalan school. Catalan may not have been the primary language, and much of the literature may have been replaced with textbooks and assignments reinforcing Spanish nationalism, but this did not mean that schools no longer embraced being Catalan. The continuity in Catalan identity also opens up debate about the limits of the regime and its inability to eliminate the display of Catalan culture in public spaces. The municipal schools were spaces where the regime seemed to have limited control and thus they were able to hold on to their Catalan traditions.

Conclusion:

This chapter has used the Escola del Bosc and Escola del Mar to look at the continuities and limits of alternative pedagogical principles as the schools transitioned from constitutional regimes in the first third of the century to the authoritarian Franco regime. Some of the elements associated with alternative education – critical thinking, whole-child development, learning outdoors, and Catalan identity – were diminished in schools after the Civil War. Elements associated with Catalan traditions were replaced with Spanish nationalism; some aspects of critical thinking were marginalized in favor of rote learning; special needs students were no longer given priority and thus alternative education was, in theory, accessible to all students. Limits to the alternative education system arose from the structures of the authoritarian regime. However, as the chapter has suggested, some continuities remained within the municipal schools. The result was an education system that provided the people of Barcelona with an alternative space for socialization outside of the parameters of the regime.

The ability to maintain continuity was possible because of Barcelona's distinct cultural and structural conditions, as discussed in the previous chapter. First, the cultural space for this autonomy may have stemmed from the established educational tenets rooted in pre-civil war republican culture. In the first third of the twentieth century, pedagogues worked closely with the municipal schools to implement active learning techniques within the curriculum. Second, the structural space for the municipal schools were able to exist and use a different curriculum because of the municipal institutional infrastructure, the IME, which coordinated and protected the schools. Even during a centralizing dictatorship, the schools were under the supervision of the IME, which meant that they had protection under the *Ley del Regimen Local*, affording them the opportunity to operate with some local autonomy, much like they did prior to the civil war.

By the 1970s, Barcelona's municipal school system had continued to expand and provide an alternative to the national public education system. In 1972, the Escola del Mar celebrated its 50th anniversary with a commemorative book published by the municipality of Barcelona. The opening remark was written by none other than Mayor Porcioles, who lauded the school for its ability to bring prestige to the city and hoped that the school continued to make strides in offering Barcelona "hope of new endeavors in making responsible and conscious men."[287] The day-to-day life of municipal schools opens a new perspective on education under the Franco regime. While the schools adopted some of the national public school system's pedagogical methods, they were able to hold on to many of the active learning pedagogical tenets. Teachers and pedagogues in schools such as the Escola del Bosc and Escola del Mar had a variety of activities and assignments that allowed them to comply with existing educational policies while

[287] José Ma. de Porcioles, "Presentación por el Excemo. Sr. D. José Ma. De Porcioles, Alcalde de Barcelona," in *Escuela del Mar (1922-1972), Cincuentenario de su Fundación*. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona (1972), 10.

including alternative educational methods in creative ways. The continuities of the alternative pedagogical system suggest that schools had the opportunity to exercise a degree of autonomy and offer an alternative site of socialization for the people of Barcelona.

Chapter III: Getting Wet and Cleaning Up: Swimming in Urban Barcelona

Introduction:

While Artur Martorell pushed to establish the IME in the 1950s, swimming clubs across Barcelona petitioned to the city for the need of new swimming pools. In 1954, several private swimming clubs argued that Barcelona, a city with a longstanding sporting history, needed new pools. Board members of the swimming clubs believed that swimming had the potential to address existing public health problems and, most importantly, to educate children. Educational and swimming projects were similar in that their aim was to develop educational programs centered on ideas and characteristics inherited from Catalan culture. In this sense, educational ambitions and alternative pedagogy extended far beyond the formal educational spaces. What sets apart the swimming pool construction project is the way in which urban renewal allowed local elites to develop local autonomy and a unique identity.

This chapter explores how the construction and management of pools in the city of Barcelona from the 1950s and onwards served as a channel used by local elites as a source of empowerment while actively transforming the urban landscape by creating a unique alternative model that implicitly ranked Barcelona above Madrid. Thus, we see the emergence of a Barcelona "brand" of a sporting city, which would be confirmed in 1955 with the II Mediterranean Games. It explores the construction and remodeling of pools as an effort to reorganize the social matrix of the city of Barcelona under the Franco Regime. Swimming began as a leisure activity exclusive to affluent members of society who had the means to buy membership into the private swimming clubs. By the 1930s, there was a gradual shift to making swimming and its benefits more accessible to lower- and working-class communities. Although the project was paused by the Civil War, Barcelona's elites found ways to continue republican

efforts to transform swimming into a civic activity, but one embedded in a hierarchical social order. Through this evolution we can see how elites attempted to use swimming as a means of empowerment and to transform the urban landscape to promote their vision of the social order. Because many of these elites held some form of political or administrative position in municipal politics, they did not directly challenge the regime and thus were able to avoid any repercussions while cleaning up and remaking Barcelona. Barcelona's distinctive characteristics included the existence of a strong industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, a history of endemic working-class conflict, and the presence of a strong sports tradition that fostered a community with multiple, and overlapping, agendas

In this chapter I will argue that the construction of swimming pools can be understood as a project that allowed the local bourgeoisie to reclaim their authority by targeting and educating children, improving hygienic conditions, and promoting community welfare. After the 1960s, the swimming pools helped transform Barcelona into a sporting city, captivating the attention of international organizations. At the same time, as Barcelona began to modernize, the national government became present and public at inaugural events, thus suggesting that the government may have used these improvements to project a softer image of the regime. For the local elites, the construction and remodeling of pools served to "civilize" the masses as part of a larger goal of improving and modernizing the city according to their own standards and values, while establishing new channels of control and power under a centralizing dictatorship. A modern society, as conceptualized by Barcelona's elites, included the normalization of customs and etiquette associated with middle- and upper-class culture, which included the adoption of a

healthy lifestyle and habits.[288] The vision of the swimming clubs can be understood within the framework of *habitus* (second nature) of hygienic mannerisms, where the objective is to prevent the dissemination of diseases.[289] Part of that healthy lifestyle was having a clean, aesthetically appealing environment in both working- and middle- class neighborhoods.

The process of civilizing Barcelona's lower-class citizens involved complex negotiations with the municipality to transform swimming clubs from private to civic organizations, with the promise of educating children and addressing the public good while focusing on the issue of hygiene. Confronted with the reality of a centralized authoritarian state, board members and city officials developed mechanisms that claimed to promote social harmony and welfare while empowering themselves. As the chapter will suggest, private organizations allowed Barcelona's elites who were already involved in local politics to utilize such spaces for their personal benefit.

Like the municipal schools, swimming clubs used existing laws to their advantage. In this case, the mass urban renewal project centered around sport could not have been possible without the *Ley de Régimen Local*. Article 103 notes that "Municipalities with urban centers of more than five thousand inhabitants are obligated, additionally, to provide the following services: a) home supply for drinking water; b) sewer; c) public restrooms; d) slaughterhouse; e) market; f) fire services; g) school sport fields; h) public park."[290] Under this stipulation, it would have been easy to justify the need of new swimming pools and other sporting complexes.

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[288] Jesus Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 9.
[289] For more on the sociological concept of *habitus* see: Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
[290] Ministerio de la Gobernacion. "Decreto de 16 de diciembre de 1950 por el que se aprueba el texto articulado de la Ley de Régimen local, de 17 de julio de 1945." Boletin oficial del Estado. Núm 363. 29 diciembre 1950, 6041-42.

Another opportunity that encouraged the city government to fix and construct new pools was the II Mediterranean Games. In 1951, the International Olympic Committee granted Barcelona the opportunity to host the Second Mediterranean Games (1955). This prompted the city government to collaborate with the private clubs by remodeling, or constructing, new pools that would benefit both the clubs and the city. On the one hand, the city government benefitted from the collaboration as they would be able to display Barcelona's modern infrastructure to visiting tourists and athletes. In fact, this could be seen as a city-wide sporting project given that it overlapped with the construction of FC Barcelona's new stadium, Camp Nou.[291] On the other hand, swimming clubs benefitted from the financial support of the city as they were finally able to modernize athletic facilities, a project that board members attempted to accomplish years prior. While the II Mediterranean Games only lasted 10 days, the preparation that took place in the four years leading up to the event played a significant role in remodeling the city's urban landscape while simultaneously branding it as a sporting city.

The debates about swimming pools among elites and city officials revolved around not only the remaking of city spaces but also the capacity of people to embrace middle- and upper-class values. Proper values in the modern world, as described by Norbert Elias, is comprised of manners of hygiene, courtesy, and cultural norms, categories that are essential in maintaining social order and reflecting social position. [292] Hygienic manners refer to the prevention of diseases, including the avoidance and removal of potentially contagious diseases in people, specifically children, and in urban spaces. The hope was that by adulthood these manners would

[291] For more on Camp Nou see Jimmy Burns, *Barça: A People's Passion* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998); Maria Carreras, "A Second Renaissance: Football Club Barcelona, Camp Nou, and the Re-Emergence of Catalan Nationalism, 1950-1975" (MA Thesis, California State University Long Beach, 2013).
[292] Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 48.

become second-nature behavior. In terms of swimming, the assumption was that swimming clubs could serve as a space in which poorer groups could internalize hygienic manners. Courtesy manners refer to the self-control whereby an individual gives priority to the interests of the socio-cultural group to gain and maintain membership in the social group. The organizational structure of the swimming clubs was premised on communitarian virtues where actions and decisions affected other members. Cultural manners refer to customs of a society by which a person establishes their identity in a given socio-cultural group. Participation in swimming became a symbol associated with not only middle- and upper-class leisure culture but also with membership in a historically progressive city that established social boundaries that looked to other countries for models. The city of Barcelona during this period provides a critical vantage point for exploring contests over the evolving ideas of modernity as expressed in the urban landscape in Franco's Spain.

The construction and remodeling of pools had broader ramifications beyond cleaning up and modernizing Barcelona's urban landscape. The 1950s was a transitional decade in which the country was moving away from the years of hunger and the period of autarky and towards economic growth and rising standards of living. Barcelona's population grew rapidly over the course of a decade, from a population of 1,280,179 in 1950 to 1,557,876 in 1960.[293] Much of that population growth can be attributed to the migration of people from southern Spain, notably Andalusia and Extremadura. The sporting urban renewal project served as a model for other parts of Spain, thus demonstrating Barcelona's vanguard position in the urban landscape.

The chapter explores one case study of the city of Sevilla, in which local elites looked to the Barcelona model and tried to implement it. In comparison to Barcelona's developed urban

[293] Instituto Nacional de Estadistíca. Censo 1950 y 1960.

landscape, Sevilla struggled to provide a large portion of its residents with basic services and a clean and healthy environment. Sevillan elites who were members of swimming clubs or the regional swimming association had knowledge of the pool reconstruction program launched by Barcelona's local elites. Following suit, Sevillan swimming clubs attempted to convince the city that it was worthy of new swimming pools but required the financial assistance and support of the city. This case study, discussed in more detail later, highlights three important points. First, it places Barcelona in a privileged position as a distinct urban model, evidence of its "semi-autonomous" privilege. Second, it suggests the existence of horizontal networks across municipalities that bypassed the centralized structures of the regime. Finally, it highlights that despite honest efforts made by the city of Sevilla, and perhaps other cities throughout Spain, Barcelona's socio-political particularities, rooted in pre-Civil War traditions, facilitated such projects. In contrast, Sevilla was ultimately unsuccessful because it lacked the infrastructure that helped bolster similar projects. Although unique in its characteristics and ability to carry out such a monumental project, the case of Barcelona nonetheless provided an alternative model of urbanization for other cities.

Swimming through the Scholarly Currents

One of the debates on the scholarship on urbanization during the Franco regime has looked at urban renewal and transformation projects to help modernize Spain. One of the focal points have been larger efforts carried out by the regime to clean up slums. One perspective posits that the regime carried out informal urbanization projects as a means of cleaning up slums and driving out residents. Francisco Andrés Burbano argues that irregular construction projects that occurred in the shanty town Pozo del Tío Raimundo in the city of Madrid in the 1950s was

not accidental.[294] Rather, it was a part of a larger model of informal urbanization that was made possible by local and national laws. Similarly, projects took place in Barcelona in shanty towns like Somorrostro and Camp de la Bota that were cleaned up in the 1960s after Franco's visit to the city.[295] Another perspective considers how the urban transformation can be seen as a source of empowerment. Inbal Ofer considers the management of urban space as a form of social and political repression by the regime.[296] While the regime's repression posed a threat to the mass squatting, members of those communities mobilized through neighborhood associations and found ways to claim their right to the city.

This chapter enters the latter debate that considers urban transformation as a space of empowerment and resistance for the residents of Barcelona. It expands on the diverse scholarship that focuses on the 1959 Stabilization Plan, which strengthened the industrial sector of Barcelona.[297] While the national authorities worked to clear impoverished shanty towns, local elites launched similar projects a decade prior. The urban transformation at the local level was

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[294] Francisco Andrés Burbano Trimiño, "La Urbanización Marginal Durante El Franquismo: El Chabolismo Madrileño (1950-1960)" *Hispania Nova. Primera Revista de Historia Contemporánea on-Line En Castellano. Segunda Época*, 301 (2020): 301-343.
[295] Laura de Andrés Creus, *Diaris del Somorrostro* (Barcelona: Editorial Mediterrània, 2018)
[296] Inbal Ofer, *Claiming the City and Contesting the State: Squatting, Community Formation and Democratization in Spain (1955-1986)* (London: Routledge, 2017).
[297] Juan Busquets, *Barcelona: The Urban Evolution of a Compact City* (Cambridge: Harvard Graduate School of Design, 2005) 269-70; Some scholars who have made this claim are: Edgar Illas, *Thinking Barcelona: Ideologies of a Global City* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), Mari Par Balibrea, *The Global Cultural Capital: Addressing the Citizen and Producing the City of Barcelona* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), Donald Mcneill, *Urban Change and the European Left* (Florence: Routledge, 1999), Mónica Degan, *Sensing Cities: Regenerating Public Life in Barcelona and Manchester* (London: Routledge, 2008); Olga Sendra Ferrer, *Barcelona, City of Margins* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 3-4. Also see: Mónica Degan and Marisol García, "The Transformation of the 'Barcelona Model': An analysis of Culture, Urban Regeneration and Governance," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* Vol 36 (5) (2012): 1022-1038.

imagined as a potential mechanism to integrate, not exclude, members of the community. Instead of pushing residents out to other neighborhoods, or outside the city, elites attempted to integrate them into the community through swimming programs.

Outside of Spain, Sun-Young Park has described how hygienic urbanism, which she details as the development of open boulevards, public parks, and sewer system, transformed the landscape of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century. Development of the urban landscape was a result of fears and anxieties surrounding the hygiene of city dwellers. Concern over the physical and moral health of Parisians focused not only on larger social reforms that benefitted the entire community, but also on the improvement of bodily and mental fitness, particularly those of vulnerable classes. The case of 1950s and 1960s Barcelona suggests that swimming pool construction projects and educational programs similarly helped alter the urban landscape. In addition to rendering modern sporting complexes, the new swimming pools helped clean up working-class neighborhoods throughout the city.

This chapter adds to the recent scholarship that argues that the Franco era was a period of urban renewal in the city of Barcelona. I argue that not only was the dictatorship invested in urban renewal "from above", but that local elites took the initiative to direct this process for their own empowerment. The aim was to make Barcelona a distinct urban space that distinguished it from other cities, which is a point that the scholarship has not addressed. Given the central role sports has played in Barcelona's identity, elites and politicians utilized sport as a means of building a sporting identity. In an era when political and cultural repression limited the formal channels of influence of Catalan elites, they found creative outlets within which to reassert their authority.

The History of Swimming in Barcelona before the Franco Regime

The origins and evolution of swimming before the Franco regime can be categorized in two phases: the first is its origins as private associations exclusive to Barcelona's elites and the second was a period of transformation to civic activity with Catalanist elements of inclusivity. In the first phase, which stemmed roughly from 1907 to 1930, swimming was a leisure activity reserved for Barcelona's affluent community. When CN Barcelona, Spain's first official swimming club, was established in 1907, swimming and membership in the club was reserved for paying members.[298] Participation and membership with CN Barcelona was so exclusive that there were members who signed up without knowing how to swim due to the prestige of belonging. However, upon joining, the stipulation was that members who did not know how to swim were required to learn within the first year.[299] Swimming rapidly increased in popularity as a socio-sporting activity in Catalonia and throughout Spain.[300] By 1910, CN Barcelona had 100 loyal members, and the club was active in organizing swimming and water polo events and creating new courses.[301] Within four years, CN Barcelona had a total of 450 members.[302]

More broadly, it is within the first two decades of the century that we witness the origins of swimming, its social effects, and its institutional building blocks. Six years after CN Barcelona opened its doors to Barcelona's elites, other swimming clubs began to emerge. In May 1913, Club Natació Athlètic was established. What was unique about CN Athlètic was the fact

[298]Xavier Pujadas, *El Origens de la natació esportiva a Catalunya*. (Esplagues de Lloberat: Consell Català de l'Esport (2005): 11.
[299] Ibid., 12.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.

that it had its own women's only club, Fémina Natación Club (1913).[303] Subsequently, Club Natación Sabadell (1916), Club Natación Pop de Badalona (1919), and the swimming branch at the Centre d'Esports de Lleida (1919) were established in other areas outside of the city of Barcelona. By 1920, the Real Federación Española de Natación (Royal Spanish Swimming Federation) was founded, followed in the subsequent decade by the Federació Catalana de Natació Amateur. With a solid institutional foundation at the national and regional level, swimming would become a sport that captivated the interest of athletes and elites, but also the masses.

Despite its exclusivity as elite sport, swimming was made available beyond the ranks of club members in some contexts. Thus, CN Barcelona was one of the financial supporters of the Escola del Mar, one of the municipal schools discussed in the last chapter. Established in 1921, the Escola del Mar sought the support of CN Barcelona to carry out its educational mission, which featured outdoor and physical activity. The Escola del Mar's 1921 memorandum thanked CN Barcelona "for giving the Municipality of Barcelona part of the beach they used to allow about 500 children to bathe."[304] Providing access to the beach was one of the first steps in making swimming more accessible to the public. Although CN Barcelona did not yet offer swimming classes to children, such initial efforts set the parameters for a more expanded project in the subsequent decade.

The second phase, which coincides with the Second Republic, was a period of transformation in which swimming evolved from a private to a civic and explicitly Catalan activity. Within the second phase we see swimming become a popular sport accessible to poorer

[303] Ibid.
[304] Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Escola del Mar*, (Barcelona1921), 25.

and working-class communities, as part of the larger republican and Catalan project of democratizing culture. Interestingly, swimming programs originated in Madrid's Grupos Escolares Municipales (Municipal School Groups).[305] During the early years of the Second Republic, CN Barcelona was perceived as an important part of republican and Catalan civil society, although the club still mostly focused on the improvement of their own members, which limited their public scope. In 1933, *Natació*, CN Barcelona's Catalan language publication, noted that after 25 years of existence the club had not only improved the state of swimming but also the "moral values and tenacity" of its members.[306] The task at hand now was to make the sport more welcoming and inviting to the broader population. To exemplify the spirit of "liberty, equality, fraternity and democracy" which permeated its ranks, all members wore the same uniform, regardless of ability or class, and shared the same facilities.[307]

During this time, CN Barcelona began to subscribe to what James Stout termed the cross-class ideology of popular sport and considered its members part of a democratic entity.[308] The club described itself as a republic that provided all its members with the same opportunities. *Natació* stated that "in this republic [the club] we are not all equal ... but we all have the same rights … [We] are not all equal because we have strong men and those who are older or children."[309] But in a later publication the team stated that once "on the sports field, everyone is

[305] Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, "*Comisión Nacional de Natación Escolar y Utilitaria: Memoria Año 1959*. Sevilla, 1960. The schools started in 1935 with 200 student participants.
[306] In theory, anyone could become a member if they could pay the membership fees. See: Francesc Freixas, "Tenacitat y valor moral" and "Una República", *Natació*, July 1933.
[307] Ibid.
[308] James Stout, "Breakaway Nations: The Use of Sports and Physical Culture to Create a Cross Class Catalan identity during the Second Republic" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2016).
[309] Francsesc Freixas, "Libertat, igualitat, fraternidad i democracia" *Natació*, July 1933.

equal."[310] Along the same lines, the club also saw itself as a school of democracy and an educational organization that taught members how to live in a new society.[311] Members of the club participated in internal democratic elections, allowing them to have a say as to who represented them as members of a small community. In addition to voting in club elections, members also learned how substantive democracy worked and how to facilitate common causes despite differing circumstances. Political figures such as Francesc Macià and Carles Pi i Sunyer supported CN Barcelona's efforts by reinforcing the educational and physical benefits that accompany swimming.[312] It was in the pools and changing rooms of the club that "men of different classes met and spent time together as they should in a true republic,"[313] and as such, CN Barcelona was every bit "an institution for Catalonia as venerated as the Orfeó català,[314] [and] a vital organ in the body of Catalonia."[315] The expansion of swimming during the Second Republic was one of the ways in which Catalan people could actively participate in a democratic public sphere and cross class boundaries.

Another feature that characterized the swimming discourse during this time was its Catalanist connotations, or the connection to the "ancient" values to which Catalans ascribed. CN Barcelona attributed its growth to the *seny* (common sense) and *voluntat* (will) of its

[310] "En el terreny esportiu tothom és igual." Esquiroz, Vinceç. "Parlem - Ne." *Natació*, October 1936.
[311] "Nova societat" Esquiroz, Vinceç. "Parlem - Ne." *Natació*, October 1936.
[312] 'El Conseller de Cultura de La Generalitat de Catalunya, S'ocupa de L'ensenyament de La Natació'. *Natació*, January 1936.
[313] Francesc Freixas. 'Al club homes de diferent posició social fraternitzen com hauria d'esser en un veritable republica', *Natació,* July 1933; Francesc Freixas, 'Una República' *Natació,* July 1933.
[314] Choral society based in Barcelona founded in 1891 by Lluís Millet and Amadeu Vives.
[315] 'A catalunya és un institució tan solemne tan veneradó com l'orfeó català Què És El Nostre Club'. *Natació*, March 1936.

members, both ideas traditionally instilled within Catalan culture.[316] Although what those two traits meant was never specified, we can infer that what was meant is that Catalans who voluntarily joined the club were joining a Catalan "team." The addition of this traditional Catalan narrative to the club's self-image possibly served several purposes: not only did it attempt to perpetuate Catalan legends, tropes, and offer a way of demonstrating them outside of myth and literature, but it also expanded this same narrative to the newly arrived Catalans. During a time that experienced the first wave of migration from the south of Spain, fostering a vision of Catalan culture as a welcoming and democratic environment contributed to the club's image as an inclusive space.

To make swimming more inclusive, the clubs tried to frame swimming as a sport that would fortify the Catalan nation as a whole. An article in *Natació* that reflected on a quarter of a century of the club concludes that it has helped in the formation of "healthy races, a strong [Catalan] people and a free country."[317] The commitment to the people of the nation was evident in the January 1936 initiative of the Generalitat to teach Catalans to swim, in which the CN Barcelona would spearhead the movement. The noble plan was cut short due to the outbreak of the Civil War. But if given the opportunity, the program would have gone a long way towards consolidating the club's identity as a fully civic organization.[318] In addition to the physical benefits swimming offered the people of Catalonia there were also international relations bonuses for the nation. CN Barcelona hosted foreign swimmers and made a great effort to introduce them to Catalan institutions and traditions. Visiting teams were taken for tours of the

[316] Francesc Freixas. 'Una República'. *Natació*, February 1934.
[317] Francesc Pujols. "Races sanes, pobles fortes y parties lliures" and "Al Club Natació Barcelona." *Natació*, February 1933.
[318] 'El Conseller de Cultura de La Generalitat de Catalunya, S'ocupa de L'ensenyament de La Natació'. *Natació*, January 1936.

Generalitat and shown exhibitions of Catalan history as well as competing in the Club's facilities adorned with Catalan flags. The CN Barcelona also represented Catalonia abroad, competing in the national colors in international competitions.[319] CN Barcelona, thus, became an entity that promoted the connection between swimming and Catalanism both locally and internationally.

Despite the democratic efforts to broaden access to swimming, there was still an exclusive element to the clubs. In particular, the exclusive Piscinas y Sports sporting complex opened in 1935. Located in the historically affluent neighborhood of Sarrià, Piscinas y Sports was a sporting complex where residents would not only enjoy new pools, but also engage in a series of leisure activities such as dancing, music, and socializing with other members. Piscinas y Sports was less of a simple swimming complex and more of an amusement park for Barcelona's middle- and upper-class residents. The sporting complex housed a large central pool, which *El Mundo Deportivo* newspaper dubbed as "the grandest pool in the world," along with a gym, skating rink, dance floor, miniature golf course, a baseball field, and smaller pool where former swimmer, Ramón Artigas, directed swimming classes.[320] The afternoon of July 24, spectators enjoyed authentic Catalan performances and dance numbers from local groups such as the Foment de la Sardana, Orfeo Graciec, and Esbart Català de Dansaires.[321] At night, participants enjoyed an exhibition game by the Club Femini i d'Eports, the women's basketball team. Spectators had the entire day to enjoy food and beverages catered by the Ritz Hotel. In the first couple years of its establishment, Piscinas y Sports had the honor and privilege of hosting scholastic sporting championships and a series of festivals and balls for Sarrià's residents.

[319] 'L'olimpiada de Berlin'. *Natació*, January 1936.
[320] Piscinas y Sports. *El Mundo Deportivo*, August 10, 1935.
[321] Piscinas y Sports. *El Mundo Deportivo*, July 25, 1935.

By the end of the 1930s, the private swimming clubs and the exclusive leisure swimming and sporting park had begun to transform into civic spaces that catered to Barcelona's diverse population. However, the efforts to fully transform swimming clubs into civic organizations that were welcoming to people across the entire social spectrum were not able to fully materialize for two reasons. First, as mentioned, the economic depression and political uncertainty of the 1930s slowed down the project. While swimming may have in fact become more popular there was not enough money to expand facilities. Although the Generalitat may have made plans to allocate the funds to public health and cultural projects, the onset of the Civil War put an unexpected pause to those projects. Second, clubs paused their outreach projects during the Civil War and lost a lot of the momentum from their initial attempt to develop into civic organizations. At the beginning of the Franco era, clubs once again became private organizations. However, over the course of the 1950s, local elites found ways to bring back the civic project and make swimming accessible to the masses, although this time without the republican and Catalanist language of the 1930s. What remained from the older sports tradition was the ability for swimming to improve society and contribute to the public good.

By July 1939, three months after the end of the Civil War, there were efforts to erase Catalanism from public spectacles. Confronted with the reality that Barcelona's urban and social landscape had changed, the structure and accessibility of the complex adapted as well. The sporting center became a private sporting complex funded by Atracciones Sarriá S.A and the name was changed to Piscinas y Deportes. In parallel with the linguistic change was the repression of any expression of Catalanism. Piscinas y Deportes collaborated with the city's transit services and provided accessible, low fare transportation to the park for festivities

celebrating St. James (July 25) and other festivals to come.[322] *La Vanguardia* reported that the festival celebrating St. James would include traditional Galician music and dance, as well as all-night musical production a Hispanic orchestra.[323] The end result was not only a leisure space that now welcomed the broader Barcelonese community, but one that eliminated any traces of Catalan cultural performances.

Swimming in Barcelona During the Franco Regime

Swimming began to transform the urban landscape in the 1950s. In this expanding urban environment, Barcelona's elites sought to reassert their influence but also to shape the process of urban expansion with their version of a modernizing agenda that included the improvement of hygienic conditions and socializing children through educational swimming programs. This process provided a channel for re-constructing the parameters of civil society and integrating social reform as early as the 1950s within the specific context of Barcelona's complex urban and class dynamics.

During the Franco regime, we see continuity and expansion of the efforts to make swimming accessible to the greater Barcelona community. At the same time as aiding working-class communities, the pools served as a source of empowerment for Barcelona's elites. In the 1950s, Barcelona's elites used the transformation of swimming from private to civic organization as a way to clean up and "civilize" poorer communities to better align with modern, bourgeois values. At the same time, they continued to ensure that certain spaces were exclusive to affluent citizens. As the example of Piscinas y Deportes will demonstrate, participation in events at the

[322] Piscinas y Deportes. Tranvías de Barcelona, S.A. *La Vanguardia*. July 24, 1939.
[323] Ibid.

semi-luxurious leisure complex was exclusive not only to the people of Sarrià, but specifically those with economic means.

During the following decade, the construction of more pools helped alter the urban landscape and rebrand Barcelona as a sporting city that gained national and international attention. The modernization of sporting infrastructure allowed the city to host international events and thus draw in tourists from around the world. The national government also took notice, and the regime began to have a presence in Barcelona and its events. Thus, it was not uncommon for Franco to inaugurate new sporting venues, perhaps trying to take credit for or to present a softer image of the regime. As the subsequent sections will demonstrate, there was an initial period of continuity during which swimming helped support social reform projects. The construction and remodeling of pools after 1960 empowered the city's elites while simultaneously bolstering the image of Barcelona, and Spain more broadly. What we end up seeing is the ideological flexibility of Barcelona's elites, which allowed them to imagine other cultural markers of identity beyond Catalanism that could be molded to any local, regional, or even national culture. Consequently, the construction and remodeling of swimming pools served as a site to develop and express ideas about modernity, class hierarchy, and urban renewal.

Barcelona's urban renewal projects also caught the attention of other cities in Spain, serving as a model for urban development in other parts of the country, However, the case study of Seville provides insight into the particularities of Barcelona that allowed the city to successfully carry out urbanization projects. Sevilla's elites, particularly board members of CN Sevilla, were aware of the construction and remodeling projects of swimming pools in Barcelona and attempted to develop a modernization project modeled after Barcelona's experience. Although Sevilla's efforts would not be as successful as those of Barcelona, the case study

demonstrates the existence of choice and alternative visions of modernity outside of the parameters of the authoritarian regime. The subsequent sections will delve further into Sevilla's experience, conditions, and inability to carry out projects like the ones in Barcelona.

Hierarchy and Exclusivity

Despite pre-Civil War efforts to transform swimming into a more democratic sport, and to make swimming pools more accessible to all of Barcelona's citizens, access to swimming pools reverted exclusively to middle- and upper-class membership in the early years of the regime. Piscinas y Deportes is a good example of an elite club that remained an exclusive space even after others shifted their focus to more civic organization. During the day it was an exclusive site of entertainment for families who enjoyed swimming, lounging, diving, engaging in a series of aquatic activities, and hosting sporting tournaments. At night, the park's ballrooms hosted a series of lavish events that required table reservations and entrance fees to the establishment in addition to the dining fees.[324] An advertisement from *La Vanguardia* in 1955 showed a sharp increase in admission fees for the annual Festival of St Peter. In the previous years, the advertisements mention that there was access to both dance floors. In 1955, however, not only was there a general entrance fee of five pesetas, but the prices of access to the dance floors changed as well. Access to the general dance floor was fifteen pesetas, while entrance to the exclusive La Pérogola was sixty pesetas. In La Pérogola, not only were you paying an entrance and dancing fee, but also for beverages that were exclusive at the time like champagne and Coca-Cola.[325] Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, Piscinas y Deportes became a popular elite site of entertainment not only for its swimming pools but also for hosting a series of

[324] Piscinas y Deportes: Grandiosa Verbena de San Pedro. *La Vangardia,* 22 Junio, 1948, 9.
[325] Vervena de San Pedro. *La Vanguardia,* 28 Junio, 1955, 23.

parties and concerts by notable musicians of the time. Conchita Bautista, Jose Guardiola, and Antonio Machin were among the notable entertainers of the time that performed at the center.[326] At a moment in which leisure was becoming accessible to people of different social classes, Barcelona's elites still found ways to make certain spaces exclusive and accessible to only a portion of the population. Located in the affluent neighborhood of Sarrià, Barcelona's middle and upper classes swam and socialized in a neighborhood and space with people of a similar background.

Transforming Piscinas y Deportes into an exclusive site of socialization was part of a broader process of urban development that transformed and consolidated the affluent area in which it was located. The area around Piscinas y Deportes underwent significant development over the course of ten years (1955-1965), and its location was central to this transformation. In the evolution in the landscape as Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show, Sarrià witnessed the construction of new and modern apartment complexes and symmetrical roads within proximity to Piscinas y Deportes. Not only was the leisure complex located in Sarrià, but it was close to the roundabout church of Sant Gregori Taumaturg. In 1945 Barcelona's Archbishop Gregorio Modergo established the parish in the middle of a roundabout. Construction of the church did not take place until 1954 when Archbishop Modrego laid the commemorative first stone.[327] In the subsequent years, the area surrounding Piscinas y Deportes and the Church underwent significant renovation. In 1963, young Ricard Bofill, who would become a world-renowned architect,

[326] Piscinas y Deportes. *La Vanguardia,* 20 Junio 1969, 57.; Piscinas y Deportes. *La Vanguardia,* 27 Diciembre 1970, 55.
[327] "Primera Piedra de la Parroquia de San Gregorio Tamaturgo," *La Vanguardia,* 21 Noviembre 1954, 25.

completed his first architectural project on Carrer Joahn Sebastian Bach.[328] By 1965, an arial view of the roundabout shows the dramatic urban development of the area surrounding Piscinas y Deportes. At a time in which urban transformation was taking place and changing Barcelona's social landscape, Piscinas y Deportes remained an exclusive swimming pool for the people of Sarrià.

Figure 3.1-- Roundabout church of Sant Gregori Taumaturg. 1955.

[328] Warren James, ed. *Ricardo Bofill: Taller de Arquitectua: Buildings and Projects, 1960-1985* 9New York: Rizzoli, 1988).

Figure 3.2-- Roundabout church of Sant Gregori Taumaturg. 1965.

Despite this example of efforts to keep some swimming pools as exclusive sites of socialization, by the 1950s there was an increasing interest in making swimming pools, swimming, and the benefits that accompany swimming, more accessible. As the desire for swimming pools increased throughout Spain, swimming clubs and associations faced the daunting task of acquiring funds. In Barcelona, the issue was solved when clubs went from being private to civic associations and could rely on city funding for the constructions. When the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced that Barcelona would host the II Mediterranean Games, city officials mobilized to transform the existing infrastructure. If the city was going to have the honor of hosting an international sporting event, then it was necessary to remodel and construct new sporting complexes.

Continuing the Civic Project: Public/private collaboration

The 1940s was a critical decade in demonstrating the popularity of swimming in Barcelona. In 1944, Club Natación Montjuich (CN Montjuich), one of the most popular and most successful

swimming clubs in Barcelona, was established. Over the span of the decade, not only did swimming's popularity continue to increase, but so did CN Montjuich's notoriety. By 1954, CN Montjuich had an astonishing 1,054 members, which was more than other clubs that had been established prior to the civil war. The other clubs that experienced significant membership increases at the time were Club Natatión Atletico (CN Atletico) and Club Natación Cataluña (CN Cataluña). In 1954, CN Atletico reported that the club had somewhere between 600 and 700 members, while CN Cataluña reported in the same year that they had 859 members, 300 of which were children. The increase in membership helped make a convincing case for the need of new pools as swimming's popularity had grown among Barcelona's citizens, as documented in club memoirs. Yet, this socio-cultural development should be viewed alongside Barcelona's expanding urban development and growing international presence.

The shift from private to civic associations began in 1951, when the International Olympic Committee granted Barcelona the opportunity to host the Second Mediterranean Games (1955). The honor of hosting such a prestigious event sparked ambition for updated and expanded swimming facilities that would in turn transform the urban landscape.[329] Swimming clubs' desire for updated sports facilities was initially focused on the development of world-class athletes who could compete in the upcoming games. But the problem was that swimming clubs lacked the sufficient funds and the appropriate spaces to reconstruct athletic facilities.

[329] During this time, there were several efforts made by professional and amateur sport teams to build new complexes. The city's professional football team, FC Barcelona, constructed its current stadium, Camp Nou. Like the directors of the swimming clubs, FC Barcelona's executives believed that the new stadium would alter the geographical landscape of the city and, above all, bring honor and prestige to Barcelona. See Jimmy Burns, *Barça: A People's Passion* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 1999); Maria Carreras, "A Second Renaissance: Football Club Barcelona, Camp Nou, and the Re-Emergence of Catalan Nationalism, 1950-1975" (MA Thesis, California State University Long Beach, 2013), 25-47.

A solution to the problem came about when the most prominent clubs at the time collaborated to draft a proposal requesting funds from the city of Barcelona in which they had to make the case for broader public impact. In 1954, the Federacion Catalana de Natacion (FCN) (Catalan Swimming Federation) served as a mediator between the swimming clubs in Barcelona and the city government.[330] Like the swimming clubs which were attempting to develop modern, prestigious sporting complexes, the FCN hoped that the new pools would allow them to host national and international tournaments. Each swimming club wrote a detailed proposal addressed to the Delegado de Deportes del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona in which they would attempt to make a convincing argument as to why a new swimming facility was necessary and how the new pools would serve not only elite athletes but the public. The alliance would allow all involved parties to fulfill their objectives: it would fortify the FCN's athletic opportunities, help the city solve public health problems and host the II Mediterranean Games, and assist the swimming clubs in developing their prestige. Over the course of three years, Club Natación Atletico, Club Natación Barceloneta, Club Natación Montjuich, Club Deportivo Mediterráneo, Club Natación Cataluña, Club Natación Pueblo Nuevo, and Sociedad Atlética de Barcelona and city hall collaborated to build and remodel pools. All seven clubs had already identified empty lots on which they planned to build their respective pools or provided a detailed plan on how

[330] The FCN served as a mediator by presenting a comprehensive collection of proposals from Barcelona's swimming clubs to the municipality. In the previous year the clubs attempted to present individual proposals directly to the *Ayuntamiento*, but clubs felt that it would be more convincing to have a governing body (FCN) to help the clubs make a stronger and more convincing claim that more pools were needed in the city.

they would fix existing pools. What was necessary was for city officials to either give or sell the spaces, or provide the lots that were large enough for a swimming facility.[331]

Political Privilege and Urban Access

Reasserting authority for Barcelona's elites involved expanding their footprint in a rapidly changing and expanding urban landscape. The changes in the urban landscape allowed elites to reestablish the parameters of a modern Barcelona. Empty lots, poor neighborhoods, and shantytowns were viewed as potential hubs of criminal activity and sites for serious public health concerns as well as objects for potential beautification. Thus, replacing empty spaces with swimming pools, and remodeling existing aquatic facilities, would give the elites more channels of influence in different parts of the city.

One of the particularities of the swimming pool construction project was the fact that construction projects were made possible because of the overlapping participation of elites in local politics and as members of the swim club boards. This connection allowed clubs to not only identify existing lots throughout the city but also have a higher probability of attaining access to empty lots. Thus, one can argue that the construction and remodeling of pools was in part made possible in Barcelona because of the political access swimming clubs had within the urban landscape. A key figure was the architect Juan Pujadas, who was both a *tecnico* or contractor, for the city and professor of architectural drawing at the Escuela Complementaria Narciso Monutriol.[332] Pujadas was responsible for the creation of the Primera Comisión Municipal de

[331] 'Historiales que presenta a la Ponencia Municipal de Deportes del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, para la construcción de piscinas en las diferentes barriadas barcelonesas de la Federación Catalana de Natación' *Federación Catalana de Natación,* December 1954, 1.
[332] Gaceta Municipal de Barcelona Volumen XXXVI, Año 1949, 25; Gaceta Municipal de Barcelona, Núm 30, 26 de julio de 1954. The Gaceta Municipal from 1949 also includes an index of where in other issues of that same year you could find information on Pujadas.

Deportes (First Municipal Official of Sports) (1949), served as a deputy mayor and was involved in the negotiations that resulted in bringing the Second Mediterranean games to Barcelona. Additionally, he was also responsible for the *beneficencia* (charity) in the municipality. This latter role is not surprising given that much of what he was proposing and supporting through the swimming clubs supported larger social reform projects. Apart from Juan Pujadas, who would be heavily involved in the pool construction process, Don Epifanio de Fortuny y Salazar, barón de Esponellá, an honorary president of CN Montjuich, had a close relationship with city officials and the municipality.[333]

The existing ties between the clubs and the city can help us understand how clubs were able to revive civic-oriented efforts in the 1950s. The 1950s was a transitional period in which efforts aimed at the public good were a concern of private organizations at the beginning of the decade and became a focus of the municipality by the end.[334] The re-transformation of clubs from private to civic institutions opened channels of influence, both up into political power, and down, into the masses. As in many contexts, the boundaries between the local government and civil society were porous, with individuals playing roles in both realms.

The argument in favor of new pools was that they would make good use of empty lots, many of which were in slums or areas that were former shantytowns. The examples from the comprehensive proposal suggest that cleaning up the city was not just about the health of the people of Barcelona but equally about aesthetics. The FCN argued that the collaboration "without a doubt would be for the betterment of [the city]."[335] Swimming pools could beautify

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[333] *La Vanguardia*, del 1 de febrero de 1951, 11; *La Vanguardia*, del 18 de febrero de 1951, cover page.
[334] It is in 1960 that the *Ayuntamiento* of Barcelona constructs the first municipal pool. 'Primera Piscina Municipal Cubierta de Barcelona', *La Vanguardia*. May 21, 1960, 2.
[335] Ibid., 1.

neighborhoods and help clean up impoverished areas. According to the architect that worked with CN Montjuich, Juan Pujadas, the pool "would bring a sense of beauty to gardens ... [and] it would bring symmetry to spaces for construction."[336]

The areas where empty lots were located and where the overwhelming majority of sanitation and health issues existed happened to be parts of the city where poorer classes lived. For this reason, Pujadas believed that in addition to beauty and symmetry, pools would "most importantly … eliminate existing issues of immorality that currently exists in the space identified for construction."[337] The hope was that the pools in working-class neighborhoods could become new spaces of socialization, thus minimizing crime and improving the overall health and appearance of certain parts of town. The idea of bringing symmetry and eliminating immorality implied the existence, at least in the mind of Pujadas, of a sense of existing disorder that the construction of swimming pools could resolve.

Once again, this dual project was made possible because of Pujadas' dual position, which is indicative of the larger dynamic between clubs and the city during the 1950s. First, swimming clubs, at least during this time, were not fully autonomous civil society associations. The clubs, at least CN Montjuich, worked with individuals who held a position in the government. Therefore, grabbing the attention of the municipality and presenting a proposal may not have been as difficult because working with a *tecnico* from the municipality facilitated the construction process. Second, the fact that a technical director stated that swimming facilities needed improvements could have accelerated and facilitated the construction process.

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[336] Club Natación de Montjuich. 'Historial del Club Natación de Cataluña" in Historiales que presenta a la Ponencia Municipal de Deportes del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, para la construcción de piscinas en las diferentes barriadas barcelonesas de la Federación Catalana de Natacion' *Federación Catalana de Natación*, December 1954, 4-5
[337] Ibid., 5.

Public Health, Children, and Education

In Barcelona, concerns about the issue of hygiene revolved around the promotion of appropriate public health measures. The increasing concern about communicable diseases such as polio and typhoid prompted elites to focus on preventative methods. To prevent the dissemination of these diseases, clubs proposed tackling the problem by physically altering the urban landscape, and targeting and educating children about proper hygienic methods through swimming courses.[338]

The concern over public health and urbanization went hand in hand. Swimming clubs argued that the transformation of the urban landscape would simultaneously improve the hygienic conditions of working-class neighborhoods. CN Montjuich argued, "constructing a new sporting facility was a necessity for a dense population comprised predominantly of working-class background, who live in what is perhaps a less hygienic area."[339] Swimming had the potential to improve the hygienic conditions through improving the urban landscape. While the goal was for disease prevention to become second-nature behavior, by way of education, the first objective was literally to clean up the physical space which they considered unhygienic.

For CN Cataluña's board members, enhancing the appearance of a neighborhood such as Gràcia was just as important as public health and, according to CN Cataluña's leaders, swimming had already made progress in improving those areas. At the same time, however,

[338] Club Natación de Montjuich. "Historial del Club Natación de Cataluña" in Historiales que presenta a la Ponencia Municipal de Deportes del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, para la construcción de piscinas en las diferentes barriadas barcelonesas de la Federación Catalana de Natacion" *Federación Catalana de Natación*, December 1954, 1.
[339] Ibid.

board members claimed that they had a plan to make swimming more accessible. The president and secretary conclude the club's proposal by stating:

> "Today Club Natación Cataluña continues to fight in favor of swimming because of its hygienic and utilitarian components, [we] expect that next year, 1955, with the help of everyone we can place ourselves at the highest position possible since, without a doubt, it is what a popular and eminently sporting neighborhood such as Gràcia needs."[340]

The same objective can be seen in CN Barceloneta's plea to clean up the neighborhood of Barceloneta by expanding their facilities along the beach. One of the problems they encountered was that part of the beach was occupied by a predominantly gypsy settlement known as Somorrostro. The notable settlement that had existed since the nineteenth century was then the home of nearly 100,000 inhabitants from around Spain who sought refuge after the Civil War in what was an informal city on the urban periphery. Over the years, Somorrostro provided refuge and a sense of belonging to poorer residents. But in 1954 Barceloneta club attempted to reclaim Somorrostro by offering to clean up the space and civilize its inhabitants. In their letter to city hall, they stated:

> "our need for another pool is not about egoism but about providing a site for our neighborhood's younger generations to spend their time at and improve their health and for the betterment of this [slum] that is in need of these two things that will make the [pueblo]'s culture prosper."[341]

In an area in which ninety percent of homes did not have restrooms and where people had to travel long distances to bathe, a state-of-the-art indoor pool would improve the quality of life of the Barceloneta's residents, they argued.[342] That desire to improve the quality of life of residents

[340] Ibid., 4.
[341] Ibid., 1.
[342] Ibid.

extended beyond improving the physical landscape and would include the normalization of hygienic manners through education.

The swimming classes aimed at children can be understood as a form of social management. The expectation was that, for manners for social hygiene to become second nature by adulthood, they must be taught during childhood. One of the first clubs that offered to provide free swim courses and tournaments to the underprivileged residents of Gràcia was CN Cataluña. Remarkably, CN Cataluña was able to host tournaments and smaller activities despite not having their own swimming facility. Their first pool was located in one of the baños orientales (Bathhouse) in the working-class neighborhood of Barceloneta, and later in 1943 they used the infrastructures of another bathhouse in the Gràcia neighborhood.[343] The Campeonato de Natación de Gracia, as the tournament was called, had a dual purpose. While the club history does not provide the exact date in which the first competition took place, the authors stress that the tournament aimed to invite the low-income population of the Gràcia neighborhood to compete in a tournament as other segments of the population would,[344] and secondly, offer aid and support by improving the hygienic conditions and quality of life of Gràcia's residents.[345] Gràcia is bordered by the residential and exclusive neighborhoods of Eixample, Sarià-Sant Gervasi, and Horta-Guinardó. Thus, it was not surprising that Gràcia needed to be cleaned up for the sake of its residents and those in adjacent well-to-do districts.

[343] Club Natación de Cataluña, "Historial del Club Natación de Cataluña" in Historiales que presenta a la Ponencia Municipal de Deportes del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, para la construccion de piscinas en las diferentes barriadas barcelonesas de la Federación Catalana de Natacion" *Federación Catalana de Natación,* December 1954, 1-2.
[344] Ibid., 3.
[345] Ibid.

Board members believed that teaching children how to swim and methods of proper hygiene helped integrate people from across the social spectrum. While the petitions were written and circulated in 1954, they built on the swimming clubs' long-time efforts to provide relief for poorer children. CN Montjuich prided itself on providing assistance and aid to children in working-class neighborhoods.[346] CN Montjuich had offered swim courses to children of lower-income families. Board members claimed that apart from learning to swim, children could be taught proper hygienic habits.[347] Teaching children how to swim and about proper hygiene helped integrate the working class into a new modern society. Similarly, CN Atlético, which established the first children's swimming club in 1920, served children between the ages of seven and ten. Their goal was to build a pool in the Barceloneta where the original municipal school, Escola del Mar, was located.[348] For CN Atlético, as they note in their proposal, establishing the first and only children's club was "an act of intense proselytism."[349] The board members believed that the classes would serve as a way for children to learn how to swim and to develop proper hygienic techniques. New swimming pools were not just about creating world-

[346] Club Natación de Montjuich. "Historial del Club Natación de Cataluña" in Historiales que presenta a la Ponencia Municipal de Deportes del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, para la construcción de piscinas en las diferentes barriadas barcelonesas de la Federación Catalana de Natación" *Federación Catalana de Natación,* December 1954, 1.
[347] Ibid., 3.
[348] "Resumen Historico del Club de Natación Atlético—Gestiones y Proyectos Pro Piscina del Club de Natación Atletico" in "Historiales que presenta a la Ponencia Municipal de Deportes del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, para la construcción de piscinas en las diferentes barriadas barcelonesas de la Federación Catalana de Natación" *Federación Catalana de Natación,* Diciembre 1954, 1. The infamous *Escola del Mar* was originally located in the Barceloneta unitl a bomb destroyed the school during the Spanish Civil War.
[349] 'Resumen Historico del Club de Natación Atlético' in "Historiales que presenta a la Ponencia Municipal de Deportes del Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, para la construcción de piscinas en las diferentes barriadas barcelonesas de la Federación Catalana de Natación" *Federación Catalana de Natación*, December 1954, 1.

class athletes. Rather, the new swimming pools were also an instrumental part of civilizing and controlling the masses.

The FCN and club board directors had the intention of continuing, and expanding, educational programs where, in addition to learning how to swim, children would learn about hygiene and disease prevention. In Barcelona, the educational programs flourished exponentially in the 1950s, in large part because of the Cursillos de Natación Escolar organized by the Real Federación Española de Natación.[350] The establishment of official courses would allow swim clubs to reach men, women, and children and potentially educate families about the importance of swimming and by extension a healthy lifestyle. The new municipal pools and swimming programs would be spaces in which elites and local government intervened in the lives of the poor and, attempted to, reform the working-class family from within. We can understand this as the moment when the FCN and registered swimming clubs in the city of Barcelona transformed into a philanthropic force that sought to reform poorer neighborhoods by educating children and controlling a portion of its citizens within a monitored space. For CN Montjuich's members, fostering a safe, sanitary environment for the residents of Montjuich was both a sporting and civic necessity, and constructing new modern facilities was a possible way of going about their objectives.[351] While not all swim clubs had educational programs at the time of their proposal, all proposals do stress the importance of outreach and making swimming accessible to poorer communities, as the next section will detail.

Targeting children allowed local elites to ground their vision of an ideal society. It was a mechanism used by the elites to re-establish hegemonic authority and create new forms of

[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid., 5.

collective behavior and organizational structures in a changing urban environment. At the same time, the swimming clubs offered a way to bind the poor and working classes' loyalties by bringing them directly into their space of socialization and shaping the daily experiences of at-risk children. In doing so, elites sought direct control over a segment of the population by re-inscribing social hierarchies in the political context of an authoritarian state.

The larger reform project that took place in the 1950s was made possible because of the collaboration between the city, the FCN, and private swimming clubs. At the same time, these projects served as a way for the elites involved to empower themselves in the wake of the war and dictatorship. The FCN had the opportunity to reinvigorate Catalan sports, while board members, who were often members of the city council, had the opportunity to establish authority in poorer and working-class neighborhoods. While the case of Barcelona would later serve as a model of urban renewal and social reform, the project was made possible because of the city's unique and long-standing historical particularities. The urbanization projects centered around swimming, and sports more broadly, would continue to expand in the 1960s as both the municipal and the national government began to see Barcelona as a thriving sporting city.

Transforming Barcelona into a Sporting City

The 1960s marked a turning point from private-public partnerships initiated by clubs to city initiatives. Beginning in the 1960s, the city began to take a more central role in the urban renewal process, as evidenced in the construction of municipal pools that were accessible to a diverse population. Having funded the remodeling and construction of club pools in the previous decades, the city had more control and access over the city's swimming complexes. As the city grew and expanded, it was imperative for local politicians to expand public health and educational programs to assist the growing population. Rather than private initiatives, the local

government shifted towards public health and welfare programs, of which municipal pools were simply one example. The construction of municipal pools had a larger impact beyond social and urban reform. The urban reform projects that were intended to 'civilize' the people of Barcelona, clean up the urban landscape, and provide local elites with a degree of autonomy also helped transform the city into a sporting city. At a time in which sport was becoming more accessible to people of diverse classes, and Spain was becoming increasingly popular, due to its tourist attractions and notable football teams (FC Barcelona and Real Madrid), modern infrastructure played a key role in sustaining that image. In the case of Barcelona, the city's elites were making decisions that discretely helped the city develop a unique identity as a sporting city, one linked to the Catalan sporting tradition without necessarily being Catalanist.

The construction of swimming pools and other sporting facilities in the city highlights two critical points. First, as Barcelona increased the development in sporting complexes, the city embraces a sporting image and takes it on as a city government project. The construction of Camp Nou, the rising popularity of FC Barcelona, and hosting the II Mediterranean Games began to, once again, transform Barcelona into a popular sporting city. Second, the increasing popularity of the city's events and development was increasingly instrumentalized by the regime to bolster its image abroad. This prompted Franco to visit the city frequently for the inauguration of many of the sporting complexes. Having partially recovered from the heavy repression placed upon Barcelona at the end of the civil war and the immense structural devastation, the city of Barcelona returned to its previous status as one of Spain's most cosmopolitan and modern cities. What is even more impressive is that the city was able to project such an image using local, not national, urban projects.

The establishment of the first indoor municipal pool is part of a larger urban planning project that highlighted Barcelona's, and Spain's, sporting popularity and the city government's decision to embrace and promote this identity. The first indoor municipal pool in Barcelona was the Piscina Municipal Club Natació Poblenou located in Plaça Lope de Vega. The pool was constructed in the working-class area of the Pueblo Nuevo (part of the San Martí neighborhood) under the supervision of CN Poblenou.[352] In previous collaborative projects, private clubs requested funds from the city to carry out both private and public projects. But in the 1960s, the city had the idea to construct and improve sporting complexes but would designate a swimming club to run the facility.[353] The facility was the first of its kind in the city and drew a lot of attention in the media not only for it being the first indoor pool, but for its sporting and aesthetic appeal. The pool had six lanes, two diving boards, and measured 25 x 11.80 meters. On one side of the pool there were bleachers that accommodated approximately 200 spectators; on the other side, there was a wall made up of mostly glass that provided an abundance of natural light while making the inside aesthetically pleasing (Figure 3.3). While the first indoor municipal pool was neither the largest nor the most popular one, it was the first to set the parameters for the construction of other pools as they became a popular space for educational programs, leisure, and entertainment. Thus, a project intended for the betterment of Barcelona's larger population helped bring back prestige to the cosmopolitan city.

[352] "Primera Piscina Municipal Cubierta de Barcelona," *La Vanguardia*. Sabado 21 de Mayo 1960, 2.

[353] It was not uncommon for swimming clubs to compete over the management of the new municipal swimming pools. In 1968, CN Atlético and CN Barceloneta competed over the management of new pool located on Paseo Máritimo General Acedo. Both clubs would have access to, and co-manage, the new swimming pool.

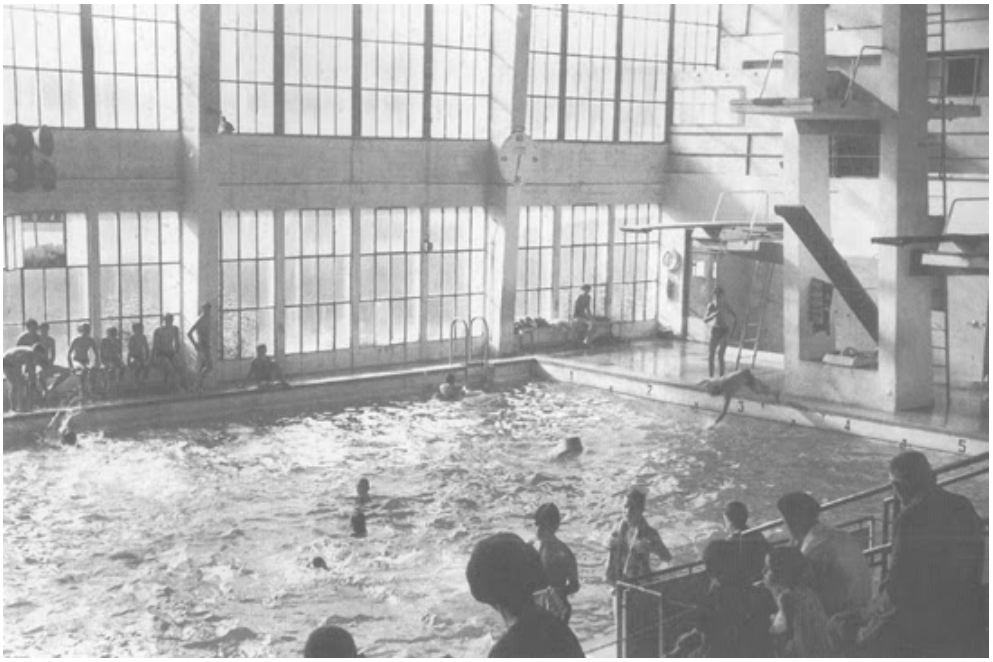
Figure 3.3-- Piscina Municipal Club Natació Poblenou. *Arxiu Historic Poblenou*. 1966.

Equally important is the way in which the national government sought to benefit from Barcelona's sporting image, investing in municipal pools as a way of enhancing and creating a "softer" image of the regime. In 1964, under the Plan Provincial de Piscinas Públicas de la Diputación de Barcelona (Provincial Plan of Public Pools of the City Council of Barcelona), and with the support of Juan Antonio Samaranch and the Delegación Nacional de Educación Física y Deportes (National Delegation of Physical Education and Sports), architect Manuel Baldrich worked on the construction of the Sant Jordi Municipal Pool. Indicative of the perceived importance of the state's involvement, Franco himself inaugurated the pool on June 26, 1966.[354] The highly publicized event lauded the pool as a grand contribution to the Spanish sporting world. Yet, what was really happening was the continuation of a Catalan sporting tradition that was expanded with the II Mediterranean games and continued to grow. What stood out about this

[354] "Una Magnifica Instalacion para el Fomento del Deporte," *La Vanguardia*, Domingo 26 de Junio de 1966.

pool is that it was an Olympic sized pool (50 meters) that, despite its construction with the funds from the National Sports Delegation, was managed by the Catalan Swimming Association and used for international tournaments. This prominence allowed the regime to display a positive image of itself to the world, as it already attempted to do through the Art Bienniales, a notable international art exhibition held every two years. The new state of the art pool was constructed with the idea of international prestige in mind. *La Vanguardia* Sunday newspaper reported:

> "This 'Provincial Pool of St George' will allow the celebration of tournaments at the international scale during any season of the year and it will also help Barcelona petition to host the 1970 European Swimming Tournament. Although it will be difficult to achieve given that there are notable contenders that are also petitioning, but there is no doubt that the construction of this pool would strengthen out candidacy."[355]

In the previous decade, the remodeling of the club pools in preparation for the II Mediterranean Games brought about a level of honor and prestige to the city of Barcelona, thus developing a brand for the city that is unique to Barcelona and making it stand out from Spain. The construction of an even larger pool potentially meant that Barcelona would be able to host other larger sporting events. Although difficult to assess the exact motives of the national government, we can speculate that the regime wanted to claim some credit for Barcelona's sporting success and thus promote an image of Spain with a more international scope.

On July 4, 1966, the regime took part in another inauguration of another one of Barcelona's municipal pools, Piscina Municipal del Raval. Equipped with modern athletic equipment, the pool's main attraction was its educational program for neighborhood children. The event was framed around children honoring Franco and demonstrating all

[355] "Incorporación de las técnicas más avanzadas." *La Vanguardia*, Domingo 26 de Junio de 1966.

they have learned in swimming courses. Located in one of the oldest and highly populated parts of the city, El Raval was a place of concern for municipal officials in the previous decade given that empty lots were spaces of potential crime. Thus, the event, which was framed around a positive event, brough about a new image of El Raval. *La Vaguardia* reported that 1,900 boys and girls participated in the inaugural festival.[356] The children carried out exhibitions in which they provided Franco with a glimpse into the educational activities that had already been carried out by CN Montjuich. The grand event commemorated the establishment of the new municipal pool in El Raval. The event also had a symbolic meaning in terms of Franco's relationship with children. While recent research has revealed a pattern of institutions taking children from Republican parents, this celebration was different in that it showed Franco interacting positively with Barcelona's children. Thus, the celebration can be understood as a spectacle that highlighted the children's swimming programs, but one that publicly showed Franco interacting in a positive manner not only with the people of Catalonia, but with Catalan children.

The expansion of swimming pools after 1960 began to have larger implications for the city and Spain. The expansion of athletic infrastructure helped bolster the city of Barcelona's image as an emerging modern, sporting city. As sporting complexes throughout the city were renovated and constructed, the city captivated international sporting organizations and became a popular host city for sporting events. The sporting success of FC Barcelona in and out of Spain was drawing media attention and tourists

[356] "El Caudillo inaguró la piscina municipal de la plaza Folch y Torres," *La Vanguardia*, 5 de Julio, 1966, 11.

from other parts of Europe. The presence of Franco and his officials at inaugural events alongside Barcelona's mayor and other elites show one of the ways in which the regime tried to claim some credit for Barcelona's success. But at the same time, it demonstrates that despite existing conflict with the regime, Barcelona's elites were able to pursue their own goals while working with the regime and not challenging it directly. Barcelona's urban development after the 1960s helped transform Barcelona into a sporting city but also projected a more positive image of Spain and of the authoritarian regime.

Exporting the Barcelona Model: The Case Study of Sevilla: "If more pools are needed in Barcelona, then what does Sevilla need?"

The city of Barcelona was the forefront of a larger swimming pool construction "movement" that took place in other parts of the country. In January 1960, the National Commission of Scholastic Swimming, part of the Federacion Española de Natación—FEN (Spanish Swimming Federation), published a memorandum that pushed for more swimming pool constructions in all of Spain. The claim was centered around the increasing popularity of children's swimming programs throughout the country, the need for additional pools in certain cities, notably, the city of Sevilla, and the influence of Barcelona on the construction and remodeling of pools in other cities. Sevilla was chosen as a case study for two reasons. First, Sevilla was one of the few cities that attempted to carry out swimming projects and left behind records of the petition. Second, the case study of Sevilla serves as a good counter example because of the distinct socio-economic conditions in comparison to Barcelona. By looking at Sevilla we can assess how successful the swimming educational programs were outside of Barcelona.

The Scholastic Swimming campaign that took place in 1959 was sponsored by regional federations, swimming clubs, official and unofficial associations. The objective of the program was to set up free swimming programs for children. But to set up programs, this meant that clubs needed to have the appropriate infrastructure, amenities, and staff to be able to carry it out. The hope was that funding would come from the municipalities to help support the initiatives of swimming clubs. The FEN argued that program was so popular that it had to "limit the number of inscriptions, given that there were not enough materials (pools, instructors, economic possibilities, official collaboration)."[357] Reasons for a scarcity in materials varied from one part of the country to the other. Additionally, a series of difficulties had emerged while attempting to build the program, which included lack of funds and trying to convince students to participate in an afterschool program.[358] The project was framed as one that was "a benefit to the physical education of children," with the hopes of having it become part of a greater national education plan.[359]

The project appeared to be promising but struggled to get swim clubs and federations on board. By 1960, the FEN had an idea of what direction to take its proposed swimming project and came up with four general points of what was required: sufficient income, regional federations to consider the program, the participation of at least one-hundred students, and keeping track of continuous difficulties.[360] It is not entirely clear how many federations or swimming clubs across the country attempted to adopt the program. But what the memorandum

[357] Delegacion Nacional de Educacion Fisica y Deportes. Federacion Española de Natacion. "Comision Nacional de Natacion Escolar y Utilitaria. Memoria 1959." Ayuntamiento de Sevilla. Secretaria, Año 1960, 4.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Ibid., 5.
[360] Ibid., 6.

suggests is that the there was a broader national effort to make swimming more accessible to diverse populations.

Swimming in Sevilla

One of the regional federations that did attempt to adopt the program was Club Natacion Sevilla. With the help of the Federacion Andaluza de Natación (Andalucian Swimming Federation) (FAN), CN Sevilla launched a pool construction project like that of clubs in Barcelona, focusing on private initiatives and educational programs that helped correct deviant behavior. Bourgeois concern over deviant behavior was just as much of a problem in Sevilla as it was in Barcelona. Teaching children how to swim and socializing them within CN Sevilla's space would provide the proper upbringing by controlling their experiences. For Sevilla's elites, swimming provided children with utilitarian necessities that saved lives and provided both children and adolescents with the proper morals and ethics that, for the directors, was a grave issue. For the directors, promiscuity was a serious issue that threatened proper social norms.[361] This issue came to the surface when the club's board members discovered that the city officials were considering creating an artificial beach instead of swimming pools. Apart from pragmatic concerns, they argued that the morally questionable activity that occurred at regular beaches would be no different in an artificial one. While this was a problem adolescents experienced, it was something that could nonetheless be targeted and corrected from childhood. In other words, children needed to be reared in an appropriate environment to prevent them from acquiring bad habits.[362]

[361] L. Muñoz, "Playa artificial en vez de piscina," *Club Natación Sevilla*, 1955, 25.
[362] Ibid.

As in the case of 1950s Barcelona, the city of Sevilla needed new swimming pools. CN Sevilla's board members were privy to the methods used by Barcelona's swimming clubs to construct pools. In September of 1953, the CN Sevilla members informed their directors of what the city of Barcelona was doing and hoped to use it as a frame of reference. An anonymous author pointed out Barcelona's progress and asked: "the city of Sevilla needs more pools … authorities in Barcelona have claimed that more pools need to be constructed in the city … if more pools are needed in Barcelona, then what does Sevilla need?"[363] The quote comes from a larger piece in which we can see two things happening. First, it highlights the networks within the swimming community. While swimming clubs throughout the country competed against one another in national tournaments, they all nonetheless belonged to the swimming world and thus were part of the same social network. Second, it focuses on the perception of uneven socio-economic development in Spain at the time. The anonymous author suggests that the city of Sevilla lagged behind a more prosperous city like Barcelona in terms of infrastructure. Therefore, if an industrially prosperous city like Barcelona was requesting the construction of more pools, perhaps this meant that other areas should consider the same.

Like Barcelona, the lack of pools to support the programs was an issue. In 1960, the president of the FAN, Juan Lopez Sanchez, wrote to the municipality requesting 15,000 pesetas for the project. Along with a detailed letter, Lopez included the FEN's memorandum and highlighted statistics pertaining to Andalusia. The packet highlighted key points which included the number of enrolled students, benefits of the program, as well as providing suggestions from other regional federations. At a broader level, the proposal suggests that although the federation

[363] M.B.C. "Pongámos el parche antes de que nos salga el grano."*Club Natación Sevilla*, September 1953.

was requesting funds to carry out swimming classes, the need for pools was a serious issue. The FAN hoped to gain the support of private and public organizations and use their facilities to carry out the courses:

> "We deemed convenient to create two sections and they are 'Official Entities' and 'Private Entities' and respectively they will be classified as state, deputation, and municipal dependent organizations (including the Youth Front) on the one hand, and schools, clubs not associated with the FEN, commercial pools, etc., on the other hand."[364]

The need for pools was clearly a problem for the city of Sevilla. But with the help of both private and civic associations, local elites made efforts to launch educational program that would benefit the health and well-being of Sevilla's children.

The educational programs launched by CN Sevilla had similar objectives to those in Barcelona. Teaching children how to swim and socializing them within CN Sevilla's space would provide the proper upbringing by controlling their experiences. For example, CN Sevilla's board members felt that promiscuity was a serious issue that threatened proper social norms.[365] This issue came to the surface when CN Sevilla's board members discovered that the city officials were considering creating an artificial beach instead of swimming pools. In addition to their pragmatic concerns, they argued that the morally questionable activity that occurred at regular beaches would be no different in an artificial one. Officials never went into full detail on what these questionable behaviors were. But what they did seem to stress was the fact that it was a problem among adolescents but could be targeted and corrected from childhood. In other words, children needed to be reared in an 'appropriate' environment to prevent them from acquiring bad habits. For the club leaders, children, particularly those residing in poor and

[364] Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, "Comision Nacional de Natacion Escolar y Utilitaria. Memoria 1959." Ayuntamiento de Sevilla. Secretaria, Año 1960, 8.
[365] L. Muñoz, "Playa artificial en vez de piscina," *Club Natación Sevilla*, 1955, 25.

working-class neighborhoods, threatened the order and structure of the city, given that most lived in run-down neighborhoods with poor sanitation and slums. Children roaming around without direction and supervision led to the potential increase in crime.[366] The municipal pools and educational swimming programs, therefore, were understood as controlled environments where children could be monitored.

Sevilla's example highlights the vanguard role of swimming clubs in Barcelona and the influence they had over clubs throughout the country. Urban elites looked 'horizontally' to other cities as a means of inspiration rather than to the central government. Social reform and urbanization became municipal concerns in which local elites worked to bring about change and progress to the city. This link shows, on the one hand, the existence of alternative channels within the centralized authoritarian state and how different groups looked to one another for guidance. On the other hand, it demonstrates that although both Barcelona and Sevilla were socio-economically distinct, they had similar institutions that would support a sport modernization project. The use of athletic institutions highlights the creative mechanisms used by elites as a source of empowerment in the authoritarian regime. The complex transformation process of the swimming clubs occurred within a social landscape marked by the potential limits imposed by the state that allowed private institutions to establish alliances with local governments.

Conclusion:

This chapter uses the construction of swimming pools in Barcelona to argue that the local elites found pockets in the city's urban space as a source of social empowerment and an opportunity to develop the identity of a sporting city. It argues urban transformation was

[366] Ibid.

achieved by bringing about new meaning to swimming and the construction of swimming pools. While different aspects of swimming clubs transformed and changed since their establishment at the turn of the century, they strove to provide an alternative space of socialization for the broader community. In the pre-Franco era, membership in swimming associations was reserved for paying elites. During the first years of the regime, swimming transformed from a private to civic association, thus welcoming the participation of poorer and working classes. Elites, nonetheless, were able to establish their authority over segments of the population by using swimming and the construction of pools as a space to impose their vision of hygienic norms (improve the hygienic conditions). Swimming therefore served as an alternative site of socialization and education that allowed elites to tackle issues of public health and carve out the parameters of their vision of a modern city.

The space for this alternative method of control stems from the city's rich sporting history that has gone hand-in-hand with the city's urban renewal projects. The early twentieth century was a period in which the transformation of urban spaces, sport, mobility of social classes, and urban modernization overlapped. Under the authoritarian regime, these spaces continued to allow the local elites to empower themselves and establish a level of authority within the city. The popularity of swimming clubs survived throughout the regime because of the outreach programs that aimed to improve public health and socialize younger generations. What is particular about the project is that the swim club board members that made this project possible were government officials affiliated with the regime but had their own ideas about modernization.

At the same time, construction projects allowed for the city to develop its image as sporting city—one that was distinct to that of Spain. The 1955 II Mediterranean games

reinforced that image, while the 1992 Olympic games were the culmination of Barcelona's identity as a sporting city. Even though the regime attempted to incorporate Barcelona into Spanish sporting culture in the 1960s, the city had inherited an urban model that is deeply rooted in Catalan sporting culture. Although Catalanist in origin, the sporting culture was flexible enough to adapt to the anti-Catalanist environment of the Franco dictatorship. Participation in swimming events and the construction of swimming pools thus opens a new perspective on the transformation of urban social structure, spearheaded by local officials rather than the regime. Through educational outreach programs aimed at 'civilizing' children, urban elites were able to reassert their authority over the people of Barcelona. Swimming clubs grew and thrived during the dictatorship, revealing that there were pockets in which people were able to empower themselves.

Chapter IV: Play and Modernity: The Catalan Scouting System

Introduction:

Scouting was another educational and sporting activity rooted in Catalan history. Coincidentally, as municipal schools and swimming programs were launching their respective campaigns, so was scouting. At a time when only regime-approved associations were allowed to function, scouting found legal—and illegal—ways to organize. Scouting in Barcelona under the Franco regime further bolstered the educational programs of the municipal schools and swimming programs. As in the previous chapters, scouting's pedagogical objectives were premised on active learning methods popular in other parts of Europe. What makes scouting a unique case study is the way in which the active learning pedagogical methods were applied to recreational activities, how it was able to push for co-educational troops, and how it incorporated adolescent education. In other words, scouting was an extension of formal education—it was an activity that had the potential to reinforce active pedagogy during the students' free time.

This chapter explores the way in which Catalan scouting became a civil society association that was partially, but not fully, protected for being "non-political." This means that because scouting was not a political organization, it was given freedom of association. In particular, it explores the evolution of scouting after the Spanish Civil War and traces the efforts to rebuild and reorganize the scouting system under the Franco Regime. Through this eveolution, we can see how the scouting movement promoted an alternative educational and recreational alternative to Francoist education and leisure activities, that were based in part on visions of what was necessary for a "modern" society. Because it did not directly challenge the regime, the scouting movement was able to avoid serious repression while contributing to a more pluralist civil society, especially in the later period of the 1960s-70s.

This chapter argues that scouting groups can be understood as civil society associations that challenged conventional education and national rhetoric by developing an informal educational system for a recreational activity inspired by international pedagogical trends, similar to municipal schools. There were three principles that challenged Francoist education: the heterogeneity of the Catholic Church, pluralist political views, and modern pedagogy, all of which are premised on global citizenship. These principles equally challenged Francoist conceptions of nationalism by considering a plurality of perspectives.

The evolution of this project can be divided into two phases. The two phases discussed in this chapter overlap with the distinct phases of the Franco regime. In the first phase, 1939-1959, scouting troops worked to rebuild themselves during the first part of the Franco regime, when the regime permitted only state-controlled youth organizations. The theme of this period looks at basic survival tactics used by some troops that allowed for continuity in traditional scouting methods but which also, unfortunately, faced repression. In the second phase, post-1959, the scouting system reorganized its structure in a manner that promoted alternatives to the state education curriculum. Scouting can provide a critical vantage point for exploring active learning educational and pedagogical practices within a recreational activity and the evolution of civil society during the Franco regime.

The scholarship on the global scouting movement is divided into two camps. One camp argues that scouting is inherently a middle- and upper-class pastime and was used to reinforce Victorian notions of masculinity, militarism, and nationalism within Britain and its colonies.[367]

[367] J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Mark Howard Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014); Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: the Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

Benjamin Jordan, for example, suggests that scouting, at least in the United States, promoted notions of self-control, a strong work ethic, and exceptional management skills needed by white males in urban and industrial cities.[368] The other camp suggests that scouting has been used as a source of integration and protest for marginalized communities.[369] Timothy Parsons argues that while it was used to reinforce colonial authority, it was also used to challenge the British empire. He details that the Boy Scout Movement in British colonial Africa served as an instrument for Africans to claim rights to imperial citizenship. Africans used the Scout laws to challenge racial discrimination by reminding the British that a scout was a brother to all scouts.[370]

The scholarship on scouting in Spain is divided along parallel lines. Javier Moreno-Luzón argues that the *Exploradores de España* serves as an example of a Spanish nationalist association led by middle-class men and military officers with the goal of making good patriots.[371] Thus, he considers scouting as one of the nationalizing agents used by Spanish ruling elites. In terms of Catalonia, scholars such as Joan Lluis Marfany have looked at scouting from a Marxist perspective and argued that recreational pastimes, such as scouting and hiking, are traditions linked to the bourgeoisie, thus reinforcing class hierarchies. On the other hand,

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[368] Benjamin Jordan, *Modern manhood and the Boy Scouts of America: Citizenship, Race, and the Environment, 1910-1930*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016)
[369] Björn Lundberg, "Localized Internationalism: Camping Across Borders in the Early Swedish Boy Scout Movement." *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 15 (2022): 75–92; Sarah Mills, "Citizenship and Faith: Muslim Scout Groups," in *Muslim Spaces of Hope: Geographies of Possibility in Britain and the West*, Richard Phillips, ed. (London: Zed Books, 2009): 85-103; Jakob Krais, "Muscular Muslims: Scouting in Late Colonial Algeria Between Nationalism and Religion." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 51 (2019): 567–85.

[370] Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004).
[371] Javier Moreno-Luzón, "'Seeds of Spain': Scouting, Monarchy and National Construction, 1912–1931." *European History Quarterly* 50 (2020): 226–47.

scholars like Juan Manuel Muñoz have made the argument that it was a more plural and inclusive activity, given that there were different scouting associations with overlapping and conflicting goals. In this dissertation, I look at the evolution of the scouting system and suggest that these debates are not necessarily black or white. Rather, scouting was indeed an all-inclusive activity but that it also found ways to reinforce class hierarchies for elites.

Beyond this debate, the scholarship on scouting has not looked at scouting under authoritarian regimes. Thus, this analysis provides a new angle on the way in which the scouting movement has shaped childhood in authoritarian regimes. In looking at scouting in this way, the example reinforces the pluralist side of the debate by showing that in some cases, scouting could expand the possibilities of associationism in a limited civil society. By looking at the Catalan case, we see that scouting allowed elites in Barcelona to create a local identity. Similar to the case of municipal schools, we end up seeing the development of alternative sites of socialization that are rooted in Catalan history. In this sense, the new system allows us to understand how scouting operated, not only in an authoritarian regime, but also its effect within local communities and the ways in which it provided alternatives to the national rhetoric.

After 1959, scouting troops used the autonomy of the Catholic Church, political pluralism, and modern pedagogy to implicitly challenge the Francoist policies. These three avenues were, in part, premised on an aspirational desire for global citizenship. On one hand, the Catalans have prided themselves on being on the cutting edge of modernity by embracing ideas from outside of Spain. This allowed Catalan elites to establish alternative ideas in regard to religion, politics, and education. On the other hand, the ever-changing, globalizing nature of the world in the 1960s further propelled changes within Catalonia. Within the scouting movement, they became participants of new trends and ideas, as well as global citizens. The scouting

system, as premised by its founder Robert Baden-Powell, sought to create a global community among its participants.

The first principle of challenge to the regime was through religion. Since the Catholic Church had a lot of authority in Spain, troops used the Church's privileged position as an opportunity to establish their own subcommunities. Clusters of scouting groups emerged within the Catholic Church and were deemed as "confessional troops." Churches and Catholic organizations were aware of their special privileges and established organizations that competed with the *Movimiento,* including the Juventud Obrera Cristiana (JOC), the Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica (HOAC), and the *Acción Catolica*.[372] As we will see, not all Catholic organizations supported the Francoist agenda and had their own vision of a modern society.

Another theme within the topic of religion is the confessional and secular divide. While all troops had the same objective—create model citizens—there were different ways in which the two types of troops wanted to go about it. Confessional groups believed that religion was necessary to create a moral foundation, whereas secular groups believed it was possible to define acceptable parameters of society without religion. What is important to note is that neither confessional troops nor secular troops critiqued one another in a negative manner or professed that they were better than the other in any way. Secular groups, such as the Boy Scouts de Catalunya, argued that religion was not part of their pedagogical objectives. Nevertheless, the Catalan scouting system offered people the choice of which type of education their child could

[372] Florentino Sanz Fernández, *La Juventud Obrera Cristiana: Un Movimiento Educativo Popular* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2001), Mónica Moreno Sanchez, *Cruce de Identidades: Masculinidad, Femeninidad, Religión, Clase y Juventud en la JOC de los años sesenta*, *Historia y Política* 37 (2017): 147-176., Sara Martín Gutiérrez, *Obreras y Católicas. De la Formación a la Movilización. Roles de género y compromise temporal de la Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica Femenina (HOACF) en España (1946-1970).* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017).

receive—they were not forced to embrace Catholicism. Despite their affiliation with the Catholic Church, the Boy Scouts de Catalunya and other secular groups argued that religion was not part of their pedagogical objectives.

The second challenge to the regime came in the form of political pluralism. The theme of political pluralism coincides with the fourth, and final, phase of the regime, which was marked by internal political disunity and a growing diverse political culture that began to directly challenge its stability. While the scouting system may have appeared outwardly as a non-political association, troop leaders and board members actively engaged in political discussions. While the troops themselves may have been too young to understand the changes in the political system—given that their ages ranged from 7-16—troop leaders and other adults were actively discussing the future of Spain. Young adults and the troop leaders used scouting as a space to engage in conversations and dialogues regarding the future of the country. Although there was a clear dissatisfaction with the regime and many knew they wanted something different from Spain, there was some uncertainty as to exactly what that would look like. A more localized narrative based on surveys and questionnaires conducted in the 1970s reveals that there were more conflicting political ideas among the people of Barcelona than given credit in previous scholarship.[373] This suggests that scouting populations, at least those that participated in the survey, had dynamic and complex visions and understandings of how a modern society should look.

Like municipal schools, the premise of the scouting system was an active learning method that was grounded on critical thinking and whole-child learning above rote learning.

[373] "Memoria del Curs 1970-1971," Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-612-46. 1971, 69.

One aspect that distinguished scouting from municipal schools was co-education. Co-education was one of the key, distinctive features of Catalan scouting, which was banned in municipal schools. It was also where the primary opposition to the regime was located. Adolescent pedagogy helped the youth transition from children to responsible adolescents rather than placing the priority on obedience. One of the pillars anchoring the Franco regime which made its way into the education system was upholding a social order based on gender difference. The regime managed to institute a segregated, gendered education system in an effort to "protect public morality" and to socialize boys and girls into their "future prescribed roles."[374] Despite the restrictions placed on Catalonia and the ideas around gendered education, the push for co-education became one of the central topics in the revival of Catalan scouting after 1959. Both secular and confessional troops promoted co-education, which became an important way for scouting to offer an alternative to the official Francoist system.

Increasing attention around adolescence and adolescent behavior was the second aspect of modern pedagogy. The reorganization of the scouting system coincided with the emergence of the social category of "adolescents." Heather Prescott argued that in the 1950s, medical experts began giving importance to people between the ages of 13 and 21, arguing that the transition from childhood to adulthood was met with a series of psychological and behavioral problems.[375] The development and behaviors of adolescents concerned both parents and the public alike. Much of the concern was due to the fact that there was little known about this stage of life sociologically or biologically. Although it is uncertain whether scouting groups had the

[374] Pamela Radcliff, *A History of Modern Spain, 1808-Present,* (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 241.
[375] Heather Munro Prescott, *A Doctor of Their Own: The History of Adolescent Medicine* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

same concerns as medical experts, what we do know is that by the 1970s there was a greater concern about adolescents, as evidenced by archival sources. What we end up seeing are Catalan scouting troops acquiring and providing troop leaders and parents with the appropriate educational methods and developing a new branch within the scouting system that attended to the wants and needs of the adolescent specifically.

These three challenges to the regime's conceptions of nationalism collectively reinforce another overarching theme—global citizenship. First, the scouting system is explicitly premised on the idea of creating a global community. The original Scout Law appeared in Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* (1908) and included nine detailed points to which all scouts pledge an oath (Scouts Promise). The fourth point alluded to the commandership among all those within the scouting system:

> "A SCOUT IS A FRIEND TO ALL, AND A BROTHER TO EVERY OTHER SCOUT, NO MATTER TO WHAT SOCIAL CLASS THE OTHER BELONGS. If a scout meets another scout, even though a stranger to him, he must speak to him, and help him in any way that he can, either to carry out the duty he is then doing, or by giving him food, or, as far as possible, anything that he may be in want of. A scout must never be a SNOB. A snob is one who looks down upon another because he is poorer, or who is poor and resents another because he is rich. A scout accepts the other man as he finds him, and makes the best of him -- "Kim," the boy scout, was called by the Indians "Little friend of all the world," and that is the name which every scout should earn for himself."[376]

The fourth law charges all scouts to become a "friend of all the world" and consider all fellow scouts as brothers. But more broadly, the quote suggests that, at their core, scouts should see themselves as a unified community, despite their differences. From social class to race, although

[376] Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: The Original 1908 Edition*, (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc.), 48.

the latter was not explicitly addressed, the fourth point highlights a commitment to equality within the scouting community, supported by the organization's ties to Christianity.

Second, the idea of global citizenship is one that is important to the discussion of Catalonia's history. Its geographical location, coupled with its unique history in the 19th century, has made Catalonia open to embracing ideas from other parts of the world. Thus, one can argue that Catalan culture, history, and traditions are based, in part, on its global connections and its increasing ambivalence towards Spanish and Castillian domination. Beyond that, as we will see in the evidence, scout troops and directors believed they were rearing children to become proper and responsible individuals who were able to interact well with the international, globalizing community.

Finally, the discussion of global citizenship within the scouting system helps us situate the regime in relation to the rest of Europe and the world. The end of 1945 marked a turning point in the regime's internal structure. Pamela Radcliff suggests that it was the confluence of multiple factors –"extreme privation, renewed guerilla activity, and diplomatic pressure"[377] – that forced the regime to think about its position within the international community. From the late 1940s on, Spain would undergo a series of changes that altered both the structure of the regime and its international relationships. These changes, as we will see, paralleled that of Catalan scouting during the regime.

The Origins of Scouting and the Scouting Method

The Scouting movement was founded by a Lieutenant General in the British Army, Robert Baden-Powell, in 1908. While the official establishment occurred within the first decade of the twentieth century, the origins of the movement and its ideological basis began in the late

[377] Radcliff, 218.

nineteenth century with Baden-Powell's interest in the outdoors. In the 1880s, Baden-Powell was stationed in British India where he took an interest in military scouting and wrote his first book, *Reconnaissance and Scouting* (1884). Over the next decade and a half, he participated in several ventures that contributed to the development of practices within the scouting system. In 1886, he became the Chief of Staff to General Frederick Carrington during the Second Matabele War (1896-1897) in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). During his time in Southern Rhodesia, he developed a friendship with an American-born chief of scouts for the British Army in Africa, Frederick Burnham. Through his friendship with Burnham, Baden-Powell developed woodcraft skills not typical of the British Army though a common practice in the American West. The fundamentals of scouting, known as "scoutcraft," incorporated activities that trained boys in woodcraft, exploration, tracking, and self-reliance.[378]

During the Second Boer War, Baden-Powell was in the town Mafeking, which was besieged by a large Boer army. Despite the chaotic experience, he was impressed by the Mafeking Cadet Corps, a youth group that supported troops by carrying messages, thus freeing men to concentrate solely on military duties. Through this experience, Baden-Powell saw the usefulness of well-trained boys, inspiring him to write *Aids to Scouting* (1899). His military success in Mafeking made him a national hero throughout Britain, and Baden-Powell was surprised by the number of schoolboys who were interested in the book. Teachers and youth organizers alike were drawn to the tactics he put forth. The Boys' Brigade, an international,

[378] For more on the origins of scouting see: Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the origins of the Boy Scout movement* (New York: Pantheon, 1986); Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Sam Pryke, "The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement," *Social History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1998), 309–24.

interdenominational Christian youth organization, encouraged Baden-Powell to write a book for boys. In 1903, he became the vice president of the organization and began looking into different scouting methods. He decided to remove a portion of the military tactics from the organization in favor of ideas on scouting and outdoor pursuits. The new version of the book would focus more on an innovative educational method, known as "the scout method," with the end goal of creating "happy, healthy, and helpful citizens."[379]

After a couple of years revising his methodology, he published *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. The overwhelming popularity prompted rapid growth of scout groups throughout the country using the Baden-Powell approach. At the age of 50, Baden-Powell retired from the army and devoted his career to the scouts. In 1910, he founded The Boy Scouts Association and The Girl Guides, the girls-only branch.[380] Thereafter, both Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts would emerge in different parts of the world.

The scouting method can be understood as a system of education popularized through the activities of the scouts. Baden-Powell believed that scouting could serve as an informal education system whose aim is to build character and help young children become independent.[381] With the use of appealing and engaging games in the "primitive" outdoors, scouts would learn to solve problems on their own.[382] Under the guidance of troop leaders,

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[379] Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys*, 331.
[380] The Girl Guides emerged parallel to the Boys Scouts. Baden-Powell's sister, Agnes Baden-Powell, was head organizer of the group when it was first founded in 1910. In 1912, Baden-Powell's new wife, Olave Saint Clair, became involved and worked side-by-side with Agnes. In 1918, Olave became was appointed Chief Guide of the Girl Guides. See: Tammy M. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*. (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009).
[381] Robert Baden-Powell, *B.P.'s Outlook: Some selections from his contributions to "The Scouter" from 1909-1941* (Boy Scouts of Canada 1979), 17.
[382] Ibid.

scouts were taught independence, leadership, and the ambition to learn by themselves. What is particular about the scouting method is that its pedagogical tenets parallel that of other "progressive" education systems of the time, such as the use of play as a form of instruction. The premise of the scouting method was outdoor education, direct engagement with nature, individual development, and autonomy.

Individual development was a central aspect of the scouting system. A hands-on method provided a practical method of learning while simultaneously helping build confidence in a child. Activities and games thus provided a fun way to both develop skills and engage with nature. Baden-Powell believed that learning in small groups was key to individual development. Small group learning helped build a sense of community and a family atmosphere in which each student had a supportive space to develop physically and intellectually. As a result, scouts develop a sense of responsibility, self-reliance, and readiness. The end goal was to stimulate individual development while simultaneously learning collaborative and leadership skills. For these reasons, scouting should be considered a distinct recreational activity that possessed a unique educational objective that was able to challenge the perception of scouting's rigid, military roots.

Development of Scouting in Catalonia, 1910s-1930s

Scouting in Spain began in Catalonia during the Restoration and grew to be a very important part of Catalan society throughout the next two regimes. Scouting has been linked to Catalanism and had a special resonance in the region. Longstanding traditions such as hiking and other outdoor activities that dated back to the nineteenth century made scouting particularly popular in Catalonia. Joan Lluis Marfany has noted that activities like hiking may be read as one of the many Catalan symbols that show the desire of the first nationalists to invent a national

tradition and strengthen the nationalist movement.[383] To engage with nature and hike to the highest points of Catalonia was a symbolic experience, allowing one to immerse themselves within the Catalan homeland. What is more, the Catalan scouting movement also reinforced the global connections of Catalan culture. As we will see, scouting made its way to Catalonia by Catalan men traveling abroad. With time, scouting would become a popular sporting activity in Spain, but especially in Catalonia because of its association with hiking and other outdoor activities.

The Beginnings (1911-1920)

After Pere Roselló i Aixet (Captain of Cavalry) and his friend and fellow captain, Teodoro Iradier y Herrero, interacted with scouts in France, they came up with the idea to introduce scouting to Spain. But in 1911, Ramon Soler i Lluch, a hiking enthusiast, had already organized the first scout group. In the same year, Roselló established the first organized version of a boy scout group, *Exploradores Barceloneses*. With the help of local teachers and private schools, scouting was an immediate success in the city of Barcelona. Although a local organization, it is still nonetheless regarded as the first scout troop in Spain. In the following year, 1912, Iradier y Herrero, along with Arturo Cuyás Armengol, established the *Exploradores de España*. In June 1912 the *Exploradores de España* received official support from King Alfonso XIII and other government officials.[384] On January 4, 1913, the *Exploradores de España* was publicly recognized as a legitimate association. A couple of weeks later, on January 19, 1913, the *Exploradores Barceloneses* was introduced at the Palau de Bellas Artes as a member of

[383] Joan Lluis Marfany, *La Cultura del Catalanisme*. (Empuries: Barcelona, 1995).
[384] For more on the *Exploradores de España* see Javier Moreno-Luzón, "'Seeds of Spain': Scouting, Monarchy and National Construction, 1912–1931." *European History Quarterly* 50 (2020): 226–47.

the national association. Three years after the official establishment of the *Exploradores Barceloneses*, seventeen troop groups were established under them, as well as three additional troops outside of Barcelona.[385] By 1914, there were a total of 1,064 scouts, 48 troop leaders, a committee of 12 members, and 240 *socios protectores* (protective partners).[386] Despite having a successful beginning, the *Exploradores Barceloneses* disbanded when they merged with the *Exploradores Españoles* and became the only Spanish association to be a formal member of the International Scout Movement.[387]

As for the *Exploradores de España*, though they had the support of King Alfonso XIII, they struggled in their early years to gain acceptance as an honorable association. The Catholic Church and other cultural organizations viewed their institutional evolution with suspicion and believed it was highly militarized in nature. For this reason, there was a decline in membership from 1914-1919.[388] But the organization's persistence through these hard times would come with a reward. In the 1920s, the *Exploradores de España* received support from Miguel Primo de Rivera. By that time, they were more flexible with their objectives and experimented with more educational methodologies. The new methodological objective focused on character formation, instituting religious values, and creating good patriots.[389] These changing pedagogical objectives encouraged the general public and the regime to be more supportive, ushering in a golden era in the history of the *Exploradores de España*. The evolution of scouting was not exclusive to the

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[385] The seventeen groups are the following: *Águilas, Barcino, Cataluña, Cervantes, Comercio, Covadonga, Fivaller, Hispano, Iberia, Industria, Marco Polo, Minerva, Patria, Peninsular, Siglo, Stadium, Trabajo y Victoria.* The three additional cities that saw the emergence of troops were in San Filieu de Lloberat, Tarragona, and Manresa.
[386] Arxiu de Catalunya, *Els Fons de l'Escoltisme Català de L'Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Generelitat de Catalunya—Departament de Cultura (2005), 14.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid.
[389] Moreno-Luzón, 236.

Exploradores de España. In Catalonia, the 1920s was a hallmark decade that would set the foundation for scouting in the years to come.

The First Organizations and the Birth of Catalan Scouting

The birth of Catalan scouting owed much to Josep Maria Batista i Roca (1895-1978). Batista i Roca was a noted historian, ethnographer, and politician in 20th century Catalonia. He graduated from the University of Barcelona in 1911 and has been recognized as the founder of the Archive of Ethnography of Folklore of Catalonia (1917) along with his friend, the founder and leader of the Lliga Regionalista, Francesc Cambó. Upon graduating, he spent a couple of years in England, notably, London and Oxford. He fled England when the First World War broke out, but returned in 1918. While Batista i Roca had already been a member of the *Centre Excursionista* and a hiking enthusiast, his time in Oxford exposed him to scouting and the scouting method. Before returning to Catalonia, he acquired all of Baden-Powell's publications, which were instrumental to the development of Catalan scouting in the 1920s.

The late 1920s brought about debates regarding the character and nature of Catalan society in which Batista i Roca would actively be engaged. The debate began in 1927 when industrial engineer, economist, and noted Catalan politician, Carles Pi i Sunyer, published *L'aptitud econòmica de Catalunya* (The Economic Aptitude of Catalonia), scrutinizing the overall character of the Catalan people.[390] On February 10, 1928, the Federació Catalana d'Estudians Catòlics joined the debate, inquiring whether intelligence or character was the most important feature of a nation.[391] The majority (83 percent) of people agreed that intelligence and culture were important factors, whereas the minority (17 percent) considered character to be the

[390] Antoni Serra, *Història de L'Escoltisme Català*. Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1968, 20.
[391] Ibid.

central component of the nation. Over the span of almost a year, journals and newspapers captured the opinion of notable elites of the time. After months of debate, the consensus was reached that both intellect and character were equally important and should be integrated into the scouting system.

On July 8, 1927, Batista i Roca presented at a conference at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya (CEC) where he spoke about the Czech Sokols, the Italian Balilla, and the British Boy Scout system. During that conference he stated his affinity for, and support of, scouting as the more favorable method for character formation of the youth. Excerpts from the conference were published in *Revista de Catalunya* from March to July in 1928. At the same time, with the help of the CEC's Secretariat de Coodrinació de Treballs Excursionistes (Secretary for the Coordination of Hiking Works), Batista i Roca began to visit recreational centers (especially hiking groups) in different neighborhoods around the city of Barcelona, as well as select cities throughout Catalonia.[392]

Timing also played an instrumental role in the birth and success of Catalan scouting. The restriction placed on Catalan culture during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship prompted Catalans to bring back Catalan cultural and civic virtues. Batista i Roca's vision of scouting offered the youth an outlet for personal development during the difficult years of the dictatorship. Youth hiking groups, recreational centers, and religious groups became interested in scouting. With time, more and more groups were founded and began to actively engage in scouting-related activities. The first scouting gathering was sponsored by the Guies Excursionistes and the Minyons de Muntanys at La Salut de Papiol from June 9-10, 1928. Both troops came to be

[392] Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, *Els Fons de L'Escoltisme Català* 15; Serra, *Història de L'Escoltisme Català,* 20-21.

recognized as the pioneers of Catalan scouting under the new name Germanor de Minyons de Muntanys (GMM).[393] Over the course of the 1920s, the scouting system grew and developed increasing popularity in the face of the dictatorship.

With the establishment of the Second Republic in 1931, scouting would continue to expand and become an integral part of Catalan culture. The Ayuntamiento of Barcelona would resume the task of investing in children's education and establishing "a solid education of character as well as a physical development in a rational manner."[394] They believed the best way to their objective was to integrate scouting as part of the education system.[395] Using pamphlets and manuals belonging to the GMM, the municipality organized the Curset d'Educació Escutista i pràctiques de Campament for teachers from national[396] and municipal schools who were able to attend. During this outing, teachers would have the opportunity to systematically work on the scouting method in a manner that allowed them to "invigorate their cause, fortify the spirit, and strengthen their character."[397]

The course consisted of eleven lectures taught by scouting experts Batista i Roca and Narcís Masó, as well as doctors Pere Gabarró and J. Soler i Damians. The topics of the lectures included, but were not limited to, camping methods, games, adolescent psychology, educational values, hygiene, basic emergency response, and physical culture.[398] The following year, notable pedagogue, Alexandre Galí, was sponsored by the Generalitat of Catalunya to organize a course

[393] Serra, 22-24.
[394] Serra, 52. Serra includes the quote, but the source that he is quoting is unknown. Based on the way in which the sentence is written, it seems that it was something written by the Ayuntamiento of Barcelona regarding its goals on the education system.
[395] Ibid.
[396] It can be assumed that in this context 'national' refers to Catalonia rather than Spain as a whole.
[397] Serra, 52.
[398] Ibid.

on physical education and scouting.[399] With the increasing interest in the Catalan scouting method and the success of pedagogical training, the Ayuntamiento organized the *colònies de vaccances* from 1933-1935. Inevitably, the civil war would cut short the activities and growing development of scouting. Nevertheless, the continued efforts made by troops, the Ayuntamiento, and pedagogues laid out the blueprint for troops in later decades.

Rebuilding in the Early Franco Regime

In the wake of the civil war, organizations that were not part of or approved by the regime were oppressed and had been *partially* dissolved, including those like the Catalan scouting movement, which had been associated with Catalanism during the Second Republic. In the early years, some Catalan scouting organizations successfully organize public outings and activities without informing the government, often utilizing Catholic language and personnel to avoid regime censorship. However, a raid of a camping trip in 1953 revealed that at least some Francoist authorities continued to view the organization as a Catalanist/separatist organization and, perhaps, also as direct competition for its own Falangist youth organization. After this event, public outings were discontinued, and the organization instead focused on educating troop leaders. As a result, the event reveals that the Franco regime was still trying to establish a monolithic society with limited avenues of association.

The use of the term "clandestine" to describe the activities of the troops during this time is up for interpretation. In this context, operating in a clandestine manner means to be carrying out activities without the approval of the state. While the term clandestine typically implies that there may be illicit activity or subversive intent involved, this was not the issue in this case. Even when the regime argued that scouts were engaging in activities that were explicitly outlawed by

[399] Ibid.

the state, I argue that it was clandestine only insofar as they, the scouting organizations and troops, were organizing and camping without official permission.[400]

In 1945, the Catalan scouting General Council reunited with the heads of five of the historic troops in the city of Barcelona. Among them were AE Josep de Margrit, AE Ramon Llull, AE Mare de Déu de Montserrat, AE Rolland Philips, AE Ramon de Penyafort, and Secció Escolta of the Castell de Milany. Additionally, the meeting welcomed the presence and participation of members of the national council such as Alexandre Pinyol, Jamue Font, Josep Maia Abenza, Narcís Romaguera, Joaquim Alfons Esteban, Joan Capella, Antoni Batlle, and Antoni Serra. The purpose of this meeting was to think about the future of Catalan scouting and potential outings. On April 23, 1946, the first outing and meeting was organized at the *capella romàntica* (Poble Espanyol). In the following year, some troops attended an annual scouting jamboree in France, while others engaged in a camping trip to Palau-Solità i Plegamans. These activities were, of course, carried out without notifying officials. The council general and troops would continue to gather in an illegal manner for years. From 1951-1953, the *branca minyons* ventured on annual outings during the springtime. But the outing of 1953 would take an unexpected turn.

On Sunday, May 24, 1953, scouting groups associated with Catholic organizations celebrated the Holy Day of Pentecost and took part in a camping trip to Montnegre, a rural city located within the province of Barcelona. As detailed in a police report, the objective of the gathering was to observe the religious holiday with a mass held by Mn. Antonio Batlle on Sunday before the troops headed back to Barcelona on Monday. Three groups from Barcelona

[400] During the Franco regime, organizations and associations that wanted to gather had to inform the local police station. Police stations would later provide a notification approving the day, time, location, and purpose of the gathering.

were to gather in the celebration, but word quickly spread and troops from cities in the outskirts of Barcelona also joined. After mass, children propped up their tents and entertained themselves by playing games and talking to one another. Someone reported that three young men who were strangers to the campsite had been taking pictures. At around 6pm that Sunday, three Civil Guard members led by their Captain showed up to the campsite and immediately asked for the organizer of the event (Mn Batlle). The following exchange took place between the officer and Mn Batlle:

> "[Captain]: Do you know, Father, that uniforms are prohibited, and that you need permission to set up a campsite with tents?"
>
> [Mn. Batlle]: […] We do not have uniforms; the children are wearing different colored shirts that they voluntarily bought in stores selling sporting items. I am taking advantage of the festivities to enjoy nature with these children, whose parents have entrusted them to my care. And because of the [festivities], I usually invite groups from other parishes and Catholic organizations so they can attend mass, which I have the authority to carry out. It would be a shame for these children who are already here to not partake in Sunday mass […]. As you can see, this is not an organized campsite. At the most, there are only about eight or ten tents for the children to sleep in at night. The majority of the attendants sleep outside or in the *masia* [(farmhouse)]"[401]

[401] "Informe sobre els fets del Monagne i comunicat adeçat al governador civil de Barcelona." Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Germanor de Minyons de Muntanya. Fons: 606-52. 29. 05. 1953. 1-2. The rest of the discussion about the outing come from this source.

The Captain of the civil guard proceeded to look around the campsite, observed the children's activities, and noted that there were no "political acts" taking place. Because the trip back to the city of Barcelona would be long and tiring for the children, he decided to allow them all to stay under the condition that they leave immediately after mass the following morning. Nevertheless, the captain and other guards wrote down the name, personal information (i.e. ID numbers), and the troop/organization affiliation of everyone above the age of seventeen. Throughout this entire process, camp attendees noted that the individuals who had been taking pictures a few hours prior were standing in the distance watching carefully as everything unfolded. Mn. Batlle and other adults present believed that those individuals were perhaps Falangist informants that had infiltrated the outing and informed the Civil Guard.

The outing went from bad to worse when camp attendees were woken up by the sound of a horn at 4am from men sporting blue uniforms and carrying clubs and batons, some with guns. The men surrounded the campsite and told the children to pack their belongings, using threatening language. The children were rounded up and asked to empty out their backpacks while five officers took down the personal information of those above the age of 17, and the head officer, who went by the name Clavero, interrogated Mn. Batlle. Whenever one of the officers found colored flags that resembled the Catalan flag, armbands, or books, they would take them to Clavero. The report notes that whenever these items were taken to Clavero, he would wave them in Mn. Batlle's face and make aggressive comments in a harsh tone. When an officer found Mn. Batlle's instructional manual written in Catalan, Clavero and officers became furious, cursing at Mn. Batlle and the attendees.

This was not the only noted incident. While searching one of the children's backpacks, the officers found a small ax and a utensil used by scouts with the inscription "Visca Catalunya."

When the utensil with the inscription was taken to Clavero, he sternly showed Mn. Batlle and asserted, “Do you see how you are engaging in separatist activity? Here you have it ‘Visca Catalunya lliure.’” Mn. Batlle replied, “Pardon me sir: you added ‘lliure’, but it does not say it here” referring to the item. Lliure, which means *free* in Catalan, insinuated that Mn. Batlle expressed pro-Catalanist sentiments. Clavero insisted that it was proof of separatist activity, if not, the engraving would have read ‘Viva Cataluña’. According to Clavero’s logic, the mere fact that it was written in Catalan implied separatism. In the middle of the exchange, one of the children said, “José Antonio once said ‘Visça Catalunya’ and I do not think we can claim that he was a separatist.” Satisfied with the answer, one of the guards looked to the child and said “Bravo, young man.”

The report describes the exchange between Mn. Batlle and Clavero as an unpleasant experience. Whenever Clavero would accuse the campers of engaging in separatist activities, Mn. Batlle would argue that these were claims made without evidence. At one point, Clavero made references to the Civil War and how Mn. Batlle and the children in attendance were “traitors to the blood of a million martyrs.” Mn. Batlle replied, “Amongst those was a brother of mine,” to which Clavero reproached, “Well, you are a traitor to your brother’s blood.”

Clavero’s verbal diatribe toward Mn. Batlle continued as he referenced the civil war. He scolded the children for several things the entire time: “The millions of deaths of our Crusade cry out for justice over your behavior; the Falange fought for peace in Spain, to save the Church. And you [Mn. Batlle] and these Catholics, or at least you pretend to be, have posed some difficulties to our work.” In addition to telling him that he was a false priest who was poisoning the minds of the Spanish youth, Clavero kept using the civil war as a point of reference. He noted, “In 1936 they killed many priests because there was no sense of unity in Spain, and now

priests like you are fostering a sense of disunion and separatism." For Clavero, the objectives that Mn. Batlle had for the kids was a disservice to the country. He claimed that the "children looked like little carnival sailors" and that "the Falange would actually make them virile." Clavero's statement reinforced the regime's masculine discourse that was at the center of educational pedagogy for young boys. In his view, the activities carried out by Mn. Batlle and the troops were not rearing masculine Spanish citizens. The full investigation ended with Clavero and his men confiscating some of the items of individuals above the age of seventeen. They explicitly let Mn. Batlle know that they were taking away their shirts because only members of the military were allowed to wear uniforms.

While the entire experience had been deeply upsetting, Mn. Batlle requested they still be allowed to hold mass. Initially, Clavero denied the request, but later granted it. The scouts, as well as Clavero and his men, all attended mass. In fact, the soldiers placed one of the Falangist flags by the altar at the beginning of the service. Mn. Batlle held mass with the help of one of the scouts and one of the Falangist soldiers acting as the altar boys. Although the encounter between both parties was conflictive, they were able to unite in mass.

The report notes that two of the Falangist soldiers spoke with Mn. Batlle after mass in a very peaceful manner. They complimented him on his efforts in reaching out to children and even noted that he would make a great counselor for the Frente de Juventudes. Mn. Batlle accepted the compliment and expressed that he had nothing against the efforts of the Frente de Juventudes but affirmed that his mission was to not get involved in politics. He expressed that he was more concerned about the troop's commitment to the Catholic scouting tradition and providing an apolitical setting for children to grow and develop. Mn. Batlle expressed, "it is a shame that there is such animosity against our mission that it led to the earlier events… One

thing that I will complain about is the way in which that, in public and in front of these children, I was disrespected and treated in such an unjust manner, especially in terms of my mission and my work as a priest, which I have always lived up to with honor."[402] Although Mn. Batlle never filed an official complaint, one can assume his dissatisfaction with the way in which government officials treated a Catholic priest.

While the trip ended on a mostly good note, a report was still filed with the civil governor of the province of Barcelona on May 29, 1953. The official police report listed the names of ten individuals who were participating in a "clandestine, anti-patriotic gathering."[403] Although the report explicitly noted that there was no way to "prove direct participation," authorities felt confident that they were somehow highly involved with the "clandestine organization."[404]

This event gives us an idea about the nature of repression during the 1950s, as well as the divisions within the dictatorship between the Falange and the Church. One of the main concerns of the Francoist authorities was the presence of anti-nationalist ideas. Display of symbols such as colored flags and publications in non-Castilian languages were deemed as nationalist and potential signs of separatism. Throughout the exchange between Clavero and Mn. Batlle, Clavero made repeated references to struggles during the civil war and his rejection of 'symbols' and phrases that insinuated any form of separatism. Falangist troops deemed uniforms, colored flags, and printed Catalan language as anti-patriotic material. While the authorities' behavior demonstrated that political repression still existed in the 1950s, the event also demonstrated the inconsistency of repression and the regime's limited reach. A formal report of the activities was filed, yet scouting activities were never suspended. General

[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid., 4.
[404] Ibid.

accusations without concrete evidence were not enough to fully shut down Mn. Batlle's outing, nor the scouting organization as a whole.

One of the most telling aspects of this incident was the disputed meaning of Catholic identity. The Falangists were not sure how to interpret the presence of the priest, but they eventually came together over the celebration of mass. Mn. Batlle understood his actions as being in accordance with his devotion as priest and Catholic scout. Clavero, on the other hand, invoked Catholicism as something that was synonymous to being a loyal, patriotic Spanish citizen who supported the Francoist regime. Yet, we can view the role of religion in this incident as both a demonstration of the divide over Catholicism, as well as the adaptability of religion, more broadly. In the state's view, to be a Spanish citizen meant that you were Catholic, and to be Catholic meant you were a Spanish nationalist. But for Mn. Batlle, Catholicism had nothing to do with political association. For a regime that strove to create a homogenous national culture, this event reveals a divide over the role and view of Catholicism that would only grow stronger over the decades.

At the same time, this incident shows how Catholicism partly protected scouting in the early decades of the regime. At a time when the regime assumed that all Catholics were completely on their side, the Catholic troops in Catalonia used their privileged status as a way to remain active. In Barcelona, Catholicism allowed people to maintain normalcy in their everyday lives. Churches and Catholic organizations were aware that they held special social privileges that allowed them to organize without having to be subject to the overbearing policing of the state. In fact, that was precisely Mn. Batlle's claim when he was being questioned—he had the ecclesiastical authority to organize activities and invite scouts from other parishes and Catholic organizations to participate in his gathering. Therefore, churches organized activities

that were both religious and secular, allowing people of diverse backgrounds and beliefs to engage in distinct activities.

However, this incident prompted a restructuring of scouting and scouting organizations in Catalonia more broadly, and afterwards, former and current council members, as well as troop leaders of the council of the Institució Catalana d'Escoltisme, agreed to suspend all outings until they were able to make them legal. While outings were suspended, there was still educational course preparation for current and prospective troop leaders. The different troops took it upon themselves to help educate troop leaders of all levels. For example, the troop Ramon Llull educated the leaders of *branca minyons*, whereas the troop Mare de Déu de Montserrat assisted the *branca llobatons*, and Marius Torres taught the *branca guies*.[405] There may not have been active troops, but there were educated leaders ready to fill positions once the movement could reorganize.

Reorganization of Catalan Scouting after 1953

The 1953 incident put all troops in Catalonia on alert, and many did not want to participate in any form of public activity until they could establish a system that would allow them to legally organize.[406] The changes in Catalan scouting began with the death of Mn. Batlle on November 26, 1955.[407] A few months later, in 1956, Dr. Ramon Masnou and Dr. Gregorio Mondrego, bishops of Vic and Barcelona, respectively, approved the *Delegació Diocesana d'Escoltisme* (DDE), within the Diocesan Council of the Joves d'Acció Catòlica (JAC). A year later, in July 1957, the head of the DDE participated in the XII International Conference of

[405] Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, *Els Fons de L'Escoltisme Català*, 18.
[406] While archival sources from existing troops at the time do not discuss, or have record of, scout outings this does not mean they did not participate in scouting activities.
[407] Hours before his death, Mn. Batlle was named Counselor of the Scouting Diocese of Barcelona.

Catholic Scouts and became an official member of the organization. As an official organization, the troops associated with parishes and Catholic schools joined the DDE. This brought about a wave of problems for the *Institució Catalana d'Escoltisme* (ICE), the Catalan scouting institution, and challenged its legitimacy.

Secular groups were able to organize, even after the 1953 incident, through association with the main organization under the DDE: the Minyons de Muntaya- Boy Scouts de Catalunya (MM-BSC). Throughout the city of Barcelona there were several troops that were not formally recognized as such but were affiliated with the MM-BSC. At the same time, there were also small parish troops with no official organization that were recognized by the DDE. In this sense, all troops had the ability to organize given their association with the DDE.

Very quickly the "loose" association with the DDE broke down. Because troops were associated with a confessional organization, they were expected to meet certain religious criteria. Members of secular groups believed that the DDE was becoming the formal representative of all scouting manners. Many wanted to make scouting a purely secular pastime and decided it would be best to create an association that was much greater than the DDE. This did not mean that the DDE would not be involved in the process of building the association. Rather, they wanted to rebuild a new association with the appropriate hierarchy, thereby allowing the DDE and other types of organizations to participate.

The first meeting in which the different organizations gathered to establish a new entity with new committee members was on September 28, 1958. During that meeting, the first order of business was to establish a new *consell general* (general council) that did not include old members of the ICE or current members of the DDE. The proposal generated some tensions but

still proceeded.[408] They agreed to meet four main objectives: reorganize the existing structure of the DDE, restore the seventeen positions of the general council, develop a new set of regulations, and include within those regulations stipulations that board members may be removed and replaced at any given time.[409]

In 1958, troops Rolland Philips, Folch i Torres, and Pere Rosselló, along with eight ex-directors of the Boy Scouts of Catalonia and founders of the Minyons de Muntanya—Boy Scouts de Catalunya gathered to make their decision about the future of the ICE. During the reunion, it was obvious that all parties were dissatisfied with ICE's inability to support and uphold the goals of Catalan scouting. The issue was not necessarily a sense of incompetence on the part of the ICE, but rather a reflection of the growth and expansion of Catalan scouting itself.

After months of debate, the original ICE council members, along with active troop leaders, reunited on December 6, 1959 and recognized the existence of three scouting associations: *Minyons de Muntanya—BOY SCOUTS de Catalunya* (for confessional and secular troops), *Boy Scouts of Catalunya* (for secular troops), and the *Delegacions Diocesanes d'Escoltisme* (for confessional troops). With Pere Gabarró i Garcia as the head of the association, the assembly general stated within the statute that "the ACDE, which fully preserves the unity of the scout movement (article 1), acknowledges the existence of various modalities of application of the [scouting] method's different characteristics,"[410] thus allowing for a decentralized structure that allowed individual associations to operate autonomously. All three groups were now part of the *Associació Catalana d'Escoltisme* (ACDE). The ACDE operated in a federalist

[408] Serra, *Història de l'escoltisme Català*, 101.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Ibid.

manner. The objective was to have a legal association that united Catalan scouting troops, allowing them to organize freely as non-political organizations.

The decentralized structure of the ACDE allowed for diverse viewpoints to exist under one organization. Prior to 1959 troops were operating as informal groups with no sanction from a governing body. In other words, they were not legally registered organizations that the regime allowed to organize. Indeed, the DDE may have kept the spirit of scouting alive because it had a legal status as a confessional association; however, troops that were non-confessional did not feel that their objectives were being met under a single institution. In order for multiple voices to coexist, the federalist structure was the best option.

The recognition of scouting associations was accompanied by the development of new pluralist principles in three areas that both challenged Francoist conceptions of education, as well as contributed to the revival of civil society. The three principles were Catholic heterogeneity, political pluralism, and modern pedagogy. Catholic heterogeneity refers to the different perspectives and interpretations of Catholicism and the role of religion in scouting. The increasing debates over different branches of scouting centered around whether Catalan scouting groups should be confessional, though troops had the choice of how they chose to identify. Political pluralism refers to the structural division of the ACDE and to the space that scouting created for troop leaders to engage in larger discussions about politics. Finally, the inclusion of modern pedagogy in scouting was the third area that challenged Francoist ideology. Scouting was very similar to the municipal school system in that the troops focused on individualism and critical thinking, not obedience. What was distinct about modern pedagogy within the scouting system was the way in which alternative education was applied to a recreational activity.

Combined, the three pluralist principles allowed for continuity of Catalan scouting during the regime.

Catholic Heterogeneity and Scouting

While the regime used the Church, especially within the education system, to reinforce its parameters, this did not mean that all Catholic associations supported the regime's use of religion. The promotion of Catholic values was viewed as separate from supporting the regime. Not only did Catholic troops have their own goals and visions about the world but also about the community around them. Within the scouting umbrella, Catholic troops believed that religion provided a great moral and ethical foundation for children and the youth. Catholic troops utilized the autonomy they were given, and, in some cases, the Church became the network of sociability within several neighborhoods in the city of Barcelona.[411] Thus, Catholic troops viewed themselves as associations that prepare children to take on the challenges of the real world through religion.

While the ACDE was divided along religious lines, this was not an entirely unique problem, given that the Boy Scout system was premised on religious virtues. Part of the Scouts' Oath/Promise, as detailed in Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*, is devotion to God. The promise is that a scout "will do [their] duty to God and to the King."[412] Yet, the World Organization of Scouting Movement (WOSM), founded in 1922, proposed some flexibility with the inclusion of God in the Oath. Baden-Powell approved the use of alternatives to represent a "higher" truth, without a reference to God. While it was an option, the WOSM Constitution explained that the

[411] In the 1950s and 1960s, the Church had a large and significant influence on the poor families living in the slums of Somorrostro, located in the Ciutat Vella. For more on the Church's influence see: Laura de Andres Creus, *Diaris del Somorrostro*. Editorial Mediterrània, 2018.
[412] Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 40.

oath was there to "[adhere] to spiritual principles, loyalty to the religion that expresses them, and acceptance of the duties resulting therefrom."[413] This flexibility in the oath, I believe, is what allowed for the establishment of different types of troops that express different values.

At the end of the day, the DDE was a troop-centered organization and worked to further Catalan scouting. What made Catalan confessional scouting distinct from other scouting groups was that they explicitly stated that they could fulfill the duties of a scout through the word of God. For the DDE, Mn. Batlle was emblematic of the ideal Catholic scout. Yet Mn. Batlle's methodology stemmed from Pope Pius XI's vision of Catholic scouting. The parameters of Catholic scouting stem from a speech given by Pope Pius XI in 1935. Atthe International Scout Pilgrimage to Rome, Pope Pius XI declared:

> "a Boy Scout must have an ever-ready command of energy and of courage, of calmness and of reflection. And a Catholic Boy Scout must have a profound sense of God, of His divine law, of His Divine Presence, which harmonizes the wonders of nature, and discovers to us its most obscure and hidden details, its secrets, and most precious lessons… [It] follows that to be always faithful to Your ideals as Catholic Scouts in the midst of the so many errors that today cloud and lead astray the minds and hearts, you must always maintain alive the flame of your faith and the fire of love"[414]

The DDE believed that scouting held a privileged position for it was an avenue that created righteous and honorable Catholic citizens. Priests viewed it as a legitimate educational method

[413] World Organization of Scouting Movement, "World Organization of Scouting Movement Constitution," 3.
[414] The National Catholic Committee on Scouting. *The Holy Father Speaks to Boy Scouts*. Boy Scouts of America: New York, 1935.

that allowed them to make religion popular among younger generations. The chaos of the world brought about malice, deviance, and morally questionable behavior that put at risk the well-being of children. For the DDE, Catholic scouting provided the moral foundation that was necessary to combat this chaos. State politics, as Mn. Batlle claimed in 1953, were not as unifying as the government claimed.[415] Therefore, Catholic scouting was a reliable institution that brought about a sense of order and could produce a moral foundation for future generations.

It seems that the Catholic Catalan scouting troops did not always have the same views as the regime—the most notable one being interpretation of Catholicism itself. While the regime allied with the Church to set the moral foundation of society, members within the Church used its autonomy to have a broader reach to the masses. Catalan scouting groups were tasked with meeting the objectives of Catholic scouts. For Catalan scouts, to be Catholic was not synonymous with being a Spanish nationalist. An example of this was the civil guard raid of the scouts' personal belongings in which Catalan flags were perceived as a threat. In this example, the views of the Church in that instance clearly did not coincide with that of the regime. Some sectors of the Catholic Church were more outward-looking and focused on creating Catholic citizens first and foremost, as opposed to obedient ones. Over time, sectors of the Church became more progressive and even fell under the umbrella of "reformers." Younger Catalan priests adopted new ideas of social reform, women's rights, and democracy in the 1960s.[416] As the subsequent section will discuss, Catholic troops were progressive and embraced ideas about co-education. Religious pluralism was an unintentional byproduct of affording the Church freedom to organize. In the end, the activities carried out by the Church and Catholic scouts demonstrated

[415] "Manifest de Montserrat," Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Boy Scouts de Catalunya. Fons: 607-16. December 13, 1970.
[416]

the limited reach of the regime. The goal of the regime was to maintain limited pluralism, yet the Church opened up a series of possibilities for confessional and secular associations alike.

Political Pluralism

When the ACDE was established in 1959, the directors opted for a federalist structure that allowed diverse points of views to coexist. The consensus came because of prominent board members acknowledging that the previous structure had dissolved.[417] Perhaps they did not account for the parameters of state politics that might influence the way in which they organized. In this case, we must examine two examples of political pluralism. First, while there was minimal political pluralism at the national level, the scouts were able to create their own decentralized organization system. In this sense, they were making the statement that their organization allowed for a plurality of perspectives, organizing around varying principles. Second, since troops were allowed to organize because of their non-political nature, some leaders used it as a space to discuss political ideas. As a survey of troop leaders in 1971 suggested, it was typical for the average Spaniard to engage in political discussions and have ideas about what their future could be like. Troops provided a community channel or outlet for these discussions.

The second way in which Catalan scouting contributed to political pluralism was by allowing political discussion and listening to the troop leaders' viewpoints on current issues. Conflicting political visions within the scouting movement were clear in a 1971 survey. At the end of that year, the confessional GSJ-ME published its annual memorandum, which included a survey of the troop guides' shift in opinion. The three-page survey included twenty-three questions asking the guides their personal views regarding the uncertainties of the evolving socio-political environment, as well as the type of political and economic governance they

[417]Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, *Els Fons de L'Escoltisme Català*, 18-19.

envisioned for the country, the work force, and the future of the "Països Catalanes." Question eleven asked for an opinion on the type of government the state should have. The survey included four choices: neo-fascism, liberal democracy, social democracy, and a proletariat dictatorship. While there were no votes for either the first or last option, sixty percent voted in favor of social democracy, while twenty percent believed that liberal democracy was the better option.[418] The following question asked, "Within a legitimate democratic state, what type of a socio-economic system are you most supportive of?" Fifteen percent voted in favor of capitalism, ten percent opted for neo-capitalism, seventy percent chose socialism, and five percent did not have an opinion on the matter.[419]

The survey of the troops' vision of politics demonstrated two things. On the one hand, individuals throughout Spain had distinct visions for the future of the country. When looking at the percentages there was indeed a majority that favored a specific political or socio-economic structure. Nevertheless, we can see that there was no uniform consensus. On the other hand, we can see an increasing articulation of opposition voices and political discourse over the future of Spain that was occurring well before the transition to democracy. Within the realm of civic associations, ordinary people were conscious of political alternatives and had begun to imagine, and ultimately shape, a democratic future.[420]

The future of Catalonia was just as much a concern as that of the Spanish state. When asked about the "personality" of Catalan politics, five percent believed it should be a Spanish province, ten percent considered it should be an independent state, sixty percent as an

[418] "Memoria del Curs 1970-1971," Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-612-46. [MONTH 1971], 68.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Radcliff, 2-3.

independent state that was a confederacy alongside other Iberian nationalities, and twenty-five percent did not have an opinion on the matter.[421] The survey revealed that a large portion of the GSJ-ME troops believed that Catalonia had the right to self-governance.[422] But the reason in favor of self-governance was diverse, given that the survey provided six options: a different historical process (30%), different cultural and linguistic traditions (20%), because it is a different community with distinct characteristics (55%), because it could benefit the will of the Catalan people (30%), other motives (--), and no opinion (35%).[423]

The survey suggests that, at least within some scouting troops, there was active discussion of Spanish and Catalan politics, particularly the place of Catalonia in the wake of the regime. The final question in the survey asked: if there was a gradual transition from a dictatorship, what aspects would be indispensable to an interim government? The survey provided seven choices, and the results varied: freedom of expression (65%), right to strike (35%), exercise the right to vote (40%), freedom of association (55%), democratization of means of communication (40%), re-establishment of statutes of autonomy for Catalonia and the Basque Country (45%), and no opinion (25%).[424]

The survey provides a sample of the general socio-political concerns that existed among a segment of GSJ-ME troops. In theory, the scouting system did not engage in political activity nor advance the political agenda of any specific group. But what is certain is that politics did affect Catalan scouting. Troop leaders seemed to be concerned more broadly about the state of the

[421] "Memoria del Curs 1970-1971," Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-612-46. 1971, 69.
[422] Ibid. Sixty-five prevent believed that Catalonia had the right to self-govern while thirty-five percent did not have an opinion.
[423] Ibid.
[424] Ibid.

country, as social and political uncertainty affected the day-to-day life of Catalan children. While it is not known to what extent council members and troop leaders may have used scouting to be heard within the political sphere, what is certain is that there was political discourse where it theoretically should not have been. The socio-political state of Spain and Catalonia was a concern of council members and troop leaders, and they were going to great lengths through their activities to protect Catalan children and youth from what many of them clearly viewed as an unstable and oppressive regime.

Modern Pedagogy: Co-Education, Adolescents, and Play

In the 1950s, the idea of co-education was still relatively experimental in Catalonia. Scouting groups wrote a series of publications around the theme of co-education. The Boy Scouts of Catalunya, later renamed Girl and Boy Scouts of Catalunya (GBSC), were very open about the idea of co-education being at the core of their mission. In 1964, GBSC released a memorandum for board members and troop leaders detailing the benefits of co-education and activities that would enhance a child's and adolescent's development. The GBSC argues that "in our lives, everyday is mixed[;] society is mixed, boys and girls will have to struggle to live and work together, because they, (both) form society."[425] The primary justification was the fact that in everyday life, men and women have to, by nature, coexist. Therefore, it would only seem logical that boys and girls interact with each other in the same manner. The publication does not explicitly state that mixed education is "logical," yet the way it is expressed insinuated that the GBSC believed that co-education was the logical form of education, in order to enhance communication skills and allow a connection with the world around them.

[425] Boy Scouts of Catalunya. "Informe sobre la coeducació per la branca boy scouts" Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Boy Scouts de Caalunya. Fons: 607-10. July 1964, 1.

For the GBSC, the socio-cultural transformation of the 1960s played a significant role in favoring a co-educational agenda. They argued "co-education [will give] boys and girls a real education, this renewal would be necessary, where in today's world we need to form a complete youth in all aspects, balanced by making decisions without thinking and reacting to problems in the best way for all around them."[426] For the GBSC, the world in which they lived was one that was riddled with disorder. Coeducation could help alleviate the problem and help nurture "whole" citizens who had the ability to think rationally and solve any problem that was thrown their way. While the GBSC was in favor of, and implemented, co-educational practices, it did not expect all troops to have a co-educational agenda.[427] They recognized that not all troops had leaders trained to lead mixed groups.

By the 1970s, some of the confessional troops had also adopted a co-educational agenda. This would not have been seen in state-funded schools. The Minyons Escoltes and the Guies San Jordi merged in the 1970s to establish the Minyons Escoltes-Guies San Jordi (ME-GSJ), a confessional, co-educational association. The alliance between the two groups came about in the same manner as the DDE merger in 1955. But with time, confessional organizations recognized new pedagogical trends and adapted religion to the modernizing world.

On May 1, 1968, members of the ME and the GSJ, two confessional associations, decided to collaborate and engage in co-ed activities. Unlike many of the secular branches, their shift to co-education was gradual. In 1968, both troops decided to merge only one branch from each organization—the guides (GSJ) and the rovers (ME). The report indicates that even with the establishment of the new joint branch, there was a lot of pedagogical research and training that

[426] Ibid.
[427] Ibid., 6.

went into merging the two. In the report that announced the union, one of the points stated that all of the plans they had under consideration would require the guidance of pedagogical experts. The ultimate plan was to provide older scouts with the appropriate pedagogical training so they could later guide younger troops. It would not be until 1977 that both troops officially merged as one association that described itself as a co-ed, Catalan, secular association.

What is important to note is that the confessional groups' slow adoption of co-education may not have been a result of resistance or an unwillingness to have co-ed troops. Rather, it may be that council members of the secular troops wanted to make sure that they had the adequate pedagogical training to help guide younger troop members. The person who wrote and described the process, known as the SOLC, was Josep Maria Martorell, the son of Aurtur Martorell, founder of the IME.[428] While Josep Maria was an architect by training, not a pedagogue like his father, it has been said that he was highly influenced by his home life and the values of confessional Catalan scouting under the mentorship of Father Antoni Alcalde.[429] It is possible that Martorell, along with other council members of the GSJ and ME, sought to provide quality education, while keeping Catholicism at the core.

The main conclusion is that despite the confessional-secular divide, co-education was something that troops in the ACDE favored almost universally. The only difference was that secular troops had incorporated co-education as part of their pedagogical objectives since the

[428] "Organització del SOLC" Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-0612.
[429] Josep Maria Martorell was Artur Maroterell's eldest son who, at one point, because the director of the DDE, was heavily influenced by his father's work. Although Artur Martorell was never a scout, his pedagogical methods influenced Catalan scouting. See: Josep Martorell, "Artur Martorell i l'escoltisme" *Artur Martorell: Un educador del nostre temps* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya Departament d'Ensenyament, 1995), 126-27.

establishment of the ACDE, while confessional groups such as the GSJ-ME made a slower transition lasting close to a decade.

Linked to the discussion of co-education was adolescent education. In the 1960s, publications, memoirs, and troop training lectures and conferences began to focus on describing the physiological and psychological development of adolescents. When the GBSC began expressing ideas about co-education in 1968, the discussion on adolescent education came to the forefront. The GBSC drew on the ideas of Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget to characterize the stage of adolescence as a "stage where abstract formal thought succeeds that of concrete operations."[430] The troop interpreted Piaget's description of this stage of life as "not a period of evolution but rather of one of radical changes."[431] For this reason, a distinct pedagogical model was necessary for the instruction of adolescents.

Whereas children's activities were centered around games, the GBSC believed much of their pedagogy should be self-organized and discussion based. The Clans,[432] which was the name for the adolescent troop, would have the autonomy to organize their council, thus giving them the opportunity "to establish a true democracy."[433] Thus, the GBSC proposed that the Clans should be allowed to come up with their own activities and find ways to collectively find a solution to problems that they might encounter. The argument was that allowing them to work in a "friendly environment" will "better prepare them for a balanced adult life."[434] Although they

[430] Boy Scouts of Catalunya. "Informe sobre la coeducació per la branca boy scouts" Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Boy Scouts de Caalunya. Fons: 607-10. July 1964., 3. The memorandum included this direct quote from Piaget but in French.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Age group would be between the ages of 16 and 23.
[433] Boy Scouts of Catalunya. "Informe sobre la coeducació per la branca boy scouts" Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Boy Scouts de Catalunya. Fons: 607-10. July 1964., 4.
[434] Ibid.

did not elaborate on what was considered a "balanced adult life,", we can presume that it would have referred to the ability to work collaboratively with people of diverse backgrounds. Hence, part of the pedagogical foundations exclusive to adolescent troops were discussions surrounding contemporary issues. The GBSC states that it was important for the Clans to "be informed of the social, economic, and political problems of their generation in order to become useful and efficient citizens."[435] The focus on critical discussion can be understood as an extension of the pedagogical methods aimed at children where they were expected to carry out tasks through collaboration and critical thinking. The difference, however, was that now as older scouts, they would engage in critical dialogue with other scouts over relevant issues.

The GSJ-ME's new branch, the SOLC, had a similar outlook on adolescent education. GSJ-ME argued that the SOLC required a completely different pedagogical structure for those between the ages of 17 and 19. Like the GBSC, the SOLC would be self-organized. Since the objective was to encourage "individual development," the GSJ-ME believed that having a self-educated troop in which its members worked collaboratively to come up with activities would benefit their development.[436] Unlike the children's troops which were carefully monitored and assessed, adolescents were given more autonomy. Part of the reason this may have been the case was the hope that some of the members would become troop leaders after the age of 19. Thus, potential troop leaders demonstrated early on an ability to work collaboratively and come up with a series of activities.

One of the peculiar aspects of the GSJ-ME's adolescent education system was encouraging adolescents to find their "voice" within politics. The GSJ-ME explicitly stated "it

[435] Ibid.
[436] "Lines de Posició de SOLC (Gener del 1969)" Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-0612, 2.

does not intend to promote any specific political model."[437] However, what it did intend to do was to "politicize" younger generations by encouraging them to find their voice within the "field of political action."[438] The SOLC stated: "We believe that there is no personal progress without personal policing. It is for this reason that the three general lines of action of the SOLC, will have an impact according to their own nature of information, encouragement and personal growth in the political field or field of power structures."[439] The GSJ-ME did not tell adolescents how to think. Rather, they believed that an important part of adolescent development was the ability to formulate independently ideas and opinions about politics.

On February 9, 1970, a pedagogical team of the GSJ-ME[440] and some of the first members of the SOLC gathered to analyze the basic structure of the SOLC's pedagogical structure, which now included religion. There was an internal debate among the board members regarding the importance of religion. Even though the GSJ-ME was a confessional troop, they believed that religion "did not coincide with the objectives of the SOLC." [441] Instead, the objective was to give SOLC members "the option to think about their path within the Christian faith."[442] It is possible that the GSJ-ME understood that the period of adolescence was a time in which youth begin to think more critically about the world around them. It justified its perspective, claiming that it, "very well adapted to the critical situations of boys and girls of this

[437] Ibid., 3.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid.
[440] The members of the pedagogical team included Josep Muntañola, Teresa Fort, Miquel Verdaguer, Jordi Roca, and Ramón M. Nogués.
[441] Informació: Comissariat General. Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-0612, 4.
[442] Ibid.

age."[443] Again, rather than telling adolescent scouts what and how to think, the pedagogy encouraged free-thinking and individual development.

One of the things that the GSJ-ME stressed was the inclusive nature of the SOLC, as it sought to cross socio-economic barriers.[444] However, one of the greatest problems was the low enrollment of adolescent scouts in certain parts of the city. In 1973 the ME-GSJ conducted a comprehensive report of adolescents in Barcelona. The review reported that in 1970 there were a total of 1,880,000 inhabitants in the city of Barcelona, 85,000 of whom were adolescents that fell within the age of fourteen and sixteen.[445] Of those, only 678 were scouts. This meant that only .80% of the adolescents living in Barcelona were scouts. What is more, scouting was popular predominantly in areas where there was a hilly landscape (Residencial Este, now known as Horta-Guinardó), more affluent neighborhoods, or in places where there was an established hiking club. Poor and working-class neighborhoods lagged in participation. The objective was to conduct a comprehensive study of the neighborhoods, the people, and their professions to be able to reach a wider audience. It is not entirely known whether there were efforts to recruit scouts from working-class communities. What the research shows, however, is that there was a disparity in class participation.

Adolescent education within the scouting system both aligned and deviated from both that of younger troops and the ideas of the municipal school system. On the one hand, like the alternative pedagogical practices of the municipal schools and scouting, adolescent pedagogy encouraged critical thinking. On the other hand, adolescent education takes that critical thinking

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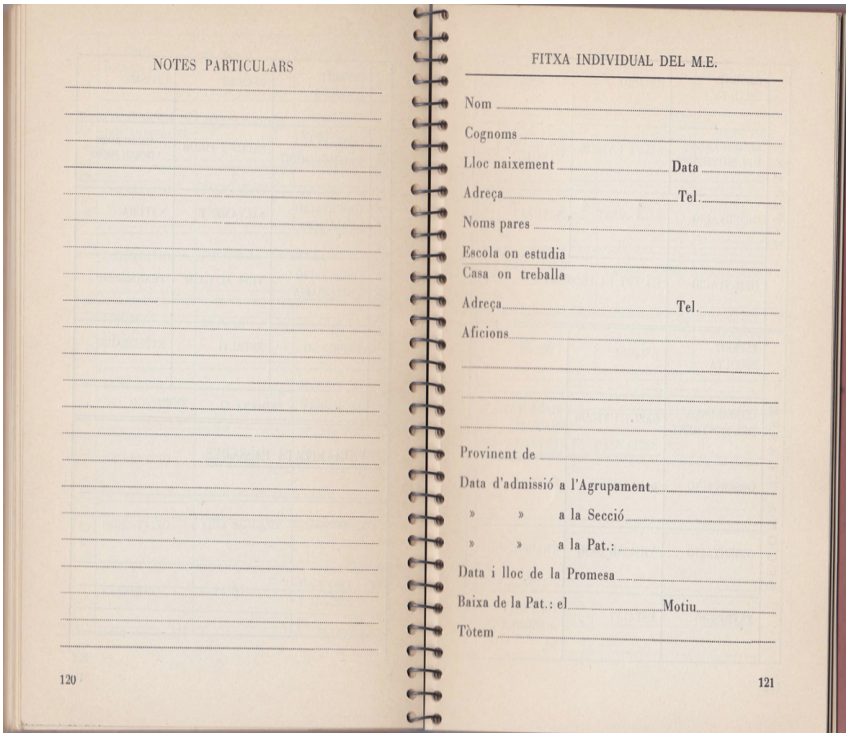
[443] Ibid.
[444] "Lines de Posició de SOLC (Gener del 1969)" Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-0612, 3-4.
[445] "Realitat Actual de Pioners –Caravel-les." Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons de L'Escoltisme Català, Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi. Fons: ANC1-612-47., v-4.

further by allowing troops to collaborate and come up with their own activities, encouraging them to formulate opinions about politics, and even to think about the role that religion plays in their lives. The result was the extension of the alternative education system to now include adolescent pedagogy.

In scouting, we see a contradictory relationship between the general understanding of play and its use as a form of assessment. Troop leaders kept detailed records of each scouts' progress and ability to complete tasks. In fact, each troop leader had an individual file on each scout in which they documented successful completion of each task (Image 1). As scouts successfully completed tasks, their progress was documented, earning them patches. Additionally, within the same pocket-sized notebook, there were charts in which the troop leader could track the activities carried out during the year, attendance records, and other notes (see Figures 4.1-4.4).


NOTES PARTICULARS

120

FITXA INDIVIDUAL DEL M.E.

Nom

Cognoms

Lloc naixement Data

Adreça Tel.

Noms pares

Escola on estudia

Casa on treballa

Adreça Tel.

Aficions

Provinent de

Data d'admissió a l'Agrupament

» » a la Secció

» » a la Pat.:

Data i lloc de la Promesa

Baixa de la Pat.: el Motiu

Tòtem

121

Figure 4.1—Fixa Individual del M.E.

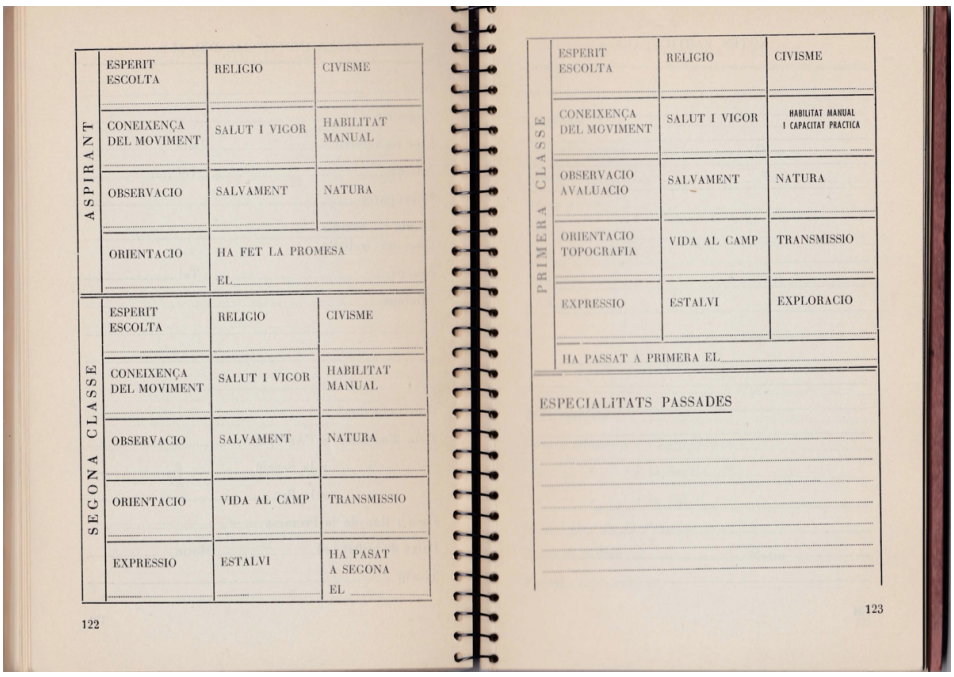


Figure 4.2—Fixa Individual del M.E. page 2

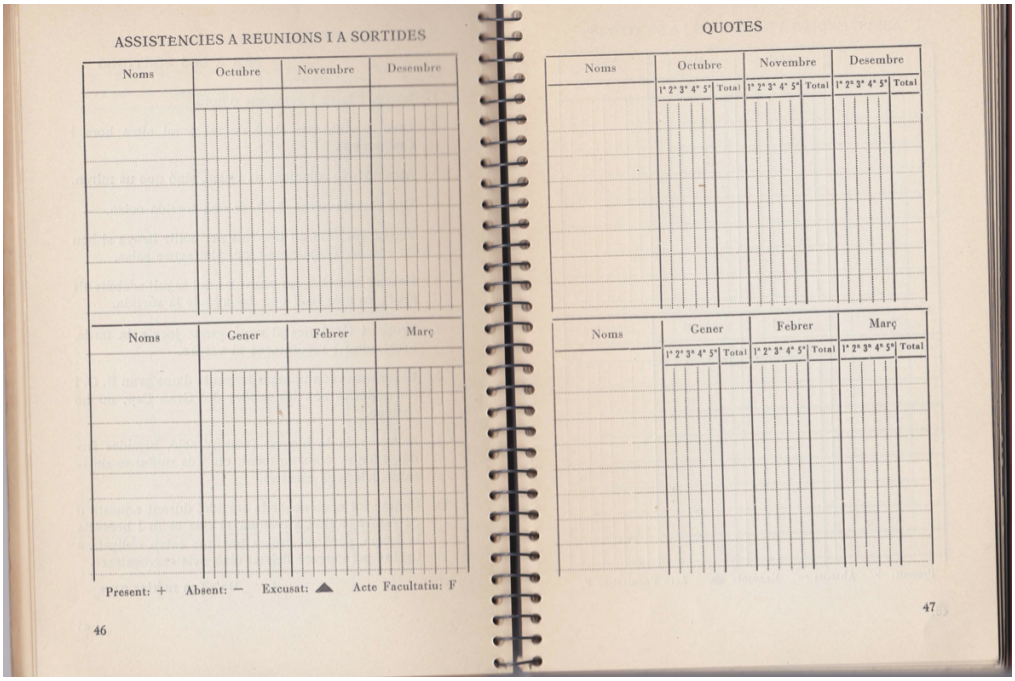
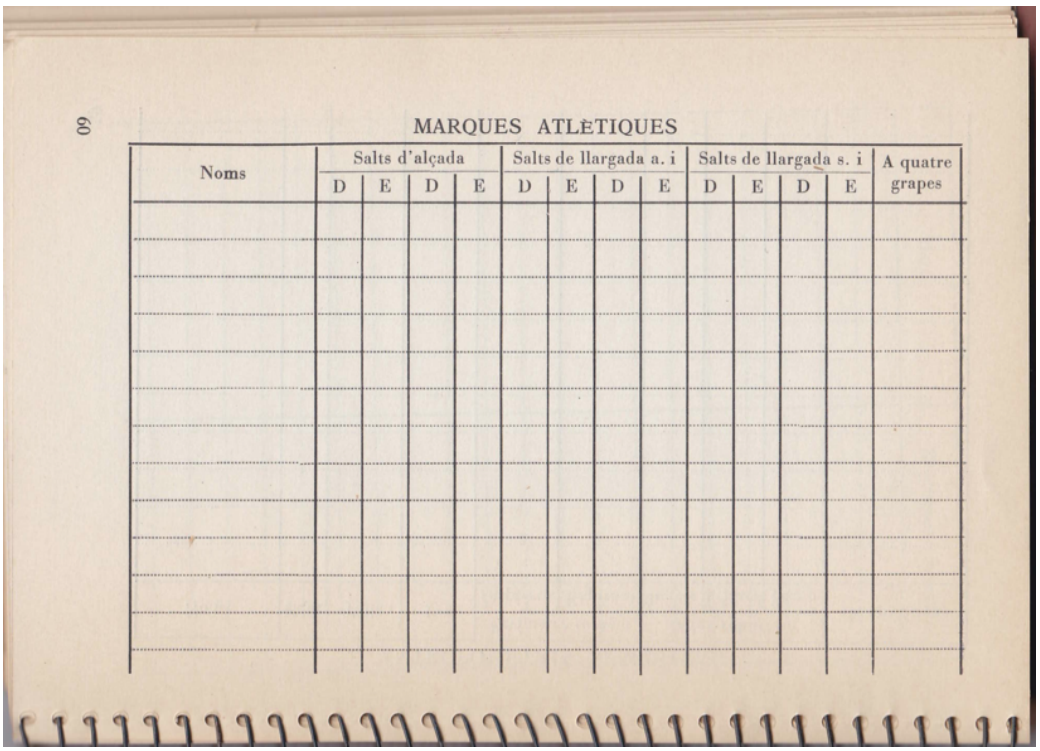


Figure 4.3—Assistencies a Reunions i a Sortides/Quotes



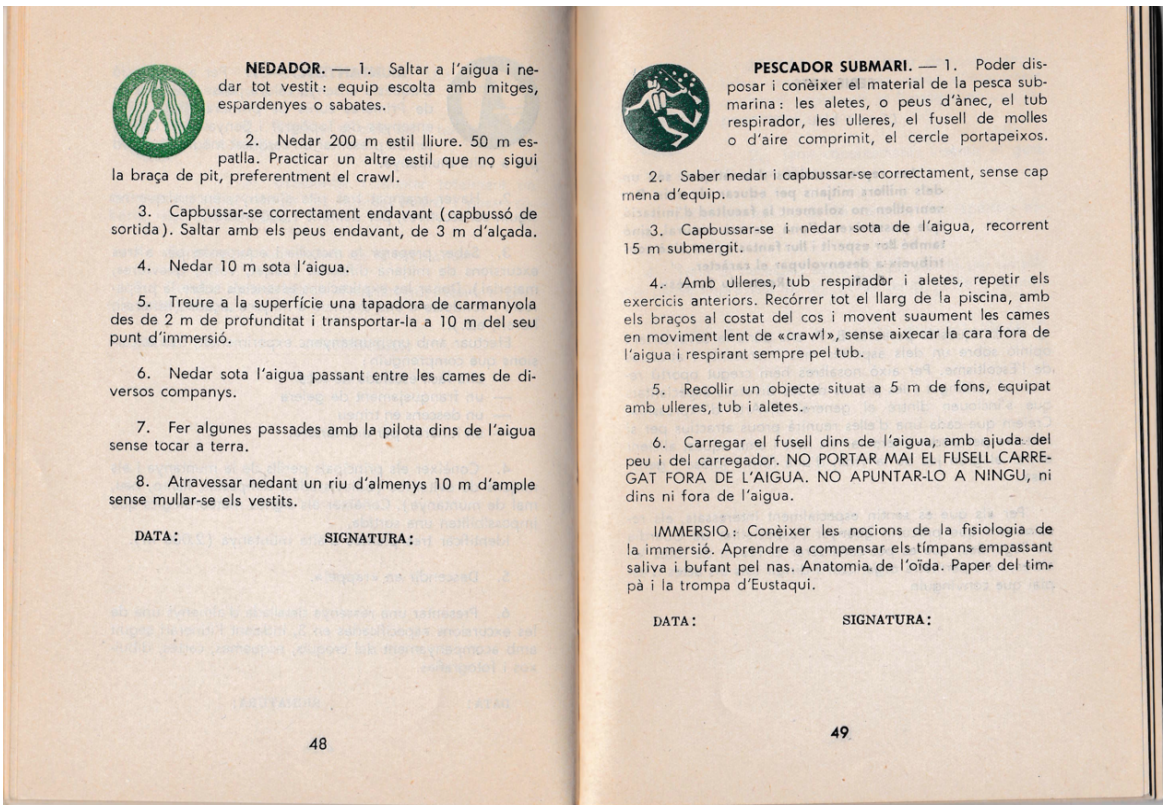
MARQUES ATLÈTIQUES

Noms	Salts d'alçada				Salts de llargada a. i				Salts de llargada s. i				A quatre grapes
	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E	D	E	

Figure 4.4—Marques Atletiques

What is important to note is that scouts were not entirely oblivious to the fact that they were being tested on the successful completion of tasks. Each scout had their own pocket-sized notebook that contained details of tasks for their given rank, of which they were required to demonstrate competency . For example, a *minyon escolta* knew that he had to master the scouting law/promise, religion, civics, knowledge of who their troop leaders were, health and vigor, manual skills, observation, first aid, nature, and the use of a compass.[446] But a detailed list was not enough. The rest of the manual included one page dedicated to each specific task. The page included detailed points of knowledge that the scout needed to possess. At the end, the troop leader would sign and date to affirm that the scout demonstrated successful completion of the task (Figure 4.5).

[446] Minyon Escolta guide, 5-8.



NEDADOR. — 1. Saltar a l'aigua i nedar tot vestit: equip escolta amb mitges, espardenyes o sabates.

2. Nedar 200 m estil lliure. 50 m espatlla. Practicar un altre estil que no sigui la braça de pit, preferentment el crawl.

3. Capbussar-se correctament endavant (capbussó de sortida). Saltar amb els peus endavant, de 3 m d'alçada.

4. Nedar 10 m sota l'aigua.

5. Treure a la superfície una tapadora de carmanyola des de 2 m de profunditat i transportar-la a 10 m del seu punt d'immersió.

6. Nedar sota l'aigua passant entre les cames de diversos companys.

7. Fer algunes passades amb la pilota dins de l'aigua sense tocar a terra.

8. Atravessar nedant un riu d'almenys 10 m d'ample sense mullar-se els vestits.

DATA: SIGNATURA:

48

PESCADOR SUBMARI. — 1. Poder disposar i conèixer el material de la pesca submarina: les aletes, o peus d'ànec, el tub respirador, les ulleres, el fusell de molles o d'aire comprimit, el cercle portapeixos.

2. Saber nedar i capbussar-se correctament, sense cap mena d'equip.

3. Capbussar-se i nedar sota de l'aigua, recorrent 15 m submergit.

4. Amb ulleres, tub respirador i aletes, repetir els exercicis anteriors. Recórrer tot el llarg de la piscina, amb els braços al costat del cos i movent suaument les cames en moviment lent de «crawl», sense aixecar la cara fora de l'aigua i respirant sempre pel tub.

5. Recollir un objecte situat a 5 m de fons, equipat amb ulleres, tub i aletes.

6. Carregar el fusell dins de l'aigua, amb ajuda del peu i del carregador. NO PORTAR MAI EL FUSELL CARREGAT FORA DE L'AIGUA. NO APUNTAR-LO A NINGU, ni dins ni fora de l'aigua.

IMMERSIO: Conèixer les nocions de la fisiologia de la immersió. Aprendre a compensar els tímpans empassant saliva i bufant pel nas. Anatomia de l'oïda. Paper del timpà i la trompa d'Eustaqui.

DATA: SIGNATURA:

49

Figure 4.5—Sample of Outdoor Activities

Through play, and conceptions of play, we are able to unpack how scouting systems differed from the regime's idea of the body and physical education. The FET y de las JONS published manuals for school teachers to provide ideas for different physical activities according to age groups. In 1959, the introduction of one of the manuals published by the Sección Femenina described the games as "educational games."[447] The manuals detail activities such as frog jumps and forward rolls for girls from the ages of four to six, and more advanced movements that linked the previous maneuvers for ages six to eight.[448] Interestingly, much of what was described as the importance of play in a child's life coincided with the ideas of

[447] Sección Femnina de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., *Opociciones de Magisterio Educación Física*. Madird 1959

[448] Sección Femnina de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., *Opociciones de Magisterio Educación Física*. Madird 1959; Sección Femnina de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., *Lecciones de Educación Física de 1a, 2a Enseñanza y Comercio*. Tercera Edicion. Madrid 1961, 9.

scouting organizations.[449] In comparison to games played by Catalan troops, which encouraged critical thinking, the state's idea of *juegos educativos* (educational games) did not. The manuals typically provided teachers with instructions on what games were appropriate for children of a specific age group. While each age group had a distinct, and increasingly complicated set of games they were able to engage in, they were all meant to mimic military movements.[450] The drawings in the manual depict perfectly synchronized movements of the body.

It seems that the state defined educational games as activities that simply created disciplined bodies. None of the games or movements encouraged spontaneity. Rather, there were strict guidelines as to how a child should execute each movement. In this sense, games organized and prompted by the regime reflected the type of citizen they were attempting to create—passive and obedient. Therefore, although we can consider the state's conception of play as educational, it must be understood that according to the regime, 'education' entailed creating a homogenous, patriotic, Catholic citizenry that was expected to accept the state's rhetoric at face value, not the scouting version that encouraged and reinforced critical thinking.

The scouting pedagogical system was one of the most significant ways in which some people in Barcelona challenged the regime. By adopting active learning methods, Catalan scouts used play in the same manner as municipal schools—to encourage critical thinking, as well as a form of assessment. Play served as a creative pedagogical form of learning and assessment in which the scout was expected to carry out a set of tasks. But rather than assessing the final

[449] Sección Femnina de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., *Opociciones de Magisterio Educación Física*, 3-5.
[450] Sección Femnina de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., *Opociciones de Magisterio Educación Física*. Madird 1959; Sección Femnina de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., *Lecciones de Educación Física de 1a, 2a Enseñanza y Comercio*. Tercera Edicion. Madrid 1961.

outcome, troop leaders considered the scout's thought process and implemented a more holistic assessment of the scout.

Conclusion

This chapter uses scouting in Barcelona as a case study to argue for a greater degree of pluralism at the local level than is often recognized. Scouting's position as a civil society association allowed it to develop pluralist ideas and gave it partial protection from the regime because of its non-political status. It argues that scouting supported the heterogeneity within the Catholic Church, political pluralism, and modern pedagogy, all of which helped transform Catalan boys and girls into global citizens. Some scout leaders believed that they could reinforce Catholicism in children in a more meaningful way. At the same time, religion was not a required feature of the scouting system. Rather than attempting to indoctrinate the masses as Franco hoped to do, scout leaders sought an appropriate balance between religion and scouting. The safe space of the scouting organization also provided troop leaders with the opportunity for political discourse. Although the scouts did not engage in explicit political activity, troop leaders had diverse visions of what they believed was an appropriate modern political system for the country. Scouts were able to establish the parameters of their idea of modern society through the education system. The push for co-education emerged as a response to the globalizing world in which, at least in the case of scouting, began to adopt more progressive pedagogical views.

Establishing power and discipline was addressed only in play, yet it was essential for the local community. Children were allowed to play, but adults had authority over the types of games that were played. Adults observed and evaluated children and adolescents on a regular basis. Like the municipal school system, adults kept individual records of each child's performance and development. The objective was to ensure that children internalized the values

of what it meant to be a dignified citizen. This concern extended to adolescents, who required additional guidance and supervision as they grew and developed into adults. For them, troop leaders placed greater emphasis on dialogue concerning contemporary issues and politics. As the fear of deviance, malice, and even public health became an increasing concern, engagement in scouting became a sphere in which adults could control the actions of both children and youth. Through children's participation in scouting, influential elites had the opportunity to respond and correct what they viewed as a chaotic world by creating their own vision of a modern society.

Catalan scouting, like municipal education, embraced the active pedagogical methods. What was unique about this case study was the way active learning was applied to a recreational activity. In doing so, the organization of Catalan scouting challenged the underlying pedagogical and nationalist principles of the Franco regime. An institution that was founded to meet the needs of children by providing the space and guidance for development was thus able to stake an important pedagogical claim in Catalonia from the outset. On the strength of this claim, Catalan scouting would ultimately grow and thrive even during the dictatorship, revealing the regime's limited reach. From its humble rise in the early twentieth century as a recreational activity for young Catalan boys, scouting would evolve into a far-reaching educational movement that would challenge and undermine state nationalization efforts.

Conclusion

By the mid-1970s, Barcelona's municipal schools had developed exponentially. Classrooms were much more open and overt about the teaching of Catalan language; parents created parent-teacher associations to bring changes to schools; and teachers continued to encourage free thinking in the classroom. The education system expanded, and Barcelona began to offer educational services at even younger ages. *Bressols* (day cares) became part of the IME educational network thus allowing the local government to have greater control over younger generations from an earlier age. Swimming continued to flourish and gain popularity, but by the end of the 1970s, the swimming complexes began to encounter some infrastructural problems. The city found itself at a crossroads: invest in fixing the problems or ceding the pools to private associations that had the means to remodel them. This was the conundrum that Club Natació Poblenou found itself in two decades after the pool was constructed in Plaça Lope de Vega. By the 1980s, the neighborhood had undergone significant remodeling, and the future of the hazardous swimming complex was placed at the forefront.[451] The scouting movement continued as coeducation was expanded to all scouting associations. In 1976, all troops united and drafted a statute that codified the parameters of Catalan scouting. The following year the official scouting association of Catalonia—the Federació Catalana d'Escoltisme i Guitage—was established. The expansion of civil society in the last decade of the regime allowed educational and recreational spaces to expand in a new era. Despite the trials and tribulations that Barcelona's political officials and elites faced under the Franco regime, they were able to keep municipal schools, swimming programs, and scouting troops from becoming extinct under an oppressive

[451] By 1989, the Club Natacío Poblenou moved its headquarters to a newer athletic complex, Catex-Can Felipa.

regime and were thus prepared to enter a new phase of evolution with the political transition of the late 1970s.

The economic prosperity that Spain experienced in the late 1950s and1960s, which prompted a shift in the internal structure of the regime, had larger implications for Barcelona's elites who utilized the opportunity to reestablish old social hierarchies. The limited access to national politics encouraged Barcelona's elites to pursue a localized civilizing process. They used locally-controlled educational programs to control and socialize the lower classes according to bourgeois standards. The IME created a centralized network of support for the city's municipal schools which brought together the institution, teachers, and parents to educate children. Teachers were trained, sometimes abroad, on current pedagogical methods, while parents were also educated about things such as food preparation. Anxieties over healthy bodies and the prevention of illnesses was a concern of the IME, the swimming programs, and scouting. In the case of schools and scouting, medical records and notebooks were kept of each student, detailing development while they internalized new norms and habits. Through educational programs, elites provided aid to vulnerable groups while attempting to re-establish social hierarchies.

At the same time, Barcelona's elites developed local autonomy through institutions that were popular during the Second Republic and even the earlier period of the Mancomunitat. A local study during the period of the Franco regime has provided a perspective distinct from the hegemonic narrative that emphasizes Catalonia's political repression throughout the regime. Barcelona did not face total and absolute political oppression as previous scholarship on the Franco regime and Catalonia has suggested. We see the presence of alternative sites of socialization that were within the legal parameters of Francoist policy. The alternatives,

however, were not new. Rather, they were continuations of projects that had emerged and developed prior to the Civil War. Thus, the Franco regime was not necessarily a period of total rupture nor a time where new ideologies fully replaced older ones. The complicated and multidimensional nature of the regime allowed for old ideas to re-emerge in new ways.

In particular, this dissertation has focused on activities rooted in Catalan history without being explicitly Catalanist. Only on select occasions within the realms of children's institutions and social reform was there mention of reinforcing Catalan nationalism or Catalanist activities. But the survival of pedagogical methods, local institutions, and social reform projects that were founded at the turn of the century indirectly reinforced Catalan culture. At a time when public display of Catalan culture, whether in terms of language or symbols, was forbidden, educational and recreational programs with Catalan roots can be understood as an effort to preserve Catalan history and identity.

What stands out among the alternative social reform programs is their roots in early twentieth century Catalan projects. In Barcelona, concepts of modernity were embedded in ideas of social reform. The infrastructural and ideological parameters of the programs were carved out early in the century and thus provided elites under the Franco regime with the infrastructure to continue a project started almost two decades prior. Thus, I argued that Barcelona is a unique urban model that possessed an educational and sporting identity inherited from Catalan culture but not explicitly Catalanist. For this reason, alternative sites of socialization emerged, allowing for not only local elite control but autonomy from the state.

Beyond Catalonia, the story of municipal autonomy highlights the vanguard role of Barcelona and the influence it had throughout the country. The focus on children allowed Barcelona's elites to reinforce other markers of identity beyond Catalanism. The alternative

methods developed would serve as a model beyond Barcelona and Catalonia. As discussed herein, underdeveloped cities such as Sevilla looked to Barcelona as a source of inspiration. By 1980, the city of Sevilla had petitioned for the development of a municipal school system like that in Barcelona. In their Municipal Plan for Education, Sevilla's leaders argued that municipalities had the freedom to exercise democracy and bring progress to the city by controlling the city's education system.[452] This exemplifies Barcelona's vanguard role in creating alternative models for a modern Spanish society beyond the national agenda.

This narrative has focused on institutions predominantly aimed at children. The child, as scholars have noted, has become a symbol of modernity, of a new progressive society that is constantly looking forward to a better future. By targeting children, a variety of social reform projects aimed to assist children while simultaneously socializing them into the national community. The case of Barcelona confirms these arguments, as it demonstrates how elites used social reform projects to socialize children into the local community. The municipal school system, the IME, can be viewed as part of the larger social reform project in that it provided whole childcare and education. What is more, through their children, parents also became the targets of elite reformers. Once the expansion of social reform reached into the family, we begin to see the ways in which local officials used education to establish dominance over the community. The IME identified a series of problems that the community faced and placed children at the center of those concerns. Disease, empty lots, and delinquency were concerns of the middle class who then found ways to control segments of the population through remediation of the problems. The concern for children was used to provide a link between the family and

[452] Ayntamiento de Sevilla. "Plan Municipal de Accion Educativa." Ayuntamiento Muncipal de Sevilla. Noviembre 1980.

professional advisors (e.g., teachers, counselors, psychiatrists, etc.), by attempting to correct the unhealthy habits and customs of the working class. To restructure and modernize the city according to middle-class values, local officials wanted working-class families to abandon their traditional ways of life and adopt the new modern lifestyle offered by local elites.

Recreational projects operated in a similar manner. Swimming programs were aimed at "civilizing" poorer populations while simultaneously cleaning up the streets and inculcating bourgeois values to the greater population. The dissemination of these values through educational and recreational spaces—municipal schools, swimming pools, and scouting—became a source of empowerment for Barcelona's elites. For those elites, establishing authority and, by extension, disseminating cultural norms, depended on the education of children, the transformation of the physical landscape, and the proliferation of the elites throughout local political roles. Public health was a problem throughout Spain that was managed at the local level. Through educational programs in both formal and informal institutions, elites targeted children to correct these larger social problems.

As part of this project, this dissertation has revealed that play was used in a distinct manner to educate and socialize the children of Barcelona into the local community. Instead of using rote learning to instruct children on what they should know, using play allowed children to think critically, role play, and solve problems. When children played in schools, at the pools, or in scouting ventures, not only were they working independently and collectively with their peers to solve problems, but they were simultaneously learning how to become members of a community. While learning through play, the experience of Barcelona's children conflicted with the socialization mechanisms used by the regime. The result indicates the presence of multiple

forms of socialization during the Franco regime that at different moments both coexisted and conflicted with the authoritarian agenda.

Another institution that became a contested site between the regime and the people of Barcelona was the Catholic Church. While the aim of the Church was to control all educational curriculum, the heterogeneity of the Church allowed for Catholic organizations to emerge with different agendas, as amply demonstrated by scholars. In the case of municipal education in Barcelona, Catholic education had limited reach. Until the 1950s, municipal schools were secular institutions that marginalized religious doctrine in favor of new pedagogical trends spreading throughout Europe. Under the dictatorship, teachers and observers sent from the IME prepared students for their first communion. Despite the inclusion of religion in the curriculum, municipal schools still identified as secular educational institutions whose objective was to focus on whole child development.

In other instances, members of the Catholic Church who were opposed to the regime's ideologies utilized their privileged positions within the Church to pursue their own goals. As detailed in chapter four, scouting troops affiliated themselves with Catholic organizations to maintain continuity in the scouting system. Even then, confessional troops had their own educational agendas independent of the regime's ideologies. Rather than reinforcing obedience, confessional troops viewed religion as a tool to provide a moral foundation for children and adolescents who would be entering the increasingly globalizing world.

Through exploring the contested sites of local institutions, I have raised questions about the nature of the Franco regime and everyday life over the span of those thirty-six years. It goes without saying that Spanish life, even in Catalonia, changed dramatically during the regime. But there were limits to the regime's authority that allowed for localist expressions to exist. What is

even more suggestive was the role of individuals in challenging regime authority, if indirectly, particularly elites who held political office and were often deemed as Francoist sympathizers. These individuals pursued objectives that reasserted their authority, even if only at the local level. For those who did not have access to national politics, participation in local affairs became an arena in which they thrived. Elites made formerly exclusive Catalan education and formerly private recreational activities accessible to lower classes. In doing so, the establishment of social reform programs based on a Catalan model reinforced elite authority in Barcelona. But at the same time the programs opened a space for local autonomy within the centralizing authoritarian regime.

Focusing on local autonomy and local hierarchy - and how both interacted with educational and recreational institutions - allows us to better understand the historical circumstances of the city of Barcelona. Barcelona's municipal institutions, at least the ones in this dissertation, served as a source of empowerment in the city and as autonomous institutions independent of the state. By highlighting both, we get a more holistic view of why, even under the regime, local elites' efforts to bring back local institutions resulted in local hierarchy and local autonomy. While this story has detailed the continuation of Catalan social reform projects and their role in alternative socialization, it has also demonstrated how a study of everyday life at the local level adds complexity to the history of authoritarian states.

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