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DOCTORAL THESIS

Mobilization against Education for
Citizenship and Human Rights.
Castile-La Mancha, Castile and León and Madrid

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SUMMARY

Research topic and reasons for its choice

The topic of this study is the process of developing and implementing Education for Citizenship and Human Rights in the Spanish education system. While undertaking the project, special attention has been paid to the study of the mobilization, not exempt from ideological, religious and political connotations, against the application of such education, examining its impact on education policies and textbooks and providing an in-depth analysis of the cases of Castile-La Mancha, Castile and León and Madrid.

The choice of the topic is based on its current relevance and its historical, political and ideological, social, legal, philosophical, educational and media impact.

Scientific interest and significance

The scientific interest of this research lies in its interdisciplinary nature, in line with the current theoretical turn in historiography.

The significance of the study is given by the historical, political and ideological, and educational impact that Education for Citizenship and Human Rights might have on the civic, moral, social and individual education of young people and on the development of a supranational citizenship model that can guarantee democratic principles and human rights.

Likewise, special attention should be drawn to the analysis of the confrontation between advocates and opponents of this educational model. This controversy led to a major religious and political confrontation and to action by Catholic neoconservatives, neo-traditionalists, and even theoconservatives¹. Far from The

¹ Term coined in the Anglo-Saxon world and whose use has been introduced in Spain, especially over the last decade, to refer to right-wing Catholic sectors whose goal is to impose the social doctrine of the Church from a neo-traditionalist approach, in socio-cultural, legal and political areas. Carlos GARCÍA DE ANDOIN, "Cristianismo y laicidad cara a cara", *Iglesia Viva*, 221 (2005) pp.: 52-54; José Luis BARBERÍA, "Los 'teocons' se hacen con el mando en la Iglesia", *El País*, 30 December 2007; Elías DÍAZ GARCÍA, "Neocons y teocons: dos fundamentalismos en coalición", *Sistema: Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 200 (2007), pp.: 3-15; Elías DÍAZ GARCÍA, "Neocons y teocons: Fundamentalismo versus democracia" in Antonio RIVERA GARCÍA and José Luis VILLACAÑAS, (eds.), *Ensayos sobre historia del pensamiento español. Homenaje a José Luis Abellán*, Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2012, pp.: 219-242.

European Council's recommendations and the Global Discourse of Human Rights, these groups understood the subject as State interference to impose laicism, moral relativism, legal positivism and gender ideology, thus violating parents' right to provide their children with values and moral education in conformity with their convictions. Consequently, the mobilization against this subject followed different action plans, most of which adopted principles of civil disobedience against it, seeking its removal from curricula or at least the recognition of the right to conscientious objection to it.

State of the issue

The issue has been addressed from different perspectives by leading national and international academics, opening several lines of research that have become more notorious from 2007 onwards. Likewise, not less important is the fact that the interest of researchers in civic democratic educational policies has increased over the last two decades, in step with the creation of a European education policy and the review of the concept of citizenship².

In this regard, mention will be made of several leading studies and significant legal-ethic, philosophical-political, sociological-religious, gender based, historical-educational and press contributions by different experts on the subject of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, holding both supporting, and opposing positions towards its implementation.

² José Antonio GARCIA SUAREZ, *Política Educativa Comunitaria. Educación e integración europea*, Barcelona: Boixareu, 1991; Fernando BÁRCENA, Fernando GIL and Gonzalo JOVER, "Los valores de la dimensión europea en la educación. La política educativa de la Comunidad y el reto de la construcción de una ciudadanía europea", *Revista Complutense de Educación*, Vol. 5, 1 (1994), pp.: 9-43; Raúl URZÚA and Manuel DE PUELLES BENÍTEZ, "Educación, gobernabilidad democrática y gobernabilidad de los sistemas educativos", *Revista iberoamericana de educación*, 12 (1996), pp.: 107-136; Miguel Anxo SANTOS REGO, (ed.), *Política educativa en la Unión Europea después de Maastricht*, Santiago de Compostela: EGAP/Xunta de Galicia, 1997; Alejandro MAYORDOMO, *El aprendizaje cívico*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1998; Antonio MOLERO PINTADO, "Política y educación en la Unión Europea: un proyecto emergente", *Revista de Ciencias de la Educación*, 178-179 (1999), pp.: 243-259; Félix ETXEBERRIA, *Políticas educativas en la Unión Europea*, Barcelona: Ariel, 2000; José GIMENO SACRISTÁN, *Educación y convivir en la cultura global: las exigencias de la ciudadanía*, Madrid: Morata, 2002; Fernando GIL and Gonzalo JOVER, "La contribución de la educación ética y política en la formación del ciudadano", *Revista de Educación*, vol. extraordinario (2003), pp.:109-129.

Gregorio Peces-Barba, Chair of Philosophy of Law at the Carlos III University of Madrid, member of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) and one of the seven fathers of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, approached the issue from a legal-ethic perspective. Peces-Barba stressed the difference between public ethics, included as part of the subject and related to the work of the State and the transmission of current democratic and constitutional thinking, and private ethics, as relevant as the former but linked to parents' right to educate their children in religious and moral values according to their convictions and, therefore, related to personal beliefs in salvation, good and evil, joy or virtue. Very critical towards the position of the Catholic Church on the matter, his conclusions served to support the Socialist Government's arguments on the matter of education³.

Dionisio Llamazares Fernández, Chair of State Ecclesiastical Law at the Complutense University of Madrid, focused his research on Education for Citizenship, considering public ethics as necessary as private ethics in terms of personal growth. Llamazares Fernández tried to prove that arguments supporting conscientious objection against this subject responded to ideological prejudices that fell into *contradictio in terminis*, such as the claim of the Catholic Church that “there is no democracy without God (...) democracy without God is the antechamber of dictatorship and the violation of human rights and (...) there is no moral without God nor outside religion”⁴. This author believes criticism from neoconservative and neo-traditionalist Catholic sectors towards Education for Citizenship to be a result from rejection to the secularization of moral suggested by this subject⁵.

The teacher of State Ecclesiastical Law of the Faculty of Law of Extremadura, Rafael Valencia Candalija, approached the process of implementation of this subject in the Spanish education system and the debate it sparked by drawing attention to the complexity and diversity of ideological and legal conceptions that, completely

³ Gregorio PECES-BARBA, *Educación para la Ciudadanía y Derechos Humanos*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2007.

⁴ Dionisio LLAMAZARES FERNÁNDEZ, *Educación para la ciudadanía democrática y objeción de conciencia*, Madrid: Dykinson, 2009, p.: 32.

⁵ *Ibid* and Dionisio LLAMAZARES FERNÁNDEZ, “Educación para la Ciudadanía, laicidad y enseñanza de la religión” in *Laicidad y libertades: escritos jurídicos*, 6 (2006), pp.: 219-266.

lacking connection, have confronted the subject of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights and the possibility of objection to it⁶.

Adela Cortina, Chair of Legal, Moral, and Political Ethics and Philosophy at the University of Valencia and Director Foundation for Promoting of the Business and Organizations Ethics (ÉTNOR), has spent many years studying the concept of citizenship and its impact on different social areas, such as education.

Cortina has developed a theory of global citizenship based on common values so that nobody becomes excluded. Therefore, this author believes that those ethic and civic values that can be commonly accepted and shared by everyone are the ones that should characterize civic education, defending global citizenship based on shared ethic principles that provide for gender equality and gay rights. In her research, she made a positive assessment of the civic and democratic ethics that serves as a basis for the pedagogical principles of Education for Citizenship, showing her support of teaching not only contents, but also civic values and skills that may encourage global justice⁷.

Socialist Victorino Mayoral Cortés, President of the Education and Attendance Foundation CIVES, argued that Education for Citizenship and Human Rights answers the recommendations of the Council of Europe for the development of a type of education that contributes to build a place of plural coexistence, cohesion and integration and therefore, respect for democratic principles, preventing discrimination in a complex society.

Mayoral Cortés believed that this education does not involve any type of indoctrination, neither right wing or left wing, neither denominational nor against religious beliefs, but rather inspired by constitutional civic values. Likewise, he held that this type of education does no harm to religious freedom or to parents' choice of educating their children based on their own religious beliefs, but that it is rather a complement that may enrich religion, since it ultimately responds to the democratic and human rights principles of a plural and non-denominational State.

⁶ Rafael VALENCIA CANDALIJA, *La implantación de Educación para la Ciudadanía en el sistema educativo español*, Madrid: Dykinson, 2013.

⁷ Adela CORTINA, *Ética de la razón cordial. Educar en la ciudadanía en el siglo XXI*, Oviedo: Ediciones Nobel, 2007.

However, Mayoral Cortés criticized the granting of privileges to a specific type of religious education because, understanding it as unconstitutional, a hindrance to democratic progress, and contrary to the State's secular nature.

He considered the idea proposed by part of the Catholic collective of providing for two types of education in values and democratic contents, one faith-based and one secular, to be unconstitutional. He argued that the resulting development of two civic-democratic identities would lead to a breakdown in the social conception of democratic and constitutional principles and human rights.

Lastly, he condemned the lack of education in civic values in our education system has been experiencing compared to other democratic countries. In this sense, he stressed the need for delivering education with a minimum common ground in terms of ethic, civic, integrating, democratic and non-religious values, since if it were to be denominational, it would lead to discrimination in a plural and global society such as the Spanish one⁸.

Amnesty International has been carrying out intensive work for Education in Human Rights in Spain. Using the Global Discourse of Human Rights as a basis, it approved the inclusion of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights in the Spanish educational curriculum. Similarly, it was wary of the actions of certain autonomous governments, such as that of Madrid, Valencia or Castile and León⁹, headed by the conservative and neoliberal Popular Party (PP), against the adaptation of the contents of this subject to the guidelines of the United Nations Plan of Action for Education on Human Rights and those of the European Council on Democratic Citizenship¹⁰.

⁸ Victorino MAYORAL CORTÉS, *Educación para la Ciudadanía 2: Argumentos para el debate*, Madrid: Fundación Educativa y Asistencial CIVES, 2006; Victorino MAYORAL CORTÉS, "Controversia española sobre Educación para la Ciudadanía", *Idea La Mancha: Revista de Educación de Castilla-La Mancha*, 6 (2008), pp. 72-78 and Victorino MAYORAL CORTÉS, "Educación para la Ciudadanía" *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, vol. 41, 3, (2007) <<http://www.rieoei.org/deloslectores/1797VictorinoMayoral.pdf>> [Consulted: 23 January 2012].

⁹ AMNISTÍA INTERNACIONAL, *Un paso correcto, un desarrollo insuficiente*, Madrid: Amnistía Internacional, 2008 <<http://www.es.amnesty.org/noticias/noticias/articulo/un-paso-correcto-un-desarrollo-insuficiente/>> [consulted: 21 January 2012]

¹⁰ AMNISTÍA INTERNACIONAL, *A la cola de una Europa pobre en Educación en Derechos Humanos*, Madrid: Amnistía Internacional: 2008 <<http://www.es.amnesty.org/noticias/noticias/articulo/a-la-cola-de-una-europa-pobre-en-educacion-en-derechos-humanos/>> [consulted: 21 January 2012]

Nevertheless, the organization also issued a warning to the Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (2004-2011), since, while his work towards developing and implementing this type of education was excellent, it believed that the Organic Law of Education 2006 and its implementing regulations¹¹ were lacking in terms of specific education in Human Rights. Thus, it suggested that the Socialist Government take action to improve its teaching and development¹².

Rafael Díaz-Salazar, professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences and Sociology of the Complutense University of Madrid and at the University Institute for Development and Cooperation, also approached the issue of Education for Citizenship from the point of view of sociology of religion, voicing severe criticism of conscientious objection to this type of education.

Díaz-Salazar considered that the underlying problem was the fact that this education invoked a connection between law, moral and religion, and provided an accurate and clever analysis of it, defending the need for moral and civic education based on the ethic universalism of Human Rights to guarantee the consolidation of democratic systems. Likewise, he highlighted the relevance of carrying out research on rejection and the ensuing conscientious objection against this type of education encouraged by Catholic neocons, analysing the link between ideological theses and collective action, since Díaz-Salazar believes that this reaction could be due to a revival of pre-modern forms of religiousness and moral¹³.

Theologian Juan José Tamayo, engaged in liberation theology, was quite positive in his analysis of the teaching of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, believing it to be a good way to develop a plural, cosmopolitan, global and democratic model of citizenship. Tamayo criticized the irresponsibility of certain political sectors with neoconservative Catholic inclinations, as well as the most reactionary and traditionalist faction of ecclesiastical hierarchy, in encouraging civil disobedience and manipulatively comparing a subject governed by democratic

¹¹ AMNISTÍA INTERNACIONAL, *Un paso correcto, un desarrollo insuficiente*.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Rafael DÍAZ-SALAZAR, *Democracia laica y religión pública*, Madrid: Taurus, 2007 and Rafael DÍAZ-SALAZAR, “Ciudadanía plural y convivencia nacional. Lógicas internas de los detractores y defensores de la asignatura de Educación para la Ciudadanía” in José Manuel ALFONSO SÁNCHEZ (dir.) *Educación para la Ciudadanía: razones y reacciones*, Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2010, pp.: 61-72.

principles with education in the national spirit, inspired by the values of the Franco dictatorship. Similarly, he rejected the decision reached by the Socialist Government together with certain Catholic organizations to adapt the subject's contents in their centres to Catholic ideology, considering that it led to its denaturing and the risk of subjugating the teaching of the Constitution and democratic laws to the Catholic religious ideology. Lastly, he claimed the secular nature of this type of education and its direct interrelationship with all sectors of society to ensure its proper development¹⁴.

In the same vein, theologian and ex-priest of the Claretian order, Benjamín Forcano, used his research and essays to express his criticism towards the reaction raised against the subject and stated that its inclusion in the Spanish educational curriculum did not pose a threat to Christian humanism, arguing that the issues underlying the fierce opposition to it might be the Catholic Church's fear of losing its theological leadership and temporal authority¹⁵.

Rosa Cobo Bedía, feminist theorist and professor of Sociology of Gender at the University of A Coruña, in "Educar en la ciudadanía: perspectivas feministas"¹⁶, justified the implementation of the subject from a multidisciplinary gender-based perspective, pointing out that Education for Citizenship provides the basis for a critical approach of society and its transformation. Her arguments showed how this type of education could contribute to eradicating sociocultural barriers that, even today, favour gender inequality, hindering full citizenship for women in societies that claim to be democratic and guardians of Human Rights¹⁷.

Madeleine Arnot, professor of Educational Sociology at the University of Cambridge, Chair of the Executive Editorial Board of the British Journal of Sociology of Education and member of the drafting committee for International

¹⁴ Juan José TAMAYO, "¿Qué educación para la Ciudadanía?", *Pueblos. Revista de Información y Debate*, 29 (2007) y Juan José TAMAYO, "¿Educación para la Ciudadanía?, Depende", *atrio.org*, 16 December 2007 <<http://2006.atrío.org/?p=1057>> [13 August 2013].

¹⁵ Benjamín FORCANO, *Educación para la ciudadanía y los derechos humanos: una propuesta educativa acorde con una visión humanista Cristiana*, Madrid: Nueva Utopía, 2007.

¹⁶ Cristina Justo Suárez, Luisa Posada Kubissa, Alicia Miyares, Ana Sánchez Bello, Ana Iglesias Galdo and Pilar Ballarín also participated in this work.

¹⁷ Rosa COBO BEDÍA, "Repensando la democracia: mujeres y ciudadanía" in Rosa COBO BEDÍA, (ed.), *Educar en la ciudadanía: perspectivas feministas*, Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2008, pp.: 19-52.

Studies in Sociology of Education (UK), consistent with the changes that have taken place in the 21st century, examined the need to launch a new type of ethic-civic education to prepare for global citizenship with a gender perspective in “Coeducando para una ciudadanía en igualdad”¹⁸. Part of the analysis was devoted to research on the implementation of civic-democratic education in the UK through the English version of Education for Citizenship, proving that there is a significant lack of attention to the gender issue. Her research yielded practical conclusions to transform this type of education into a real education for citizenship consistent with the gender perspective. There are even strategies for women to contribute in coping with current global problems that are usually presented as unrelated to gender issues but are, in fact, closely linked to them¹⁹.

Matilde Peinado Rodríguez, professor of Didactics of Social Sciences at the University of Jaen, was highly critical of groups opposing Education for Citizenship and Human rights. She also questioned the allegations made against teachers’ professionalism when teaching this subject matter. Peinado Rodríguez advocated for the joint working of school, family and social movements, among others, to encourage civic-democratic education. Her analysis concluded that the psychological, social and cultural prejudices about sexuality that are deeply rooted in Spanish society are the real trigger of the problem, and provided evidence of certain textbooks whose contents tentatively address affective-sexual issues or the gender perspective²⁰.

From a historical-educational perspective, Antonio Bolívar Botia, Chair of Didactics and School Organization at the University of Granada, tried to justify the inclusion of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights as a means to educate citizens from a basis of social cohesion, encouraging cultural exchange for the sharing of common values, above particularities and without denying cultural differences. Bolívar stressed the need to engage all social actors in the spread of civic-democratic

¹⁸ With the collaboration of Jo-Anne Dillabough, Helena Araújo, Kiki Deliyanni, Gabrielle Ivinson, Amparo Tomé, Patrick Brindle and Harriet Marsall.

¹⁹ Madeleine ARNOT, *Coeducando para una ciudadanía en igualdad*, Madrid: Morata, 2009.

²⁰ Matilde PEINADO RODRÍGUEZ, “Educación para la ciudadanía ¿Pensar la homosexualidad en clave educativa?”, *Revista de Antropología Experimental*, 7 (2007), pp.: 185-204; Matilde Peinado Rodríguez, “En torno a la asignatura <<Educación para la Ciudadanía>>: Balance de una polémica (2007-2011)”, *Revista de Antropología Experimental*, 12 (2012), pp.: 277-286 and Matilde PEINADO RODRÍGUEZ, “Educación para la ciudadanía: una reflexión desde lo efímero (2007-2013)”, *Iber: Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales*, 75 (2013), pp.: 25-32.

education, stating that it is not only a matter of contents and curricular values, but also a life style that requires the practical exercise of democratic principles²¹.

Audrey Osler, founding Director of the Centre for Citizenship and Human Rights Education (CCHRE) of the University of Leeds (UK), and Hugh Starkey, professor of Citizenship and Education in Human Rights at the Institute of Education of the University College London (UK) are experts in Education for Democratic Citizenship and Education in Human Rights.

Osler and Starkey have spent decades researching into issues related to civic-democratic education, analysing the reasons and implementation process of this type of education in different countries and introducing recommendations to improve its delivery. Likewise, a part of their research has been devoted to how forms of nationalism and national identity can use education as a means to include or exclude. Osler and Starkey call for civic-democratic education in Human Rights that can overcome old-fashioned ideas of national citizenship and, from a critical but constructive approach, work towards the building of a cosmopolitan model of citizenship that guarantees minimum common principles to ensure sustainable development, social progress, social cohesion and peace²².

Manuel Pérez Ledesma, Chair of Contemporary History at the Autonomous University of Madrid, has worked extensively on the evolution of the concept of citizenship in Spain, reviewing it from a historical perspective and identifying the role of education in shaping citizenship and building national identity, both in the past and today. In this sense, Pérez Ledesma addressed, although not in depth, the problem of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, questioning the underlying intentions of the Catholic Church regarding the issue²³.

²¹ Antonio BOLÍVAR BOTIA, *Educación para la Ciudadanía. Algo más que una asignatura*, Barcelona: GRAÓ, 2007.

²² Audrey Osler and Hugh STARKEY, *Changing citizenship. Democracy and inclusion in Education*, Maidenhead (UK): Open University Press, 2005; Audrey Osler and Hugh STARKEY, *Teachers and Human Rights Education*, Stoke on Trent, UK and Sterling, USA: Trentham Books, 2010; Audrey OSLER and Hugh STARKEY, "Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences", in Liam GEARON (ed.), *Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School: A companion to school experience*, London: Routledge, 2014, pp.: 281-292.

²³ Manuel PÉREZ LEDESMA, "El lenguaje de la ciudadanía en la España contemporánea", in Manuel PÉREZ LEDESMA, *De súbditos a ciudadanos. Un historia de la ciudadanía en España*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios políticos y constitucionales, 2007, pp.:479-480.

The study conducted by Joaquín García Roca, a priest of the Diocese of Valencia, supported the teaching of this subject matter, although with certain adaptations to Catholic approaches. García Roca appealed to pedagogical, legal, ethical and religious reasons and defended the need for a common ethical minimum, in a Catholic key, to implement full and active exercise of citizenship. He also confirmed the decisive role of religion in the building of Human Rights and the relevance of the Catholic Church in the globalization of democratic values²⁴. Closer to the approaches for the organization of Catholic centres “Catholic Schools” than to those of the Episcopal Conference of Spain, rather than choosing confrontation, he was more subtle, supporting a catholicized subject of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights.

Some left-wing academics, such as Carlos Fernández Liria and Luis Alegre Zahonero, philosophers and professors of philosophy and the Complutense University of Madrid, rejected the subjects of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights designed by the Socialist Government, considering them a means to cover up the neoliberal nature of our social reality, and therefore, with serious consequences for the intended model of citizenship. According to these academics, the approach of the Government’s model of citizenship was moralist and lacked critical analysis, the aim being to defend the neoliberal and capitalist model as the only possible one. Likewise, believing that the field of philosophy was the best civic-democratic way to train citizens capable of reasoning and arguing according to their own independent criteria, they condemned the negative impact on the subject of philosophy caused by the design of the subject of Education for Citizenship²⁵.

Materialist philosopher Gustavo Bueno, critical of the metaphysic principles he saw as underlying Human Rights, researched the topic from a philosophical, political and ideological, and educational approach. Bueno reviewed the evolution of this type of education in a selection of textbooks²⁶, with the purpose of proving that the

²⁴ Joaquín GARCÍA ROCA, “Educación para la ciudadanía” in *Cuadernos CJ. Cristianisme i justícia*, 149 (2007), pp.: 3-28.

²⁵ Carlos FERNÁNDEZ LIRIA; Pedro FERNÁNDEZ LIRIA, Luis ALEGRE ZAHONERO and Miguel BRIEVA, *Educación para la Ciudadanía. Democracia, Capitalismo y Estado de Derecho*, Madrid: Akal, 2007.

²⁶ In particular the textbooks of publishing houses Edebé, Santillana, SM and Akal, in its 2007 edition. Attention should be paid to the fact that the book from Akal was not a school textbook. In

Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, and even the European Union, were using this type of education to pursue indoctrinating interests. Furthermore, he established a link between this type of education, which he viewed as a secular manner of Catholic catechesis, and the action plan developed by the Catholic Church to impose its ideology. Finally, after criticising the inaccurate and indeterminate terminology used in the field of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, he declared himself in favour of a subject aimed at building a specifically Spanish citizenship²⁷.

Lourdes Ruano Espina, Chair of Ecclesiastical Law at the University of Salamanca and Head of the Platform against Education for Citizenship “Salamanca Educa en Libertad”, using arguments that are very close to Catholic natural law, approached the topic from a mainly philosophical-legal point of view. In favour of conscientious objection to this type of education, she declared that it violated the fundamental right and natural duty of parents to provide their children with religious and moral education in conformity with their beliefs.

Ruano Espina analysed the sentences pronounced by the High Court and the Constitutional Court on conscientious objection to this type of education, pointing out that the reasons were weak, contradictory and lacked depth. Likewise, she condemned the approach to certain contents of the subject matter, questioning the heavy moral burden she believed it involved and the lack of attention to the transcendent dimension of human beings under highly secular references. She even disapproved of Human Rights being presented as unfinished historical conquests²⁸.

fact, its authors claimed that “our book is not a textbook. And, of course, it was completely fallacious to be already using it as such in teaching centres (...) it has not been officially approved by the Ministry of Education; it does not follow the subject’s curriculum, etc.” C. FERNÁNDEZ LIRIA; P. FERNÁNDEZ LIRIA, L. ALEGRE ZAHONERO and M. BRIEVA, *Educación para la Ciudadanía*, p.: 10.

²⁷ Gustavo BUENO, *La fe del ateo. Las verdaderas razones del enfrentamiento de la Iglesia con el Gobierno socialista*, Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2007, pp. 133-192 and ff. Also Gustavo BUENO, “Sobre la educación para la ciudadanía democrática”, *El Catoblepas*, 62 (April 2007), <<http://www.nodulo.org/ec/2007/n062p02.htm>> [consulted: 7 May 2012].

²⁸ Lourdes RUANO ESPINA, “Objeción de conciencia a la Educación para la Ciudadanía” *Revista General de Derecho Canónico y Derecho Eclesiástico del Estado*, 17 (2008); Lourdes RUANO ESPINA, “Las sentencias del Tribunal Supremo de 11 de septiembre de 2009 sobre objeción de conciencia a Educación para la Ciudadanía”, *Revista española de derecho canónico*, vol. 66, 166 (2009), pp.: 211-274; Lourdes RUANO ESPINA, “La objeción de conciencia a la educación para la ciudadanía: su cobertura jurídica y su realidad social” in J. M. ALFONSO SÁNCHEZ (dir.) *Educación para la*

Different work teams of the association for Ethics Professionals analysed the topic of Education for Citizenship from a legal, philosophical-political and educational perspective, supporting and justifying conscientious objection and action against this type of education. According to their research, the distinction between public and private ethics is a fallacy to impose the ideological and cultural project that is the backbone of the thinking of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE). According to the organization, this project manipulates the mentality of Spanish citizens through law and misleading language, depriving parents of their freedom to educate their children according to their moral beliefs and breaking the neutrality of the education system.

According to the reflections of the Ethics Professionals, clearly influenced by Catholic natural law, the common public ethics in Education for Citizenship and Human Rights is embellished with democratic references that impose secularity, relativism, legal positivism and gender “ideology”²⁹, violating people’s moral nature and paving the State’s way into a field that is the exclusive domain of religion and parents³⁰.

These considerations agreed with those of other neoconservative and neo-traditionalist Catholic associations, such as the Spanish Family Forum or Hazte Oír, and even with the views of high authorities in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, such as Archbishop Emeritus of Madrid and President of the Spanish Episcopal Conference (1999-2005 and 2008-2014), Antonio María Rouco Varela, with strong tendencies

Ciudadanía: razones y reacciones, pp.: 133-174 and Lourdes RUANO ESPINA, “Sentencias del Tribunal Constitucional 28/2014, de 24 de febrero (BOE nº 73, de 25-III-2014) y 41/2014, de 24 de marzo de 2014 (BOE nº 87, de 10-IV-2014) Objeción de conciencia a Educación para la Ciudadanía”, *Ars Iuris Salmanticensis: AIS Revista europea e iberoamericana de pensamiento y análisis de derecho, ciencia política y criminología*, Vol. 2, 2 (2014), pp.: 257-261.

²⁹ The term gender ideology has negative connotations when it refers to the gender perspective.

³⁰ PROFESIONALES POR LA ÉTICA, “Guía para la Objeción de Conciencia. Educación para la Ciudadanía: los padres elegimos”, *arbil.org*, October 2006 <<http://www.arbil.org/108guia.pdf>> [consulted: 3 January 2014]; PROFESIONALES POR LA ÉTICA, Educación para la Ciudadanía: una moral de estado obligatoria: Informe sobre los contenidos mínimos de la asignatura para la ESO, *profesionalesetica.org*, 30 January 2007 <http://www.profesionalesetica.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/EpC_ESO.pdf> [consulted: 3 January 2012]; PROFESIONALES POR LA ÉTICA, *¡Ni un paso atrás! La batalla de los padres frente a Educación para la ciudadanía*, Madrid: Critería, 2009.

towards Catholic neo-traditionalism and right-hand man and spokesman in Spain of the ideological thinking of Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI³¹.

Attention should also be drawn to the participation of Ethics Professionals in different academic conferences and its role as advisor of different figures that were interested in the issue, such as writer and journalist Rafael Gómez Pérez. Supporting the associations' arguments, this author tried to defend that Education for Citizenship and Human Rights was a state imposition established by the Socialist Government of Rodríguez Zapatero³².

Lawyer Jesús Trillo-Figueroa and Martínez-Conde approached the issue from a legal-political point of view. Their work supported the belief that the ideological-pedagogical keys of this subject were related to a totalitarian project that the Government of Rodríguez Zapatero, from its left-wing radicalism, was keen on imposing by means of education, abrogating and usurping private conscience and the rights of families and religious groups³³.

Upon request of Alfredo Dagnino Guerra, President of the San Pablo University Foundation, the Catholic Propaganda Association and the Intereconomía Foundation at the time, teachers of the private Catholic universities CEU San Pablo and Pontifical University of Comillas, José J. Escandell, Antonio Páramo and José Ángel Ceballos, analysed the contents of nineteen Education for Citizenship textbooks³⁴. The study was conducted from a historical-educational, anthropological

³¹ HAZTE OÍR, "Informe sobre las bases de la Educación para la Ciudadanía", *hazteoir.org*, March 2006 <<http://www.hazteoir.org/documentos/instruccionesmec.pdf>> [consulted: 25 March 2011]; Benigno BLANCO and Raúl GARCÍA, *Educación para la Ciudadanía: Los contenidos inaceptables*, Madrid: Foro Español de la Familia, 2007 <<http://www.forofamilia.org/articulos/educacin-para-la-ciudadana-los-contenidos-inaceptables/>> [consulted: 20 January 2012]; Antonio María ROUCO VARELA, *Educación para la Ciudadanía. Reflexiones para la valoración jurídica y ética de una nueva asignatura en el sistema escolar español*, Madrid: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Teología de San Dámaso, 2007.

³² Rafael GÓMEZ PÉREZ, *Ética ciudadana. Más allá de una educación para la ciudadanía*, Madrid: Sekotia, 2007.

³³ Jesús TRILLO-FIGUEROA, *Un tentación totalitaria. Educación para la Ciudadanía*, Navarra: EUNSA, 2008.

³⁴ In particular those of publishing houses Algaida, Anaya, Bruño, Casals, Edebé, Edelvives, Ediciones del Serbal, Editex, Everest, Laberinto, Los Libros de la Catarata, McGraw-Hill, Octaedro, Oxford, Pearson Educación-Alhambra, Santillana, SM, Vicens Vives and Akal. Although, as mentioned, the book of Akal that was analysed was not a textbook.

and philosophical-moral point of view and in accordance with traditional Catholicism.

Escandell, Páramo and Ceballos focused mainly on the negative and critical points, declaring that “the ultimate basis of moral duty lies only in God”³⁵. Thus, they defended that there were principles that were common to all textbooks and facilitated the endeavour of Zapatero’s Socialist Government to build a global social moral detached from the Catholic truth and the transcendental nature of the human being. Likewise, they observed that textbooks could be classified into two groups: radical, following clearly defined lines that went beyond the Government’s ideological background; and liberal and ambiguous. According to their study, all of them adopted a psychological and sociological approach that was far from critical analysis, constructing, in most cases, apparently progressive moral values that encouraged an excluding form of secular laicism.

According to the researchers, the reasons that could explain textbooks’ “simplicity and lack of rigour” were as follows: the intention to manipulate students; taking for granted that lack of classroom discipline prevented in-depth study of the subject matter; believing it was an easy subject; or an underhand rejection of the contents and aims of Education for Citizenship³⁶.

That the issue of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights has led to the production of much bibliographic material is a fact. Well-known publishing houses and journals in the area of Social Sciences and Humanities –both progressive and conservative- have published research papers, essays and articles on historical, educational, gender-based, legal, journalistic, political and philosophical aspects of the issue³⁷.

³⁵ José J. ESCANDELL, José Ángel CEBALLOS and Antonio PÁRAMO, *Diecinueve manuales de educación para la ciudadanía*, Madrid: CEU, 2009, p.: 147.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp.: 146-147.

³⁷ Marion STEINBERGER, “La educación para la ciudadanía en las escuelas de Europa”, *Organización y gestión educativa: Revista del Fórum Europeo de Administradores de la Educación*, vol. 13, 2 (2005), pp.: 27-29; Julio SEOANE PINILLA, “Virtudes cívicas y educación de la ciudadanía: Una incómoda e inevitable amistad” *Arbor: Ciencia, pensamiento y cultura*, 722 (2006), pp.: 751-762; Inés I. REIS, F. José SADIO RAMOS and Teresa CUNHA, “Educación no-formal, género y ciudadanía: un proyecto de educación para los derechos humanos”, in Encarnación SORIANO AYALA, M^a Mar OSORIO MÉNDEZ and A. José GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, *Interculturalidad y género*, Almería: Universidad de Almería, 2006, pp.: 18-23; Alfonso RUIZ MIGUEL, “Educación, escuela, ciudadanía” *Claves de razón práctica*, 171 (2007), pp.: 68-75; Antonio Ernesto GÓMEZ RODRÍGUEZ, “Educación para la

Reading the different studies and expert contributions on the issue has been very enriching to understand and contextualize the research issue. Its complexity goes beyond a purely academic level, extending to the realms of ideological-religious beliefs, mentalities and individual and collective identities, and social behaviour.

Within the framework of this intense and passionate interdisciplinary and ideological debate that has affected all levels of Spanish, and even international, society because of the complexity and significance it conveys, the historical-educational, philosophical-political, legal-ethic, journalistic, sociological-religious and gender-based approaches that are closer to my line of research are those of Audrey Osler, Victorino Mayoral Cortés, Amnistía Internacional, Dionisio Llamazares

Ciudadanía en la Europa democrática”, *Temas para el debate*, 149 (2007), pp.: 52-54; Fernando DE HARO (ed.), *¿Qué hacemos, con Educación para la Ciudadanía?*, Madrid: Encuentro, 2007; María ELÓSEGUI, “La educación para la ciudadanía y los derechos humanos”, *Persona y Derecho: Revista de Fundamentación de las Instituciones Jurídicas y de Derechos Humanos*, 58 (2008), pp.: 417-454; Enrique ARNALDO ALCUBILLA, “A vueltas con la “educación para la ciudadanía”: las respuestas judiciales” *Diario La Ley*, 6919 (2008), pp.: 1-9; Juan Manuel FERNÁNDEZ-SORIA, “Educación para la Ciudadanía y los Derechos Humanos: Controversias entorno a una asignatura (o entre ética pública y ética privada)” *Transatlántica de Educación*, vol. IV (2008), pp.: 45- 64; M^a José AGRA ROMERO, “Ciudadanía: ¿Un asunto de familia?”, *Isegoría: Revista de filosofía moral y política*, 38 (2008), pp.: 139-154; J. Alberto ESCOBAR MARÍN, “La objeción de conciencia a la asignatura educación para la ciudadanía y los derechos humanos” *Anuario jurídico y económico escorialense*, 42 (2009), pp. 175-194; E. José GIL FERNÁNDEZ, “Educación para la ciudadanía, sí. Educación de la ciudadanía, no”, *Auriensia: publicación anual del Instituto Teológico “Divino Maestro” de la Diócesis de Ourense*, 12 (2009), pp.: 403-434; Eusebio FERNÁNDEZ GARCÍA, “Algunas aporías de la Educación para la Ciudadanía”, *Derechos y libertades: Revista del Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas*, 23 (2010), pp.: 139-144; Juan VELA BERMEJO, “Sobre el funcionamiento semiótico de los procedimientos discursivos de cohesión textual. La persona en la materia de Educación para la Ciudadanía y los Derechos Humanos”, *Estudios de Lingüística: E. L. U. A.*, 25 (2011), pp.: 317-352; Gregorio CÁMARA VILLAR, “El debate en España sobre la materia <<Educación para la Ciudadanía y los Derechos Humanos>> ante se proyectada supresión y cambio” in *Constitución y democracia: ayer y hoy. Libro homenaje a Antonio Torres del Moral*, vol. 2, 2012, pp.: 2401-2424; Patricia DELGADO GRANADOS, “Desencuentros en torno a la Educación para la Ciudadanía en España. Los enfoques laicistas y conservador frente a frente” in Fabrizio Manuel SIRIGNANO (ed. lit.) and José GONZÁLEZ-MONTEAGUDO (ed. lit.), *Apprendimento, Cittadinanza e partecipazione. Una prospettiva dal sud de l' Europa*, Napoli: Universita degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa, 2013, pp.: 43-64; Ana María MONTERO-PEDRERA, Cristina YANES CABRERA, Encarnación SÁNCHEZ-LISSEN, “Estudio sobre Educación para la Ciudadanía en el marco de las políticas educativas españolas (1970-2006)” in Miguel BEAS MIRANDA (ed. lit.), *Ciudadanías e identidades en los manuales escolares (1970-2012)*, Sevilla: Díada, 2013, pp.: 71-88; Claudia Liliana BEDOGA ABELLA, “Educación para la sexualidad y construcción de ciudadanía”, *Sophia*, vol. 10, 1 (2014), pp.: 95-106; José A. PINEDA-ALFONSO, “Educación para la Ciudadanía trabajando con temas controvertidos en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria”, *Revista de investigación educativa, RIE*, vol. 33, 2 (2015), págs.: 353-367.

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I believe that the underlying issue is that, despite the Transition and the ratification of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, which led to the legal recognition of Human Rights, there is a variety of interpretations in current Spanish society based on ideological-religious beliefs, democratic principles and Human Rights, without a shared common minimum of civic-democratic principles.

This picture not only hinders the consolidation of a common national identity, but also that of an inclusive and cosmopolitan model of citizenship that can respond to international demands. Friction between ideological-religious beliefs and democratic principles damages key aspects of the maturity of the democracy and education system, such as gender equality and secularization. Moreover, it calls for certain sectors to believe that education in values and global ethics can only be addressed from a Catholic faith based approach, seeking to preserve ancestral National Catholic identity traits.

Therefore, I believe that the issue at stake is how to conceive and articulate national and supranational citizenship. This recalls the fact that from the late 18th century and early 19th century, more specifically with the implementation of the education system, there have been several tugs-of-war between enlightened and reactionary, moderates and progressives and liberals and conservatives, regarding the educational model that should be developed. The discussion revolved around whether the State or the Church should be entrusted with the task of developing values and civic education and, therefore, the model of citizenship to be established.

This is one of the greatest controversies in Spanish late modern history and is still alive and unsolved. Although the context changes, the underlying problem does not, hindering the achievement of awareness of a civic-democratic culture and delaying, to a certain degree, cohesion with the rest of democratic countries.

Main purposes

Beyond the relevant data collected from the analyses carried out and the contributions of the above mentioned researchers, it is also necessary to conduct detailed historical-educational research on the development of civic-democratic

education in the Spanish late modern education system, especially focusing on the area of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights. Likewise, there were no studies on the process of mobilization against the implementation of such education and its impact on textbooks and on the corresponding national and regional public education policies. There were also no studies comparing the mobilizations and discourse in autonomous regions with opposing political orientations and different levels of social religiousness, such as Castile- La Mancha, Castile and León and Madrid. Therefore, these are the main purposes of my study.

Secondary purposes

The secondary purposes of the study are as follows:

- To establish and define the key concepts of the research to facilitate reflection on the issues to be addressed.
- To understand and explain the origin, demands and reasons for the implementation of Education for Citizenship and Human Laws in the Spanish educational curriculum, reflecting on its relationship with the much criticised and challenged by neo-traditionalist and neoconservative Catholics gender perspective.
- To define and explain the religious and political context in which this type of education develops in Spain, highlighting how the religious issues and equality policies of Zapatero's Socialist Government have influenced its shaping.
- To understand the building process of civic-democratic education in the Spanish late modern education system, analysing its origins and the difficulties it faced in each historical period, based on the different ideological-rhetoric discussions and their influence on the design and current debate around Education for Citizenship and Human Rights.
- To analyse the process of creation and teaching of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, going more deeply into it by conducting a comparative study of its development in autonomous regions with opposing political orientations and different levels of social religiousness. Special attention is paid to Castile-La Mancha, Castile and León and Madrid, noting the ideological and political differences and the impact of mobilization against this type of education both on regional and national education policies.

- To identify and consider the actors involved in the controversy against Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, analysing their ideological discourse.
- To examine the intentions, goals, political opportunities, characteristics, structure, activities, process, dynamics, ideological and cultural references and impact, both national and transnational, of mobilizations against Education for Citizenship and Human Rights.
- To identify, according to the collected data, the publishing houses whose textbooks on Education for Citizenship have been most used in the different academic years at public and charter primary and secondary education centres of Castile-La Mancha, Castile and León and Madrid, defining their differences according to the school's ethos.
- To analyse and compare how the textbooks of these publishing houses have approached the contents that the movement against this type of education believes are indoctrinating, examining their ideological orientation and checking whether they respect the minimum contents established by the Ministry of Education and the regional-autonomic governments. The differences in the textbooks of a same publishing house according to the different autonomous regions are identified to assess the possible impact of the religious-political movements on their way of presenting the information.
- To identify and consider the actors involved in the defence of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, analysing their ideological discourse.
- To analyse and explain how the effects of the mobilizations have led to further mobilizations in defence of the continuity of this subject in study curricula.
- To understand and present the current picture and issues of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights.
- To assess the impact of the mobilizations against this subject on the Spanish education and democratic system and on the model of citizenship to be developed.

Initial hypothesis

It is known that certain neoconservative and neo-traditionalist Catholic sectors of Spanish society did not accept that the Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero favoured education linked to civic-democratic, secular and

gender-awareness values and contents. Nor did they accept that the different textbooks, each in its own way, addressed certain issues, such as those related to sexual orientation or gender identity, in accordance with the guidelines of the Socialist Government and the European and international community. Therefore, interpreting that this type of education posed a threat to Catholic religious beliefs, the traditional family unit and the very structure of society, parents gathered in several platforms that, encouraged and strongly supported by influential organizations and religious, political, educational, sociocultural and media sectors, mobilised to vindicate their right to choose their children's moral and religious education, demanding the removal of the subject or the recognition of the right to object to it.

Mobilizations are a strategy that has been used over the years by conservative Catholic sectors of Spanish society when feeling threatened and seeking to counteract measures introduced by democratic policies that have developed in contexts of social secularization. Thus, these sectors intend to maintain their power and influence, and, to a certain extent, gain control over the type of civic education and values to be developed. This can be especially observed in recent Spanish history, where this strategy has been supported by the conservative and neoliberal sector of the Popular Party (PP) against part of the policies approved by Rodríguez Zapatero's Socialist Government, accused of being secularist, relativist and positivist and of trying to impose gender "ideology", with particular success in Education for Citizenship and Human Rights.

The starting hypothesis of this study is that mobilisation against Education for Citizenship and Human Rights, which is highly influential and effective in political terms, is not spontaneously born from a group of discontented parents, as stated by certain sectors, but that it has both social and transnational components, the latter in accordance with the discourse developed during the Papacies of John Paul II and Benedict XVI.

This research is an attempt to prove that the potential to mobilize was more vigorous in autonomous regions with high rates of social religiousness and a significant Catholic tradition, such as Castile-La Mancha, but that the movement's

purposes were more strongly supported and, therefore, more effective in autonomous regions governed by the Popular Party (PP), such as Madrid.

Sources

The most relevant sources I have examined and used for my research are:

- Recommendations, Declarations, Resolutions, Programmes and Plans of Action of the United Nations, the European Union and the European Council.
- Laws, Decrees, Official Gazettes and Journals, Rulings, Sovereign Ordinances and Circulars.
- Congress of Deputies and Senate Session Reports.
- Reports, documents and studies, mainly from the State School Council, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of the Interior, the late Ministry of Equality, the State Council, the European Network for Information on Education (Eurydice), the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS), Amnesty International, the Holy See, the Spanish Episcopal Conference (CEE), the Spanish Family Forum, Ethics Professionals, Hazte Oír, the main teacher unions, feminist organizations and the State Federation of Lesbians, Gays, Transgender and Bisexual.
- Political manifestos of the parties taking part in regional and general elections.
- Data from the National Statistics Institute (INE) and regional Education Boards.
- Education for Citizenship and Human Rights textbooks.
- Civic catechisms.
- National, regional and provincial newspapers.
- Audience rating surveys carried out by the Association for Communication Media Research (AIMC) and the General Media Study (EGM).
- Media outreach studies of the Office of Justification for Dissemination (OJD).
- Case-law, rulings, protective orders and legal remedies.

I would like to stress that now researchers have access to a great variety of centres, archives, newspaper libraries and documentation platforms where they can consult plenty of sources. Thus, it is clear that the digitization of documents and archives and well used information technologies allow for a fast and comprehensive consultation of data and information and their crosschecking and exchange.

Approach, theory and methodology

The study has been conducted from a dual approach: Human Rights and the gender perspective.

The theory of social movements, transnational history and the history of emotions are used as the starting point for analysing the mobilisation.

Discourse analysis and comparative descriptive analysis are the research methods used.

Therefore, the research follows the Human Rights approach³⁸, collating the alleged or assumed values in the different discourses analysed with those of the Global Discourse of Human Rights, reflected in the texts and documents produced by the United Nations.

Likewise, the gender perspective³⁹ is applied throughout the study, identifying and analysing the gender stereotypes underlying the studied discourses and

³⁸ William Maurice CRANSTON, *What are Human Rights?*, London: Bodley Head, 1973; Thomas PAINE, *Los derechos del hombre*, Madrid: Alianza, 1984; Enrique PÉREZ LUÑO, *Los Derechos Fundamentales*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1984, pp.: 21-51; Gerhard OESTREICH and Karl-Peter SOMMERMANN, *Pasado y Presente de los Derechos Humanos*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1990; Ignacio ARAS PINILLA, *Las transformaciones de los Derechos Humanos*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1990; José María RODRÍGUEZ PANIAGUA, "Los derechos Humanos como obligación" *Persona y Derecho*, vol. 22 (1990), pp.: 235-240; Norberto BOBBIO, *El tiempo de los Derechos*, Madrid: Sistema, 1994; M^a Esther MARTÍNEZ QUINTEIRO, "Crisis de la modernidad y Derechos Humanos" in Chris WICKHAM, *Las crisis en la Historia: sextas Jornadas de Estudios Históricos organizadas por el Departamento de Historia Medieval, Moderna y Contemporánea de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1995, pp.: 161-187; Joaquín RODRÍGUEZ TOUBES MUÑIZ, *La razón de los Derechos*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1995; Richard RORTY, "Derechos humanos, racionalidad y sentimentalidad" in Stephen SHUTE and Susan HURLEY, *De los derechos humanos*, Madrid: Trotta, 1998, pp.: 117-136; Antonio TRUYOL Y SERRA, *Los Derechos Humanos*, Madrid: Tecnos, 2000; Ramón SORIANO DÍAZ, Carlos ALARCÓN CABRERA and Juan MORA MOLINA, *Diccionario crítico de los derechos humanos*, Huelva: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, 2000; Enrique PÉREZ LUÑO, *Derechos Humanos, Estado de Derecho y Constitución*, Madrid: Tecnos, 2001; Boaventura DE SOUSA SANTOS, *Derechos Humanos, Democracia y Desarrollo*, Bogotá: Centro de Estudios de Derecho, Justicia y Sociedad, Dejusticia, 2014.

³⁹ Joan W. SCOTT "El género: una categoría útil para el análisis histórico" in James S. AMELANG and Mary NASH (eds.), *Historia y género: Las mujeres en la Europa Moderna y Contemporánea*, Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim. Institució valenciana d'estudis i investigació, 1990, pp.: 23-56; Marta LAMAS (comp.), *La construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual*, México: PUEG, 1996; Mary EVANS, *Introducción al pensamiento feminista contemporáneo*, Madrid: Ed. Minerva, 1997; Inés ALBERDI ALONSO, "La sociología del género como enfoque interdisciplinar del conocimiento" in Violante Martínez Quintana (coord.), *Mujer y participación en las organizaciones. Trayectorias y tendencias en la sociedad actual*, Madrid: UNED, 2002; Silvia TUBERT (ed.), *Del sexo al género. Los equívocos de un concepto*, Madrid: Cátedra, 2003; Anna BERGA, "La perspectiva de género: una nueva mirada a la

understanding gender as the combination of sociocultural features assigned to and learned by women and men as differentiating. These characteristics change over time and vary both from culture to culture and even within the same culture.

The theory of social movements⁴⁰ has been crucial for the analysis of the mobilization against Education for Citizenship and Human Rights.

realidad social” *Educación social: Revista de intervención socioeducativa*, 31 (2005), pp.: 15-24; Susana Beatriz GAMBA (coord.), *Diccionario de estudios de género y Feminismos*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2009.

⁴⁰ Jungër HABERMAS, “New Social Movements”, *Telos*, 49 (1981), pp.: 33-37; Alain TOURAINE, “An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements” in *Social Research*, vol. 52, 4 (1985) pp.: 749-787; Max KAASE, “Movimientos sociales e innovación política” in Russell J. DALTON and Manfred KUECHLER (comps.), *Los nuevos movimientos sociales. Un reto al orden político*, Valencia: Alfons el Magnanim, 1992, pp.: 123-145; Hanspeter KRIESI, “El contexto político de los nuevos movimientos sociales en Europa Occidental” in Jorge BENEDICTO and Fernando REINARES, *Las transformaciones de lo político*, Madrid: Alianza, 1992; Rafael NÚÑEZ FLORENCIO, *Sociedad y política en el Siglo XX. Viejos y nuevos movimientos sociales*, Madrid: Síntesis, 1993; Enrique LARAÑA and Joseph GUSFIELD, *Los nuevos movimientos sociales. De la ideología a la identidad*, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1994; José ÁLVAREZ JUNCO, “Aportaciones recientes de las ciencias sociales al estudio de los movimientos sociales” in Carlos BARROS (ed.), *Historia a Debate*, vol. III, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1995, pp.: 97-111; Rafael DURÁN MUÑOZ, “La literatura sobre los nuevos movimientos sociales. Una revisión” in *Revista de Estudios Políticos (Nueva Época)*, 89 (1995) pp.: 369-401; Hank JOHNSTON and Bert KLANDERMANS (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*, Londres: University College of London, 1995; Sidney TARROW, *El poder en movimiento. Los movimientos sociales. La acción colectiva y la política*, Madrid: Alianza, 1997; Rafael CRUZ and Manuel PÉREZ LEDESMA, *Cultura y movilización en la España Contemporánea*, Madrid: Alianza, 1997; M^a Esther MARTÍNEZ QUINTEIRO, “Movilización y Derechos Humanos. Análisis histórico del ‘derecho al trabajo’” *Boletín del Ilustre Colegio de Abogados de Madrid*, 9, (1998), pp.: 265-284; Charles TILLY, “Conflicto político y cambio social” in Pedro IBARRA and Benjamín TEJERINA, *Los movimientos sociales: transformaciones políticas y cambio cultural*, Madrid: Trotta, 1998; José María ORTIZ DE ORRUÑO LEGARDA and Santiago CASTILLO ALONSO (coords.), *Estado, protesta y movimientos sociales: actas del III Congreso de Historia Social de España*, Vitoria: Universidad del País Vasco, 1998; Boaventura DE SOUSA SANTOS, *De la mano de Alicia. Lo Social y lo político en la postmodernidad*, Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores y Universidad de los Andes, 1998; Dough MCADAM, John D. MCCARTHY and Mayer N. ZALD, *Movimientos sociales: perspectivas comparada*, Madrid: Istmo, 1999; Enrique LARAÑA, *La construcción de los movimientos sociales*, Madrid: Alianza, 1999; Manuel PÉREZ LEDESMA, “Cuando lleguen los días de la cólera. Movimientos sociales, teoría e historia” *Zona Abierta*, 69 (1999), pp.: 51-120; Doug IMIG y Sidney TARROW (eds.), *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in a Europeanizing Polity*, Lanham, Maryland (EEUU): Rowman and Littlefield, 2001; Eric HOBSBAWM, *Rebeldes primitivos: Estudio sobre las formas arcaicas de los movimientos sociales en los siglos XIX y XX*, Barcelona: Crítica, 2001; Ramón ADELL ARGILES, *Movimientos sociales: cambio social y participación*, Madrid: UNED, 2003; María del Mar RAMOS LORENTE, “Aproximación sociológica al uso de internet de los nuevos movimientos religiosos como nuevos movimientos sociales”, *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, n° Extra 8, 170 (2004), <<http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-170-39.htm>> [consulted: 4 June 2013]; Manuel JIMENEZ SÁNCHEZ, *El impacto político de los movimientos sociales: un estudio de la protesta ambiental en España*, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones sociológicas, 2005; Joan Antón MELLÓN, *Ideologías y*

The study of social movements is a relatively recent field in Spain, beginning in the early nineties but becoming widespread in recent years, since the role of social movements in the building and functioning of society has prompted research from many areas of study.

The power of these movements can be observed when individuals join forces to condemn a situation they consider unfair or to claim a right, previously instilled in the collective mind, they consider they lack. This demonstration leads to a confrontation with those they see as their adversaries, usually the Government, power groups and collectives that do not share their ideological beliefs. However, the discontent stemming from the belief that they are suffering from injustice and the fact of voicing it are not reason enough to lead to a mobilisation.

To explain the origin, potential and impact of social movements, analysts have pointed out a series of variables that should be noted. For the case in question here, aspects such as the structure of political opportunities, the structure and coordination of the mobilization, the type of collective action and its dynamics, and the shared ideological-cultural frameworks have been considered.

Similarly, attention has been paid to whether the dissemination of the protest is transnational, since “ideas on the organizational structure, action strategies and definitions of the world <<travel>> from movement to movement, from sector to

movimientos políticos contemporáneos, Madrid: Tecnos, 2006; Xavier GODÀS, *Política del disenso. Sociología de los movimientos sociales*, Barcelona: Icaria, 2007; Tomás ALBERICH NISTAL, “Asociaciones y Movimientos sociales en España: Cuatro décadas de cambios”, *Revista de Estudios de Juventud*, 76 (2007), pp.: 71-89; Enara ECHART MUÑOZ, *Movimientos sociales y relaciones internacionales*, Madrid: La Catarata, 2008; José María ORTIZ DE ORRUÑO LEGARDA, Javier UGARTE TELLERÍA and Antonio RIVERA BLANCO (coords.), *Movimientos sociales en la España contemporánea*, Madrid: Abada, 2008; Rafael QUIROSA-CHEYROUZE MUÑOZ and Mónica FERNÁNDEZ AMADOR (coords.), *Sociedad y movimientos sociales*, Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses y Diputación de Almería, D. L., 2009; Juan Miguel FLORES and Olga Leticia MARÍN “Nuevos Movimientos Sociales: ¿Nuevas Identidades?”, *Revista Electrónica de Psicología Política* Año7, 20 (2009), pp.: 86-94; Benjamin TEJERINA, *La sociedad imaginada: movimientos sociales y cambio cultural en España*, Madrid: Trotta, 2010; Donatella DELLA PORTA and Mario DIANI, *Los Movimientos Sociales*, Madrid: Editorial Complutense and CIS, 2011; María Jesús FUNES RIVAS, (ed.), *A propósito de Tilly: conflicto, poder y acción colectiva*, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Col. Academia, 2011; Sidney TARROW, *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics*, Cambridge: University Press, 2012; Jesús Esteban CÁRCAR BENITO, “Las redes y los movimientos sociales ¿una acción colectiva o marketing viral?”, *Icono 14*, Vol. 13, 1 (2015), pp.: 125-150; José Bibiano TABERNER GUASP, *Movimientos sociales en la era global del precariado*, Barcelona: Fund. Emmanuel Mounier, 2015.

sector and from city to city”⁴¹. Thus, if “the organization of social movements traditionally takes place at the national level and is aimed at national governments (...) national protests are nowadays, and increasingly often, accompanied by transnational ones, in what can be seen as a change of scale”⁴² because of global interdependence and the awareness of the world as a unit.

With regard to new historical contributions aimed at providing an answer to current postmodern culture’s insistence on learning the meaning humans give to the world, history of emotions⁴³ has been especially relevant. The role played by this area is particularly necessary to understand the assessment and representation those involved in the mobilizations against Education for Citizenship and Human Rights make of the ideological and sociocultural reality, and to clarify the bonds of solidarity, the ideological-cultural frameworks that structure and shape the mobilization process and the reason for its rise and fall.

It should also be noted that emotions in themselves have the power to give new meaning to ideological and discursive implications and social reality, and are closely linked to the gestation, development and sustainability of social movements. Such is the complicity, that social movements manage to generate a highly significant ideological impact and to build very substantial emotional communities and expectations that influence the “construction of reality” through discourses that reflect collective mobilizing awareness and, also, through emotional and joint reactions against what they perceive as unfair.

With regard to the discourse analysis methodology, one of the most widely used in Humanities and Social Sciences research, it should be noted that we are

⁴¹ D. DELLA PORTA and M. DIANI, *Los Movimientos Sociales*, p.: 239.

⁴² *Ibid*, p.: 67.

⁴³ Peter N. STEARNS and Carol Z. STEARNS, “Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards”, *The American Historical Review*, 90/4 (1985), pp.: 813-836; William M. REDDY, *The Navigation of feeling: A framework for the History of Emotions*, Nueva York: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, “Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions”, *Passions in Context*, 1-1 (2010), pp.: 1-32; Susan J. MATT and Peter N. STEARNS (eds.), *Doing Emotions History*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014; Carolina RODRÍGUEZ-LÓPEZ (ed.), “Historia de las emociones”, *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 36 (2014); Jan PLAMPER, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015; Rafael VILLENA ESPINOSA, “Introducción al Dossier. Las emociones han vuelto”, *Vínculos de la Historia*, 4 (2015), pp.: 11-14; José Javier DÍAZ FREIRE (ed.), “Emociones e historia”, *Ayer*, 98 (2015); Juan Pro (ed.), “Historia de las emociones”, *Rubrica Contemporánea*, Vol 7, 4 (2015).

constantly exposed to a multitude of discourses that inform and condition us, which is why, even without realising it, we contextualize such discourses and analyse their contents. However, research requires going beyond this, conducting comprehensive discourse analysis⁴⁴ to also learn and examine intentions and the effects that underlie them.

Finally, through discourse analysis I have sought to identify and analyse the issuers or spreaders, the target receiver of receivers, the time, socio-cultural and emotional contexts, the surrounding ideological and political circumstances and the contents, intentions and effects of the messages, paying special attention to the meaning, strength and impact of the discourse.

In the particular case of textbooks⁴⁵, it has been noted that discourse can greatly influence the teaching-learning process, both through clear, and through

⁴⁴ John Langshaw AUSTIN, *Cómo hacer cosas con palabras: Palabras y acciones*, Barcelona: Paidós, 1982; Jesús IBÁÑEZ, "Análisis sociológico de textos y discursos", *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, vol. 45 (1985), pp.: 119-162; Jorge LOZANO, Cristina PEÑA and Gonzalo ABRIL, *Análisis del discurso. Hacia una semiótica de la interacción textual*, Madrid: Cátedra, 1986; Gillian BROWN and George YULE, *Análisis de discurso*, Madrid: Visor Libros, 1993; María PINTO and Carmen GÁLVEZ, *Análisis documental de contenido: Procesamiento de la información*, Madrid: Síntesis, 1996; Joseph COURTÉS, *Análisis semiótico del discurso: Del enunciado a la enunciación*, Madrid: Gredos, 1997; Luis CORTÉS y Matilde CAMACHO, *¿Qué es el análisis del discurso?*, Barcelona: Octaedro, 2003; Ruth WODAK and Michael MICHAEL MEYER, *Métodos de análisis crítico del discurso*, Barcelona: Gedisa, 2003; Lupicinio IÑIGUEZ, *Análisis del discurso. Manual para las Ciencias Sociales*, Barcelona: UOC, 2003; Teun VAN DIJK, *El discurso como estructura y proceso*, Barcelona: Gedisa, 2003; John R. SEARLE, *Mente, lenguaje y sociedad: la filosofía en el mundo real*, Madrid: Alianza, 2004; James Paul GEE, *La ideología de los discursos*, Madrid: Morata, 2005.

⁴⁵ Juan José MONGE MIGUEL, *La lectura icónica y ensayo de lecturabilidad icónica en alumnos y libros de texto de E.G.B.*, Santander: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria, 1991; Ivor GOODSON, *Historia del currículum. La construcción social de las disciplinas escolares*, Barcelona: Pomares-Corredor, 1995; Egil Borre JOHNSEN, *Libros de texto en el calidoscopio. Estudio crítico de la literatura y la investigación sobre los textos escolares*, Barcelona: Ediciones Pomares-Corredor, 1996; Alain CHOPPIN, *Los manuales escolares. Historia y actualidad*. París: Hachette, 1998; Alejandro TIANA FERRER, *El libro escolar, reflejo de intenciones políticas e influencias pedagógicas*, Madrid: UNED, 2000, p.: 121; Manuel de PUELLES BENÍTEZ, (coord.), "Los manuales escolares en la historia" *Historia de la Educación*, 19 (2000); Agustín ESCOLANO BENITO, "El libro escolar como espacio de memoria", in Gabriela OSSENBACH and Miguel SOMOZA, *Los manuales escolares como fuente para la Historia de la Educación en América Latina*, Madrid: UNED, 2001, pp.: 35-46; Jean-Louis GUEREÑA, "La pedagogía por la imagen. Los manuales de urbanidad españoles en el siglo XIX y a principios del siglo XX" in Jean-Louis GUEREÑA, (coord.), *Image et Transmission des Savoirs dans les Mondes Hispaniques et Hispano-Américains*, Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2007, pp.: 375-391; Ana María RUBIO BADANELLI, "Ser español en imágenes: la construcción de la identidad nacional a través de las ilustraciones de los textos escolares (1940-1960)", *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria*, 27 (2008), pp.:137-169; María Teresa TERRÓN CARO and Verónica COBANO-DELGADO PALBA,

latent or semi-explicit messages. The contents developed, the arrangement and presentation of the information, the language used and the activities to be carried out are key elements in textbooks' discourse and directly or indirectly influence the actors involved in the teaching-learning process, their relationships with each other and the rest of their social interactions. This is also the case with pictures, since they are easier to remember than words and are helpful in learning processes such as attention, understanding and retaining information.

The analysis of the textbooks' discourse has been preceded and completed by a comparative descriptive analysis⁴⁶ and personally developed graphs.

These graphs have been drawn up according to the database created from the information contributed by the Boards of Education of the autonomous regions under discussion. This has allowed for the consultation of the information provided by more than 3,250 education centres and for learning which publishing houses provided the most used textbooks for the subject of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights both in public and charter centres of Castile-La Mancha, Castile and León and Madrid during academic year 2010-2011.

“El papel de la mujer en las ilustraciones de los libros de texto de Educación Primaria”, *Foro de Educación*, 10 (2008), pp.: 385-400; Pedro MIRALLES and Concepción MARTÍN, “Tratamiento didáctico de la familia en los libros de texto y las guías didácticas de educación infantil”, *Íber. Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia*, 56 (2008), pp.: 111-123; Ana SÁNCHEZ BELLO and Ana IGLESIAS GALDO, “Currículum oculto en el aula: estereotipos en acción” in R. COBO BEDÍA, *Educación en la ciudadanía*, pp.: 134-137.

⁴⁶ Ángel IGELMO GANZO, *Análisis descriptivo de datos*, Palma de Mallorca: Universitat de les Illes Balears, Servei de Publicacions i Intercanvi Científic, 1998; Antonio VELANDRINO NICOLÁS, *Análisis descriptivo de datos*, Murcia: Kiosko, 2007.

CONCLUSIONS

Social movement theorists often highlight the potential of these movements to contribute to a participatory approach of the representative democracies, influence in the development of social policies or to inspire the promulgation of laws aimed to satisfy the demands of the citizenship. However, social movements, even though they have more opportunities of exercise in democracy, neither are exclusive of them, contributing to the democratization of dictatorship regimes, nor are defenders of democracy. There are also very conservative social movements or openly reactionary, aimed at preserving the established order or at making it regress.

During the socialist government of Jose Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (April 16, 2004 to December 21, 2011) Spain was scene of an important catholic movement, which was neoconservative and reactive. This movement was the result of a combination of several situational and long term stimuli, local circumstances (preoccupation among the catholic due to the rising secularization of the society, announcements of change and the accession to power of Jose Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, from Spanish Socialist Workers Party) and short term processes, some launched by the Holy See.

The starting signal of the polymorphous neoconservative catholic movement takes place at the end of 2004 because of the confluence of a series of circumstances that lead to the proper climate for this purpose. Nevertheless, it cannot be understood without referring to the former discursive rearmament of the Church opposite the deepening of the cultural process of western secularization. This process actually dates back to the Enlightenment and intensifies in the late 20th century.

In 1975, Paul VI stated that Europe required to live 'new times of evangelization'. But it was especially Karol Josef Wojtyła, id est., Pope John Paul II (16 October, 1978 to 2 April, 2005) who spoke for the first time during a trip to Poland on 9 June 1979 on the demanded commencement of a New Evangelization. He would later describe it as 'new in zeal, methods and expression', calling for the lay Catholics, above all Europeans and Americans, to collaborate in this venture and to mobilize against the progress of atheism and indifferentism. He would insist in this idea once and again, on occasion in a trip to Spain on 9 November 1982 in the

European Act held in Santiago de Compostela, where he would remind the necessity of 'reevangelize Europe'. The message was also reproduced in several occasions by Joseph Aloisius Ratzinger, ensuing Benedict XVI, the brains behind the papacy of John Paul II, who came to papacy on 19 April 2005 and resigned on 28 February 2013. Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith since 1981, was very worried for the dechristianization of Europe long before.

John Paul II and Benedict XVI showed their displeasure to the negation of the European Union States to include any reference whatsoever to the Christianity in the preamble of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, proclaimed by the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and European Commission on 7 December 2000 in Nice, or in its revised version in 2007. Benedict XVI, already a pope, stated that year that 'the identity of European people is historical, cultural and moral, rather than geographical, political or economical. An identity built upon universal values that Christianity contributed to create'. However, Europeans continued refusing to believe so, and he created The Pontifical Council for Promoting the New Evangelization on 21 January 2010 and clamored, at the same time, for renewed evangelization 'in countries where the first announcement of faith echoed', countries which he was really worried about. He would regret once again in Santiago de Compostela (Spain) on 6 November the religious indifferentism in Europe, which he was committed to remedy.

Spain was at the heart of Benedict XVI's concerns, as it was at John Paul II's before. The Vatican was alarmed by the idea of losing influence in a country that, together with Ireland, Italy and Poland, had always been a bastion of Christianity. It was true that at the beginning of 21st century the great majority of population declared themselves Catholics (80% in 2002 and 70% in 2010). Nevertheless, they seemed to be moving quickly towards laicism, especially if the weakness of religious practice was a sign of it. According to a survey by CSI in 2010, just 14% of Spanish assisted to mass, even though that corresponds into a number of 6.570.000 individuals. The Vatican feared that if Spain continued the path of secularization it could corrupt Latin America, due to its close ties. That is why our country was selected to be a temporary laboratory test of the New Evangelization.

In Spain the Vatican counted on a close and loyal associate, namely, Antonio Rouco Varela, Cardinal since 1998 and powerful and feared President of the Spanish Episcopal Conference between 1999-2005 and 2008-2014. José Manuel Vidal, author of an illustrative non-authorized biography published in 2014 about this determined, ambitious and politicized hierarch of the Catholic church, would name him 'vice pope', remembering that Mr. Rouco Varela had managed to gain the confidence of pontiffs and fully complied with the role given, even more than expected.

The Spanish religious regaining Project which began in the Vatican and was assumed by the Spanish Episcopal Conference, led by Rouco Varela, brought him closer to Popular Party (PP), led by José María Aznar, who began his second session in 2000. He would demand persistently the reform of the way Religion was taught in public educational system, which conservative newspaper ABC described as the main obstacle of the relationship between the Church and the political power. It was in 2002 when, according to CIS, more than two and half million people had abandoned religious practice, only that year. Moreover, Antonio María Rouco Varela admitted that more than half of Catholics did not share the same conceptions as the Catholic Church. Under these circumstances, guaranteeing religious education was considered to be necessary to halt the growing estrangement of the faithful.

The then secretary for Relationships with States of the Holy See, French archbishop Jean Louis Tauran, visited Spain in February 2002 and invited Aznar and his government to overcome old disputes, helping to slow down the progressive deterioration of religious teaching in public schools.

The Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE), called by Rouco Varela to reach an agreement for a stable and lasting reform of the religious teaching in the Spanish public educational system, responded that the subject designed to take that matter forward was, in their view, reasonably well treated in public teaching. In contrast, the vice-president of the Episcopal Conference, Fernando Sebastián, would state in March, that the fact that children and adolescents had to choose between studying the subject of Catholic Religion and Organized Educational Activity breached the agreements of the Spanish state with the Holy See. He would also declare that such option was the cause of the falling number of children and adolescents assisting to Religion lessons (76,1% of students at that time).

On 3 May 2002, to satisfy the Vatican and the Episcopal Conference, Aznar proclaimed the incontestable prominence and greatness of Christianity in an inaugural speech in a Social Congress about Latin America and European Union ('Together for the Universal Common Good'), in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, and announced at the same time the reform of the Religion teaching. He kept his word some months later. The Organic Law of Quality of Education 10/2002 (LOCE in Spanish), enacted on 23 December 2002, established that every student in every year of every educational level, catholic or not, had to receive instruction in Society, Culture and Religion. Soon after, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, recently running for president in the following general elections, undertook to abolish LOCE if PSOE achieved to reach power.

The emphasis given to Religion in public education centres was not the only cause of disagreement between the Church and PSOE and his candidate. Furthermore, the Church did not welcome the appointment of Rodríguez Zapatero as Secretary-General of the socialist party, on July 2000, which meant the generational renewal in the party and political interest in the Third Way, liberal, secular and reformist at the same time.

They were several the hopes of the catholic hierarchy that turned out hardly compatible with the modernizing and secularizing project of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and the young socialists, as it was expressed in the election manifesto prepared by his party and backed by the Political Conference on 17 January 2004. There, the candidate for Presidency promised legal recognition and protection for the new ways of cohabitation and familiar organization of a growing number of citizens requiring protection. For this, he announced that the right of the transsexual to legally correct their sex would be recognized, adding the medical and surgical treatment of transsexuality to the catalogue of benefits of the National Health System. He would also promote the modification of the Civil Code to ensure the equality of different ways of family, legislating to regulate the non-married couples and the marriage between people of the same sex, assisted reproduction and the speed up of divorce and no causal separation. To satisfy feminist movements he dedicated a section to the coexistence between men and women on equal basis and

promised to enact a Comprehensive Law on Genre Violence. The study of legalizing euthanasia was also announced.

The PSOE manifesto defined in detail what significantly designated ‘the educational alternative of the socialists’, a more cosmopolitan education in which universal values of Human Rights predominated. They underlined that it was political and budgetary priority on their future government actions and announced the implementation of an education in civic and democratic values: “We will include obligatory contents collecting democratic values in all educative levels curricula”, which meant, “increasing values and addressing the needs of a public and secular school in terms of the 27 article in the Spanish Constitution”.

In February 2004, during the electoral campaign, the Secretary-General of the PSOE annoyed the Church once again, who asked to vote for the PP, committing himself to “more PE and less Religion”. The Church distrusted him more and more and Rouco Varela accused him of trying to impose laicism as a new public religion, but he didn’t count on Mr. Rodríguez’s electoral victory, against all odds, on 14 March 2004.

On his inauguration speech when he took office as President of Spain on 15 April 2004, Mr. Zapatero announced before the Spanish Parliament new times to come in Spanish political life in which everybody had the right to a secular, tolerant, developed and educated society. After underling his European vocation and announcing his particular attention to Latin America and the Mediterranean, he stressed his honest respect to international legacy, he winked in collusion with United Nations.

On 21 September 2004 in his intervention as Prime Minister before the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Rodríguez Zapatero emphasized that it was necessary to reinforce the international instruments of promotion and protection of the Human Rights and their effective implementation to ensure peace, security and hope in many places of the world. He underlined, among other aims in this sense, the fight against women discrimination and genre violence, and the end of sexual orientation discrimination, matters that, together with the declaration of laicism as “as a duty”, deeply saddened the Church. The ecclesiastical hierarchy refused the international speech of the UN about Human Rights, being unwilling to accept the

process of integration of sexual and reproductive liberation, and condemning especially genre perspective, which had earned UN recognition in the IV Conference about Women, in Beijing, September 1995.

As Pope Francisco would say in April 2015, the then cardinal Joseph Ratzinger had declared himself against a feminist kind ideology in his book “The Salt of the Earth” (1996), soon after the Beijing Conference, claiming that the genre ideology was a mankind rebellion against God. On 21 December 2012 Benedict XVI, showed in his Christmas speech his concern for the destruction of the family, a result, according to him, of that ideology.

Not only did the Church fear the dissolution of the traditional family model, of an important social and religious role, but they were also worried about the fact that the reformist project of Mr. Zapatero could erode or condemn the very favourable to them Agreements between the Spanish State and the Holy See (1976 and 1979). They had been signed during the Adolfo Suárez government to adjust the 1953 Concordat of Franco regime to fit in with the lack of religious denomination of the Spanish State declared in the democratic Constitution in 1978. Such agreements, even formally ending with the denominational State, committed public powers to contribute to the economic support of the Catholic Church and to cooperate with them. In a more tangible way, the Agreement about Teaching and Cultural Matters established in its article II the obligation to maintain Religion teaching in all schools and educational levels, although non compulsory to respect the freedom of conscience. In article III it was stated that religious teaching would be given by the specific persons proposed by the Diocesan Ordinary. Article VI pointed out that it was the church hierarchy who should decide the contents of catholic religion teaching, as well as choose the text books and materials relating to that teaching. On the other hand, the article 27.3 of the Spanish Constitution established by the public powers the guarantee of the parents’ right for their children to receive religious and moral teaching appropriate to their convictions.

On 24 September 2004 the Catholic Church used the press with similar ideology, *El Mundo* and *Libertad Digital*, to make public a kind of conspiracy against them, threatened by a laicism Comprehensive Plan led by María Teresa Fernández de

la Vega, a 'shock plan' that would deprive them from their symbolic presence and economic and pedagogical resources bestowed by the State.

After failing as a measure to limit the socialist reformism and the information campaign of the Episcopal Conference on 5th November 2004 being insufficient, the actual mobilization of catholic activists was announced on 12 and 14 November 2004, when the Church gathered in Madrid 2000 people of all ecclesiastical tendencies and 60 bishops in the Lay Ministry Congress. The vice-president of the episcopate Fernando Sebastián inaugurated the congress before Cardinal Antonio María Rouco Varela and the president of the Pontifical Council for the Laity Stanislaw Rylko with an auto critical and victimized speech about the debility and passiveness of the Catholics. The situation was used by Mr. Sebastián to remind that Europe was land of mission and referred to Saint Paul to complain and threaten at the same time 'we are hounded everywhere, but we cannot be defeated'.

The November Congress was used by the church to denounce a hounding by the socialist government and to legitimize the mobilization that was being prepared. In fact, the newspaper El País denounced on an article by the journalist Juan G. Bedoya titled 'Catacomb and mission' on 14 November 2004 that Madrid and the Vatican had agreed in reiterating the message that the socialist government had a campaign to exclude the Catholic Church, as the German Cardinal Walter Kasper, president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, has stated.

After a brief parenthesis in the negotiation between the catholic hierarchy and the PSOE, during which Ricardo Blázquez substituted Rouco Varela for a while as president of the Episcopal Conference (elected in March 2005), John Paul II passed away (on 2 April 2005) and Benedict XVI was elected on 19 April 2005. The belligerent association and catholic platform network grew, was coordinated and profusely galvanized then. They were eventually taken to the streets in the name of the right to freedom of speech and demonstration, the right to life, to a traditional and heterosexual marriage based family, the right to a religious freedom (for the denominations to exercise their mission and parents to choose their children education based on their religious belief), and thus, in the name of (catholic) democracy, contradict the socialist reforms. This way, the mobilized were armed with a jusnaturalist, immutable and catholic speech which Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone,

Secretary of State of the Holy See from 2006 to 2013 and Benedict XVI's right-hand man, would specify and define exactly on 5 February 2009 in his conference *The Human Rights in Benedict XVI's Teaching*. It was, actually, a long historical elaboration speech, originally formulated against the values of liberal revolutions and now completed and adapted to modern times, clearly an alternative to the UN's speech, different in orientations, meaning and reaching, although coinciding in the used signifiers.

Such mobilizing strategy tried to replace the prominence of the resistance to change from the hierarchy to the catholic citizens, to bear moral and uncomplaining witness of the defended cause to create empathy and support. It also intended to display the numerical power of religious opposition in public spaces and in mass media, usual strategies learnt from the social movements that aspired to impose their demands in a non violent way.

Although the catholic mobilization was only one because that was the number of the driving force, the cause served (the national catholic) and the recipient of their protests (Mr. Zapatero Government), it diverged and multiply later in several movements and used diverse and versatile strategies, adapting to the circumstances and specific challenges, getting different results from each of these sub movements.

In April 2005 Mr. Zapatero shelved the legalization of euthanasia, mainly because of the crisis following the denunciation of the fact that the sedation administered to some patients in the emergency department in Severo Ochoa Hospital (Leganés, Madrid) had caused 400 homicides. Such denunciation unleashed an intense social alarm in 2007.

The catholic street demonstration in defense of the traditional family and against homosexual marriage (18 June 2005) did not succeed in preventing that the law which permitted people of same sex get married and adopt children was passed on 30 June 2005. They would continue failing in their successive attempts of invalidating the law.

In October 2009, on the occasion of the processing to reform the Organic Law 9/1985 about the abortion, the pro-life activists and the antiabortion groups demonstrated for the first time chorusing "Spain united fight for life" or "Life YES, abortion NO", in order to impede the passing of the Organic Law 2/2010 on sexual

and reproductive health and the voluntary interruption of pregnancy (which decriminalized it if committed during the first 14 weeks), but the Law continued its course. Despite new demonstrations in March 2011 demanding the abolition of any new permissive legislation with abortion and any new initiative to legalize euthanasia to be halted, the activists failed when they tried the government of PP to withdraw from the abortion issue, even though they almost got a revision when Mr. Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón was Ministry of Justice. The only thing they obtained was a slight modification about the need of paternal consent for minors between 16 and 18 and, although the issue is still controversial, pro-life movements seem to have lost the battle.

On 12 November 2005, between the demonstrations against homosexual marriage and the ones against abortion, masses started to demonstrate, initiating a long and unfinished battle between those in favour of laicism and the Catholics for the control of and education of values, or, as Mr. Vidal called it, “for the cultural hegemony” of Spanish neoconservative Catholics, the object of this thesis, battle in which the Church was meant to be successful.

More than being *ex-novo* opened, the long-lasting and pertinacious confrontation about the educational matter, was reopened in Spain during the government of Mr. Rodríguez Zapatero. To understand the specific reactions of neoconservative and neo-traditionalist sections of society to the expectation of a new civic-democratic and Human Rights educational program, attending to current events is not just enough, since we are facing a new manifestation of a long-lasting phenomenon. It was necessary the review we have made along Spanish Contemporary History to see the intensive war fought by factual and political powers in 19th and 20th centuries, still in force, about the more pertinent form of education for citizens, a deeply entrenched problem since the shaping of a new public Spanish educational system, which hampered the transition from tradition to modern age and delayed the configuration of a critic citizenship.

The mere announcement that the socialist government of Mr. Rodríguez Zapatero was preparing the implementation of a subject called ‘Education for Citizenship and Human Rights’ inside the Organic Law caused a huge stir. It was feared that this entailed, if not the disappearance of the subject of Religion, as it was

in the agreements with the Holy See, at least its loss of prestige. Nevertheless, the implementation of an Education for Citizenship was not easily objectionable. The Organic Law of General Organization of Educational System (LOGSE in Spanish), passed in 1990, acknowledged that the educational system had the obligation to pay attention to civic and ethical education that should complement to scientific education, but it was hoped to be achieved via cross-cutting subjects. However, since the cross-cutting education in civic values had failed, the establishment of a subject such as Education for Citizenship (EfC) could be understood not only as the commitment of the socialists with the education in values, but also as a response to the mandate of Europe and to better comply with the Recommendation of 2002 of the European Council. It was underlined in such Recommendation that ‘Education for Democratic Citizenship’ was essential to the main mission of the Council, implicated in the promotion of a tolerant, free and just society and in the defense of human rights and freedom, pluralism and democracy principles, the foundation of democracy. The Council thus recommended the Governments of the member States that such education should be a priority in the policies and educational reforms. This way, 2005 was declared ‘The European Year of Citizenship Through Education’. Likewise, the European Union supported actively the work of the European Council to stimulate such method of civic education. In his paper in 2004 “Building our common future: political challenges and budgetary means of expanded Union (2007-2013)”, the European Commission clearly identified the European citizenship development as one of the main priorities of action in the EU. As for the education in Human Rights, this was stated aim of international society since long ago. In the years when Mr. Zapatero introduces it as culmination of Education for Citizenship, the institutions related to the system of United Nations, especially UNESCO, had started the World Program for Education and Human Rights, whose first phase (2005 and 2009) consisted precisely of “reinforcing teaching in Human Rights, mainly in Primary and Secondary education” in the EU member states.

Apart from the place that finally took the subject of Catholic Religion and the treatment given to its teachers, it was foreseeable that it wouldn’t be easy to reach an agreement about the contents of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights with a Church who identified the education in values with an uncompromising defense of

the natural law and the moral and ethical catholic universalism and confused, at the same time, national identity and democratic citizenship with Catholicism and understood that the only and authentic truth was the catholic. If democracy and Human Rights, as well as their education, were not identified as what the Catholics thought they should be, “relativist” democratic models would be adopted, which, together with the total rejection to genre perspective and the interpretation of laicism as an unacceptable menace, would result in the spokespeople of Catholicism’s opposition to a neutral education in religious terms.

The rejection to Education for Citizenship from the practising Catholics group rose when, with the passing of the Educational Organic Law (LOE in Spanish) in 2006, they realized that the subject of Religion was kept as an offer in every educational centre but as a non assessing and optional subject. In this way, the attendance of students was voluntary, which could encourage some desertions, whereas Education for Citizenship was obligatory and assessable for all the students.

The catholic mobilization took the education Ministry to adopt a conciliatory approach when establishing the syllabus for Education for Citizenship and Human Rights. However, it was difficult for those who accepted the Human Rights Public International Right and the laws passed by the Spanish Parliament to argue against the minimum contents of Education for Citizenship set by the Royal Decree 1513/2006 of 7 December, which regulated the minimum teaching in primary education, and the Royal Decree 1631/2006 of 29 December, which established the minimum teaching in secondary education. The Church denounced the secularist purpose of the state education in values, so far their own matter, deeply concerned about the bias that such education would acquire in practice because, due to the lack of official teaching materials or textbooks imposed, schools could adopt the appropriate contents within those minimal legislated and students of Education for Citizenship would be invited to acknowledge and respect, at least in public schools, the recent legal reforms in terms of sexuality, marriage, family and gender equality. The Religious Spanish Federation of Teaching (FERE in Spanish) finally considered the lack of official materials sufficient to accept the regulation, adapting the contents of their textbooks to the catholic ideology.

The speech of the catholic hierarchy condemning the lay educational bills from Mr. Zapatero was supported by the leadership of the right-wing party, of neoconservative tendencies, Popular Party. In a similar way, it was defended by intellectuals, men of letters and educational, associative and media groups of power of Spanish society, with catholic neoconservative tendencies, such as CONCAPA, CECE, Professionals for Ethics, HazteOir, Family Spanish Forum, newspapers like ABC or La Razón, COPE radio station, or the television production company Goya Productions. They all reproduced such speech via reports, seminars, demonstrations, radio and television programmes or talks.

The ideologists of the mobilization tried to justify their resistance using the articles 27.3 and 16.1 of the Spanish Constitution and, therefore, demanding the right of parents to choose the moral and religious education they like for their children. They claimed that Education for Citizenship violated this right by attributing a role in the ethical and civic educational field to the State that did not belong to it. Moreover, they demanded Education for Citizenship to be eliminated from school curricula, or the right of conscientious objection to be recognized instead, authorizing students who wanted to go away without being assessed on the subject.

The strategy of the neoconservatives opposed to Education for Citizenship, above all from October 2006, was focused on stimulating the action of the Catholics, stressing their prominence and encouraging them to create associations and mothers and fathers platforms ad hoc, which started to emerge from June 2007. The direct involvement of families and lay Catholics in the mobilization against Education for Citizenship (EfC) could serve to provide it with a greater knowledge and dynamism, as well as for citizenship to give democratic demand appearance to the plan, guidelines and social doctrines of catholic hierarchy.

More than 70 mothers and fathers platforms created, and gathered since 2009 in the Spain Educates in Freedom Federation, contributed to coordinate the mobilized people, as did the existing associations, reproducing the traditionalist catholic discourse. The networks at the service of the mobilization followed an assembly model, of an intermediate organization, being linked by informally coordinated mobilization structure, although designed and protected by formal

associations, such as HazteOir or Professionals for the Ethics among others, direct encouraging associations of the mobilization process.

Seminars, congresses, meetings, conferences, websites and areas created for the protest were also a crucial part, together with ideologically similar mass media and social networks, to organize and support the mobilization. Its participants extended their disruptive and conventional actions, reaching a great social impact, throw demonstrations, performances, protests, campaigns, placards, slogans, press conferences, interviews with public offices and the publication of several articles to discredit, oppose and incite people to conscientious objection and civil disobedience against Education for Citizenship.

Likewise, services and free legal advice areas were created to facilitate conscientious objection and guides, pamphlets, documents, videos, documentaries, etc, were prepared, involving different specialists mainly from legal jusnaturalism field, in order to justify, promote and finance the activists. Conscientious objection applications and declarations were also written and presented, as well as lawsuits against Education for Citizenship and the textbooks introduced by unrelated school centres. In some cases, appeals for legal protection were stimulated in several courts, as High Court, Constitutional Court or Human Rights European Courts. Such proceedings were supplemented by accusations in several international forums from associations and organizations involved in international allied networks, like European Center for Law and Justice, Alliance Defending Freedom, European Dignity Watch or Christian Action Research and Education for Europe.

Meanwhile, letters and e-mails were sent to the socialist Executive, Education Counselors in the autonomous communities, schools and families, some even from important bishops and parish priests, to bring pressure and disrupt the educational policy of PSOE.

Such were the networks and actions that helped coordinating, maintaining and extending the identity, discourse and solidarity ties of the mobilizations against Education for Citizenship, giving it an exceptional resistance capacity, continuance, obstinacy and versatility, that in some moments the socialist Executive was on the ropes.

In the autonomous communities where the number of religious people was higher, namely Castile-La Mancha and Castile and León, the Catholic Hierarchy discourse achieved a great re-evangelizing impact in the collective worldview during the course of the mobilization against Education for Citizenship.

The political umbrella given to the objectors by the Popular Party regional Governments, as in Madrid with Esperanza Aguirre as President until 2012 and Castile and León with Juan Vicente Herrera, helped the practice of conscientious objection to Education for Citizenship and widespread the belief that it was a citizen's right, even when rejected by court.

The effects of the mobilization progress could be seen in the repercussion this had in all the autonomous communities, with a total of 54,000 conscientious objections applications to Education for Citizenship and dozens of students that did not assist to Education for Citizenship lessons for a while.

The comparative analysis that we have carried out shows that according to the political and ideological orientation of regional governments, a different ideological, political, philosophical, ethical and social approach was followed when designing the regional curriculum of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights. The usual support of Popular Party to those who mobilized against it explains that those regions ruled by this party developed regional educational programs for Education for Citizenship related to the catholic ideology, showing a visible differentiation in the curriculum between the regions ruled by the populars (Madrid and Castile and León) and the socialists (Castile-La Mancha).

The government, on the other hand, tried not to add fuel to the confrontation's fire that continued having a political cost that eroded the image of President Zapatero. The agreement attained between the Episcopal Conference and PSOE on 2 September 2006 contributed less than expected to moderate the Church Hierarchy reaction against him. The agreement was about the Church financial system, which abolished the direct assignation from the State and the exemption from the tax payment (demanded by the EU), but was compensated by a rise of 0,52-0,7% of the total that citizens designated to Church from their Personal Income Tax.

The mobilization pushed the Education and Science Ministry, led by the socialist Mercedes Cabrera, to reach an agreement in 2007 with Catholic Schools to

adapt the contents of Education for Citizenship to their own ideology, in order to introduce a division in the catholic collective and minimize the support to the unyielding sector, who harshly reproached FERE their pragmatism, without succeeding in hampering it.

The impact of the mobilization was shown in the way Education for Citizenship was taught by teachers and teaching institutions (private and 'semi-private' but also in some public ones), usually influencing the moderation of publishing companies, who tried to sell textbooks aimed to the teaching of the mentioned subject, and the dominant choosing of non controversial textbooks that avoided getting into refuted subjects by the catholic activists. The textbooks published by the companies SM, Anaya, Santillana and Oxford had been used the most in public schools and colleges of Castile-La Mancha, Castile and León and Madrid in Education for Citizenship and Human Rights lessons. On the other hand, semi-private schools in these autonomous communities preferred, based on the data obtained, the catholic publishing company SM, followed by Edebe, propriety of the Salesian Congregation. The offered textbooks avoided developing aspects related to affective, sexual and familiar diversity, gender equality policies, either national or international, sexuality and, ultimately, even related to Human Rights. In the section where the study of family is treated, despite having being appropriate to fight against homophobia and homosexual discrimination, no textbook talked about the Law that permitted the marriage of people of the same sex, neither about the existence of homosexual families, categorically rejected by the Church, except from the one by Oxford for the second year of secondary education, which made a small reference to it. The opportunity to educate young people in the understanding and rejection of gender-based violence, as well as the fundamental purpose for the Comprehensive Law of 2004, was thus missed.

Those publishing companies which decided to produce and sell Education for Citizenship textbooks appropriate to a lay education, namely Octaedro, Laberinto, Serbal, Everest, Bruño, Akal and McGraw-Hill, could barely introduce them in some public school and colleges in the three autonomous communities examined. Very few or none of the high number of semi-private schools, which are private schools

receiving state subsidy in return of certain government conditions, bought their books, above all in Castile and León.

Very difficult would it be to accomplish the goals pursued with the establishment of Education for Citizenship and Human Rights due to such agreements with the situation, being a good opportunity for the dissemination in Spain of a civic and democratic culture wasted.

By the end of 2015 there still are some remains of the catholic mobilization researched in this thesis that, however, entered in a state of latency or semi-latency. The substitution of Benedict XVI by the more conciliatory pope Jorge Mario Bergoglio, Pope Francisco, on 13 march 2013 and the requested retirement (which was, in fact, a forced cessation) of a still combative Mr. Rouco Varela, head of Madrid's archbishopric, on 25 October 2014 contributed to the demobilization. But this was above all the result of some partial but considerable successes, being the most important one the victory of Popular Party on November 2011, with the subsequent disappearance of Education for Citizenship and the complete restoration of the subject of Catholic Religion in the LOMCE, in 2013.

What shall happen in the future with the embers of these combative religious forces is something still to be written and depends, in some way, on the uncertain political evolution of Spain. We know for the moment that, with the jointly responsible political alliances, the neoconservative Catholics have succeeded in placing Spain away from the European practices of Education for Citizenship and had led it to breach some international agreements and to not worry about education in Human Rights, limited today to an inoperative transversal study.