

# ***Professional Advocacy in Education. The Legacy of the 1960s Students' Protest and the Forging of a Social- Professional Identity among Teachers (Spain, 1970-1982)<sup>1</sup>***

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**Abstract:** Students eventually finish their degrees and are incorporated in the labour market. The impact of ex-activists of student movements on their workplace is a relatively unknown aspect of student mobilization. This article looks at how the exciting university years and the experience acquired in collective actions and protest are introduced in professional spheres. It uses the case of Spanish teachers to see how the spirit of the 1960s influenced professional mobilization in the Spanish Education system in the 1970s and 1980s. The article begins with contemporary discussions regarding professions and advocacy. It explores this notion across several professions, culminating in how it is used today with regard to teachers' professionalism. The next section of the article looks at the students' movement in Spain and how it combined international demands with the national struggle against the dictatorship. The relationship between the students' movements and the mobilization of primary and secondary education is the issue of the following section. Finally, it looks at the struggle of teachers around several issues such as the access to and quality of education, the opening of preschools centers and teacher training in order to illustrate the effort to forge a social-professional identity tied to wider social struggles.

**Keywords:** Spain; Students; 1960s; Franco Regime; Education System.

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## **1. Introduction**

The 1960s exploded across the globe and a gran variety of social movements took part in a wave of protests that changed the western imaginary of politics and

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culture (Wallerstein, 1989). There are many attempts to characterise the essence of this historical period (Hall, 2008), which seemed to distinguish itself with a peculiar mixture of hedonism and social conscience supported by the left and feared by the right, due to its attacks on traditional morality (Black, 2003). One of the most important groups that mobilized in this period and that in many ways became the clearest symbol of these exciting years were the students (Thomas, 2002; Burkett, 2014; Murphy, 2015). Campuses all over the world became foci of protest, vindication, alternative culture and buoyant youthfulness. Nevertheless, students eventually finish their degrees and are incorporated into the labor market. The impact of ex-activists of student movements on their workplace is a relatively unknown aspect of student mobilization. This paper explores how the ideas and the repertoires of action of the students' movement, that emerged in Spain in the 1960s, penetrated professional spheres of education and transformed them.

The massive mobilizations of primary and secondary teachers in the 1970s and the 1980s were, in a way, the extension of their collective actions during their university years. While many teachers were not necessarily university graduates, and the teacher's movements were a heterogenic phenomenon, the 1968 student spirit can be traced in their style of organization as well as in the cultural ideas they embraced. The article highlights how the experiences of university years and the skills acquired in collective actions on campuses were transferred into teachers' organizations, protest and even into teachers' workplace in the schools. It also observes how the cultural imaginary associated with the 1960s and its combination of freedom, protest, equality and creativity was adopted by teachers as part of their own struggle in the education system. More importantly, it strives to show that the effort to change society that was fundamental to students' struggle was converted into a sense of social responsibility, once the students got into touch with the reality that surrounded them in their workplace. The term professional advocacy is used in this article to highlight the teachers' attempts to forge a social professional identity which combined their activist social struggle with their professional lives.

The article begins with contemporary discussions regarding professions and advocacy. It explores this notion across several professions, culminating in how it is used today with regard to teachers' professionalism. The next section of the article looks at the students' movement in Spain and how it combined international demands with the national struggle against the dictatorship. The relationship between the students' movements and the mobilization of primary and secondary education is the issue of the following section. Finally, it looks at the struggle of teachers around several issues such as the access to and quality of education, the opening of preschools centers and teacher training in order to illustrate the effort to forge a social-professional identity tied to wider social struggles.

## **2. The social responsibility dimension of professional identity across professions**

Generally speaking, advocacy means the process or act of supporting a cause or proposal. Nevertheless, the original term *advocare* referred to acting on behalf of

someone else. This meaning of advocacy has been officialised in many countries as part of the legal system, as advocacy is defined as the work of defending people in court<sup>2</sup>. This use of the word highlights another dimension of the phenomenon of advocacy: it is done by someone more capable and articulate on behalf of someone not skilled enough. The fact that someone who possess professional knowledge and skills uses it not only to carry out his job but to work in favour of the public, is a recurrent issue in contemporary literature about professionals and advocacy. It refers to professionals' privileged position to advocate for the public they are serving in areas related to their work. Advocacy is usually divided into two types: case advocacy when dealing with a person or a small group or a more general systematic advocacy aiming at more structural changes (Dalrymple, 2004). Both can be carried out in professional spheres, while structural changes imply a higher level of coordination among professionals and other social actors. In some professional fields, advocacy is an immanent part of everyday professional work. In the case of health and social services there are established ways of facilitating weak groups to have a voice. In the nursing profession, for example, advocacy is considered an integral part of good nursing (Spenceley, Reutter and Allen, 2006) and in medicine, advocacy has also become an important element:

Physicians are in a unique position to advocate on behalf of their patients in the public realm, beyond the confines of medical practice. It has been argued that physicians have an obligation to pursue health equity by serving as advocates for both individual patients and patient populations (Peluso, Seavey, Gonsalves, and Friedland, 2013, p. 70).

As a result of recognizing the social responsibilities of physicians, medical students are exposed to their role as health advocates through their curriculum. And as time passes there are calls to increase this process in earlier stages of their training (Oandasan, 2005). It is interesting to note how the professional knowledge is framed as a basis for representing the clients' interests in the public sphere. This tendency of unifying professional work and social justice goals can be seen also in other professions. With regard to planners we can find during the 1960s declarations like the following: «The prospect for future planning is that of a practice which openly invites political and social values to be examined and debated. Acceptance of this position means rejection of prescriptions for planning which would have the planner act solely as a technician». (Davidoff, 1965, p. 331). This quotation reflects the tension which exists in professional work between the technical mission and the social agenda. It also shows how across professions there are efforts to integrate social justice objectives into professional spheres. An important contribution to assigning social goals to every day work is that of Dzur (2008) and the concept of democratic professionalism he introduces. Dzur looks at how in different professions such as journalism, law and health, professionals embrace social goals and share their authority to include lay people in collective decision making and thus contribute to democracy.

In the case of teachers there are long discussions about their level of professionalism, and there are debates whether they fit into traditional definitions, that

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<sup>2</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/advocacy>. Accessed December 9, 2018

is if they possess the required expertise and autonomy to count as professionals. In order to enhance and support the professionalism of teachers we can find literature that emphasises their technical preparation, or managerial models. Today it is argued that in order to guarantee educational reforms and economic progress the teacher must be a highly trained professional capable of having a real impact on learning processes (OECD 1998, 2011; Musset 2010). This affirmation tries to counter the process of de-professionisation of teachers and the centralization of educational reforms due to the imperatives of contemporary neo-liberal agendas (Beck, 2008; Neufeld, 2009).

Recently we see more authors that propose democratic professionalism as the most suited for forging a professional status for teachers. Armstrong (2006) for example, takes the ideas developed by Dzur with regard to the ability of professionals to enhance democratic practices in their workplace and applies them to education. He claims that the attempts to present teaching as a solely technical enterprise masks the political and social interests advanced by particular conceptualisations of education and that in order to ensure the empowering quality of education, teachers should take on democratic professionalism. A similar claim is done by Sachs (2000) when she advances the concept of «activist professionalism». She talks about the combination of a traditional basis of professionalism related to: – exclusive knowledge and practice, – an ethical commitment, and – control over access and practice, and a more political sense related to the interest of the wider population. When speaking about activist professionalism her idea is structured around the importance of fomenting collective action among teachers in order to improve educational services. As we can see, similar to the case of other professions, contemporary debates about teachers' professionalism are also concerned with questions of advocacy and social responsibility. The case of Spanish teachers and the introduction of social movement ideas and practices to the workplace in the 1970s and 1980s illustrates the advocacy dimension that the teaching profession can integrate in times of social transformation.

### **3. The Spanish student movement and its extension to other educational levels**

The students were one of the first groups involved in open clashes against the Franco regime. Already in the 1950s there were isolated protests on campuses. Together with the workers' movements, the students, presented the dictatorship with the most salient threat to its policy of controlled peace and order. These forerunners of the struggle against the dictatorship were joined in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s by other sectors in the public services, arts and urban movements. Even in rural areas we see how the aging of the dictator and eventual death and the integration of Spain in the European context led to acts of defiance in favour of a more democratic and just society (Groves et al, 2017). The students thus played a pivotal role in the cycle of protest which eventually included also the teachers. In fact, in the configuration of teachers' protest activities in the late Franco period and during the transition to democracy the students' mobilization was especially influential.

The Spanish students were inspired by the innovative repertoire of collective actions carried out in American and European universities from 1964. According

to different estimations 60 per cent of the student body worldwide was involved in protest in the 1960s against the universities function in coping students to capitalist society. Students from 50 countries protested against a bureaucratic and alienating university, demanding the liberty to carry out political activities in the campuses. The case of France became a model due to the alliance with the workers and its open endorsement of direct action of an antiparliamentary nature. Although the protest disintegrated eventually, it made clear that liberal capitalism, while being dominant, still had spaces of resistance in which values such as tolerance, liberty and equality governed (González Calleja, 2009).

In the case of Spain, the students' movement emerged under a dictatorship in which citizens did not enjoy basic civil rights such as freedom of speech or the liberty to vote for a political party. The regime controlled civil society and repressed any signs of collective action or protest. In this context the students' protests are considered an important element in the political dynamics of the late 1960s which led to the erosion of the regime (Molinero and Ysàs, 2008; Hernández Sandoica, Ruiz Carnicer and Baldó Lacomba, 2007). In 1965 as a result of the protest against the regime controlled student unions, *Sindicato Español Universitario* (SEU), the dictatorship was obliged to abolish them. The attempts to substitute the state run unions failed and the regime increased the oppression of the students in order to gain the control of the universities. The students continued with their protest using their own organisations known as the *Sindicatos Democráticos de Estudiantes Universitarios*. As a result, between 1965 and 1969 the students headed the struggle against the regime (Hernández Sandoica, Ruiz Carnicer and Baldó Lacomba, 2007). Nevertheless, from 1969 to 1973 the democratic model of the students' collective actions disintegrated due to the lack of coordination and the emergence of many small groups of students embracing different left ideologies. This led to the decrease in the students' mobilization, but at the same time to the increase in their political commitment, as many students took part in struggles outside of the university (González Calleja, 2009).

In the Spanish case, the leaders of the students' protest were political activists belonging to the clandestine political parties. They brought into the struggle political and organisational models based on left wing ideology (Carillo-Linares, 2008, 2015). In wider circles the participants identified more with what became known as the new social movements and their horizontal, fragmented structure and social and cultural agendas such as gender rights, the environment, or cultural diversity. The Spanish movements adopted the methods used in other contexts as part of their struggle to vindicate the role of students in contemporary society (Álvarez Cobelas, 2004). In addition, from 1968, and similarly to other countries, the debates about the model of university were abounded and there was more focus on taking control from the state. In the Spanish case that meant that the difference from the rest of the opposition to the regime was lost, and that the students endorsed the struggle over the future of Spanish society (Álvarez Cobelas, 2004; González Calleja, 2009; Groves & Rodríguez, 2018). Although the students never became strong enough to threaten the stability of the regime, they are considered one of the main reasons that led to the gradual diminishing of the legitimacy of the dictatorship and the diffusion

of democratic practices (Álvarez Cobelas, 2004; González Calleja, 2009; Hernández Sandioca, Ruiz Carnicer and Baldó Lacomba, 2007).

During the 1960s an authentic sub-culture of dissidence emerged in Spanish Universities (Maravall, 1978). This social mobilization and its cultural characteristics expended towards other educational levels and from the beginning of the 1970s we see a clear augment in collective actions among teachers of secondary and primary schools. In fact, the emergence of the first collective actions in non-university education coincide with the weakening of the students' protest. When they started their professional life, mainly as secondary education teachers, but also as primary education teachers, the university graduates brought their previous experiences of protest and struggle into their new workplaces.

#### **4. The teachers' movements and the role of university graduates**

The education system suffered one of the harshest campaigns of ideological reprisals waged by the Franco regime in its earlier years. Teachers who were associated with the vanquished Republic were executed, imprisoned, exiled or fired (Morente Valero, 1997; Fernández Soria and Agulló Díaz, 1999). The educators who were allowed to continue in spite of their political tendencies underwent rehabilitation programs, and new teachers were recruited from the ranks of the most devoted supporters of the new Regime. The organisations which were supposed to represent the teaching body and act to improve their working conditions were part of the dictatorship's paternalistic workplace arrangements. With the establishment of the dictatorship, workers' unions were abolished and replaced by a state-run union. This organisation was supposed to harmonise the interests of workers and employers. In the education sector, the old teachers' unions were gradually substituted by professional corporations, intended to exercise ideological control over teachers. As a result, one of the first challenges of the early struggles for professional rights was to find legal platforms that could represent and coordinate teachers.

The Colegios de Doctores y Licenciados became the most important legal podium of the struggle of secondary education teachers for their rights, and in addition they assumed the coordination of collective actions in other educational levels as well. Their importance manifests clearly the role played by ex-students in the mobilization of teachers in Spain in the 1970s. The Colegios Profesionales were created as autonomous professional associations, but as the dictatorship was consolidated, they came to operate under its control. Each professional college was destined for the holders of a specific university degree – law, architecture, etc. – and many teachers with a university qualification belonged to the Colegios de Doctores y Licenciados en Filosofía y Letras, (the Doctors and Graduates in Philosophy and Humanities Colleges).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, in the different colleges, such as the Colegios de Abogados (Lawyers) or the Colegios de Arquitectos (Architects), there was a high concentration of graduates who had taken part in student protests at university. They used the colleges to continue their political activities within their profession, and the Colegios became centres of opposition to the dictatorship. The Colegio de Doctores y Licenciados in Madrid, for example, played an important role in mobilising private

and secondary teachers. It also tried to coordinate and promote protests by primary teachers in the public sector.

Most primary teachers did not hold a university degree, and therefore could not belong to a Colegio Profesional. However, among those who sought an alternative means of representation for primary teachers, the idea that a Colegio Profesional could become a legal solution which would enable them to bypass the state controlled union, became common. Due to the leadership exercised by the Colegios in secondary education, petitions for creating a Colegio for primary teachers came from different parts of Spain such as Pontevedra, Guipúzcoa, Burgos and Salamanca.

The Colegios were naturally mostly focused on the demands of secondary education teachers. In the late 60s and early 70s this group of teachers suffered an especially severe problem, known as the Profesores No Numerarios – PNNs. These were university graduates who entered the education system with temporal contracts in order to cover urgent needs, but unlike their colleagues, they did not become civil servants. Paradoxically they were the majority among secondary education teachers in the public system at the time. Their work was structured according to special decrees and as a result they suffered instability, had low salaries and they were also politically more vulnerable. Their fight for their working conditions expanded across all the education system and became a cry to a reform of all the levels of education (Jiménez Jaén, 2000; O'Malley, 2008).

They were joined, in a later stage, by primary teachers. They demanded the authorities to improve their salaries, in accordance to the promises made in the 1970 educational reform. The reform introduced a series of changes aimed at redesigning the role of teachers of primary education (which, thenceforth, was called Educación General Básica – EGB, Basic General Education, covering the educational needs of children between ages 6 and 14). As part of the reform, the Escuelas Normales (Teachers' Training Colleges) were integrated into the universities. In addition, most of the traditional content, which consisted of Catholic dogma and nationalistic-inspired pedagogical ideas, disappeared from their curricula. The integration of the teachers' colleges in the universities also helped integrating them to this ambience of dissent. Although most primary education teachers did not belong to the Colegios, they adopted many of their ideas and they forged alliances with teachers from other educational levels in local contexts.

The national coordinating body of the Colegios, the Consejo Nacional de los Colegios de Doctores y Licenciados took a very active part in the struggle for the working conditions of teachers. When in September 1974 the regime was in the process of enacting a new labour regulation this organisation demanded to be involved in its final version and once it was published it presented its list of demands on behalf of the teachers. This activity was disapproved by the regime controlled teachers' union that saw in it an interference (Gómez Llorente, 1975).

More important the documents the Colegios de Doctores y Licenciados published in these days became salient benchmarks of the struggle. The *Una Alternativa para la Enseñanza: Bases para la Discusión* (Bozal, 1977), presented in January 1975 at the annual assembly of the *Colegio de Doctores y Licenciados* in Madrid was circulated all over the country and similar documents were published on the local level (Jiménez Jaén, 2000). In addition, the pedagogical seminars of the Colegios

participated in debates around educational issues. The following text, analysing their leadership, and in this case, mainly speaking of the Colegio in Barcelona explains well the nature of their involvement:

In fact, the Colegios, as we mentioned before, have contributed to the formation of public opinion with regard to educational problems, in favour of the democratization of teaching, the active participation of all the sectors involved in questions related to them. The proof for this can be found in the public position adopted by parents (Parents' associations, Residents associations) teachers, and students regarding problems which emerged with the promulgation of the Educational Reform (Serra, 1975, no page number).

The Colegio de Doctores y Licenciados of Barcelona also took part in the publishing of another important document in the circles of active teachers, the one discussed and published during the training course in the summer of 1975: the X Escola d'Estiu, organized by the teachers association Rosa Sensat and the Colegio in Barcelona. It was a clear collaboration between primary teachers and teachers with a university degree. Their way of functioning was organizing training for teachers in which general questions of educational policy were discussed. In this case they established 10 working groups which discussed current educational challenges. Then a general assembly, similar to the ones organized among workers or students, accepted the conclusions which were then published in a professional journal for teachers (X Escala d'Estiu de Barcelana, 1975). This document was also a very influential text when it came to the organization and mobilization of primary and secondary education in Spain.

## 5. The spirit of the 1960s and teachers' protest

In order to appreciate the spirit of the 1960s in the activities of teachers the journal *Cuadernos de Pedagogía* will serve as a main source. This Catalan publication became the main vehicle of communication for the varied teachers' groups involved in the range of activities, initiatives, projects, associations, training courses, workshops, protests and strikes that swept over the education system from the beginning of the 1970s and which reached their pick in the mid-1970s after the death of the dictator and during the negotiation concerning the political and social future of Spain (Groves, 2014). The education sector did not belong to the vanguard of resistance to the Franco regime. Nevertheless, in the last stage of the cycle of the mobilization, teachers took an active part in the social unrest that accompanied the power struggle over the control, purpose and design of the education system in the period of democratization.

It is not surprising that the most popular journal among activist circles of teachers was a private Catalan initiative. In its first years the Franco regime ensured that school culture would support its ideology and values known as National Catholicism structured around religious, nationalistic and conservative ideas. The republican tradition was brutally erased by the removal of teachers, books and extra-curricular activities. Catalonia was one of the few places where progressive education initiatives



managed to survive, especially in the private sector. The struggle for the regional culture and identity gave a special impetus to the educational sector and its attempts to maintain educational practices that diverged from the authoritarian model of the regime. The most important pedagogical movement, Rosa Sensat was established in Cataluña in 1965. In spite of its Catalan identity it became a centre for teacher training for educators from all over the country who travelled to Barcelona during the summer to attend its training sessions. These teachers went back to their schools with the movements' message regarding education and as a result they initiated similar training sessions in their own regions. Catalonia was also an important foci point for the struggle of teachers to improve their working conditions and to establish unions, independent from the control the state. This struggle became more intense once the dictator died and Catalan groups participated actively in the strikes and manifestations that were organised in order to pressure the regime to democratize labour relations.

The journal was printed in Spanish and its 25,000 copies, made it the most important publication for teachers in the mobilization circles. It was devoted to spreading the ideas of the teachers struggles and its editors published frequently about the activities of the Colegios, the strikes, the local struggles of educational centres, as well as main political events such as the pacts of Moncola and the Constitution and their educational implications (*Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, March, October 1978). The editors also travelled around the country in search of information about pedagogical initiatives of teachers carrying out innovative and interesting projects. In fact, the contacts established by the editors became the basis for the first attempt to create a national coordination for the groups belonging to this collective effort of pedagogical innovation. The meeting held in 1979 did not achieve the expected results, but it did contribute to the diffusion of the ideas and practices of the pedagogical movements all around the country. The content of the journal thus reflects very well the ambience, the ideas, the practices and the struggles that characterised what became known as the teachers' movement. It is a very valuable source in exploring both the content and repertoire of teachers' protest and the professionalization project they took on.

### 5.1. *Access and quality of education: social consciousness*

In the activities of teachers in the 1970s we can see how general educational issues were taken on as an immanent part of their struggle. In 1976 shortly after the death of the dictator, primary teachers managed to mobilize in such a way that the educational authorities were obliged to negotiate with them (Groves, 2011; O'Mally, 2008). While negotiating for their working conditions and freedom of association, they presented a document, known as *document zero*, which openly blamed the regime for neglecting primary education and spoke of the role teachers intended to play in order to change this state of things (*Documento cero, Escuela Española*, October 6, 1976). Talking about themselves the teachers declared that they are no longer the oppressed group they used to be, but active agents which were about to change the policy of the regime in their own professional sector.

This process of empowerment of teachers and their role in representing the needs of the larger society was then extended also to the teachers working place, the schools, both in rural and urban areas. Working in newly built neighbourhoods in the outskirts of the big cities or in desolate rural schools in the countryside (the result of the waves of migration that changed Spanish society in the 1960s), the teachers had the opportunity to see first-hand the shortcomings of the infrastructure and services, both in the overpopulated cities as in the emptied rural areas. They connected their own working conditions to larger social issues and vindicated more and better education for the whole population.

The right for education and for the equality of opportunities is, in our country, today, a desired myth. For example, the shortage of places in schools to cater for all school aged children, and its unequal distribution in different neighbourhoods and municipalities are very well known facts (Quitllet, 1975, no page number).

This article, published in 1975 criticises the implementation of the educational reform of 1970. This reform was the dictatorship's most ambitious attempt to establish social consensus after the unrest of the 1960s. The General Law of Education restructured the whole education system, from primary education until the university. It introduced the Basic General Education (*Educación General Básica*) from 6 to 14 years, thus putting an end to a dual education system which favoured children from higher social classes. Nevertheless, due to the political situation and the fact that the finance of the reform was never approved by the parliament, the regime found it difficult to implement it. The result was that the reform did not fulfil its promises regarding the equality of opportunities of Spanish students. The problem was especially acute in the newly built suburbs of the big cities where generally speaking municipal infrastructure did not cover the needs of the population.

In the countryside, rural schools suffered from the opposite problem, they had few students and hardly any finance. We can thus find similar criticism concerning the quality of education provided by schools in rural areas. In fact, in 1976 *Cuadernos de Pedagogía* (supplement 2) dedicated an issue to the topic and titled it: *The rural school – a history of marginalisation*. In the special issue the authors analysed the situation in the villages emphasising the shortcomings of the quality of education delivered in rural areas: no preschool centres, children absent from classrooms, limited vocabulary, low cultural level, no adequate textbooks, no specific preparation for teachers, few options to continue to secondary education, etc (Sarmiento-S. Tinoco, 1976).

The teachers interpreted these shortcomings, especially the inability to cover all the educational needs of the population as well as the shortage in educational facilities as a continuation of the regime's elitist social interests. It is interesting to note, that in the report prepared by education specialists nominated by the regime as a preparation phase for the reform and that was taken on by the authorities, this problem was discussed openly and the reform attempted to change this situation. Nevertheless, among the teachers' movement, these attempts of the regime were perceived as misleading and they published their opinion about equality and education:

The teachers believe that the success of schools is to really achieve this general and compensatory promotion, and this is contrary to the school which reproduces social differences (X Escala d'Estiu de Barcelona, 1975).

## 5.2. *The rights of women and the struggle for pre-school education*

A more specific struggle waged by the teachers' movements which reflects how they brought social struggles inspired by the students' movements into their own professional domains was the one related to pre-school education and its impact on children and women. According to the publications of the teachers' movements, the fact that in Spain the number of children attending pre-school was lower than in most European countries was perceived as a discrimination towards the integration of women into the public space and a threat to the development of young children who did not attend this educational level. The educational reform of 1970 did mention this educational stage for children from 2 to 5 years, but it did not introduce it as compulsory. In an article published in *Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, the pedagogical seminar of the Colegio of Madrid gave data about the situation in Spain. They stressed that schooling at the age of 5 was 95% in most of Europe while in Spain it was just under 55%. The schooling of children of 4 -5 was around 90 % in most of the countries of the Common Market while in Spain the Ministry of Education set 68% as an objective for 1971. It considered the fact that half of the children who started school at the age of 6 did not have any schooling before as a discrimination towards them. They reached school unprepared in comparison to their schoolmates and thus could not perform as well as them.

The selectivity is maybe one of the most debated issues in contemporary education. From our point of view of studying preschool education, we can see that the first moment of selective processes is in the early ages of 2,3,4,5 and it occurs not on the basis of the qualities of the child but on the sole basis of socio-economic factors (CDL, 1975, no page number).

They emphasised the fact that the children that go to school at the age of 6 and did not have the opportunity to attend preschools find themselves next to children who already have wide experiences with academic activities adequate for this age and that this can cause feelings of frustration and can damage their self-esteem (CDL, 1975). The quality of pre-education was thus a main foci of interest among the publications of the teachers' movement in general and in *Cuadernos de Pedagogía* in particular and we can find articles about teaching science to toddlers, the organisation of the pre-school centres, art and creativity for toddlers, etc.

The other important aspect of the low numbers of children attending preschool centres was its negative implications for women. The situation of women was a salient topic of debate for educational publications and reflects, again, the similarities between the students' agendas of the 1960s and the teachers struggles in their workplace. *Cuadernos de Pedagogía* dedicated a special issue to this topic in 1977: *El Suplemento «Mujer y Educación»* (C. de P. n.º 6, julio-agosto, 1977) and recurrently dealt with the challenges women were faced with as a result of selective processes and discrimination in education.

With regard to the shortage in preschool centres we can find articles that claim that women, like men, had the right to work outside of the household. It was mentioned that unlike in previous years, married women were allowed to continue with the work they had before they got married, but at the same time they are required to assume all the responsibility for the house and the children. As a result, a legal solution to this crisis women had to handle was demanded: «Women find themselves in emergency situations, as they have to prove to themselves and to the rest that they can fulfil all the tasks assigned to them, the traditional and the recently gained» (Balaguer, Boix, Majem and Odena, 1975, no page number). Making pre-school accessible was taken on as an objective of the movement due to its impact on social justice and equality. In fact, in some places we see how activists of the teachers' movement, were involved in opening pre-schools, such as in the case of some of the teachers collaborating with the pedagogical movement *Acción Educativa* in Madrid.

### 5.3. *The organisational and cultural repertoire: assemblies, alliances and festivals*

In the struggles for the access and quality of education and for the opening of preschools the teachers adopted collective actions, strategies and cultural habits clearly inspired by the 1960s student spirit. Firstly, the summoning of assemblies typical of the university students and the workers' movement was introduced into the struggles of primary and secondary teachers. During the wave of protest that took over the country in 1976 in which the teachers participated actively, they gathered in assemblies and sent their elected representatives as a way to take over the official organization of the regime (Escuela Española, 1976). Another similar style of action employed by teachers following in the footsteps of teachers was carrying out independent processes of elections in order to present the regime with representatives which were considered more authentic than the official ones. In the public sector it has been done by organizing alternative spaces for elections, while in the private sector independent representatives entered the state control union.

These struggles were accompanied also by the attempt to foment critical social thinking as part of forging social alliances with other sectors of society. Alliances with the working classes were a very important characteristic of students' protests, and this aspiration was transferred to the fight of the teachers. In Spain in the 1960s and 1970s, in working class neighbourhoods in the big cities, the newly come immigrants created Residents Associations vindicating social services. The teachers saw in them natural partners for improving schools. An important initiative which reflects this partnership were classes for adults in the neighbourhoods and *Cuadernos de Pedagogía* reported about them widely. For example, in the case of Madrid it brought the story of 30 schools in working class areas that declared that their aim is to provide class teaching for all the workers. They considered it the cultural aspect of a wider fight for the transformation of life conditions and of the oppressing and alienating structures in which they were immersed. This Project saw itself as an integral part of other educational initiatives carried out in the context of different educational levels and as part of a wider social transformation (Coordinadora de

Escuelas de Trabajadores, 1978). Many times the close contacts with parents of students were used as a bridge with the working classes. Parents were the closest potential partners for teachers in their fight for better education, and *Cuadernos de Pedagogía* often included reports about their initiatives, emphasising the common characteristics to the fight of the teachers for places in schools, quality and equality in the education system, etc. (Serra y Martín, 1978).

The fight for places in schools can be carried out individually or in a collective way exercising social pressure. In the last couple of years, we see how more and more municipalities and neighbourhoods perceive the educational problem as important socially. Gradually and substituting isolated complaints – which have their impact if they become public – we see the emergence of commissions, civic associations of residents, neighbourhoods, districts, groups of parents and of teachers, etc., which are exercising pressure in order to solve their collective problems, on the educational level as well as on other levels. The demand is looking for its ways of expression and its abandoning its long, silence, passive, hibernation period (Quitllet, 1975, no page number).

The article defended the fact that if the people organise to fight for the improvement of this issue it is very important that they have all the information they need. It thus provided a guide for the various groups in neighbourhoods and districts for collecting and analysing data. It included the following stages: defining the objective of the study, deciding on the geographical limits of the area to be studied, how to calculate the children that need a place in a school, how to calculate the number of school places available, how to compare them, how to evaluate the quality of the facilities. Then it dealt with all the information that cannot be gathered officially and needed to be gathered in an alternative way such as by using interviews: the questions, the sample, the interpretation of the results etc. Finally, it also talked about how to diffuse the results.

Forging the alliances was thus crucial to how teachers tried to change their classes, schools, the education system and eventually society:

...we call for cooperation between partners/colleagues, to bring social reality and the most human problems into our classes, to plan classes in a creative way, based on experience; to assume our role of educating and developing students' abilities in the service of the real needs of our communities, and not the selective function that the current capitalist structure assigns us in the educational field – in summary, to decidedly adopt the commitment that we, as educators, have for social change... We call for teachers' efforts and struggles to update their own attitudes and teaching practices to be integrated as one more element in the popular struggle towards a social order which is fairer, more human and more liberating (Various authors, 1977, no page number).

The discourse in this description reflects clearly the spirit of the 1960s and its way of challenging the capitalist structure. The mobilizations in some parts of the world, like in France demanded openly the alliance between the workers and the middle class students as a way to stop the power relations imbedded in the capitalist society. In addition, this was taken even further by the new social movements that

emerged from the 1960s who looked at the culture relations and the way they were used to maintain the unfair distribution of power. An important characteristic of this new style of mobilization is its critique towards traditional politics and the waging of cultural struggles in order to shake its conservative pillars. It speaks of the commitment of educators for a social change that will bring more just, human and free society.

This kind of message was also transmitted using 1960s methods of protest as can be seen from the following quotation:

This youthful group-young parents, young children, young teachers – sang popular songs while it was sitting on the ground in the Plaza de Sant Jaume in Barcelona, opposite the door of the city hall...The youthful group included parents and teachers who become conscious of the problem of pre-school and that is why the toddlers also participated, as they are the ones who need the pre-school to receive adequate education and to permit their parents to work (Rivas, 1975, no page number).

This description transmits very clearly the cultural characteristics of many educational initiatives of the time. This protest used the symbolic and cultural materials of the 1960s: sitting and singing in front of the city hall, demanding social rights.

This 1960s vibe was also clear in the training sessions for teachers organised all across the country. Similar to the original sessions run by the teachers' association, Rosa Sensat, the model for most Summer Schools which were established across Spain was made up of three components: pedagogical innovation, educational policy and up-to-date training of teachers. In Rosa Sensat's programme in 1972, for example, teachers of the first years of primary education could choose between language through literature, introduction to social sciences at school, music, bodily expression and rhythm, teaching techniques for mathematics and courses in artistic expression. Up-to-datedness of pedagogical methods and diffusing the use of active teaching techniques characterised many of the courses, while others centred on issues related with state and society. Most of the Summer Schools which sprang up across Spain in the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s reproduced this mixture (Groves, 2014).

The Summer Schools were intensive events with two working sessions in the morning and two in the afternoon. During breaks and in the evenings they were filled with cultural activities such as dancing, concerts, theatre and debates. Young teachers from all over the region got to know their colleagues and shared their experiences in the classroom. The Summer Schools were great festivals of education that provided professional training in an ambience of freedom and pleasure. They were very similar to a Woodstock festival with its characteristics of liberty, creativity and protest, and all this under a dictatorship and as part of vindicating better education to cover the needs of all parts of society, including the marginalised and underprivileged.

## 6. Conclusions

In their university years in the 1960s and the 1970s Spanish students were involved in protest and struggles against the Franco dictatorship and its state control paternalistic organisations. Nevertheless, this clash with the dictatorship was also part of the world wide student rebellion against capitalist society and its sins and reflected the students need to find a place for themselves in modern society. When the Spanish students, involved in the cultural and political struggle for a better world, finished their studies and started their professional careers, they encountered the harsh reality of their country in their workplace. The implications of the dictatorship's elitist social policies and its control of professional domains were patent and the ex-activists of the students' movement found ways to continue with their struggle in the workplace.

The Spanish education system has transformed profoundly since the early years of the dictatorship, and its harsh ideological campaigns were substituted by a modernisation project aimed at paving the way for Spain's integration in the western world. Nevertheless, this modernisation project did not erase the legacies of the early years and in addition had its limitations in facing the huge challenges of modernising Spain. In addition, the dictatorship still had in place its mechanism of control well established in workplaces. The result was that university graduates found themselves, again, fighting for their voice to be heard and for basic rights related to their working conditions. Due to their previous experiences in collective action and training they became natural leaders of mobilizations in the education sector and forged alliances with other teachers in their general fight for improving their own working conditions and at the same time educational services to the population.

As has been discussed in this paper, the struggle for the access to education and quality of educational services was both a professional and a social project, and can be characterised as professional advocacy. Teachers took upon themselves to represent the public they were serving in neighbourhoods and villages as part of their own struggle for better working conditions. The way they waged the fight was clearly imbedded with their university experiences of youthfulness, cries for freedom, aspirations for fraternity and the special mixture between politics and cultural rebellion.

## 7. References

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