

RESSENYES CRÍTiques I BIBLIOGRAFIA

Influence and Reception of Freinet in Spain. Map of the Historiographical Maze: Possible Means of Escape (1979-2016)

Influència i recepció de Freinet a Espanya. Mapa del laberint historiogràfic i possibles vies de fuga (1979-2016)

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RESUM

La influència i recepció del pensament educatiu i les innovacions escolars de Célestin Freinet a Espanya és un camp de recerca que ha estat desenvolupat des de fa una mica més de tres dècades i mitja. A la fi de la dècada de 1970, quan el moviment freinetià espanyol tornava a adquirir protagonisme en el panorama dels moviments de renovació pedagògica (MRP), va aparèixer la primera publicació científica sobre la seva primera època, durant els anys vint i trenta del segle passat. Des de llavors s'han produït una mica més d'un centenar de publicacions científiques, encara que de gènere, solidesa i profunditat diversos. El resultat és un laberint historiogràfic els múltiples camins del qual van descobrir vies de fugida reeixides, portes cegues i, de vegades, entrades falses que condueixen a senders ja transitats. L'objectiu d'aquest estudi és

presentar una panoràmica de la trajectòria de la historiografia sobre la presència de les idees i les pràctiques freinetianes a Espanya durant la Segona República, la Guerra Civil i la transició a la democràcia, fer un balanç crític de l'estat de la qüestió, oferir algunes possibles vies de fugida del laberint historiogràfic i presentar un ampli repertori bibliogràfic especialitzat, útil per emprendre ulteriors indagacions. Aquest estudi, a més, posa de manifest que el freinetisme espanyol segueix sent un terreny d'exploració que reclama l'atenció de la comunitat científica, ateses les àmplies possibilitats que ofereix; així mateix, es considera que cal modificar determinades perspectives d'anàlisi i emfatitzar-ne d'altres que, en més o menys grau, ja són presents a les investigacions.

PARAULES CLAU: Freinet, Espanya, historiografia, Segona República, transició a la democràcia.

ABSTRACT

The influence and reception of the educational thinking and schoolroom innovations of Célestin Freinet in Spain is a field of investigation which has been being exploited for over three-and-a-half decades. At the end of the 1970s, when the Freinet movement in Spain was making its way back to the forefront amongst the Movements for Pedagogical Renewal (MPR), the first scientific publication about the first era of the Freinet movement, during the 1920s and 1930s, appeared. Since then, a little over 100 academic publications have been produced, though they are distinct in genre, solidarity and weight. The result is a historiographical labyrinth whose multiple paths lead to successful outlets, blind alleyways and, on occasion, false access points which simply lead to paths we have already covered. The objective of this paper is to present an overview of the trajectory of the historiographical study of the presence of Freinet's («Freinetian») ideas and practices in Spain during the Second Republic, the Civil War and the Transition to Democracy; to draw a critical balance regarding the current state of the issue; to offer a number of possible ways out of the maze of historiography; and present a broad range of specialised bibliographical sources, which will be helpful in undertaking subsequent research. In addition, this study demonstrates that the Spanish Freinet movement continues to be a field of investigation which draws the attention of the scientific community, given the wide-ranging possibilities it offers; furthermore, it is considered necessary to modify certain analytical perspectives and emphasise others which, to a greater or lesser extent, are already present in works of research.

KEYWORDS: FREINET, Spain, Historiography, Second Republic, Transition to democracy.

RESUMEN

La influencia y recepción del pensamiento educativo y las innovaciones escolares de Célestin Freinet en España es un campo de investigación que ha sido desarrollado desde hace algo más de tres décadas y media. A finales de la de 1970, cuando el movimiento freinetiano español volvía a adquirir protagonismo en el panorama de los Movimientos de Renovación Pedagógica (MRP), apareció la primera publicación científica sobre la primera época del mismo, durante los años 20 y 30 del siglo pasado. Desde entonces, se han producido algo más de un centenar de publicaciones científicas, aunque de género, solidez y calado diversos. El resultado es un laberinto historiográfico cuyas múltiples sendas van descubriendo vías de fuga exitosas, puertas ciegas y, en ocasiones, entradas falsas que conducen a senderos ya transitados. El objetivo de este estudio es presentar una panorámica de la trayectoria de la historiografía sobre la presencia de las ideas y las prácticas freinetianas en España durante la Segunda República, la Guerra Civil y la Transición a la democracia, realizar un balance crítico del estado de la cuestión, ofrecer algunas posibles vías de fuga del laberinto historiográfico y presentar un amplio repertorio bibliográfico especializado, útil para emprender ulteriores pesquisas. Este estudio, además, pone de manifiesto que el freinetismo español sigue siendo un terreno de exploración que reclama la atención de la comunidad científica, dadas las amplias posibilidades que ofrece; asimismo, se considera que es necesario modificar algunas perspectivas de análisis y enfatizar otras que, en mayor o menor grado, ya están presentes en las investigaciones.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Freinet, España, Historiografía, Segunda República, Transición a la democracia.

I. INTRODUCTION

Célestin Freinet's school innovations and proposals about education, in the mid-1920s, were significant expressions of the many surrounding the movements known as *New School* and *Progressive Education*. Their purpose, amongst other things, was to make progress in the development of pedagogy as a science, to modernise every aspect of the schooling system and, through one another, build bridges toward fairer, freer societies, united in brotherhood and enriched by links of international solidarity, cooperation and peace.

Free and responsible work, communication, collaboration and cooperation: these were the principles upon which the pedagogical style of the French educator, and the activity of the Modern School movement he established in France, were founded. They were few but powerful: sufficient to bring about a proposal for the technical- and theoretical modernisation of the schooling system, and to redesign the means by which the teachers' union's lives and activities were organised. Firstly, under Freinet's philosophy, the duties of an educator came to include a set of techniques –notably free texts, a school printing press, correspondence with other schools, and field trips with the school. Secondly, he supported a type of popular schooling system, whose primary objective was to facilitate a profound social transformation which would result in a society that was more peaceful, free, harmonious, egalitarian and democratic. This required the teacher to dispense a different sort of education: more dynamic, independent, democratic, critical and lively, with a connection to the real world and in harmony with the children's interests, needs and possibilities. This goal, though, would only be achievable with the mobilisation and cooperation of other teachers.

The lively, direct style of the French pedagogue's publications, which were unassuming and accessible to all, carrying a certain degree of optimism; the use of simple but solid logic, based on empirical evidence and common sense; the fact that these new approaches came from a rural teacher, who knew the inner workings of the school; the simplicity, the open and flexible nature and reduced cost of the proposed educational techniques, accessible to rural teachers who were poorly paid, with inadequate initial training and, in many cases, had to deal with the tribulations of isolated, impoverished settings; and the intense effort of disseminating these ideas and creating and organising arenas for free debate, and structures that would facilitate their coordination... These factors, amongst others, meant that, gradually, in France, around the *Coopérative de l'Enseignement Laïc* (CEL) –which later became the *Institut Coopératif de l'Ecole Moderne* (ICEM)– and beyond its borders as well, there arose a network of courageous, enterprising teachers who took a stand in favour of a different style of popular schooling.

Indeed, one of the distinctive traits of the Modern School movement set up in France was the marked international nature with which Freinet imbued the movement, from the very beginning. Thus, in addition to the personal contacts and relations established through school correspondence, a number of institutional initiatives gradually came into being, facilitating this kind of communication –mainly after WWII. Of particular note amongst these are the *Fédération*

Internationale des Mouvements d'Ecole Moderne (FIMEM), events such as the *Rencontres Internationales des Educateurs Freinet* (RIDEF) and the *Stages Internacionales Mediterráneos* (SIM), and publications such as *Gerbe Internationale*. The result was an extensive international framework of teachers in constant and fluid communication, collaborating and cooperating to achieve a *different* popular schooling system and, along with it, a rather freer, fairer and more fraternal society. Testament to this can be found in the fact that, during the inter-war period, the ideas of France's Modern School were integrated into school culture in a number of colonies in Africa, those in North- and South America, certain areas of East Asia and, especially, in Europe: Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and Yugoslavia. Following the World War, more intensely during the 1960s, Europe was also one of the notable focal points of influence and reception of Freinet's teachings, which gained purchase especially in Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Spain, then, was not outside of the international Freinetian framework. Quite the contrary: Spain was one of the geopolitical regions where the French educator's ideas first found favour and fertile soil. Between the mid- and late 1920s, when news of Freinet's experiments was first beginning to circulate, Spain already had a certain tradition in modernising the schooling system, and also a number of channels for academic communication, such as the journal *Revista de Pedagogía*, which carried some of the main educational innovations that were being discussed in Europe and America. It was the Second Republic (1931-1936), though, and the winds of pedagogical change that came with it, which meant that the educational techniques from France found favourable reception, especially in rural schools. Hence, very soon, an incipient movement of Freinet's followers arose, and gradually began to take shape. Very quickly, a group of over 250 courageous, ground-breaking teachers came together, who were ready to work together and to be in constant communication; some of them organised around the *Cooperativa española de la Técnica Freinet* (CETF). In addition to incorporating free writing, the school printing press, school correspondence and other techniques into their didactic work, Spanish teachers continued along the organisational path set by the CEL, holding conferences, setting up children's publications and founding their own means of communication: the journal *Colaboración, la Imprenta en la Escuela*, which was the official means of communication of the movement in its early days.

However, the promising career of the Freinet movement was cut short in July 1936. The Civil War had begun, and with it, executions, exile pronounce-

ments and ideological purging. The latter form of repression resulted in 33% of teachers being secure in their jobs; 36% sanctioned with permanent expulsion from the teaching profession; 6% stigmatised as persons mistrusted by the new regime and therefore prevented from holding positions of responsibility in the public administration; and 25% condemned to internal exile (i.e. displacement and confinement with Spain), where teachers were anonymous figures, with no influence or capacity to act. Some of them, in addition to undergoing administrative proceedings, were prosecuted in parallel by the military courts. Finally, around 15% of the members of the Freinetian group chose the path of foreign exile, seeking refuge and beginning a new life in other countries in Europe, such as France, the UK and Russia, and in Latin America and the Caribbean – particularly in Cuba and Mexico.

The Freinet movement is one of the examples of how the Civil War and the Franco dictatorship which followed dismantled and neutralised the initiatives for pedagogical innovation and modernisation which had been developing in Spain over the previous half-century –especially during the Second Republic. In addition, the most progressive, vanguardist school culture that survived had to survive in secret, or to undergo a certain metamorphosis in its most-fundamental tenets in order to adapt to the main guiding doctrines of education under National Catholicism –particularly during the first few decades of the dictatorship.

In the mid-1960s, gradually, scholarly innovation gradually gained a new lease of life, and began to organise into various Movements for Pedagogical Renewal (MPRs), ultimately becoming one of the key factors in the modernisation and democratisation of education during the period of the transition to democracy (1975-1982). A significant number of these movements were connected to the utopian pedagogical factions active in Spain during the republican period, received influences from some of the critical pedagogy trains of thought of the time, from Latin America and, in some cases, incorporated clearly ideological aspects into their discourse, thus combining pedagogical militancy with political/trade-unionist militancy. Their efforts were oriented toward the revitalisation and modernisation of the school and development of a pedagogical, social and political line of thought, critically, with the aim of transforming the world through education and culture.

In this new scenario, from 1966 onwards, the tenets of France's Modern School re-emerged on the educational landscape in Spain, and the networks of the Freinet movement began to be re-established, firstly informally but with a considerable dose of enthusiasm and eagerness, then under the auspices of *Asoc-*

ciación para la Correspondencia y la Imprenta Escolar (ACIES) and, later on, that of the *Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular* (MCEP). To a large extent, this was possible, in addition to the atmosphere that was brewing in Spain, because of the confluence of other circumstances, two of which are particularly noteworthy: firstly, thanks to the activism and intellectual risk-taking of teachers, such as Ferrán Zurriaga, who entered into direct contact, always under the veil of clandestinity, with other French colleagues from the *Institut Coopératif de l'Ecole Moderne* (ICEM); and secondly, due to the return from exile of a number of teachers belonging to the early Spanish Freinet movement, such as Josep Alcobé Biosca, which meant they fitted in with the original goal, thereby repairing the uprooted organisation and rescuing the memory of the pioneers.

In a short period of time, the organisation came to have over a hundred members and followers, meaning it was able to undertake several significant projects, notably including the activities of self-training and technico-professional development, and the publication of *Colaboración* (1976-1985), which was the official means of communication for Spanish teachers who were disciple of Freinet. During the transition to democracy, the Freinet movement was amongst the most active, dynamic and populous MPRs, and played an important role, fuelling the public debates about education, and generating and driving forward several fundamental social initiatives which managed to wholly involve the educational community in the surrounding environment of the school.

Those years saw the publication of the earliest academic works, focusing on the influence and reception of Freinet and the French Modern School in Spain –specifically in the first stage of its development; in addition, the protagonists of the time bore witness to the gestation of the second stage. Since then, the subject has become a field of investigation which has received the attention of a number of educational historians. Over the past three-and-a-half decades, we have seen over a hundred academic publications, though of differing genre, allegiance and significance. The result is a historiographical maze whose multiple paths lead to some successful ways out, some blind alleys and, on occasion, false access points which simply lead to paths already covered. Nevertheless, this continues to be a field of investigation which still garners the attention of the academic community, which affords ample possibilities and deserves the attention of new researchers who bring further documentation and different analytical perspectives to the table.

The purpose of this study is to present an overview of the path of the historiographical investigation on the presence of Freinet's ideas and practices in

Spain during the Second Republic, the Civil War and the transition to democracy; to draw a critical balance as to how the question currently stands; to offer a number of possible ways out of the historiographical maze, and to offer the researchers of the future a broad-range specialist bibliographical repertoire, which will serve them well in later investigations.¹

2. IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL MAZE OF THE SPANISH FREINET MOVEMENT

The origin, development and impact of the educational proposals made by Freinet, and the extensive international movement for pedagogical- and social renewal to which those proposals gave rise, is a field of investigation which has attracted a certain amount of attention from the academic community of educational historians –at least in Mediterranean Europe. In this respect, by way of example, we can cite a number of works which hold particular interest. The work of E. Freinet, J. L. González Monteagudo, G. Piaton and A. Pettini is still compulsory reading, holding high historiographical value and, in the case of the latter three, theoretical value as well.² Recently, in 2013, H. Peyronie gave an overview of the main publications registered in France about the subject in that country; and this is a line of investigation which is still being followed, as attested by later studies, such as those of J. Ueberschlag and T. C. Chantal and G. Nadine, which, in addition, demonstrate the validity of the French educator's thinking.³ Germany and Italy have also been the subjects of solid, illuminating studies, such as that conducted by N. M. Beattie –author of other work relating to the processes of transference of the Modern School–, which looks at the issue from an international perspective, including France, Germany and Italy in the study.⁴ Significant

¹ The author apologises for any oversights or omissions, which are entirely unintentional.

² FREINET, Élise. *Nacimiento de una pedagogía popular. Historia de la Escuela Moderna*, Barcelona: Laia, 1983; GONZÁLEZ MONTEAGUDO, José. *La pedagogía de Célestin Freinet: contexto, bases teóricas, influencia*, Madrid: Centro de Publicaciones, Secretaría General Técnica, 1988; PETTINI, Aldo. *Célestin Freinet y sus técnicas*, Ediciones Sigueme, 1977; PIATON, Georges. *El pensamiento pedagógico de Célestin Freinet*, Madrid: Editorial Marsiega, 1975.

³ CHANTAL, Tichee Christinat; NADINE, Giauque. *La pédagogie Freinet. Concepts, valeurs, pratiques de classe*, Lyon: Chronique Sociale, 2015; PEYRONIE, Henry. *Le mouvement Freinet: du fondateur charismatique à l'intellectuel collectif*, Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2013; UEBERSCHLAG, Josette. *Le Groupe d'Éducation Nouvelle d'Eure-et-Loir et l'essor du mouvement Freinet (1927-1947)*, Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2015.

⁴ BEATTIE, Nicholas M. «Freinet and the Anglo-Saxons», *Compare*, 28, 1 (1998), 33-45; BEATTIE, Nicholas M. *The Freinet Movements of France, Italy and Germany, 1920-2000 Versions of Educational Progressivism*, Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002.

contributions to the historiography of the Freinet movement in Italy have been made by F. Imbernón and M. R. Di Santo.⁵ In the case of Portugal, for its part, the most significant historiographical development was made by P. F. González Roa, who devoted his doctoral thesis (1999) to the topic.⁶

The case of the reception of the French Modern School movement in Spain during the Second Republic and the transition to democracy has spawned a broad and varied body of literature: at time of writing, this author is aware of 107 publications, including monographs (27), collective works (1), book chapters (35) and articles (44) in academic journals. To this list must be added six more investigations of special significance, in the form of doctoral theses and research doctorate/masters dissertations.

Before going any further, it is important to elucidate the criterion used when compiling the bibliographical corpus: only works of research and academic publications focusing on one or more aspects of Freinet's influence and reception in Spain between 1926 and 1983 have been considered. Thus, with these specifications, we have left out a number of publications which are very valuable for the development of the historiography of the Freinet movement, but which, either by their nature or by their topic or focus, fall outside of the bounds of the object of this study. These publications include: printed sources, such as the books of H. Almendros and the articles in the journals *Colaboración, la Imprenta en la Escuela* (1935-1936) and *Colaboración* (1976-1985) and the publications of certain teachers in *Revista de Pedagogía* or in other organs of pedagogical communication at the time; the texts published by H. Almendros, J. Alcobé Biosca, some

⁵ DI SANTO, Maria Rosaria. *Al di là delle tecniche. La pratica educativa di Aldo Pettini*, Milano: Edizioni Prometheus, 2014; IMBERNÓN MUÑOZ, Francisco. *Il movimento de cooperazione educativa. La renovación pedagógica en Italia*, Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1982.

⁶ ALMEIDA, Alberto. «Um exame de ideias», In HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María (Ed.). *La prensa de los escolares estudiantes: su contribución al patrimonio histórico educativo*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2015, 45-58; CID FERNÁNDEZ, X. M. «A penetración da pedagogía Freinet en Galicia e Portugal», In CID FERNÁNDEZ, X. M.; AL, et (Eds.). *Por unha escola do pobo. No centenario de Freinet (1966-1996)*, Vigo: Servicio de Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo, 1997, 51-72; GONZÁLEZ ROA, Pedro Francisco. *El Movimiento de la Escuela Moderna Portuguesa*, Salamanca: Departamento de Teoría e Historia de la Educación. Universidad de Salamanca, 1999; GONZÁLEZ ROA, Pedro Francisco. «El Movimiento de la Escuela Moderna Portuguesa», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 19 (2000), 311-329; GONZÁLEZ ROA, Pedro Francisco. *O Movimento da Escola Moderna. Um percurso cooperativo na construção da profissão docente e no desenvolvimento da pedagogia escolar*, Porto: Porto Editora, 2002; GONZÁLEZ ROA, Pedro Francisco. «La influencia de Freinet en Portugal: el caso de la Escuela Moderna portuguesa», In HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María (Ed.). *Influencias francesas en la educación española e iberoamericana (1808-2008)*, Salamanca: Globalia. Ediciones Anthea, 2008, 585-592.

of those of F. Zurriaga and J. De Tapia (transcribed and published by F. Jiménez Mier y Terán) during the 1970s and 1980s, and a number of interviews with these and other protagonists of the early Freinet movement in Spain, as these are more autobiographical and testimonial in nature;⁷ works which deal specifically with the lives or careers of teachers, before and during exile, which give data and indicate avenues worth pursuing, but touch on the question of the Freinet movement tangentially, or at least, it is not the main artery of the investigation;⁸ those

⁷ ALCOBÉ, Josep. «Herminio Almendros: Un educador para el pueblo», *Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, 3 (1975), 30-32; ALCOBÉ, Josep. «Técnicas Freinet en España», *Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, 35 (1977), 8-12; ALCOBÉ, Josep. «Los maestros franceses durante la guerra en España», In MECEP (Ed.). *La Escuela Moderna en España. Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular*, Bilbao: Zero-ZYX, 1979, 73-75; ALCOBÉ, Josep. «El Movimiento Freinet en España hasta 1939», In MECEP (Ed.). *La Escuela Moderna en España. Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular*, Bilbao: Zero-ZYX, 1979, 53-57; ALCOBÉ, Josep. «Ramón Costa i Jou, un maestro de los años 30», *Colaboración*, 33 (1982), 31; ALMENDROS, Herminio. «Síntesis de la expresión Freinet en España (1930-1938)», In MECEP (Ed.). *La Escuela Moderna en España. Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular*, Bilbao: Zero-ZYX, 1979, 58-72; ALMENDROS, Herminio. *La escuela moderna, ¿reacción o progreso?*, La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1985; CUADERNOS DE PEDAGOGIA. «Entrevista Josep Alcobé», *Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, 61 (1980), 23-26; DALMAU, Biel. «Conversació amb Ramón Costa i Jou», *Perspectiva Escolar*, 28 (1978), 59-64; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Un maestro singular. Vida, pensamiento y obra de José de Tapia B*, México: Fernando Jiménez Mier y Terán, 1989; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Un maestro singular. Vida, pensamiento y obra de José de Tapia y Bujalance*, México, D.F.: Tanteo, 2014; VILAPLANA, Enric. «El plaer del retorn i de la vigència. Conversa amb Ferran Zurriaga», *Perspectiva escolar*, 208 (1996), 17; ZURRIAGA, Ferran. «El Movimiento Freinet en España. Itinerario de la Escuela Moderna», *Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, 54 (1979), 20-22; ZURRIAGA, Ferran. «La segunda época de la experiencia Freinet en España», In MCEP (Ed.). *La Escuela Moderna en España. Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular*, Bilbao: Zero-ZYX, 1979, 76-112.

⁸ BLAT GIMENO, Amparo. *Herminio Almendros Ibáñez. Vida, época y obra*, Almansa: Ayuntamiento de Almansa, 1998; BLAT GIMENO, Amparo; DOMÉNECH, Carmen. *Diario de un maestro exiliado*, Valencia: Pre-Textos, 2005; CÀNAVES, M; SERRA, J; SERRA, M. A. *Francesc Roselló i Gil i Margarida Bordoy i Sansó (La seva tasca docent)*, Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 1997; CAÑELLAS, Celia; TORÁN, Rosa. *Dolors Piera. Mestra, política i exiliada*, Barcelona: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona. Institut d'Educació. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2003; CRUZ OROZCO, José Ignacio. «Vida y obra de un maestro freinetista: El caso de Patricio Redondo», In VV.AA (Ed.). *Castellanos sin mancha: exiliados castellano-manchegos tras la Guerra Civil*, Madrid: Celeste, 1999, 43-52; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María. «Un exponente de la pedagogía española en el exilio: Herminio Almendros y la educación en Cuba», *Revista de educación*, 309 (1996), 217-237; JIMENO, Concepción. «María Sánchez Arbós (1889-1976): el exilio interior de una maestra», *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 62 (2009), 46-55; LOZANO SEIJAS, Claudio. «Almansa, mi pobre Almansa... L'exili d'Herminio Almendros», *Educació i història: Revista d'història de l'educació*, 5 (2001), 197-218; MARQUÉS, Salomé. *L'exili dels mestres (1939-1975)*, Girona: Universitat de Girona, 1995; SÁNCHEZ ARBÓS, María. *Mi diario*, Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón. Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2006; SOLER MATA, Joan. «L'itinerari formatiu i professional de Jesús Sanz Poch (1897-1936): renovació pedagògica i compromís polític a Catalunya durant el primer terç del segle XX», *Educació i història: Revista d'història de l'educació*, 13 (2009), 9-47; VILANOU, Conrad; MONTSERRAT, Josep (Eds.). *Mestres i exili*, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003; VILÀS GIL, Pere. *Joaquim Gadea Fernández. La vida d'un mestre*, Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 1995; VV.AA (Ed.). *Centenario de Herminio Almendros. Un personaje del pasado, una figura del presente, una referencia para el futuro*, Almansa: Ayuntamiento de Almansa, 1998; VV.AA (Ed.). *Ramón Acín y la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios*, Huesca: Gobierno de Aragón. Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Museo Pedagógico de Aragón, 2010.

whose contribution to the historiography of the Freinet movement comes from more general studies of history of local –or regional education;⁹ those which focus on the work carried out using Freinetian techniques by Spanish teachers in Latin America during their exile;¹⁰ and, finally, also excluded from this investigation were four more pieces of work, deemed to be merely testimonial – two of which were overviews of the state of the art regarding the investigation of the Spanish Freinet movement in its early days,¹¹ and others were a critical commentary on a few recently-published selected works on the subject.¹²

The first academic publication on the history of the Spanish Freinet movement appeared in 1979. From then on, during the 1980s, here and there we saw the appearance of further reports of Freinet experiments during the Second Republic. Through these works, which are fresh and original –particularly those of F. Imbernón and A. García Madrid– an overview of the movement was sketched out; in some publications, greater details were given about the leading figures in that movement; for the most part, they offer the names of schools and teachers who went further than the CETF, reproducing the con-

⁹ AGULLÓ DÍAZ, Carmen; PAYÀ RICO, Andrés. *Les cooperatives d'ensenyament al País Valencià i la renovació pedagògica (1968-1976)*, València: Publicacions Universitat de València, 2012; DIEZ I QUIJANO, Desideri. *Història de Puigvert de Lleida*, Barcelona: La Llar del Llibre, 1987; SOLER MATA, Joan (Ed.). *Vint mestres i pedagogues catalanes del segle XX. Un segle de renovació pedagògica a Catalunya*, Barcelona: Rosa Sensat, 2015.

¹⁰ ASOCIACIÓN CIVIL PROTECTORA DE LAS TÉCNICAS FREINET (Ed.). *Ideario pedagógico de Patricio Redondo Moreno*, Veracruz: Trueba, 1990; CRUZ OROZCO, José Ignacio. «Vida y obra de los primeros maestros freinetistas españoles e Iberoamericanos», In VV.AA (Ed.). *Estudios sobre la educación. Perspectivas históricas, políticas y comparadas*, Valencia: Universitat de Valencia-Departamento de Educación Comparada e Historia de la Educación, 1993; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Un maestro singular. Vida, pensamiento y obra de José de Tapia B*, México: Fernando Jiménez Mier y Terán, 1989; LOZANO SELIAS, Claudio. «Que me sigáis queriendo, que nos sigáis queriendo: No se vive bien si no se sabe esto...A propósito de unas cartas inéditas (1948-1972) de Herminio Almendros», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 18 (1999), 355-372.

¹¹ HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis; SÁNCHEZ BLANCO, Laura. «La influencia de Célestin Freinet en España durante la década de 1930. Estado de la cuestión», In HERNÁNDEZ DIAZ, José María (Ed.). *Influencias francesas en la educación española e iberoamericana (1808-2008): actas de las III Conversaciones Pedagógicas de Salamanca: 15, 16, 17 y 18 de octubre de 2008*, Salamanca: Globalia Ediciones Anthema, 2008, 93-110; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis; SÁNCHEZ BLANCO, Laura. «La influencia de Celestin Freinet en España durante la década de 1930. Fuentes, bibliografía, líneas de investigación», *Papeles Salmantinos de Educación*, 13 (2009), 121-167.

¹² AMAT I CASTELLS, Vanesa. «Passat i present de la impremta escolar i els llibres de vida: les tècniques Freinet a l'Estat espanyol a propòsit d'algunes publicacions recents», *Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, 23 (2014), 207-225; GONZÁLEZ RUIZ, Juan. «En el año del burro: Platero, Freinet y un silencio desenterrado», *Cabás*, 11 (2014), 104-118.

tents of various children's schoolbooks and given the earliest information about the bulletin *Colaboración, la Imprenta en la Escuela*.¹³

The 1990s wore on, with no significant changes, in the same vein – at least in terms of methodological perspective and of the pace and volume of publication, with a total of ten works. Thus, studies continued to be published about prominent members of the CTEF, or focusing on certain geographical areas of Spain, so the map of teachers, schools and publications gradually expanded. This decade also saw the first attempts to offer views of the whole of the trajectory of the Spanish Freinet movement. In this vein, the most relevant work of the decade was the book published by F. Jiménez Mier y Terán in 1996, owing to its high documentary value and narrative of the history of the early days of the Freinet movement in Spain –particularly of the activity carried out by the CETF.¹⁴

The turn of the century also marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of historiography on the influence and reception of the Modern School in Spain. The rate of production increased considerably, with 44 works of research recorded between 2000 and 2009. On the one hand, during that decade, the topics dealt with in the investigations devoted to the early Freinet movement increased in number, the focuses and analytical perspectives expanded and the methodology employed was overhauled and streamlined. On the other, in 2002, a new line of investigation was opened up, focusing on the development of the second wave of the Freinet movement in Spain, proffering a hermeneutic approach where pedagogical matters were interlinked with social, cultural and political issues. A notable contribution to this historiographical development came from the fact that, from the early 2000s, fundamental investigations were carried out, as the fruits of doctoral research, in the form of doctoral dissertations and theses, by T. Groves, F. Jiménez and others.¹⁵ These same researchers, along

¹³ GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «Freinet, Las Hurdes y la II República española», *Revista de Ciencias de la Educación*, 131 (1987), 357-368; IMBERNÓN MUÑOZ, Francisco. «Colaboración (Març 1935-1936) Bulletin Mensual de la Cooperativa de la Técnica Freinet», In VV.AA (Ed.). *III Jornades d'Historia de l'Educació als països catalans*, Girona: 1979, 181-187.

¹⁴ JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Freinet en España. La revista Colaboración*, Barcelona: EUB, 1996.

¹⁵ GROVES, Tamar. *The Teacher as an Agent of Alternative Culture: The Teachers' Movement during the Transition to Democracy in Spain (Salamanca, 1970-1979)*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2002; GROVES, Tamar. *El Movimiento de Enseñantes durante el Tardofranquismo y la Transición a la Democracia 1970-1983*, Madrid: UNED, 2009; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *La influencia de Celestín Freinet en España. Maestros, escuelas y cuadernos escolares. Fuentes documentales para el estudio del movimiento freinetiano español de la II República*, Salamanca: Facultad de Educación. Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2003; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *La depuración franquista de los maestros freinetianos españoles de la década de 1930*, Salamanca: Facultad de Educación. Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2003; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Maestros de a pie y cosas de niños: libro de vida de la primera época de la educación Freinet en España*, México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002.

with others such as J. M. Hernández Díaz and A. García Madrid, went on to author publications which, at the time, represented a significant step forward.¹⁶

From 2010 onwards, there has been a notable increase in the number of publications, reaching fifty in a little over five years, in addition to two studies on the development of Freinetian culture in the territory of Spain. The development of the investigations, though, has been diverse, depending on the period under study. Generally speaking, those studies that focus solely on the late Franco period and the transition to democracy represent original contributions to the field of study, provide other interpretative keys and frameworks, and broader analytical perspectives. On the other hand, publications referring to the 1920s and 1930s present a very different overview. There have been a few which offer a more clearly-defined, broader view of the Spanish Freinet connection, outline the thinking and scholarly culture of that teachers' movement and introduced social- and political elements into the logic of the investigation. These, though, are the exception to the rule; a high proportion of the texts do not represent contributions of much weight; they hold precious little explanatory potential; they reveal various methodological shortcomings, show hardly any originality or, in some cases, go back over ground which has already been covered by other researchers in earlier work. Also, like in the previous decade, in this stage of the historiography of the Freinet movement, certain work has emerged in the form of postgraduate- or doctoral theses.¹⁷ The works published during this period which can, because of their scope and originality, be considered to be significant are those of

¹⁶ GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. *Un ejército de maestros. Experiencias de las técnicas de Freinet en Castilla y Extremadura (1932-1936)*, Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2009; GROVES, Tamar. «Maestros comprometidos: el movimiento Freinet durante el tardofranquismo y la transición a la democracia en España», In HERNÁNDEZ, José M^a (Ed.). *Influencias francesas en la educación española e iberoamericana (1808-2008)*, Salamanca: Globalia Ediciones Anthema, 2008, 67-79; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «La represión franquista de los maestros freinetianos», *Aula. Revista de Pedagogía de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 15 (2009), 201-227; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *La influencia de Celestín Freinet en España durante la década de 1930. Maestros, escuelas y cuadernos escolares*, Salamanca: Globalia Ediciones Anthema, 2005; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Batec. Historia de vida de un grupo de maestros*, Lérida: Universitat de Lleida, 2007.

¹⁷ GÓMEZ SÁNCHEZ, Alba María. *Contribuciones del movimiento Freinet a la construcción de la democracia en España durante la Transición política: el boletín Colaboración (1976-1985)*, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2015; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *La influencia de Celestín Freinet en España (1926-1939)*, Salamanca (España): Teoría e Historia de la Educación. Universidad de Salamanca, 2011.

A. Ramos González and, again, T. Groves, F. Jiménez and their collaborators – in part, the fruit of their doctoral theses.¹⁸

Although there have been some interesting overviews of the influence and reception of Freinet in Spain during the republican period, the Civil War and the transition to democracy –notably that of Antón Costa– this type of global study represents only around 2% of production.¹⁹ Most common are studies which focus on one moment or another of the development of the scholarly culture of France's Modern School movement in Spain. Researchers' interest has focused, mainly, on the early Spanish Freinet movement, which accounts for 78% of production, as opposed to the near 20% of studies which have examined the twilight period of the Franco regime and the transition.

Generally speaking, the line of argument followed in investigations pertaining to the early Freinet movement has consisted of cataloguing the movement's origins and goals; the ways in which it adapted; a few elements about its political and social dimension; the members and their lives and careers, both academic and professional; the ideas, practices and materials; the anti-Franco resistance during the Civil War and, after the ultimate collapse of the republican government, the inevitable administrative purging by the victors.

There are a small number of broad-reaching studies, which have managed to paint a picture of, if not all, at least a good portion of these questions. In some cases, the analytical framework was limited to the activity of the CETF, its organisation, activities, material, means of communication and full-fledged members; in others, the perspective of the analysis and interpretation surrounded that *clandestine*, but more populous, part of the Freinetian movement, which maintained links with the CETF but worked outside of its boundaries. Some of these works, today, constitute fundamental references; on the other hand, a large proportion of them, although they did play a relevant role in the

¹⁸ GROVES, Tamar. *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2014; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *Freinet en España (1926-1939). Escuela popular, historia y pedagogía*, Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2012; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *¡Viva la imprenta! Orígenes de la educación Freinet en España. Libro de Vida*, México, D.F.: Tanteo Ediciones, 2011; RAMOS GONZÁLEZ, Alfred. *Mestres de la imprenta. El moviment Freinet Valencià (1931-1939)*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2015.

¹⁹ ALCALÁ, Manolo. «Pequeña historia del Movimiento Freinet en España», *KIKIRIKI...! Boletín para una pedagogía popular*, 40 (1996), 39-59; COSTA RICO, Antón. *D'abord les enfants. Freinet y la educación en España 1926-1975* Santiago de Compostela: USC editora académica, 2010; COSTA RICO, Antón. «Célestín y Élise Freinet y su influencia entre el profesorado Español», In LOURO FELGUEIRAS, Margarida; COSTA RICO, Antón (Eds.). *Exílios e Viagens. Ideários de liberdade e discursos educativos Portugal-Espanha séc. XVIII-XX*, Porto: Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação e CIEE/FPCE-UP, 2011, 193-215; GERTRÚDIX ROMERO DE ÁVILA, Sebastián. «Aportaciones de la pedagogía Freinet a la educación en España», *Tendencias Pedagógicas*, 27 (2016), 231-249.

historiographical development, have been largely surpassed, essentially because the field of investigation is still an active one, continuously growing.²⁰

The most populous group of publications is that which rotates around the reception of Freinet's educational thinking and the school culture implemented in Spain. The works that systematically go into depth about the ideas which shaped Freinetian teachers' educational style are few, but sufficient, although on occasion, they suffer from contextual errors and anachronisms. On the other hand, there has been an abundance of studies carried out along the line of the material culture of the school, focusing on the results of the trials with the techniques of the Modern School, the way in which those trials were conducted technically, the materials and scholarly production of the CETF, and on school newspapers or diaries. These latter productions, which are the most visible and attractive, have been the start topic of this most recent genre of research projects, and they contain great documentary value, as they give us access to the insides of the classrooms, and even to the inner thoughts of the children themselves. Nevertheless, few have exploited their potential for analysis and reflection on a level closer to the pedagogical thinking, and

²⁰ HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «Bosquejo histórico del Movimiento Freinet en España. 1926-1939», *Foro de Educación*, 5, 9 (2007), 169-202; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *La influencia de Celestín Freinet en España durante la década de 1930. Maestros, escuelas y cuadernos escolares*, Salamanca: Globalia Ediciones Anthemia, 2005; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «La utopía freinetiana en España (1926-1939): Historia, perfiles, ideas y realizaciones», In DIESTRO FERNÁNDEZ, Alfonso; JUANAS OLIVA, Ángel de; MANSO AYUSO, Jesús (Eds.). *Vanguardias e innovaciones pedagógicas*, Salamanca: Hergar Ediciones Antema, 2011, 67-95; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *Freinet en España (1926-1939). Escuela popular, historia y pedagogía*, Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2012; IMBERNÓN MUÑOZ, Francisco. «Colaboración (Març 1935-1936) Bulletí Mensual de la Cooperativa de la Técnica Freinet», In VV.AA (Ed.). *III Jornades d'Historia de l'Educació als països catalans*, Girona: 1979, 181-187; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. «La revista Colaboración, órgano del Movimiento Freinet en España», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 14-15 (1995-1996), 541-557; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Freinet en España. La revista Colaboración*, Barcelona: EUB, 1996; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. «Recuento de cooperativistas Freinet», In VV.AA (Ed.). *Mestres i exili*, Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona i INEHCA, 2003, 197-219; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Batec. Historia de vida de un grupo de maestros*, Lérida: Universitat de Lleida, 2007; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *¡Viva la imprenta! Orígenes de la educación Freinet en España. Libro de Vida*, México, D.F.: Tanteo Ediciones, 2011; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. «Nacimiento y víspera de la Cooperativa», In ZURRIAGA, Ferran (Ed.). *Pàgines vives. Quaderns Freinet. Les revistes escolars de la Segona República*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2012, 133-160; SAMPEDRO GARRIDO, Ana. «A pedagogía Freinet en España nos tempos da II República», *Sarmiento: Anuario galego de historia da educación*, 3 (1999), 133-156.

practically, they have been reduced to a total or partial facsimile reproduction of the children's writings being analysed.²¹

Another significant group of studies is constituted by those which have investigated the development of the group of Freinetian teachers in a specific

²¹ ABRIL LÓPEZ, Josep M. *Les escoles a Sant Celoni de 1857 a 1939*, Sant Celoni: Ajuntament de Sant Celoni, 2004; AGULLÓ DÍAZ, María del Carmen. «Breus apunts al volant de les mestres valencianes republicanes i les revistes escolars», In ZURRIAGA, Ferran (Ed.). *Pàgines vives. Quaderns Freinet. Les revistes escolars de la Segona República*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2012, 45-56; COSTA RICO, Antón. *Letra a letra*, Huesca: Gobierno de Aragón. Departamento de Educación, Universidad, Cultura y Deporte, 2011; ESCRIBANO, F; FERRÁNDIZ, F; SOLÉ, Q; BERNAL, S. *Desenterrando el Silencio. Antoni Benaïges, el Maestro que Prometió el Mar*, Barcelona: Blume, 2013; FIGUERAS FERRER, Eva. «El valor de la imprenta en el Grup Escolar Luíis Vives: una eina al servei de l'educació durant la II República i de la recuperació de la memòria pedagògica», *REIRE: revista d'innovació i recerca en educació*, 8, 1 (2015), 50-66; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «Freinet, Las Hurdes y la II República española», *Revista de Ciencias de la Educación*, 131 (1987), 357-368; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «Coda: Freinet en Las Hurdes en los años 30», In GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio (Ed.). *Educación Utopía. Educación Realidad*, Salamanca: Kadmos, 2000, 81-93; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «El periódico escolar Ideas y hechos de la escuela de la Factoría de los Angeles y el periódico escolar Niños, Pájaros y Flores de la escuela de La Huerta (Caminomorisco). Prueba documental de la influencia de Freinet en Las Hurdes durante la II República», *Papeles salmantinos de educación*, 5 (2005), 113-175; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «El periódico escolar Vida Infantil de L'Escola Nacional de Nois d'Avià (Barcelona). Documento del movimiento de los maestros freinetianos durante la Segunda República», *Papeles salmantinos de educación*, 6 (2006), 225-262; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «El origen de las técnicas de Freinet en Las Hurdes (1932-1934). Quién impulsó a José Vargas Gómez a iniciar la experiencia», *Papeles salmantinos de educación*, 6 (2006), 115-170; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. *Un ejército de maestros. Experiencias de las técnicas de Freinet en Castilla y Extremadura (1932-1936)*, Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2009; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «El primer freinetismo en Extremadura: maestros, escuelas y periódicos (1932-1936)», *Foro de Educación*, 7, 11 (2009), 175-194; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «La documentación del primer movimiento de maestros freinetianos en el archivo de Enric Soler i Godes», In ZURRIAGA, Ferran (Ed.). *Pàgines vives. Quaderns Freinet. Les revistes escolars de la Segona República*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2012, 79-102; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «La república escolar de Avià (Barcelona). Experiencia de autogobierno y noticias freinetianas del maestro Luíis Gonzaga Bover Oliveras», *Papeles salmantinos de educación*, 16 (2012), 21-43; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. *Mestres, escoles i periòdics: documentació del primer moviment freinetià a l'arxiu d'Enric Soler i Godes*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2013; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio. «La revista escolar "Sementera" de la graduada nº 1 de Plasencia (Cáceres)», *Papeles salmantinos de educación*, 17 (2013), 49; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio; CONDERANA CERRILLO, Jesús Manuel. «El tercer número de Niños, Pájaros y Flores. Replanteamiento sobre el periódico escolar de Maximino Cano en Las Hurdes», *ibid.*, 7 (2006), 183-200; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María. «Freinet y la renovación pedagógica en España (1926-1939)», In ZURRIAGA, Ferran (Ed.). *Pàgines vives. Quaderns Freinet. Les revistes escolars de la Segona República*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2012, 25-44; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «El cuaderno escolar Salut (1935) y la colonia escolar Santa Fe del Montseny (Barcelona). Freinet en España», *Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria*, 25 (2006), 603-623; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *Transformar el mundo desde la escuela con palabras. Los cuadernos freinetianos de Barbastro durante la II República*, Huesca: Gobierno de Aragón. Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte y Museo Pedagógico de Aragón, 2009; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «Cuadernos escolares y técnicas Freinet en España durante la Guerra Civil (1936-1939)», In MEDA,

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geographical area. This type of investigations has two dimensions. First of all, there are intensive publications which offer a fairly precise in-depth analysis of the presence of the techniques of the French Modern School movement in Aragón, Cataluña, Extremadura, Galicia, Mallorca, Valencia, etc. Secondly, we have smaller-scale investigations, focusing on the activity of a teacher or on Freinetian life in a particular locale –usually linked closely to the history of the area. In any case, to some degree, both these types of investigation have resulted from abundant documentation, and have been highly useful for later, further-reaching studies.²²

The Civil War period, too, is an issue to which the historiographers of the Freinet movement have devoted a great deal of time and energy. The investigations in this area have followed two different arcs of argument. The first is that which looks at the teachers political/trade-unionist and pedagogical activities, and resistance to the Franco regime –both in the background and on the front line– and at life in schools in which it was still becoming possible to work with the French educator's pedagogical principles and techniques, especially with the mutations

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suffered by school culture in Barcelona, Mallorca and Valencia. The second line of argument focuses, mainly, on the Franco regime's purging of teachers subscribing to the principles, mean and ends of France's Modern School, paying attention to the purge notices originally issued and to the later revisions made to them.²³

Quite late in the day, in comparison with other historiographical trends, published analyses also began to include the perspective of gender, though without a

²³ COSTA RICO, Antón. *D'abord les enfants. Freinet y la educación en España 1926-1975* Santiago de Compostela: USC editora académica, 2010; ESCRIBANO, F; FERRÁNDIZ, F; SOLÉ, Q; BERNAL, S. *Desenterrando el Silencio. Antoni Benaiges, el Maestro que Prometió el Mar*, Barcelona: Blume, 2013; GARCÍA MADRID, Antonio; CONDERANA CERRILLO, Jesús Manuel. «Qué fue de los maestros freinetianos de Las Hurdes. Trayectoria profesional y vital», *Papeles salmantinos de educación*, 7 (2006), 13-41; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «Bosquejo histórico del Movimiento Freinet en España. 1926-1939», *Foro de Educación*, 5, 9 (2007), 169-202; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «La represión franquista de los maestros freinetianos», *Aula. Revista de Pedagogía de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 15 (2009), 201-227; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «Cuadernos escolares y técnicas Freinet en España durante la Guerra Civil (1936-1939)», In MEDA, Judi; MONTINO, Davide; SANI, Roberto (Eds.). *School exercise books. A Complex Source for History of the Approach to Schooling and Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Macerata: Edizione Polistampa, 2010, 769-792; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «La depuración franquista de los maestros freinetianos españoles de la década de 1930», *Papeles Salmantinos de Educación*, 3 (2004), 59-95; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «El cuaderno escolar Renacer: Un ejemplo de la aplicación de las técnicas de la Escuela Moderna durante la guerra civil española», *Papeles Salmantinos de Educación*, 3 (2004), 359-373; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *La influencia de Celestín Freinet en España durante la década de 1930. Maestros, escuelas y cuadernos escolares*, Salamanca: Globalia Ediciones Anthema, 2005; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *Freinet en España (1926-1939). Escuela popular, historia y pedagogía*, Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2012; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «Simeón Omella Ciprián. Notas Biográficas y realizaciones freinetianas», In ZURRIAGA, Ferrán (Ed.). *Pàgines vives. Quaderns Freinet. Les revistes escolars de la Segona República*, Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2012; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis; REBORDINOS HERNANDO, Francisco José. «Cuadernos escolares y técnicas Freinet en la Islas Baleares durante la guerra civil española. El maestro Teodoro Terrés Lladó y el periódico escolar Renacer», In HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María (Ed.). *De la Junta de Ampliación de Estudios a la construcción del Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior (1907-2007)*, Salamanca: Globalia Ediciones Anthema, 2009, 173-195; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, José María. «Freinet en España (1926-1939)», *História da Educação*, 16, 36 (2012), 147-161; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Seis experiencias de educación Freinet en Cataluña antes de 1939*, Fraga: Aula Libre, 1994; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Maestros de a pie y cosas de niños: libro de vida de la primera época de la educación Freinet en España*, México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *¡Viva la imprenta! Orígenes de la educación Freinet en España. Libro de Vida*, México, D.F.: Tanteo Ediciones, 2011; RAMOS GONZÁLEZ, Alfred. *Mestres de la imprenta. El moviment Freinet Valencià (1931-1939)*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2015; VIDAL I BELLÉS, Francesca. «Antoni Porcar i Candel (1904-1947): mestre republicà, impulsor de la revista escolar Ibèria (Canet lo Roig)», In ZURRIAGA, Ferran (Ed.). *Pàgines vives. Quaderns Freinet. Les revistes escolars de la Segona República*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2012, 187-207; VIDAL I BELLÉS, Francesca. *Antoni Porcar i Candel (1904-1947). El mestre que va donar la paraula als infants*, Castelló de la Plana: Fundació Càtedra Enric Soler i Godes- Universitat Jaume I, 2014; ZURRIAGA, Ferran. *Sembra. Quadern escolar. Homenatge a Enric Soler Godes*, Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, Generalitat Valenciana, 1988.

clear referential theoretical framework in this regard. The studies performed along this line offer a general profile of social, cultural and political backgrounds and training of Freinet's female disciples, as well as the work done with the techniques of the Modern School, the role played within the movement and the fate that befell these teachers during the Franco government's purging process. Such works have held up the examples of the female teachers working in Cataluña and Valencia.²⁴

The second age of the Spanish Freinet movement, which spans from the latter half of the 1960s until the early 1980s, is a line of investigation which has been less thoroughly exploited, according to the weight of this type of studies in the general count of academic production. Nonetheless, it is a field of investigation which has been being cultivated for almost fifteen years. The result of these efforts is a little over twenty studies, the majority of which are serious and solid.

Of particular note amongst these studies are those of the researcher T. Groves, who is a pioneer in this field and has produced three quarters of the investigations published. Her work has focused, primarily, on the group of Freinetian teachers operating in the province of Salamanca: one of the most populous groups, most lively and most active, both pedagogically and socio-politically. Through these investigations, she has explored questions of particular historiographical interest, including, notably: the conception of democracy and the political, social and cultural agendas attached to the educational project carried out by Freinet's disciples in the classroom; the ways in which the teachers conveyed these ideas to the communities in they were working, and forged a relationship with those communities; the styles of dynamisation, organisation and trade-unionist mobilisation; the dominant culture in the schooling system; and the free spaces created for self-training and discussion, on a political, social and cultural level, about the then-pressing problems in education.²⁵

²⁴ AGULLÓ DÍAZ, María del Carmen. «Breus apunts al volant de les mestres valencianes republicanes i les revistes escolars», In ZURRIAGA, Ferran (Ed.). *Pàgines vives. Quaderns Freinet. Les revistes escolars de la Segona República*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2012, 45-56; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. «Women and Educational Renewal in Spain (1931-1939). The Contributions of the Freinet Teachers», In CAGNOLATI, Antonella; CANALES, Antonio (Eds.). *Women's Education in the Mediterranean World: Historical Perspectives*, Roma: Aracne, 2016, in press.

²⁵ GROVES, Tamar. *The Teacher as an Agent of Alternative Culture: The Teachers' Movement during the Transition to Democracy in Spain (Salamanca, 1970-1979)*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2002; GROVES, Tamar. «Maestros comprometidos: el movimiento Freinet durante el tardofranquismo y la transición a la democracia en España», In HERNÁNDEZ, José M^a (Ed.). *Influencias francesas en la educación española e iberoamericana (1808-2008)*, Salamanca: Globalia Ediciones Anthea, 2008,

Groves' work, in addition to being backed up by a wide range of archival, printed and oral sources, has the novel feature of establishing an intense dialogue with social, cultural, political and educational trends in the national and international contexts and, in particular, with the ideas, proposals and practices of other Spanish MPRs –especially *Acción Educativa*. It also makes significant contributions to the theory of social and educational movements in times of political change. Such aspects, amongst other things, provide a new dimension for the analysis of the Freinet movement.

67-79; GROVES, Tamar. «¿Qué significa vivir en democracia? La movilización sindical de los maestros durante la Transición Española», In QUIROSA-CHEYROUZE MUÑOZ, Rafael; FERNÁNDEZ AMADOR, Mónica (Eds.). *Sociedad y movimientos sociales*, Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, Diputación de Almería, 2009, 203-218; GROVES, Tamar. *El Movimiento de Enseñantes durante el Tardofranquismo y la Transición a la Democracia 1970-1983*, Madrid: UNED, 2009; GROVES, Tamar. «¿Qué engaña más, la memoria o los documentos? Experiencias de la pedagogía Freinet en la escuela rural en los años setenta», *Foro de Educación* 8, 12 (2010), 171-173; GROVES, Tamar. «El maestro rural como agente de cultura alternativa durante la transición española: El caso de la provincia de Salamanca», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 17 (2011), 133-143; GROVES, Tamar. «La democracia se hace así. La movilización sindical de los maestros y la democratización de la sociedad española», *Colaboración*, 12, 46 (2012), 7-21; GROVES, Tamar. «Everyday Struggles against Franco's Authoritarian Legacy: Pedagogical Social Movements and Democracy in Spain», *Journal of Social History*, 46, 2 (2012), 305-334; GROVES, Tamar. «¿Modernización o democratización? La construcción de un nuevo sistema educativo entre el tardofranquismo y la democracia», *Bordón*, 65, 4 (2013), 135-148; GROVES, Tamar. «Educación como tema: prensa pedagógica y la recuperación de la sociedad civil en el ámbito local», In HERNÁNDEZ, José M^a (Ed.). *Prensa pedagógica y patrimonio histórico educativo*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2013, 235-243; GROVES, Tamar. «El pasado, el presente y el futuro de una utopía: La Escuela Nueva y la renovación pedagógica», In ESPIGADO TOCINO, M. Gloria; GÓMEZ FERNÁNDEZ, Juan; PASCUA SÁNCHEZ, María José de la; SÁNCHEZ VILLANUEVA, Juan Luis; VÁZQUEZ DOMÍNGUEZ, Carmen (Eds.). *La Constitución de Cádiz: genealogía y desarrollo del sistema educativo liberal. XVII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación, Cádiz, 9-11 de Julio de 2013*, Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2013, 2013, 845-854; GROVES, Tamar. «Educación como tema: prensa pedagógica y la recuperación de la sociedad civil en el ámbito local», In. *Prensa pedagógica y patrimonio histórico educativo: contribuciones desde la Europa mediterránea e Iberoamérica*, Salamanca : Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2013, 2013, 235-244; GROVES, Tamar. «Political Transition and Democratic Teachers: Negotiating Citizenship in the Spanish Education System», *European History Quarterly*, 44, 2 (2014), 263-292; GROVES, Tamar. *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2014; GROVES, Tamar; ORTEGA LÓPEZ, Teresa María; ARCO BLANCO, Miguel Ángel del. «¿Ciudadanía social desde abajo? La movilización por la Escuela Pública y sus valores cívicos», In VV.AA (Ed.). *Claves del mundo contemporáneo, debate e investigación: Actas del XI Congreso de la Asociación de la Historia Contemporánea*, Granada: Comares, 2013; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis; GROVES, Tamar. «Resistance through teachers' professional development. The Spanish Freinet movement before and after the Franco Dictatorship.», In. *International Standing Conference for History of Education-35. Education and Power: Historical Perspectives*, Riga: ISCHE, 2013, 86.

Continuing with this line of argument and analytical perspective, two projects were carried out, by A. M^a. Gómez Sánchez *et al.*, which focus on the contributions of the Spanish Freinet movement to the democratisation of education during the period of transition –particularly to the politico-pedagogical debates about the principles and purposes of public education, the way in which it should be understood, the problems caused by the existence of privately-run, state-funded schools and the role of the school as an agent for community development and a forum for civic participation. The basic documentary source for these works is the collection of the journal *Colaboración*, which is a representative example of the professional pedagogical press in Spain in the 1970s and 1980s, which helped shape the pedagogical outlook that was dominant in these and later decades.²⁶

Finally, there are a few further studies, though of lesser interest, due mainly to their lack of methodological rigour and, on occasions, also to the scant or non-existent contribution they make to the field of study. In any case, the article of M^a. J. Vicén Ferrando is worthy of special mention. It provides especially valuable data concerning the incorporation of the teachings of France's Modern School in several primary schools and in the *Escuela Universitaria de Magisterio* (Teacher-Training University) in Huesca, the practices there and the relations of communication and collaboration that the institutions maintained with other local chapters of the Freinet movement.²⁷

3. FINAL POINTS: POSSIBLE WAYS OUT OF THE MAZE

The map of the historiographical labyrinth on the influence and reception of Freinet in Spain between 1926 and 1983 reveals that this is a well-defined

²⁶ GÓMEZ SÁNCHEZ, Alba María. *Contribuciones del movimiento Freinet a la construcción de la democracia en España durante la Transición política: el boletín Colaboración (1976-1985)*, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2015; HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis; GÓMEZ SÁNCHEZ, Alba María. «Debating education and political reform: the Freinet movement and democratization in Spain (1975-1982)», *História da Educação*, 20, 49 (2016), in press.

²⁷ ERRICO, Gemma. «La pedagogía Freinet en España: la importancia del Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular (MCEP)», *Cabás*, 12 (2014), 1-14; FERNÁNDEZ SARASA, Carla. «Transformación social y creación de sentido en los testimonios de maestros y alumnos de la segunda etapa del movimiento Freinet en España», *Social and Education History*, 4, 3 (2015), 287-308; VICÉN FERRANDO, María Jesús. «Experiencias Freinet en escuelas oscenses (1973-1983)», *Anuario de pedagogía*, 9 (2007), 345-378.

field of investigation, significantly developed and relevant. The early Freinet movement in Spain in the 1920s and 1930s has been particularly well explored, predictably offering little room for important findings or contributions involving a hermeneutical aspect. However, there are still opportunities for original investigations. Some lines of work could very well focus, for example, on closely examining the Spanish reception and metamorphoses of the thinking of the French educator; on continuing to chart the educational archipelago and study the life, production and communication networks of its inhabitants; or on developing and highlighting the political dimension and social impact of the Freinetian link. Following this line, regional studies, such as the one recently published on Valencia, solid and well articulated, can play a particularly important role due to their intensive nature. Nevertheless, this kind of work involves risks, of which we can highlight two: firstly, it is possible to overstate the extent and the depth of the problem that has birthed the investigation; and secondly, it can lead to labyrinths within the labyrinth, which consume the researchers' time and energy, generating a «Groundhog Day» syndrome for them and noising the academic production.

The historiography produced thus far about the second era of the Spanish Freinet movement presents a very different picture. This line of work offers more and better opportunities for significant and innovative investigations. It has solid studies, some of which have also provided theoretical and methodological contributions for the study of the MPRs. However, the bulk of the story is yet to be revealed and narrated; the dimension, the weight and the impact of the group of Freinetian teachers who developed their pedagogical militancy during the late Francoism period and the transition have yet to be determined. Despite the freshness of the terrain, some recently published studies may contribute to the development of more mazes within the maze, and the development of a «Groundhog Day» syndrome in this part of the historiography of the Freinet movement.

In both cases, expanding the studies of the transfer processes of the French educator's thought and practices and introducing the international dimension of the movement as key to the analysis, which would account for the role played by the Spanish group in the history of school renewal, social mobilisation and more extensive political and trade-union militancy, may also provide clear and safe escape routes from the labyrinth.

Finally, at this point, it seems appropriate to provide recommended reading to facilitate the entry and subsequent orientation of researchers into the maze of Spanish historiography. As an introduction to the subject,

which offers an overview of the influence of the Modern School in Spain between 1926 and 1983, the book *D'abord les enfants. Freinet y la educación en España 1926-1975*²⁸ may prove useful. In the specific case of the reception of Freinet's thinking, the techniques of the French educator and the agenda of the Spanish Freinet movement during the 1920s and 1930s, the works entitled *¡Viva la imprenta! Orígenes de la educación Freinet en España. Libro de Vida* and *Freinet en España (1926-1939). Escuela popular, historia y pedagogía*²⁹ will be of interest. For its part, the study *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985* is an essential reference for the second era of the Spanish Freinet movement, developed during the late Franco period and the transition to democracy.³⁰ There are other complementary studies which provide an approach to issues of interest not addressed in the works cited here or which, at best, are only mentioned tangentially. To more fully explore the first of the aforementioned avenues for research, the following books may be particularly appealing. *Batec. Historia de vida de un grupo de maestros* and *Mestres de la impremta. El moviment Freinet Valencià (1931-1939)*,³¹ and with the same goal but in the context of the second stage of the development of the Spanish Freinet movement, it may be advisable to read «Political Transition and Democratic Teachers: Negotiating Citizenship in the Spanish Education System».³²

²⁸ COSTA RICO, Antón. *D'abord les enfants. Freinet y la educación en España 1926-1975* Santiago de Compostela: USC editora académica, 2010.

²⁹ HERNÁNDEZ HUERTA, José Luis. *Freinet en España (1926-1939). Escuela popular, historia y pedagogía*, Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2012; JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *¡Viva la imprenta! Orígenes de la educación Freinet en España. Libro de Vida*, México, D.F.: Tanteo Ediciones, 2011.

³⁰ GROVES, Tamar. *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970-1985*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

³¹ JIMÉNEZ MIER Y TERÁN, Fernando. *Batec. Historia de vida de un grupo de maestros*, Lérida: Universitat de Lleida, 2007; RAMOS GONZÁLEZ, Alfred. *Mestres de la impremta. El moviment Freinet Valencià (1931-1939)*, Castellón: Universitat Jaume I, 2015.

³² GROVES, Tamar. «Political Transition and Democratic Teachers: Negotiating Citizenship in the Spanish Education System», *European History Quarterly*, 44, 2 (2014), 263-292.

