

Przemysław Szczygiel

Associacio Cultural Catalano Polonesa

Barcelona, Catalonia

The School Apparatus and the Exclusion of Women During the Dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain

The social function of women is to serve the household
in those functions that cannot be realised by men,
as men have other duties¹ (1961, Spain)

The goal of the paper is to show the mechanisms of the exclusion of women through the use of the school apparatus during Franco's dictatorship in Spain. School was the key institution taking part in the process of creating the typical capitals associated with the traditional gender order, and at the same time in the exclusion of women from the public sphere. The analysis which I will be undertaking in this text is connected with pointing at the dominant discourses serving the construction and the maintenance of the traditional model of femininity with the associated stereotypical gender roles.

I am discussing the exclusion of women because, as Adela Sempere Donet says, "even today, in the current society, one may observe a deep internalisation of those roles in the generation mentality and among the generations of Spanish women who were educated at that period" (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 1). This means that the gender-context beliefs, formed and reconstructed during the Franco period, are transmitted from one generation to another and may preserve the current specific place (*situs*) of a woman in the social structure. The social processes are associated with what Pierre Bourdieu calls the embodiment of masculine domination and the submission of women (Bourdieu 2011).

The embodiment of masculine domination is one of the forms of symbolic violence which is based on assigning meanings and values to masculine and feminine bodies in accordance with the rules of androcentrism. In this process, biological differences become the basis for the gender differentiation. A vision of the world where we face two differing genders translates to e.g. the organisation of the di-

¹ This text is based on the Author's translations of excerpts from Castilian (Spanish).

vision of work, which in practice is tantamount to assigning different tasks, roles, and professions to men and women, as well as differing the appraisal of these. The positions of men and women are of a hierarchical character – in the social field, masculinity and all things masculine are highly valued, while femininity and all things feminine are devalued. Masculinity is associated with domination, while femininity – with submission. The domination relation is a naturalised social construct. In the process of implementing domination, the creation of a social artefact takes place – that of a masculine man and a feminine woman, all related to the ways of using the body, and thus the creation of specific identities (Bourdieu 2011, pp. 22–23). Bourdieu claims that “it is only after a formidable collective labour of diffuse and continuous socialization that the distinctive identities instituted by the cultural arbitrary are embodied in habitus that are clearly differentiated according to the dominant principle of division and capable of perceiving the world according to this principle” (Bourdieu 2011, p. 23).

The masculine domination is supported by the social and cultural conditions in which it operates. It is confirmed by the objective social constructs as well as activities within production and reproduction, founded on the gender division of roles, as well as patterns of habitus which had been shaped by the objective conditions. The habitus function as matrices of thinking, perception, and action, and are universally assigned to all the members of the community, as well as falling under the objectivity of sense. The created patterns of thinking are used to perceive as well as describe the reality and the relation of power, despite the fact that they “are the product of embodiment of those power relations and [...] are expressed in the founding oppositions of the symbolic order” (Bourdieu 2011, p. 34).

Bourdieu refers to the culturally- and socially-created gender-related oppositions, the most important of which, in my opinion, is the public-private distinction. It is related to assigning to men those roles which are considered public and thus to a specific exclusion of men from the private space. On the other hand, the process assumes assigning the playing of private roles to women and thus excluding them from the public space. This is accompanied by a hierarchisation where all matters public are valued higher, while private matters are of a lower value.

The categories of masculinity and femininity as well as assigning the public- and private-space tasks to them is part of what Bourdieu calls the historical process of dehistoricization, based on the recreation of objective and subjective structures of masculine domination, with the exclusion of women. The structures cause the masculine order to be recreated for years. The process of solidifying this order saw the participation of such institutions as the family, the Catholic Church, schools, and the state (Bourdieu 2011, p. 83). Therefore, according to Bourdieu, femininity was, and is, subordinated and excluded through these institutions and is geared into the structures of male domination. The subordination of women is visible both upon the inclusion of women into the job market as well as in pre-industrial societies. It was also present in the situation of the separation of the two spheres: work and home, where the exclusion of women representing the bourgeoisie from professional activity occurred (Bourdieu 2011, pp. 83–84). The dehistoricization

process is accompanied by the differentiation process, to which men and women are subjected during their socialisation towards masculinity or femininity. The process of reproduction with the use of the abovementioned institutions affects the structures of unconsciousness, which makes the actions of symbolic violence so much more efficient.

The family defines the quality of experience related to the gender division of labour as well as its legal understanding. The Catholic Church shows all the feminine “deficiencies” and demands the so-called decency, through e.g. clothes, recreates the pessimist image of femininity, imposes the patriarchal family morality, and the dogma of female inferiority. What is more, the Church as an institution affects the historical structures of unconsciousness indirectly, through Biblical symbols, space, and time, as well as the liturgy. The school “continued to transmit the presuppositions of the patriarchal representation (based on the grounded on the homology between the man/woman relationship and the adult/child relationship), and, perhaps most importantly, those that are inscribed in its own hierarchical structures, all sexually characterized, between the various schools or faculties, between the disciplines [...], between specialisms that is, between ways of being and ways of seeing, or seeing *oneself* [...]” (Bourdieu 2011, p. 86). The school is therefore an intermediary in the imprinting of the representation of one’s own capabilities in the patterns of thinking of men and women, which encompasses all the elements which make the defined image of oneself and the social destiny of the self. According to Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, school reproduces the ways of seeing, through situating individuals at defined social positions (Bourdieu, Passeron 1990). The modern state succeeded in introducing the androcentric rules into family law, as well as into the rules that define the civil state of the citizen. Bourdieu points to, among others, the opposition of the state’s “right”, fiscal, side, and its “left” – social, one. This opposition is based on the male/female division. Moreover, in a social state, women are associated with the area of social policies, being the functionaries and the privileged recipients of these policies (Bourdieu 2011, pp. 87–88). One of the most important areas in the state, also filled with the rules of masculine domination and the subordination of women, is the educational policy, which is the area of focus of the remaining part of this paper.

One can therefore say that women are excluded, among others, through the four main institutions listed by Bourdieu. This type of problem is especially visible in a conservative country, which Spain at the times of the rule of General Franco most definitely was. The heroine of this text, therefore, will be the Francoist school.

Spanish school as a gender order-confirming institution

Bourdieu suggests an analysis in which the revealing of the mechanisms for the embodiment of the male domination and subordination of women through

the family, the Catholic Church, the school, and the state will be revealed. This paper will focus on the school, as in Francoist Spain it was an institution striving hard to realise the national and Catholic goals associated with the reproduction of the traditional model of masculinity and femininity.

The key institution this paper will analyse is the school apparatus as an instrument imposing the gender model which was accordant with the national-Catholic ideology of Francoist Spain. I will start by characterising Spain's education policy during Francisco Franco's dictatorship, especially in the period 1938–1953.

Francisco Franco's dictatorship was the consequence of a military uprising dating from 18 July 1936, and the resultant civil war (*Guerra Civil*) in 1936–1939. Franco's regime lasted from 1939 to 1975 and concluded with the death of the dictator. Jordi Roca i Girona points at the division of this period into two stages:

- 1) post-war (1939–1959), characterised by international isolation, strict social repressions, and the introduction of national-Catholic ideology in order to build the new Spanish society;
- 2) economic development (1959–1975), characterised by the adoption of the market economy in Spain, opening of the international relations, and the emergence of the opposition to Franco (Roca i Girona, p. 69).

The key period from the perspective of this paper is the first stage of Francoism, as the mechanisms of oppression (exclusion) were the strongest at that time. Thus, the period from the end of the civil war to 1953, the onset of Franco's dictatorship, was the most important from the perspective of the exclusion of women through education policies. It was then that the Spanish public school system was reorganised in the most radical way and was subject to the national-Catholic ideology.

As early as between 1936 and 1943, an ongoing destruction of the Republican education system progressed – teachers from all levels of education were dismissed, with the main goal being the elimination of progress and democratic values which were dominant at the time of the Second Republic. National-Catholic values started to be imposed then, both in the area of formal and informal education. As of 1938, the formal education was dependant on the Ministry of National Education (*Ministerio de Educación Nacional*), led by ministers who aligned with the Francoist regime, and the informal education was associated with the Falange (*Falange Española de las JONS*) and such groups as the Front of the Falangx Youth (*Frente de Juventudes de Falange*) and its Women's Section (*Sección Feminina de Falange*). These will be discussed further on.

When describing the exclusion of women through the educational apparatus, we need to analyse the most important documents which were of major importance to the shaping of the Francoist school in the context of gender. These are: the 8 March 1938 circular, and the Act of National Education of July 17, 1945. Below, I will quote excerpts from these texts.

The 8 March 1938 circular stated that the main function of the so-called "new" Spanish school is the mass political indoctrination of children to national-Catholic

values. It was addressed to elementary school teachers and inspectors and included the fundamental orientations related to elementary schools:

Education is made for future generations [...] and it should take a decided direction towards future perfection, preparing our children in the national direction ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, pp. 6154–6155).

School, the creator of future generations [...] needs to take a decided direction towards future glories, preparing our children in the national direction. Our beautiful history, our elevated tradition, designed for the future, are to form the delicate network of the school space, while providing a tender shelter for the spirit of Spanish children ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, pp. 6154–6155).

The circular's recommendations were related to education in the following four major areas:

- religious,
- patriotic,
- civil,
- physical.

Education in religion (*Educación religiosa*) practically meant teachers conducting weekly catechism sessions and teaching about the Holy Family; the crucifix was reintroduced into the school space, and education contents had religious and moral motives intertwined with other material. The course in religion was to form Christian children with clearly-defined norms for their current and future activities as citizens. It was also associated with compulsory participation in the Holy Mass and the reading of the Gospel ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6155). Religious education was a priority for the education system in Francoist Spain.

Patriotic education (*educación patriótica*) was based on the assumption that "school where no love for Spain is taught, cannot exist. It should be closed down" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6155). The most important school subject was history, treated as the medium for the cultivation of patriotism. The singing of popular patriotic songs and the national anthem were important education practices. During lessons, biographies of Spanish authority figures were read, together with the newspapers and commentary relevant from the nation's perspective: "School subjects, school, and teachers need to embrace Spain in every moment" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6155).

Civil education (*educación cívica*) entailed the activity of an individual in all kinds of youth organisations which, naturally, represented national and Christian (Catholic) values. A child was to perceive life as a service, i.e. through discipline, fighting, dedication, and simplicity. Fighting in the name of the crucial values was to be done in the spirit of brotherhood of all Spaniards. Teachers were also requested to involve parents in civil education classes, including during evening activities. In schools for girls, civil education was associated with the teaching of household

activities, as women, according to the creators of the regime, were designated for household tasks only, in the private sphere. Therefore, they were excluded from the public area and political decisions.

The foundation of physical education (*educación física*) was local children's games, which needed to be restored and ennobled. Instead of exotics in games, pure national motives (*puras corrientes nacionales*) needed to be explored. Games and exercises were to be done during breaks, under the careful supervision of a teacher. Physical education was also accompanied by eurhythmics, introduced in all schools and used in school parades every Thursday.

The new Spanish school was therefore supposed to be Catholic and nationalist, and the 8 March 1938 document shows that teachers were expected to "serve Spain by combining the cult of God and the Homeland, and be strong associates of the perfection of the Homeland" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6156). All four areas, combined to constitute Spanish education, were therefore associated with the implementation of national and Christian values, which was very important in the context of gender education.

The 17 July 1945 Act of Elementary Education ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945) was the next crucial document which defined the functioning of the "new" school and legitimised the exclusion of women from the public sphere.

One of the main institutions which influenced the shaping of the functioning of elementary education was the Catholic Church. The Act gave the Church the right to set up elementary schools and teachers' colleges as well as to assign titles according to a defined norm. The Church institution also had the right to supervise and inspect the teaching in private and public education centres if they were in any way associated with faith and customs ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 387). In elementary education, religious education was to play a significant role:

Elementary education, inspired by the Catholic direction, together with Spanish educational tradition, will be aligned with the fundamentals of Catholic dogma and morality as well as the instructions of the current Canonical Law ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 388).

One of the most important changes to the education system introduced in the 1945 act was the gender separation in schools:

The state, for moral reasons as well as pedagogical efficiency, recommends the separation of genders and the independent schooling of boys and girls in elementary schools ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 389).

Regarding gender-based recruitment, schools for the youngest children were supposed to accept boys and girls alike, equally, in situations where the pupil list did not allow for gender separation. At the beginning of the second education level, schools were supposed to be boys- and girls-only, be located in different buildings and under the supervision of female or male teachers ("Boletín Oficial del Estado"

1945, p. 390). In the case of mixed-gender schools, which were founded in special conditions only, the tutor was always a woman, which was associated with the profession of a teacher being of a custodial nature in the service of the national and Catholic ideology.

Gender separation meant the education of boys and girls according to the traditional roles assigned to men and women in the society. The 1945 Act's Article 11 said: "Elementary education of women will be preparing them, above all, for home life, handcrafts, and the home industry" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 388).

The "new" school therefore created the differentiation of gender roles. As Sempere Donet points out: "for boys, life meant military service, while girls were delegated to learn household duties, and thus were entrusted with the home space and rejected from public life at the same time" (Sempere Donet 2012, pp. 33–34). According to this narration, women were to be subject to the rule of their husbands and the functions reserved for them were those of upbringing and custody, as well as the preservation of the men-created social order. This meant that women were entrusted with a kind of mission to reproduce the "proper" social order. Thus, a series of attitudes which were typical of traditional machismo were enforced, reducing femininity to the playing out of the traditional roles of a housewife and a mother, with the woman assigned to the household and subject to her husband. The model of femininity was strictly defined: a woman "ought to be and should educate herself to be: silent, modest, dedicated, and obedient, according to the national-Catholic canons. Moreover: according to the Church, she ought to possess sensitivity and strong altruism, while the man embodied wits and intelligence; these were divine-originated differences which could supplement each other only through the marriage of both genders" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 39).

The Francoist Spain's model of femininity was described by, among others, Roca i Girona. According to the researcher, the prevalent model was a Christian-Catholic one, which resulted in two types of femininity:

- 1) Eve, as a *femme fatale*, portraying the woman as a deceptive character, whose goal is to "leave the darkness". A woman is therefore tempted by knowledge, which in turn is identified with power. The Biblical act of seduction became transgressive and potentially dangerous to the traditional gender order as well as the nominated powers. Considering the education of women in Francoist Spain, Roca i Girona remarked that during the first stage of the reign, the dominant feeling was that of fear and a sense of danger among men, caused by women having access to knowledge. The reaction to this fear was the limited means assigned for education, as well as the lowering of the prestige of the teachers' profession (Roca i Girona 2001, pp. 70–71).
- 2) Virgin Mary, representing a serving, passive woman, as an "angel of the household" (Roca i Girona 2001, pp. 71–72; Sempere Donet 2012, p. 37).

According to Roca i Girona, the stereotypes of the then Spanish femininity were formed by the most conservative stream and were inspired by the most tra-

ditional Catholicism. This was associated with the defined role of women in Francoist Spain.

Teresa Gonzáles Pérez writes that during Franco's dictatorship "women formed a key part in the consolidation of the system on the social and economic level. They were used to reproduce and solidify the regime's values in the area of what is private. They worked in social reproduction, in the household, under ideological control and repressions from the patriarchal order" (Gonzáles Pérez 2012, p. 338). The researcher claims that the ideal of women's education was focused on the trilogy of God, the Homeland, and the Household. It needs stressing that in each of these areas women were excluded, which was legitimised by the values of the regimes. A model of a Catholic woman assumed the mission of women to be focused on the household and maternity. A woman was subject to a man who was on a higher position within the hierarchy of the household. In practice, this meant total obedience to the man (marriage as one of the most important values) in respect to administering funds, making any monetary transactions, as well as doing specific types of work – a woman could not undertake paid work outside the home without the consent of her husband. In the later period, women doing paid work outside the home were punished (Gonzáles Pérez 2012, p. 348).

Women were therefore excluded from the public space. As aforementioned, a major part was played here by the school. The school curricula and the transmission of typical roles during Franco's dictatorship were analysed by Gonzáles Pérez, who claims that in the education of women "through formal teaching, subjects and contents were introduced which oriented the girls towards their future lives, and forced their upbringing for home life and maternity in order to popularize motherly care and the instrumentation of childcare" (Gonzáles Pérez 2009, p. 97). In Franco's Spain it was claimed that thanks to the schools, girls were prepared for maternity. At the same time, a number of publications existed which printed girl-related texts. School subjects related to housekeeping were compulsory at all levels of education, i.e. in primary and secondary schools as well as in teacher training colleges.

Traditional educational methods were used, with the dominant model being transmissive, with the absolute power of the teacher. Values represented by the Francoist schools were transmitted through such methods as content memorisation (treated as the right medium of ideas and values), with the use of schoolbooks. Individualism in the delivery of school work was introduced, at the cost of group, collective, activities. Additionally, the teacher had the right to introduce disciplinary and corrective methods if the students failed to comply with the expectations of the system (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 34). This was related also to the role of women and their place in the society.

Knowledge transmitted in Francoist schools was controlled by a few institutions simultaneously. In the process of excluding women through the use of the school apparatus, the key controlling role was played by the Phalanx Front of the Youth, Women's Section, and the abovementioned Catholic Church.

The Spanish Falanx was a political group established in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera. In 1937–1966 it was transformed into the Spanish Traditionalist Falanx and JONS and was the only party to rule Spain in the timespan covered by this paper. Its assumptions and goals were consistent with the views of Francisco Franco. From the viewpoint of the exclusion of women and education, a major part was played at the time by the Youth Front and Women's Section.

The Youth Front ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1940) was divided into two separate sections: men's and women's, and oversaw the realisation of tasks related to the indoctrination of Spain's youth. The Women's Section of the front was of key importance to the education of Spanish girls and also was to serve to restore the traditional feminine role in the household and thus to exclude women from public areas – their only designated area of activity was the household and the parish (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 35).

As Jose Manuel Diez Fuentes writes, the Women's Section was instructed to form and mobilise (socially and politically) all Spanish women, of any age. The organisation's represented values were of the traditional type. The Women's Section was the only official women's organisation in the then Spain (Diez Fuentes, pp. 35–36). Its discourse was anti-feminist, it elevated the traditional values of the family, maternity, the household, Catholicism, and since its early days – service, dedication, obedience, and devotion, so that women's unconditional acceptance of Franco's regime was assured. The Falanx presented itself as an institution which freed women from oppression that they allegedly experienced during the times of the Second Republic, and especially during the civil war. Its main task was the moral reconstruction of Spain. González Pérez writes about the inspectors of elementary education who were convinced of the importance of educating girls according to the Francoist thinking. In 1943, Alfonso Iniesta wrote in the National Education journal: "From the first to the last steps, our girls are educated for the household and to become mothers and wives" (in: González Pérez 2009, p. 98).

Through these activities, the philosophy of the Falanx and the Women's Section made an impact on the shape of the Francoist school in reference to women. At the time of Franco's dictatorship, the goal of educating girls was to prepare them for the role of mothers, wives, closed within the family, as well as removed from paid work, which was the domain of men (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 42). Therefore, this is the symptom of the process excluding women from the public sphere.

The exclusion of women was also associated with repressions in the sexual sphere. In the Francoist times, there existed the so-called "double morality", typical of the traditional systems, delineating the rules of behaviour for women and men, and therefore creating gender inequality. Femininity meant belonging to a man, and required the maintaining of virginity until the wedding day. It was also associated with maternity and the need to procreate. At the same time, the social activity of women was located in the private area – in the household, which

means it was focused on bringing up children and doing housework (Regueillet 2004, pp. 1030–1031).

Remaining a virgin until the wedding day was one of the reasons boys were separated from girls in schools. The coeducational model, practiced in the period of the Second Republic, was abolished by Franco's regime. The July 1945 elementary education act prohibited coeducation until the age of twelve: "The state, for moral reasons as well as pedagogical efficiency, recommends the separation of genders and the independent schooling of boys and girls in elementary schools" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945).

According to the official discourse, the age of twelve was associated with the development of the sexual instinct and the onset of sexual activity. It was a critical period in which – according to the representatives of the regime – boys needed to be separated from girls in order to avoid temptation. If a sexual act emerged, the girl would be considered guilty and punished. Boys having sex before wedding were not guilty but they rather confirmed their vigour and masculinity (Regueillet 2004, p. 1034).

All sexual behaviours deviating from the legal models, such as homosexuality, masturbation or pre-marital sex, were forbidden. Rules established by men in the public sphere and the representations of the deviations from the norm that accompanied the narration were transmitted also into the private sphere, which – according to the dominant ideology – was that of women.

Dominant discourses of women's exclusion in the Francoist education

After analysing education in the Francoist Spain, we may proceed to order and isolate the discourses which legitimised the exclusion of women from the public sphere (the mechanisms of exclusion played out also in the private sphere) – and these were Catholicism and nationalism.

In the Catholic discourse, according to its Francoist model, the dominant view was that of the natural differences between the representatives of the individual genders, where, from the viewpoint of education, a strong element in the discourse was the conviction of the lower intellectual capabilities of women and the resultant deprivation of access to secondary and higher education (Roca i Girona 2001, p. 71). In this narration, there was no place for the recognition of gender as a social-cultural construct, as the differences are allegedly inscribed in the nature of genders, and thus women and men ought to play different roles in the society. The destiny of women was maternity, marriage, and obedience towards the man, their husband. This was also relevant to the sexual area, where the sexual activities served only and exclusively to procreate within the marriage (Regueillet 2004, p. 1030). Female homosexuality was therefore excluded from the definition and severely punished.

Within this discourse, a defined model of femininity is constituted, and hence I am treating gender as a specific figment of the imagination, a performative being, which is in accordance with Judith Butler's performative theory of genders; the author claims that genders "are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means" (Butler 2006, p. 173). The body has a performative character, which means it is devoid of any other ontological status, apart from those acts that constitute its reality. Since the reality itself is fabricated as an internal being, the interior is therefore the effect and the function of the public social discourse. This interior is the effect and the function of the "public regulation of fantasy through the surface politics of the body, the gender border control that differentiates inner from outer, and so institutes the "integrity" of the subject" (Butler 2006, p. 173). The dominant institution which created and supported the discourse was the Catholic Church.

In the nationalist discourse, the position of women and men as well as their causality were associated with separate spheres – private and public, where the public sphere was the most highly valued. Within the system, women were assigned to the private sphere, with only one exception – acting in the structures of the Women's Section of the Phalanx (the only female organisation in Francoist Spain) which was supposed to nurture the "true" Spanish female citizens. A Spanish female citizen was supposed to fill the traditional roles and to raise her children towards, among others, patriotism. The institution of the Women's Section can be treated as an extension of the household environment, therefore making it a quasi-private sphere. According to the ideology, women in Francoist Spain on one hand served the role of those who bring the offspring to this world, and on the other – they conveyed the values which were approved by the dictator. Women were educated to transmit the national (and Catholic) values onto their children and to reproduce the system of domination. The most important thing was the Homeland, and men were those who were supposed to rule it. The public sphere belonged to men, as well as deciding about the country's citizens. Therefore, the dominant institution which created the nationalist discourse was the Spanish Phalanx.

The Catholic Church and the Phalanx were the strongest institutions that had an impact on schools in the times of Franco. The role of the school was the intensified implementation of the Catholic and nationalist discourse. In this process, the ideological character of the school apparatus is revealed. Roca i Girona writes that "school does not represent anything more than the extension and the privileged channel – through its institutional character – of the transmission and consolidation of the contents of the dominant discourse" (Roca i Girona 2001, p. 72). Since one element of the ideology was the conviction of the specific position of women within society, it was the school's task to make this vision real.

The school was entangled in the traditional order of genders and controlled by the state's most important institutions so it was capable of delivering the set goals. It played a part in the lowered presence of women in middle and higher

education. According to Bourdieu's theory, people with an unfavourable cultural capital that could be provided by, for example, schools, have more difficulties in accessing the sphere of power and emancipation. The Catholic and nationalist discourses in Francoist Spain definitely influenced the shaping of specific feminine identities, as confirmed by e.g. Adela Sempere Donet. I think that the analysis of past events, especially with the use of modern research methods, will allow us to understand the current social processes and social changes. This type of analysis provides a wider view on the social phenomena, particularly in the area of education, and the undertaking of proper actions that would eliminate or at least reduce the impact of "detrimental" discourses and ideologies.

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Summary

The School Apparatus and the Exclusion of Women During the Dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain

The article explores gender discourses that circulate in the culture and how this relates to policy and practice, ultimately shaping the sexual policies of schooling in Spain. It explores what sexual policies are and why the idea of gender discourses provides a useful analytical lens for looking at past and current debates around femininity, gender, sexuality, education, and schooling.

Keywords

school, church, dictatorship, gender, Spain

English translation: Anna Moroz-Darska

Tłumaczenie sfinansowano ze środków Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego na podstawie umowy nr **661/P-DUN/2018** z dnia 13 lipca 2018 roku w ramach realizacji zadania 1 – stworzenie anglojęzycznych wersji wydawanych publikacji w 2018 roku.

The translation was financed with funds made available by the Ministry of Finance and Higher Education under contract No. **661/P-DUN/2018** of 13 July 2018 as a part of the execution of task 1: the creation of English-language versions of the issued publications in 2018.