

Introduction

Nature and Society in Spanish and Portuguese Textbooks in the New Democratic Scenario from 1970 to 1995

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Abstract • This thematic issue addresses nature and society as categories of analysis in Portuguese and Spanish textbooks. It starts from the premise that the natural and social sciences both provide a valuable and relevant basis with which to understand the world. Nature is examined from a sociopolitical and environmental perspective in the context of the international new paradigms and political discourses of the 1970s and 1980s concerning environmental conservation. Despite their different but parallel political trajectories during their transitions and democratic consolidations—Spain and Portugal evolved without mutual influence—they were exposed to the same international impact. Although the complex domestic affairs and reforms in these countries were conditioned by new environmental and feminist trends and movements, the reception of these phenomena in society and politics was not reflected in the latter's textbooks.

Keywords • democratic consolidation, environment education, internationalism, nature, Portugal, society, Spain, technocracy, textbooks

This thematic issue brings together some of the results of an inter-university project led by the MANES School Textbook Research Center at the National University of Distance Education (UNED) in Madrid. The project addressed representations of the relationships between the individual, nature, and society in school textbooks from Spain and Portugal during the transition of both countries from dictatorships to democracies.¹ The results of previous research projects carried out by the same group, which dealt with emotions and feelings in political socialization processes² and with the economic dimension of socialization processes,³ led to the conviction that nature as a category of analysis in textbooks deserved a revision of its own.

This revision was not meant to focus on the category of nature in isolation or entail analysis from a naturalistic or biological perspective but rather to approach nature from a sociopolitical and educational angle and from a socioenvironmental perspective. Our aim has been to identify the socio-scientific dimension of school textbook knowledge while paying



attention to the dialogue and mutual relationship between nature and society. Furthermore, a comparative perspective with Portugal was also added in order to enrich the national analysis and make it possible to investigate the influence of international contexts.

One of the starting assumptions in this thematic issue is the consideration of “the interpenetration of social and natural aspects of reality [as] particularly obvious in issues pertaining to sustainability.”⁴ This calls for a necessary dialogue between the social and natural sciences and for a conceptualization of both sciences with equal relevance in the scientific training of school pupils. Social and natural sciences possess equal potential for reflective formation, and both facilitate our understanding of the world, even though they deal with different objects and subjects of study, as well as with different kinds of specialized—and therefore powerful—knowledge.⁵ Michael Young explains this clearly when he states that “despite these differences, all disciplines deal with the world we face which is inescapably both natural and social. The distinction that matters is between those disciplines that, irrespective of their received conceptual reservoirs, are robust enough to gain public trust and those that do not. This is the social heart of powerful knowledge.”⁶

Textbook research in Spain and Portugal has been traditionally focused on ideological, political, and social aspects of society. By turning our attention toward the natural environment in textbooks, we may discover to what extent this dialogue between the natural and social sciences takes place in the curriculum. Therefore, the main objective of this thematic issue is to identify and analyze the representations of nature and society and their mutual relations with other categories such as the economy, work, the environment, and gender as embodied in legislative and curricular provisions and in the textbooks that collect and specify these provisions. Ultimately, it is a question of determining what type(s) of awareness of nature was (were) created in relation to society within both democratization projects.

The 1970s was a period in which both Spain and Portugal went in a new direction—economically, politically, and socially. It saw the national promotion of economic growth, the end of dictatorship and subsequent transitions to democracy, the rise of the technocratic movement and the feminist movement, and the cultural turn in sociology. Furthermore, the environmental movement from the 1960s influenced all of these changes with regard to the perception of nature, which slowly became part of the public discourses on social and economic behavior. In the 1970s, then, when it became clear that environmental preservation was becoming a hallmark of the identity of European democracies,⁷ both Portugal and Spain began to incorporate it into their national agendas.

The articles in this issue therefore address the intersection between the individual, nature, and society from different angles, within a histori-

cal period that saw the development of democratic societies, in countries that previously had long-lasting dictatorships. And these major changes in Spain and Portugal took place in an international context that saw the rise of new political, social, and environmental discourses. They address, in their own way, the representation of society and nature, which formed the background for the construction of the new democratic citizen. In addition, they all recognize the importance of this turn to democracy in Spain and Portugal in the context of recent radical landscape changes during recent processes of rapid urbanization and industrialization. Hence, given the above-mentioned trends and paradigms that emerged simultaneously in the Iberian countries during these decades of socio-natural transformation, it was clear that the messages contained in contemporary textbooks ought to be investigated: what were students being told was happening?

Spain and Portugal: Shared Situations and Internationalization Processes from the 1960s to the 1990s

When trying to compare or contrast the realities of two neighboring countries such as Spain and Portugal in the last third of the twentieth century, the first thing that comes to mind is that both countries shared, among other things, four main singularities at the time: first, economic and educational backwardness, as well as the migration of workers to other developed countries in Europe; second, incipient processes of modernization that included urbanization and industrialization supported by international organizations together with technocratic political management and planning;⁸ third, adherence to international policies related to environmental conservation and education; and, last but not least, political transitions resulting in the establishment of democracies.

Although the transition to democracy began in both countries within a short period of time (Portugal in April 1974 and Spain in November 1975), the factors that led to the end of the dictatorships derived from different causes. While in Spain the transition to democracy began with the death of the dictator, in Portugal it was the political blockade resulting from the authoritarian regime's inability to put an end to a colonial war lasting more than a decade that contributed most directly to the revolution. However, we cannot fail to consider the pressure that was also exerted on the political system in both countries by the social changes brought about by urbanization, emigration, the growth of the working class, the gradual access of women to the workforce, the growth of the middle class, the activities of their student movements, the increasing importance of modern means of social communication and tourist flows,⁹ and the international context that had striven to establish technocratic reforms in the preceding decades.

Nevertheless, Spain and Portugal, with their geographical proximity within the Iberian Peninsula and the similarities mentioned above, lived for much of the twentieth century with their backs to each other,¹⁰ although some important experiences of exchange and rapprochement took place during the course of the century, which we cannot go into in detail about here.¹¹ The so-called Carnation Revolution (*Revolução dos Cravos*) that ended the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 had a great impact on Spain at the end of Franco's dictatorship,¹² but it was not until the accession of both countries to the European Union in 1986 that relations and cooperation between the two countries intensified in all areas.¹³

For this reason, when comparing Spain and Portugal in the period covered by this special issue, namely 1970 to 1995, our analysis cannot be based on mutual influences between the two countries; rather, it must be based on the internationalization processes in which both countries were immersed until the end of the 1980s. Links with organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Bank, and United States agencies such as the Rockefeller Foundation, were decisive in accelerating the processes of development and modernization. The Cold War benefited the interests of both countries and facilitated such international support.¹⁴

Of particular importance in the field of education was the participation of both countries in the Mediterranean Regional Programme promoted by the OECD, which also involved Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey. This project aimed to study the needs of the respective educational systems, taking the period from 1961 to 1975 as a reference, and plan educational policy measures with a view to the economic development of the six countries.¹⁵ In short, both in Portugal and Spain the theory of human capital, which put educational systems at the service of economic development and planning, was predominant, a model that was being put into practice in other developing countries at the time. This model applied the same developmentalist and technocratic recipes, regardless of the political system in which it was used.¹⁶ One of the measures adopted in both countries during these years was the extension of compulsory education to eight years. Although in Portugal this measure could not be implemented as initially proposed by the Veiga Simão reform of 1973, and compulsory education was reduced to six years until the above-mentioned 1986 reform, in Spain this measure was definitively established with the General Law on Education and Financing of the Educational Reform (*Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa, LGE*) of 1970, which introduced eight years of compulsory Basic General Education (*Enseñanza General Básica, EGB*). There was an urgent need to respond to the processes of urbanization and demographic growth, and the need to improve the low schooling rates

and to meet the training needs of emerging industries. In the case of Spain, this extension of the coverage of the education system was carried out with the collaboration of private education, which had a large presence in the country, which was mainly provided by the Catholic Church through a system of subsidies from the state, and which has lasted to the present day.¹⁷ It is worth mentioning that both reforms (the Portuguese Veiga Simão reform of 1973 and the Spanish LGE of 1970), which were enacted under dictatorships, adopted “democratization of education” as their slogan and were preceded by public debates before their approval.

In the Portuguese case, the revolutionary period from 1974 to 1976 had very particular characteristics. The 1973 reform was suspended, although some of the measures envisaged in it were implemented, such as the unification of secondary education and the diversification of higher education. The democratization of education intensified, not only through its massification but also through the implementation of so-called democratic management. Furthermore, a set of alternative pedagogical experiences was developed; an example of this was the student civic service, an academic year created between secondary school and university with a view to the development, by students, of cultural activities within the community. This period of radicalism and the experience of utopia was ended by the normalization that occurred in 1976. In 1986, the Portuguese Law on the Bases of the Educational System (*Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo*) established compulsory education over a period of nine years, divided into three cycles of Basic Education (*Ensino Básico*), while in Spain the Law on the General Organisation of the Educational System of 1990 (*Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo, LOGSE*) introduced ten years of compulsory education (six years of primary education and four years of secondary education).

In the framework of these education reforms, secondary education was subject to profound revision. At this level, there was a shift from education reserved for the elite to education that was to be available to the masses. Two articles in this issue deal with the teaching of natural sciences in secondary education, and show how UNESCO’s recommendations for the teaching of natural sciences and history circulated among curriculum designers and textbook writers. María José Martínez Ruiz-Funes and José Pedro Marín thoroughly review the curriculum and textbooks for the natural sciences in the non-compulsory secondary education years, confirming the influence of the nineteenth-century traditional static scientific approach to nature and thereby bringing to light the mismatch between the curriculum and textbooks and the current social reality—that is, the new environmental paradigms and the process of transition to democracy. Maria João Mogarro and Filomena Alves Rodrigues, in turn, carry out a comparative analysis of natural science and history secondary education textbooks between the 1970s

and the 1990s, and underscore the striking evolution seen between the two periods, both in terms of form and content. The textbooks from the 1990s embody more clearly international recommendations, particularly those published by UNESCO, and incorporate an important set of innovations, such as the greater use of images and different colors, and the organization of the text into various components based on the pedagogical concerns that underlie them. It is also at this moment that the purposes relating to the promotion of a democratic and plural culture and attitudes of respect for nature acquire greater centrality. The authors conclude that natural science and history textbooks express environmentalist concerns and promote an ecological perspective from different but complementary points of view, while the environmental approach is stronger in the natural sciences textbooks. History textbooks deal with similar themes but locate them within the social, cultural, and political contexts of the time.

It is therefore important to highlight the fact that both countries experienced, even during their dictatorships, processes entailing the modernization of their education systems that would largely determine the education policies implemented after their accession to democracy. These continuities between dictatorship, transition, and democracy, together with the new challenges posed by the formation of a new view of what citizenship entails, explain why some of the articles included in this issue go back in their textbook analyses to the 1960s.

The Reception of Environmental and Feminist Discourses

When it came to the relationship between nature and society, Spain and Portugal both experienced the tailwinds coming from abroad during their respective processes of transition to democracy and democratic consolidation. Internationalization processes influenced national education as well as environmental policies. The succession of policy-related actions in defense of nature slowly took hold in both countries, even if the latter maintained a strong economic and developmentalist disposition. Some voices began very early on to express the risks that economic development posed for the conservation of nature.¹⁸ The World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) came into existence on 29 April 1961, when a small “group of passionate and committed” people signed a declaration that came to be known as the Morges Manifesto. Spain joined in 1968 through the Association for the Defence of Nature (Asociación para la Defensa de la Naturaleza, ADENA), but the latter did not start working in Portugal until 1995. A large number of conferences and seminars took place in the following years, including the 1968 UNESCO Biosphere Conference in Paris, the 1971 UNESCO Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB), the

1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm (the first major conference on the environment), the 1975 UNESCO International Environmental Workshop in Belgrade, where the Belgrade Charter was issued, and the world's first intergovernmental conference on environmental education organized by UNESCO in 1977 in cooperation with the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), convened in Tbilisi, where the Tbilisi Declaration was signed. All these steps were taken as Spain and Portugal ended their dictatorships and became democracies.

Both countries began to take their first steps in this new environmental trend by adhering to programs and international declarations and by establishing national actions. Although the natural park of Doñana was named a natural protected reserve in the 1960s, it was not until the death of Franco that Spain became more involved in environmental action. George Matthew Silvers explains that in "1972 Spain adopt[ed] Law 38/72, the Environmental Protection Act, which reflected the country's attitude of the day."¹⁹ Although "on paper . . . it was an impressive body of law, which was intended to establish tolerable limits of pollution and set up a network of air pollution vigilance . . . , in reality, the Act was riddled with loopholes, and it was soon taken advantage of by eager and hungry capitalists."²⁰ Similarly, "the Law on Natural protected areas, which came into force in 1975 and ruled the declaration and management of such areas from then on until 1989,"²¹ was born with problems and obstacles but marked the importance of natural spaces and parks. The decade of real action was the 1980s. In the Portuguese case, this process was slower, despite the pioneering work of Carlos Baeta Neves and the founding, in 1948, of a League for the Protection of Nature (Liga para a Protecção da Natureza, LPN). The first national park, Peneda-Gerês, was created in 1971, and World Environment Day was celebrated for the first time in 1973. In 1975, a State Secretariat for the Environment was created in the Ministry of Social Equipment and Environment. In 1987, the Portuguese Parliament approved, for the first time, a Basic Environmental Law.

Environmental protection discourses in Spain and Portugal grew and strengthened in the 1970s, and reached their pinnacle in the 1980s, but their penetration into educational policies and school knowledge was limited even in the latter decade. In their article, Manuel Ferraz-Lorenzo, Cristian Machado-Trujillo, and Mariano González-Delgado show that environmental education was still tangential and did not respond to the needs and calls of the moment, either in the social and natural science curriculum or in textbooks. Spanish textbooks therefore contributed to the "failure to bring about the changes in attitude and behaviour necessary to stave off the detrimental effects of climate change, biodiversity loss, and environmental degradation that our planet is experiencing at an alarmingly accelerating rate."²²

It is necessary to inquire whether both socioecological challenges as well as feminist trends were introduced at the same time as a democratic identity was being created, and how this complex relationship was introduced into school knowledge and textbooks. In 2003, Adam Rome lamented that “no history of the sixties considers in detail what the environmental movement shared with the antiwar movement, the civil rights movement, or the feminist movement,”²³ adding that “the best attempt to integrate environmentalism into the story of the 1960s” was Terry H. Anderson’s book, *The Movement and The Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee*, published in 1995.²⁴ Tamar Groves, when studying teachers’ movements in Spain, makes a similar point when she argues that one of the difficulties in assessing the achievements of social movements is precisely “the fact that movements are never the sole actors, as they have alliances with other social actors.”²⁵ The environmental movement coexisted with the feminist movement in both Spain and Portugal, and democratization processes slowly impacted on gender equality discourses and policies. It is for this reason that the article by Virginia Guichot-Reina and Ana María De la Torre-Sierra included in this special issue deals with female employment through socio-occupational representations of women in primary education social science textbooks during the Spanish and Portuguese transitions to democracy, and exposes the gap between the new approaches and school textbook knowledge.

However, given that, in parallel with the above, productive work was such an important factor at the time as an engine of economic growth, Cecilia Valbuena Canet and Ana María Badanelli Rubio explore the representation of work in terms of the relation between production systems and nature in the social and natural science curriculum and textbooks. The “different democratization scenarios shaped labour market outcomes”²⁶ and discovered a transition in Spanish textbooks from nature as an element for the benefit and productive use of human beings to nature as a source of well-being, and another slow transition from work for economic growth to work for a better life. The educational laws of the time promoted the training of the workforce, and the textbooks emphasized the value of work as the driving force for national development without paying particular attention to environmental issues.

The predominance of the adult world of work is also evident in the study by Kira Mahamud-Angulo, Yovana Hernández-Laina, and Raquel Pereira Henriques, as their investigation highlights the underrepresentation of children to the detriment of adults. Not only is childhood not well represented, but it was even less so with regard to nature. However, it is surprising that the representation it did receive was not idyllic. Social and natural textbooks portrayed both unfortunate and fortunate childhoods in a predominantly adult social environment. Nature is therefore also scarce in these textbooks, which shows that students received little

exposure to the natural environment, and that the textbooks did not demonstrate a strong concern for the latter, even though both Spanish and Portuguese societies were once rural.

Contributions to the History of Education and Textbook Research

The articles included in this special issue contribute to several fields of research with feature textbooks as their central focus. They contribute to the history of education in two countries with parallel but different democratic transitions and consolidations, to curriculum studies, and to the selection and transmission of scientific knowledge about society and nature within newly founded democracies. This issue shows how textbooks, as historical educational documents, reveal the social science, natural science, and environmental curricular priorities and policies of Spain and Portugal during the last third of the twentieth century.

It will be of interest to the readers of the *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*, insofar as it allows them to discover the degree of incorporation or distance between the new sociopolitical discourses and the iconic textual discourses of school textbooks from the social and natural sciences. The articles demonstrate the tension and competition existing between those contents that describe the reality of the moment (gender inequality, nature at the service of the human being, the relevance of the productive world, and traditional natural sciences) and the new international influences (ecological and feminist movements and UNESCO recommendations) in the study of society and nature as spaces of action and interaction.

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Notes

1. The project, with the reference number PID2020-115282GA-I00, is called “Individual, Nature and Society: Study of Their Relationships and Representations in the School Manuals of Spain and Portugal in the Last Third of the Twentieth Century.” It is a three year project conducted from 2021 to 2024 and is funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, involving researchers from the universities of La Laguna, Las Palmas, Murcia, Sevilla, and UNED on the Spanish side and the University of Lisbon and Nova University Lisbon on the Portuguese side.
2. See Miguel Somoza Rodríguez, Kira Mahamud-Angulo, and Heloisa Helena Pimenta Rocha, “Emociones y sentimientos en los procesos de socialización política: Una mirada desde la historia de la educación” [Emotions and feelings in the processes of political socialization: A look from the history of education], *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 2 (2015): 7–44, doi:10.5944/HME.2.2015.15541.
3. See Kira Mahamud-Angulo and Yovana Hernández-Laina, “Teaching Economics with Spanish Primary School Textbooks during the Franco Dictatorship and the Transition to Democracy (1962–1982),” *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* 9, no. 1 (2017): 71–99, doi:10.3167/jemms.2017.090105.
4. Johannes Persson, Alf Hornborg, Lennart Olsson, and Henrik Thorén, “Toward an Alternative Dialogue between the Social and Natural Sciences,” *Ecology and Society* 23, no. 4 (2018): n.p., doi:10.5751/ES-10498-230414.
5. See Michael Young and Johan Muller, “On the Powers of Powerful Knowledge,” *Review of Education* 1, no. 3 (2013): 229–250, doi:10.1002/rev3.3017.
6. Young and Muller, “On the Powers of Powerful Knowledge,” 244–245.
7. Sarah R. Hamilton, “Environmental Change and Protest in Franco’s Spain, 1939–1975,” *Environmental History*, 22, no. 2 (April 2017): 257–281, here 269.
8. On technocracy in Spain and Portugal during this period, see Ángeles González-Fernández, “La otra modernización: tecnocracia y ‘mentalidad de desarrollo’ en la Península Ibérica (1959–1974)” [The other modernisation: technocracy and “development mentality” in the Iberian Peninsula (1959–1974)], *Historia y Política* 35 (2016): 313–339, <https://www.cepc.gob.es/publicaciones/revistas/historia-y-politica/numero-35-enerojunio-2016/la-otra-modernizacion-tecnocracia-y-mentalidad-de-desarrollo-en-la-peninsula-iberica-1959-1974-1>; Antonio Cañellas Mas, ed., *La tecnocracia hispánica: Ideas y proyecto político en Europa y América* [Hispanic technocracy: Ideas and political project in Europe and America] (Gijón: Trea, 2016).
9. Radiotelevisão Portuguesa (RTP) began experimental broadcasts in 1956 and regular broadcasts in 1957, covering 65 percent of the population. It was not until the mid-1960s that it reached the whole country. Radio Televisión Española (TVE) began regular broadcasts in 1956, but it was not until 1961 that the whole country was covered (including the Canary Islands in 1964). In the 1960s, a school television system was also tested as a teaching resource. Telescola in Portugal began this experiment in 1964, while in Spain Televisión Escolar began broadcasting in 1968.

10. See Hipólito de la Torre Gómez, “Unidad y dualismo peninsular: el papel del factor externo. Introducción al dossier sobre *Portugal y España Contemporáneos*” [Peninsular unity and dualism: The role of the external factor. Introduction to a dossier on *Contemporary Portugal and Spain*], *Ayer* 37 (2000): 11–35, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=185052>.
11. See some interesting examples of these exchanges and relations in the field of education in the dossier “*A mirada do outro*”: Para unha Historia da Educación na Península Ibérica” [“The *image of the other*”: Toward a History of Education in the Iberian Peninsula], *Revista de Pensamento do Eixo Atlântico* 4 (2003), <http://antigua.eixoatlantico.com/sites/default/files/revista4.pdf>. The articles included in this special issue, some of them dedicated to the representation of both countries in school textbooks, emerged from papers presented at the *IV Encontro Ibérico de História da Educação* (IV Iberian Encounter on the History of Education) held in Allariz (Ourense, Spain) from 12 to 15 September 2001 with the theme “Portugal in Spain and Spain in Portugal: Images and Representations in Educational Contexts.”
12. Alejandro Tiana Ferrer, “España y Portugal durante la transición democrática: los inicios de un nuevo intercambio educativo” [Spain and Portugal during the transition to democracy: The beginnings of a new educational Exchange], in “*A mirada do outro*,” 287–308, here 291–296; Antón Costa Rico, “*¡Menos mal que nos queda Portugal!* Imaxinario colectivo, democracia e encontro cultural desde o territorio da educación (1970–1990)” [Thank goodness we still have Portugal! Collective imaginary, democracy and cultural encounter from the territory of education (1970–1990)], in “*A mirada do outro*,” 309–312.
13. In the field of the history of education, these renewed exchanges between Portugal and Spain led to the celebration of the Iberian Encounters on the History of Education (*Encontros Ibéricos de História da Educação*), conferences from 1992 onward, which have been held every three years since then, alternating their venue in each of the two countries. The proceedings of these conferences can be consulted online via <https://sedhe.es/publicaciones/encontros-ibericos-de-he/>. Another interesting initiative was the creation, by the Ministries of Education of both countries, of a joint Spanish–Portuguese commission for the revision of history and social science textbooks, which carried out its work in 1991 and 1992. See Ferrer, “España y Portugal,” 298–308. Some comparative works on Spanish and Portuguese textbooks have been published recently, such as Raimundo Rodríguez Pérez and Glória Solé, “Los manuales escolares de historia en España y Portugal: Reflexiones sobre su uso en Educación Primaria y Secundaria” [History textbooks in Spain and Portugal: Reflections on their use in primary and secondary education], *Arbor* 194, no. 788 (2018), doi:10.3989/arbor.2018.788n2004; and António Gomes Ferreira and Erika González García, “Libros de texto y nacional-catolicismo en las dictaduras salazarista y franquista” [Textbooks and national Catholicism in the Salazarist and Francoist dictatorships], *Educação e Pesquisa: Revista da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo* 47 (2021): 1–22, doi:10.1590/S1678-4634202147238548. See also Domingos de Araújo Machado, “La utopía en los manuales escolares de la escuela primaria

- en las dictaduras ibéricas del siglo XX (el franquismo y el salazarismo)” [Utopia in primary school textbooks in the Iberian dictatorships of the twentieth century (Francoism and Salazarism)], *Historia de la Educación* 22–23 (2003–2004): 371–385, <https://revistas.usal.es/tres/index.php/0212-0267/article/view/6804/6791>.
14. See Rosa Pardo Sanz, “Salazarismo y franquismo (1945–1955): sobrevivir en Occidente” [Salazarism and Francoism (1945–1955): Surviving in the Western world], *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie V, Historia Contemporánea* 25 (2013): 67–88. Both countries joined the United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1955. It is worth noting that while Portugal joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as early as 1949, Spain did not join until 1982.
 15. See António Teodoro, “The End of Isolationism: Examining the OECD Influence in Portuguese Education Policies, 1955–1974,” *Paedagogica Historica* 56, no. 4 (2020): 535–547, doi:10.1080/00309230.2019.1606022; António Teodoro and Teresa Teixeira Lopo, “The OECD Again: Legitimization of a *New Vocationalism* in the Educational Policies in Portugal (1979–1993),” *Paedagogica Historica* 59, no. 5 (2023): 766–779, doi:10.1080/00309230.2021.1941143; Mariano González-Delgado and Tamar Groves, “La UNESCO y la Ley General de Educación: la influencia de los organismos internacionales en torno a la modernización educativa en el franquismo” [UNESCO and the General Education Law: The influence of international organizations on the modernization of education during the Franco era], *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 14 (2021): 209–252, doi:10.5944/hme.14.2021.28116; and Lorenzo Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla and Oscar Martín García, “El apoyo internacional a la reforma educativa en España” [International support for education reform in Spain], *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 14 (2021): 177–208, doi:10.5944/hme.14.2021.28387.
 16. On the implementation of these policies in developing countries at the time, see Gabriela Ossenbach and Alberto Martínez Boom, “Itineraries of the Discourses on Development and Education in Spain and Latin America (ca. 1950–1970),” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 5 (2011): 679–700, doi:10.1080/00309230.2011.602350. Phillip Jones and David Coleman refer to the creation of a “global educational architecture” that came into being after World War II. See Phillip Jones and David Coleman, *The United Nations and Education Multilateralism: Development and Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 48.
 17. Paloma Muñozerro González, “La educación concertada en España: origen y recorrido histórico” [Subsidised education in Spain: Its origins and historical evolution], *Historia de la Educación* 41, no. 1 (2022): 405–425, doi:10.14201/hedu2022405425.
 18. For instance, Carlos Baeta Neves, *A Natureza e a Humanidade em Perigo* [Nature and humanity in danger] (Lisbon: Secretaria de Estado da Agricultura—Direção-Geral dos Serviços Florestais e Agrícolas, 1970–1972); Ramón Tamames, *Ecología y Desarrollo: La polémica sobre los límites del desarrollo* [Ecology and development: The controversy over the limits of development] (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1974); and Carlos París, *Hombre y Naturaleza* [Humans and nature] (Madrid: Tecnos, 1970).

19. George Matthew Silvers, "The Natural Environment in Spain: A Study of Environmental History, Legislation, and Attitudes," *Tulane Environmental Law Journal* 5, no.1 (1991): 285–316, here 290.
20. Ibid.
21. M^a Pilar González Yanci, "Protected Areas in Spain," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Geografía* 7 (1994): 287–296, here 290, doi:10.5944/etfvi.7.1994.2517.
22. Charles Saylan and Daniel T. Blumstein, *The Failure of Environmental Education (and How We Can Fix It)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1.
23. Adam Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (2003): 525–554, here 526, doi:10.2307/3659443.
24. Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
25. Tamar Groves, *Teachers and the Struggle for Democracy in Spain, 1970–1985* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 7.
26. Robert M. Fishman, "Rethinking the Iberian Transformations: How Democratization Scenarios Shaped Labor Market Outcomes," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45 (2010): 281–310, doi:10.1007/s12116-010-9070-z.