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***THE RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IN ARGENTINA:
A STUDY ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM***

Abstract: The goal of this study is to trace the relation between the Roman Catholic Church and the State in Argentina's public policies through the historical changes on the educational system. In this regard, I describe the different arrangements between the Church and the State that occurred in the educational field from the perspective of secularism, focusing on the state-political field, including both formal and informal political institutions and norms, and emphasizing the strategies of involvement of this religious institution on the State.

Keywords: *Argentina, Roman Catholic Church, educational system, public policies*

Introduction

Education had been historically a field of fight, competition, tensions and agreements between secular and religious powers, to the point that, for some scholars¹, the battle between the Church and the State over education during the period of foundation and consolidation of the national States is considered as one of the earliest causes of party cleavages' formation. In Argentina, the particular series of agreements between the Church and the State over the education has shaped the national educational system, the subnational educational systems, and the relation between these two levels of government of education.

The argument that guides this essay is that while the relation between the Church and the State regarding the educational system has tended to vary

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¹ Seymour Lipset, Rokkan Stein, "Estructuras de división, sistemas de partidos y alineamientos electorales," in *Diez Textos Básicos de Ciencia Política* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1990): 231-73.

concomitantly with the general arrangements between the two institutions, the agreement of “passive complementarity” through convergent strategies has survived the last sixty years, beyond the variations in the broad arrangements between Church and State. So if the main goal of the Church until 1955 was compulsory religious education in public schools, this goal changed during the last six decades: the state aid to denominational private schools, access to the Education portfolio, and strengthening links with subnational educational authorities are currently the main strategies of influence of the Catholic Church in the Argentinean educational field. Increasing its presence by creating and maintaining private schools had become the goal of the state.

To clarify this argument, the paper is organized as follows. In the first section, theoretical assumptions are expressed and the concepts of “Church-state relation” and “Church” are defined. The second section briefly describes the various arrangements between the Catholic Church and the State in the history of Argentina. The third one describes the arrangements between Church and State in the educational field and the strategies of influence of the Catholic Church for each moment.

1. Theoretical assumptions

Before developing this argument, there are two theoretical assumptions that must be clarified: the first one refers to the idea of “relation between Church and State” and the second one refers to the concept of “Church”. These are the two main concepts used in this article.

The notion of relation between State and Church used on this study is based on a conceptual background² that includes three main ideas that refer to the problem of the relation between the religious and the public and social sphere: secularization, secularism³, and influence of government on religion. In this section we develop different definitions of these concepts to account the conceptual background and clarify the semantic field.

The meaning of “secularization” is in dispute between two possible definitions: a) the degree of separation between the field of religion and other fields of social life, without focusing on the political or the State fields (ie. secularization as more autonomy of religion); b) the decrease in the level of practices, beliefs, and religious expressions individual (ie. less religiosity).

² Robert Adcock, David Collier, “Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research,” *American Political Science Review* 95:3 (September 2001): 529-46.

³ We use the word “secularism” as a synonym for the idea of “laïcité” or separation between the Church and the State.

In this sense, some authors have understood secularization as an increasing rationality that started with the opening of modernity. One of them is Wilson⁴, who defined secularization as the replacement of religion by social scientific bases (or “objective standards”) and secular legitimacies and identities, and measures it through a particular dimension which is the standard of behavior. For Wilson, secularization means that the religious criterion about the definition of an appropriate behavior is replaced by laws focused on acts which disturb social relations. Thus, state power tends to be legitimized not by religious criteria, but by popular will, national identity or other secular identity bases. Another author who observes secularization from the point of view of increasing rationality is Berger⁵, who sees secularization as a decline of religion as a relevant factor for culture. Also Beckford⁶ explored the cultural dimension, understanding secularization as a replacement of religion by secular foundations, like psychology, in fields like sentimental education and transcendental questions. Norris and Inglehart⁷ have understood secularization not as a process of separation or autonomy of spheres, but as a systematic erosion of the practices, values, and religious beliefs. To measure it, they focused on the dimension of the religious practices and chose indicators as quantity of religious specialists, church attendance, etc. Given the debate around a resacralization of the world, they concluded that the importance of religion persists most strongly among vulnerable populations, especially those living in the poorest nations: “Religiosity persists most strongly among vulnerable populations, especially those of poor nations, which are *facing personal* threats to *survival*. We argue that feelings of vulnerability to physical, societal, and *personal risks* are key factors driving religiosity”.⁸

Milot⁹ used the idea of “secularization” in order to “clarify the semantic field”¹⁰, and defined it as the progressive loss of social and cultural relevance of the religion as a normative framework for behavior and moral life. Therefore the fact that religious affiliation is expressed with visible signs in the social space, does not affect the process of secularization.

⁴ Bryan Wilson, *Religion in sociological perspective* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1982).

⁵ Peter Berger, *El dosel sagrado. Para una teoría sociológica de la religión* (Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 1977).

⁶ James A. Beckford, “The Insulation and Isolation of the Sociology of Religion,” *Sociological Analysis* 46 (1985): 347-54.

⁷ Pipa Norris, Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹ Micheline Milot, *La laicidad* (Madrid: CCS, 2009).

¹⁰ Giovanni Sartori, *La Política* (Mexico: FCE. 2002), 274-302.

The idea of secularism is closer to the concept of “relation between Church and State” because it refers to the phenomenon of separation between the religious field and the political-state field. In this sense, some authors understand that secularism should be tracked at the state level, others at the state and politics’ level, and others in the way in which political legitimacy is built. Milot¹¹ is one of the authors that think about secularism focusing on the State. For her, secularism is a particular type of relation between the State and the religious groups, which is defined by three “principles”: separation -between the Church and the State-, neutrality, and freedom of conscience and religion, although it is not clear if these three “principles” should be understood as necessary or sufficient conditions to define secularism¹². Her typology defines six types of secularism (separatist, anti-clerical, authoritarian, faith, civic, and recognition), which do not depend on a “degree” or “measure” but on the historically particular way in which the “lay adjustment” happened in each country. Along the same lines, Baubérot¹³ presents the idea of “thresholds of secularism” as critical junctures that set particular social standards of coexistence between religion and politics, in which political legitimacy arises from secularization of civic elements. But the indicators used to classify these “thresholds” or “covenants”, occur once, in the history of France, so the categories have little room to ‘travel’ through time and space. Mallimaci¹⁴ (2008) also uses the idea of “thresholds of secularism” to classify the types of secularism in Argentina, focusing on the five dimensions: “State and its apparatus (employment, education, health, military, civil, and respective laws); political society and their parties with multiple affinity networks; civil society and its institutions: unions, social movements, cooperative, media; processes of cultural construction and meaning in everyday behavior; relations with the Vatican, remembering that in Latin America the power in the relationship with states and local churches has grown over the years”¹⁵.

Blancarte¹⁶, like Milot, separates secularization and secularism in order to clarify the semantic field, and defines secularism as a social regime of coexistence whose political institutions are legitimized mainly for popular sovereignty and not

¹¹ Milot, *La laicidad*.

¹² Gary Goertz, “Points of Departure: Intension and Extension,” in *Concepts and Method in Social Science*, ed. D. Collier and John Gerring (London: Routledge, 2009), 185.

¹³ Jean Baubérot, *Histoire de la laïcité en France*, 4e édition (Paris: PUF, 2005).

¹⁴ Fortunato Mallimacci, “Nacionalismo católico y cultura laica en Argentina,” in *Los retos a la laicidad y la secularización en el mundo contemporáneo*, Roberto Blancarte ed. (México, El Colegio de México, 2008), 239-62.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶ Roberto Blancarte, “El porqué de un estado laico,” in *Los retos a la laicidad y la secularización en el mundo contemporáneo*, Roberto Blancarte ed. (México: El Colegio de México, 2008).

by religious elements¹⁷. Unlike Milot though, he emphasizes the differences between “formal institutions” and “forms of government”: “There are countries which are formally secular, but nevertheless are still conditioned by political support from the main churches of the country, or countries that are not formally lay but in practice, for reasons related to a historic state control over the churches, do not depend on the legitimacy from religious institutions”¹⁸.

Esquivel¹⁹ retakes these two dimensions raised by Blancarte, and proposes a very similar definition of secularism, understood as autonomy from the political dimension to the religious one: “In a secular regime, the civil power does not lie in elements and religious factors for legitimacy”²⁰.

Blancarte’s concept of “form of government” is partially replaced by Esquivel’s label of “political culture”²¹, which is tracked using indicators such as the incursion of priests in the electoral arena, the role of mediators of religious specialists in social conflicts within a country or between countries, the access of various officials -especially of the education portfolio - to cabinets because of their religious ties, consultation with religious experts on public policy decisions and cabinet by the leaders, noncompliance with laws of the legislative and the judicial power because of an agreement with religious groups, etc.

When it comes to the mutual influence between political and religious institutions, some authors emphasize state intervention on religion²² or the intervention or influence of religion on the State²³. In that sense, the concept

¹⁷ Ibid., 29.

¹⁸ Ibid., 30-1.

¹⁹ Juan Esquivel, “Los espacios de laicidad en el Estado argentino,” (paper prepared for the Convention of the Latin American Studies Association of Canada, 2010).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Juan Esquivel, “Cultura política y poder eclesiástico. Encrucijadas para la construcción del Estado laico en Argentina,” *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 146 (abril-junio 2009).

²² John Fox, *A world survey on religion and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²³ See Juan Esquivel, “Iglesia católica, política y sociedad: un estudio de las relaciones entre la elite eclesiástica argentina, el Estado y la sociedad en perspectiva histórica. Informe final del concurso Democracia, derechos sociales, y equidad. Programa regional de becas CLACSO, Buenos Aires, 2000,” accessed July 13, 2013, <http://programadssrr.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/iglesia-cate3b3lica-polc3adtica-y-sociedad-un-estudio-de-las-relaciones-entre-la-elite-eclasic3a1stica-argentina-el-estado-y-la-sociedad-en-perspectiva-histc3b3rica.pdf>; Esquivel, “Cultura política y poder eclesiástico. Encrucijadas para la construcción del Estado laico en Argentina,” *Archives de sciences sociales der religions* 146 (abril-junio 2009); Esquivel, “Religión y política en Argentina. La influencia religiosa en las constituciones provinciales,” (2010), accessed July 13, 2013, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/217234011/1-ESQUIVELReligion-en-las-Constituciones-Dr-Juan-Cruz-Esquivel>.

created by Fox²⁴ is the GIR, or Government Involvement in Religion, an index based on five dimensions: 1. Official role of religion in the state; 2. Preferential treatment of one religion; 3. Legal restrictions on religious minorities' practices; 4. Regulation of all or the majority religions; 5. State legislation on religion. As noted, this index focuses on the legal dimension or the "formal institutions", because they are easier to measure in order to accomplish a quantitative strategy of research with a large number of cases.

Instead of this, Esquivel²⁵ studies the convergence of political institutions - formal and informal - and religious institutions in the system of government, in what he considers a special "modus Vivendi", between a religious influence and a particular "political culture" more or less receptive to this influence. That particular "modus vivendi" results in varying degrees of secularism.

Briefly summarized the discussions and distinctions in the semantic field of the concept of confessional political system, the decisions taken in the configuration of this concept are:

1. In the debate between the idea of "secularization" to refer to the social world in a broad sense and the idea of "secularism" to refer to the state-political field, I choose to distinguish between these two areas related to religion and to focus on the second one.

2. In the discussion about whether the concept of secularism should include only formal institutions or it should also include informal political institutions and norms, I choose to include informal political norms and institutions in the definition.

3. Given the different perspectives on whether the focus of secularism should be the state intervention on the religious field or the intervention of religious institutions on the state, I choose to emphasize the involvement of religious institutions on the state.

The other theoretical assumption that should be clarified is that although Catholicism and the Catholic Church include many different groups, opinions, and political as well as theological positions in Argentina²⁶, and all those groups live in a permanent battle to define and redefine the boundaries of Catholicism²⁷, in this essay I use the expression "Catholic Church" or "Church" referring to the Catholic hierarchy expressed by the Episcopal Conference of Argentina.

²⁴ John Fox, *A world survey on religion and the state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁵ Esquivel, "Cultura política y poder eclesiástico."

²⁶ Fortunato Mallimaci, "Diversidad católica en una sociedad globalizada y excluyente. Una mirada al fin del milenio desde Argentina," *Sociedad y religión*, 14/15 (1996): 71-94.

²⁷ Esquivel, "Iglesia católica, política y sociedad."

According to these assumptions, it is possible to observe the public presence of the Catholic Church and its relation with the State and delimitate different moments in a typology defined by two dimensions: the way that the state builds political legitimacy in relation to the Church, whose categories are “autonomy” and “complementarity” - as a synonym for “interdependence”; and the way in which the State creates and reproduces that relation, which can be active - when the state seeks to control the timing of this relationship - or passive - when the state reproduces it. So the relation between Church and the State, as I will study it, may vary between active autonomy, passive autonomy, active complementarity, and passive complementarity.

2. Church and state relation in Argentina: a historical approach

For a better understanding of the relation between Church and the State on the field of the educational system, the relation between Church and the State on the broad political field is briefly summarized in this section.

A. 1500 -1879. Colonial times and consolidation of a national state. Passive complementarity

During most of the colonial period, the Church was not hierarchically and rationally organized, so there were low levels of institutionalization until the 18th century, when missions, temples, and parish spread all over the later called Argentine territory. Despite of that first development wave, it would be one more century until the Church could be considered as a national institution present in the entire country²⁸. Between the independence process and the consolidation of the State as a national State, the political elites oscillated between, on one hand, warranting religious freedom and providing the frame for immigration to get to Argentina and populate the young country; and on the other hand, reproducing the catholic hegemony that was the legacy from the colonial times, where the power of the State and the power of the Church were both part of a symbiotic relation. As a counterpart of its privileges, the so-called “patronage scheme” would give to the governments the power to interfere with the Church by naming the episcopal authorities, allowing or denying the arriving of new religious orders, and being in charge of assignment of the Vatican’s documents²⁹. In 1853, the first Constitution reproduced this scheme by recognizing religious freedom but at the same time, by

²⁸ Roberto Di Stefano, Loris Zanatta, *Historia de la Iglesia Argentina. Desde la conquista hasta fines del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Mondadori, 2000).

²⁹ Esquivel, “Iglesia católica, política y sociedad.”

establishing the sustaining of the Roman Catholic religion. As it is written in its Section 2: “The Federal Government supports the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion”³⁰. According to the same text, the President was also supposed to belong to the Roman Catholic Church and be born in Argentina, as a symbol of the convergence of religious and catholic identity as a whole. According to these characteristics, the colonial period and the phase of consolidation of the State could be considered, from the perspective of the Church-State relations, as years of passive complementarity or passive interdependence: a balance without winner or losers, where the state was neither secular nor religious and Catholicism was neither the official religion nor equal to any other religion.

B. 1880 -1929. Liberal offensive and active autonomy

By the end of the 19th century, Julio Argentino Roca’s government advanced on redrawing the boundaries of the Church and the State by creating a civil register that would be in charge of the identification of the people, nationalizing the cemeteries – both of which used to belong to the Catholic Church - and establishing civil marriage in 1888. Despite these decisions, Roca’s administration did not establish the separation between Church and State. But its secular policies were enough to develop the reaction of the Argentinian Roman Catholic Church, which took political liberalism as its first contender to defeat. In the process of internal discussion opened by this liberal government on the offensive, the Argentinian Church developed two devices that contributed to the creation of the idea of “being Catholics in all the spheres of life”³¹, which is the base of “integral Catholicism”³².

³⁰ National Constitution of Argentina (1853).

³¹ Fortunato Mallimaci, “El catolicismo argentino desde el liberalismo integral a la hegemonía military,” in *500 años de cristianismo en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: CEHILA, 1992).

³² Emile Poulat, *Église contre bourgeoisie* (Paris: Casterman, 1977), quoted in Fortunato Mallimaci, “El catolicismo argentino desde el liberalismo integral,” 13: “[Roman Catholicism] Is Roman, intransigent, integral and social. Roman first: the papacy is in its head and its heart. Intransigent, meaning two things: first, as an anti-liberal Catholicism, negation and antithesis of a liberalism which is the official ideology of modern society; but also unbreakable on the principles that mark this opposition. Integral because it refuses to be reduced to cultural practices and religious beliefs, and is worried about building a Christian society according to the teachings and under the leadership of the Church. Social, in several senses: because it penetrates all the spheres of public life; because that strategy made Catholicism essentially popular. In short, because the economic liberalism of modern society has raised social issues whose solution requires a broad mobilization of the Catholic forces.”

Those two devices that led to the hegemony of Integral Catholicism in Argentina were the project of a “third way” between Communism and liberal Capitalism³³, and the creation and expansion of a social catholic network that included a Worker’s Circle, several journals, and a Catholic Union that gathered women’s, students’, and professionals’ organizations. But beyond the process of creation and consolidation of this particular kind of Catholicism, the relation between the State and the Church between 1880 and 1930 could be broadly considered as an “active autonomy”, with the church on the defensive and the expansive liberal State that increased its capacities, partially, by taking responsibilities and duties that belonged to the Church up to that moment in its own hands.

C. 1930 -1945. Undemocratic regimes and active complementarity

In this setting, the 1930’s democratic breakdown found in the Argentinian Roman Catholic Church an organization that was not involved in democratic issues. On the contrary, integral Catholicism expectations of “restoring everything in Christ”³⁴ converged with an authoritarian regime without any civil or political legitimacy. The agreement between the Church and the Armed Forces was not just circumstantial, but the beginning of a long-term project of “militarization and Christianization”³⁵ of the society that shaped the way in which the Catholic hierarchy would deal with the whole society, including Catholics and non-Catholics through the State. This period could be broadly characterized, from the perspective of the Church-State relation, as a phase of “active complementarity or active interdependence” based on crossed legitimacy: the Church would provide to the State the political legitimacy that the government did not have, and the State would provide the Church with its own political structure and ideological apparatus to create the idea of a continuum between the Argentinean citizenship and the Catholic religion.

D. 1946 -1955. Peronism and active autonomy

This equilibrium changed when Peronism - the political movement through which the Welfare State developed in Argentina - came to power in 1945. Like the Integral Catholicism, Peronism was also self-defined as a “third way” between Communism and liberal capitalism; took several symbols from Christianity, at the

³³ Jose Maria Ghio, *La Iglesia Catolica en la politica argentina* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros Editorial, 2007).

³⁴ Mallimaci, “El catolicismo argentino desde el liberalismo integral.”

³⁵ Ibid.

point of self-characterizing, in one of its most important manifestos, as “deeply Humanistic and Christian”³⁶; and put in the hands of the government the responsibility over social help - which was, up to that moment, not a policy but an issue that belonged to Christian charity’s organizations. In summary, as Peronism was - like Catholicism - a political movement that could offer an integral way of life where people could be Peronists in almost every aspect of their lives, these two worldviews clashed. A decade later, after several political confrontations with arguments like religious education, divorce, and the legalization of prostitution, the same reasons that led the Church to support Peronism - its idea of social justice, its proposal of a third way between communism and liberal capitalism, and its religiosity - led it to be part of the coup that overthrew it in 1955. The phase of Peronism, which was very complex and included a lot of different sub phases³⁷, could be considered broadly, from a Church-State perspective, as a period of “active autonomy” marked by competition and legitimacies’ clash.

E. 1955-1976 Developmentalism and proscription of Peronism. Passive complementarity

As a result of this confrontation, the Church supported a military regime again, and worked on the political and civil legitimacy that the dictatorship needed to remain in power for two years and ban Peronism for almost two decades. This decision, combined with the different interpretations on the 2nd Vatican Concilium, deepened the internal differences in the Catholic field - the “Peronist Christians” and the “institutional Catholics”³⁸ - in a dynamic that would lead to a violent disciplination twenty years later³⁹. The so called “developmentalist period”, that lasted for over twenty years and included military and civil regimes while Peronism was banned, could be considered, from an overview, as a phase of “passive complementarity” where the State ceded certain prerogatives - especially in the field of the education - but the governments did not reinstall the bond of crossed legitimacies that the undemocratic regimes of the thirties had with the Integral Catholicism.

³⁶ Natalio Tomas Garrone, *Veinte verdades del justicialismo peronista* (Buenos Aires: Tall. Gráf. Mangione Hnos, 1951), quoted by László Horváth, *A Half Century of Peronism, 1943-1993: An International Bibliography* (Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 1993).

³⁷ See Lila Caimari, *Peron y la Iglesia Católica. Religión, Estado y sociedad en la Argentina (1943 - 1955)* (Buenos Aires: Emece, 2010); Susana Bianchi, “La crisis de la hegemonía 1954-195,” *Revista Criterio* 2305 (junio 2005).

³⁸ Caimari, *Peron y la Iglesia Católica*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

F. 1976 -1983. State terrorism and active complementarity

During the last Argentinian dictatorship that came to power in 1976 after the political and economic crisis that weakened the last Peronist government, these differences within the Catholic field shaped the way in which the military government would deal with the Church: on one hand, as a part of a genocidal scheme based on State's terrorism and systemic disappearance of people, the military regime swept from the Catholic field the organizations and people that were close to the Liberation Theology and to the Peronist youth organizations; on the other hand, as part of the historical agreement by which the church would legitimate authoritarian regimes in exchange of having a central role in public life. The Catholic hierarchy complained about the reports of international organizations denouncing human rights being violated in Argentina and considered them as "anti-Argentinian propaganda". As far as religious pluralism goes, religious freedom was violated by the creation of a registry of religions, in which all the non-Catholics religions were to register, so that the State could regulate their activities and their designation of authorities. During the last dictatorship, the relation of "active interdependence or complementarity" between the Church and the State returned to shape the political arena.

G. 1983 -1989. Democratic transition and active autonomy

This particular kind of agreement between the political and the ecclesiastical power started to decline with the definite recovering of democracy, when the Church became involved in a double competition⁴⁰: on one hand, with the other religions that started expressing freely in the public space - especially the evangelicals -, and on the other hand, with the rest of the organizations - political parties, trade unions, students organizations, etc.- that reactivated the public sphere by their requests to the state and the society. But on this general frame, the government's attitude towards the Church changed according to each president. During the transitional government - Raul Alfonsin's -, the relation with the Church was not easy counting on the political legitimacy of being the first democratic president after seven years of a violent authoritarian regime, the government went for several goals that touched some core issues on the Catholic agenda, by calling a National Pedagogical Congress in 1984 in which all the constituencies involved in the educational institutions were allowed and encouraged to participate on a major reform of education, Alfonsin's administration advanced on democratizing a field that authoritarian governments

⁴⁰ Esquivel, "Iglesia católica, política y sociedad."

used to leave entirely to the Church; by passing the divorce's bill - raised by the government -, it challenged the Church as the primal source of moral order. So during the transitional period, the relationship of the Church and the State went back to "active autonomy".

H. 1989 – 2002. Post transition and passive complementarity

But this battle between the Church and the State, to define what should be the best educational and moral order for the country, didn't repeat itself during the post-transitional government of Carlos Menem, despite of the contradiction between its neoliberal economic policy and the so-called "social concern" of Church. In fact, during the 90's, the tensions and discussions inside the catholic world multiplied: on one hand, most of the catholic hierarchy supported the presidential "catholic" gestures, such as supporting the Vatican's position about women's rights in the United Nations' conventions, financing faith-based initiatives, and attending yearly the national revolution's day, Te Deum. On the other hand, a few bishops, priests and nuns, and some Christians denounced the consequences of economic liberalization. The relationship between the Church and the State on this post-transitional period could be characterized as a relationship based on "passive complementarity": the government was supported by the population, so it did not need the legitimacy of the Catholic Church to govern, but at the same time it reproduced some inherited elements of complementarity, maintaining the balance which existed prior to the democratic transition.

I. From 2002 to the present times. Strong democracy and passive complementarity

During the last decade, the arrangement between the church and the state was questioned by Nestor Kirchner's administration and the first government of Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, whose position on the relationship of the Church with the State could be defined as an "active autonomy". This active-autonomous attitude can be tracked-down through several policies, like choosing civil servants for the Religions' Affairs Secretary and the embassy in the Vatican, who do not come from traditional catholic families; supporting two women on the Supreme Court that were criticized by the Church's hierarchy because of their opinions on abortion; defending positions about women's and homosexual rights on the United Nations' conventions that were against the Vatican's position on those subjects; reducing the funding of faith-based initiatives and increasing the budget of social aid programs that depend on the State; raising and approving a national law that prescribes sex education in primary and secondary schools and other bills that

defend reproductive rights, despite the criticism of the church; releasing the military bishop from office after he said that the Health Minister was to be thrown into the sea with a stone tied around his neck'; supporting and passing a bill that legalizes same-sex marriages; and not assisting the Buenos Aires Cathedral's yearly Te Deum, even after the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Jorge Bergoglio, became Pope.

3. The Church and State relations from an educational perspective

Within the history of the relationship between the Church and the State, the changes in the balance of power with regard to the educational policy can be considered to be a particular matter of study. Like the broader approach of the Church and State relationship, several moments can be described from the point of view of the State's political legitimacy in relation to the Church - autonomy or complementarity - and the passive or active way in which the state builds this legitimacy.

A. 1500 -1879. Colonial times and consolidation of a national State.

Passive complementarity

During the colonial times, Jesuit priests took charge of the natives' evangelization as a direct consequence of the Patronage regime. Dominicans, Mercedaries, Franciscans, and Augustinians followed the Jesuits on the commitment of "Christianizing the Indians"⁴¹. This commitment was the starting point for the Church to develop as one of the most important agents involved in the educational issues in the region, and reproduced - at the same time that supported - the symbiotic relationship between church and state. During the 16th century, religious orders created several parochial schools and convent schools, as well as a few high schools in order to provide education to the emerging elites. Training new priests and theologians was also a priority for the Church that, in this regard, created a seminar in Cordoba, which was the first step for creating a National University⁴². During the time of the State's consolidation - between the Independence of 1816 and the nationalization of Buenos Aires -, the provinces' stances regarding the role of religion in education varied between those who emphasized the necessity of a free-of-charge and compulsory education and the anti-liberals who emphasized the traditional and catholic values. These differences

⁴¹ Roberto Di Stefano y Loris Zanatta, *Historia de la Iglesia Argentina. Desde la conquista hasta fines del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Mondadori, 2000).

⁴² Ibid.

on the subnational level marked a path of heterogeneity that still remains in the present times⁴³. So the colonial period and the years of the creation and consolidation of the national State could be considered, from the perspective of the educational system and the relationship between the Church and the State, as a passive interdependence in which neither the State had the capacity to spread education over the territory, nor the Church had the capacity to politically articulate the provinces.

B. 1880 -1929. Liberal offensive and active autonomy

This equilibrium changed when one of the most important critical junctures⁴⁴ in Argentinian history of education occurred around the parliamentary debate and sanction of the Law 1420, which regulated the education provided by the schools that belonged to the national government. This discussion started in 1882, when a National Pedagogical Convention was called by a presidential decree. The Church mobilized some of its major intellectuals to defend its positions with regard to the so-called “freedom of teaching”, which implied the public recognition of private religious schools, the State’s role on children education, and the presence of religious - catholic - teaching in public schools. After a hot debate on the Church’s proposal of defining public education as “essentially catholic”⁴⁵ this motion was abolished and the Catholic congressmen⁴⁶ left the convention. One year later, a bill supported by Catholics -although a congressman that belonged to a secularist party and was a member of freemasonry raised it- was discussed on the plenary⁴⁷. The most difficult topic was, again, the inclusion of religious contents on the curriculum, and the lack of consensus rolled the bill. Immediately, liberal majority raised an alternative bill. Although in that text the Parliament did not define explicitly the “secular” or “pluralist” or “nonsectarian” nature of education, religious education was excluded from the core curricula and instead included in the afterschool schedule. This defeat, considered by some scholars⁴⁸ as the worst

⁴³ Axel Rivas, *Lo uno y lo múltiple: Esferas de justicia del federalismo educativo* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de Educación, 2009).

⁴⁴ Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the political arena* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 27-39.

⁴⁵ Domingo Sarmiento, “Cuestiones incendiarias en el congreso pedagogico (13 de abril de 1882),” accessed July, 13, 2013, http://bibliotecaescolar.educ.ar/sites/default/files/IV-02_0.pdf.

⁴⁶ Identified by Sarmiento as “Goyena, Estrada, Lamarca, Navarro, Viola, canon Pinero, father Magendie, etc.”, in “Cuestiones incendiarias en el congreso pedagogico.”

⁴⁷ Gregorio Weinberg, *Debate parlamentario, ley 1420, 1883-1884*, vol. I (Buenos Aires: 1984), accessed July 15, 2014, http://bibliotecaescolar.educ.ar/sites/default/files/IV_07.pdf.

⁴⁸ Di Stefano, Zanatta, *Historia de la Iglesia Argentina*.

on the Argentine Catholic Church's history, shaped the church's institutional strategy during the following 46 years: intervening on the educational rules at the subnational level and strengthening and organizing private schools. With regard to the first point, the provincial laws that regulated the education in the provinces of Cordoba, Mendoza, Rio Negro, and Santa Fe not only allowed but also warranted compulsory religious education⁴⁹. About the second point, bishops, priests, directors, and teachers of private schools gathered in 1910⁵⁰ for the first pedagogic convention on catholic education. Four years later, the Episcopal Conference of Argentina decreed a religious teaching plan for all the catholic schools, which contained rules and indications for religious teaching and the curriculum, bibliography, and didactic books for each grade for both elementary schools and high schools⁵¹. Although they had lost the battle of religious education in public schools 16 years earlier, the bishops pointed out that according to the Latin American Plenary Council, "The Church has not only the right, by nature and above every human power, to establish and regulate schools to give to the Catholic youth Christian education, but also to claim that in every school, whether public or private, catholic youth's education will be under its jurisdiction and that anything that is opposite to catholic religion and healthy moral will be tough in any field of the curriculum"⁵².

Although this document had no legal value beyond the catholic schools dependent on the Episcopate, it shows quite clearly the opinion of the Church's hierarchy about secularism in public education and its low level of commitment to democratic norms by not recognizing the Law 1420's establishment of keeping religious education on the afterschool's schedule. In the same year, the Argentine Catholic University was created with the goal of educating Catholic leading elites. But these expectations lasted only for a few years, since the State would not legally recognize its diplomas. In 1925, as a consequence of the church's strategy of strengthening the private schools, the Council for Catholic Education (Consudec) was created to help private schools with the bureaucratic paperwork and defend

⁴⁹ Rivas, *Lo uno y lo multiple*.

⁵⁰ Hector Aguer, "Propuestas y riesgos de la educación católica, a las puertas del Bicentenario patrio. Opening speech of 47° Director's course of CONSUDEC. Salta, 10 de febrero de 2010," accessed July 15, 2013, <http://www.arzolap.com.ar/textos/Propuestas%20y%20riesgos%20de%20la%20educacion%20catolica.html>.

⁵¹ "Decreto del Episcopado argentino sobre la enseñanza religiosa en los colegios y escuelas católicas. Plan de enseñanza religiosa," accessed July 17, 2013, http://www.episcopado.org/portal/2000-2009/cat_view/150-magisterio-argentina/24-1889-1928.html?start=20.

⁵² Ibid.

those schools that would feel “hindered in the free exercise of teaching”⁵³. This Council would depend on the Episcopal Conference and, according to the collective pastoral signed by the bishops when it was created, one of its priorities would be spreading the catholic teaching to those children whose parents could not pay for it, by warranting a scholarship system.⁵⁴ So the period between the 1880’s liberal offensive and 1930 could be described as a period of “active autonomy” from the State, marked for a liberal and expansive State and a Church on a defensive position, where the Catholic strategy on education was revisited.

C. 1930 -1945. Undemocratic regimes and active complementarity

With the 1930 democratic breakdown, the Catholic Church recovered from the secularist policy set by law 1420. By 1934, the National Council of Education changed the curriculum and included references to God in the course of Moral Education – now called “Citizen Education” or “Civic Education” -. But it was not until 1943 that religious education was included as a compulsory assignment in every school of Argentina, by the decree 18,411.⁵⁵ According to this norm, Law 1420 had not abolished the religious teaching but, by setting it at an inconvenient schedule, had made it impossible to attend and had led to “biased interpretations”⁵⁶ that were against the Constitution. Religious teaching was supposed to spread over all the elementary schools, high schools, and universities that belonged to the national State and it would be ruled and organized by a National Bureau of Religious Instruction and controlled by a specific group of inspectors. Most of the provinces followed this trend and established compulsory religious education in the provincial schools. So the educational phase that started with the 1930’s coup was, like the broader process of militarization and Christianization of society, a moment of “active complementarity or active interdependence” between the Church and State. This relationship was based on a crossed legitimacy where the Church would provide the State with a moral content on education that could replace the liberal paradigm, and the State would provide the Church with its educational structure so the Church could spread the Catholicism religion all over the people, Catholics or non-Catholics.

⁵³ “Pastoral colectiva sobre la creación del Consejo Superior de Educación Católica,” accessed July 15, 2013, http://www.episcopado.org/portal/2000-2009/cat_view/150-magisterio-argentina/24-1889-1928.html?limitstart=0.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “Decreto No. 18.411, del 31 de diciembre de 1943,” accessed July 15, 2014, <http://www.bnm.me.gov.ar/giga1/normas/14066.pdf>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

D. 1946 -1955. Peronism and active autonomy

This decree was converted into a law by the Peronist government in 1947. But the implementation of this law reflected the relationship between Peronism and the Church: the National Bureau of Religious Instruction would be in hands of civil servers and the role of the Church on the curriculum's conception would be just advisory. So this policy could be seen as a way of increasing the public presence of the Church but also the level of control over it. Seven years later, as a result of the tensions between the Church and the Peronist government, religious teaching in public schools was abolished. But with regard of private education, the legacy of Peronism in the relationship with the Church was much heavier: Law 13,047, sanctioned in 1947, established that private schools' teachers would have the same rights as the public schools' teachers. By this decision, the government defined that funding private education would be a state responsibility.⁵⁷ From that moment on, the Church and State's discussion around education would focus on state regulation and financing.⁵⁸ So this period defined by the competition between the Church and the State reflected on the educational system as a phase of active autonomy in which the State would give to the church a portion of the educational system but at the same time it would put it under public control and responsibility.

E. 1955 -1976. Developmentalism and proscription of Peronism. Passive complementarity

As the political coalition that supported the military government that started in 1955 was conformed for socialists, communists, and the Roman Catholic Church, religious education did not become a part of the curriculum. But in the course of Moral Education, one of the contents was "the notion of God, creator of all that exists. Duties of Him fulfilling the Moral or Divine Law"⁵⁹. Beyond the issue of religious education in public school, the trend towards private education deepened throughout the decade. Despite of the secularist and anti-clerical ideology of its supporters and the massive protests carried out by the students,

⁵⁷ Gerardo Suarez and Roxana Perazza, "Apuntes sobre la educación privada," in *Mapas y recorridos de la educación de gestión privada en la Argentina*, ed. Gerardo Suarez and Roxana Perazza (Buenos Aires: Aique, 2012)

⁵⁸ Alejandro Morduchowicz and Gustavo Iglesias, "Auge y avance de los subsidios estatales al financiamiento de las escuelas privadas en la Argentina," in *Mapas y recorridos de la educación de gestión privada en la Argentina*.

⁵⁹ María Laura Mauceri, Guillermo Ruiz, "La finalización de la educación primaria nacional: Los últimos años de la acción directa del Estado nacional en la educación primaria. Período 1961-1978", in *Hist. educ. anu.*, vol.10 (2009) [online].

Arturo Frondizi's government presented at least two politics of passive complementarity with the Church with regard to education: on one hand, he called Luis McKay, "a man of Irish Catholic origin and known for its religious fervor"⁶⁰ to be his Education Minister, although the "obvious candidate" for that position was a man from the west wing of the president's coalition - which could be considered as secular and even anticlerical. On the other hand, he recognized the private universities' diplomas, legalizing the creation of private universities by Law 1457. Although this decision would not directly affect the proportion of private schools' students over the total amount of students in elementary and high schools, it would shape the relation between the Church and the State, as they converged in their complementary strategies: the Church, after the failed experience of compulsory religious education in public schools, re-focused on strengthening, disciplining, and multiplying private schools; the State, by financing private schools, de-monopolized the statist nature of the educational system, taking charge of private education. As a consequence, the National Office of Superintendence of Private Education was created one year later. In 1960, the quality examinations against mixed juries were abolished when private schools were legally considered as "administrative units of self-management" and became legally able to deliver diplomas without any state control of quality.⁶¹ The growth of private education was linked to the policies of decentralization of schools that started in 1961, when the state signed agreements concerning the decentralization of primary schools with a few provinces. Under de military government that started in 1966, a group of education experts linked to the Catholic Church took control of the Education Ministry. Some of the intellectuals who were part of this group were Antonio Salonia, who had been the vice minister of McKay, José Ciuccarelli, a religion professor linked to the military clergy's journal, and the group of Luis Jorge Zanotti, Alfredo van Gelderen, Reinaldo Oserín, Miguel Petty y Carlos Silva, who had been part, like the President, of the Courses of Catholic Culture in 1922⁶².

To conclude, the balance between the Church and the State in the educational system during this period had three main axes: decentralization, promotion of private education, and cabinet access for Catholic experts who were

⁶⁰ Celia Szusterman, *Frondizi. La política del desconcierto* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1997): 167.

⁶¹ Norma Paviglianiti, *Neoconservadurismo y Educación* (Buenos Aires: Coquena Grupo Editor, 1991). Quoted in Florencia Finnegan, Ana Pagano, *El derecho a la educación en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: LPP and FLAPE, 2007), accessed July 17, 2013, http://issuu.com/lucita15/docs/derecho_a_la_educacion_finnegan-pagano.

⁶² Pablo Pineau, *Historia y política de la educación argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación de la Nación, 2010), accessed July 15, 2013, <http://repositorio.educacion.gov.ar/dspace/bitstream/handle/123456789/89820/Historia%20politica%20educacion.pdf?sequence=1>.

politically linked to the Church. Those three axes converge with the Church in a relation of passive complementarity, where the State abandoned some of its responsibilities and control capabilities over education, while the Church furthered its growth strategy through the private sector.

F. 1976-1983. State terrorism and Active Complementarity

These policies were expanded during the last military dictatorship. The most important decision of the dictatorial regime regarding decentralization was taken in 1978, when the Law 21,809 allowed the Executive Power to transfer all the national primary schools to the provinces. The transfer would be formalized by signing agreements with the provinces, which would be responsible for all expenses resulting from the transfer. With regard to support granted to private schools, there are two issues to consider: firstly, although the enrollment in private schools did not grow dramatically between the beginning of the dictatorship in 1976 and its fall in 1983, the transfer of schools to the provinces without the necessary budget to accompany the increase in the education demand implied supporting the growth of private education, because provincial budgets could not finance the construction of new schools. Therefore, the new demand for education could only be absorbed by the private sector, or simply remain unsatisfied. Secondly, it is important to mention that the third Minister of Education of the military government, Juan Rafael Llerena Amadeo, had strong ties to the Council for Catholic Education and publicly defended the so-called 'principle of subsidiarity' inaugurated by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno"⁶³. According to Llerena Amadeo, this principle was opposed to both liberal and directed economies, and consisted mainly of the idea according to which individuals and social groups had the right to carry out all social and economic activities they were good at. Therefore, it was unfair for the State to absorb those activities, because their mission was extra or subsidiary.

About the third axe -cabinet access for Catholic education experts who were politically linked to the Church- the case of Llerena Amadeo could be considered as paradigmatic: he had been an Assistant Secretary for the Minister of Education José Mariano Astigueta (1967-1969) during one of the authoritarian regimes of the sixties. In 1976 he was a professor at the Catholic University of Argentina and Salvador, an academic secretary of the Faculty of Law of the University of Buenos Aires and belonged to one of the institutes associated with the National Council of Science and Technique. He was also a collaborator in the center-rightist newspaper

⁶³ Laura Rodríguez, "La influencia católica en la educación. El caso del ministro Juan Rafael Llerena Amadeo (1978-1981)," *Estudios* 25 (2011): 141-157.

La Nación and also in Catholic magazines and journals such as Universitas and Estrada. Regarding his social background, it is important to stress upon the fact that he was closely linked to the Catholic Education Council. In those years, the Council was under the influence of the episcopal chair of Catholic education, Bishop Antonio José Plaza, who was also Archbishop of La Plata and police chaplain in the province of Buenos Aires.

There were three more devices of Church's intervention on the educational system during the last dictatorship: a doctrinaire or ideological one, which shaped the contents of education; a political one, that shaped the subjects of education; and a pedagogical one, which shaped the ways of teaching. The first one can be especially traced into the courses of moral and civic education, whose content have been analyzed by several researchers who highlighted its undeniable pre-conciliar Catholic bias⁶⁴, throughout history⁶⁵. The second one consisted mainly in the persecution of teachers and students of catholic educational institutions that questioned the catholic hierarchy because of its relationship with the military government, or those having leftist points of view. This issue has been much studied by many scholars and specialists in Human Rights, but the most visible fact was the document called "Subversion in education. Knowing Our Enemy", which was distributed by the ministry of Education to every school. The goal of the text was "understanding of the subversive phenomenon of those days" and aimed at "explaining directly and clearly the main facts which occurred" on the "actions of Marxism"⁶⁶. The third one referred to the catholic element used upon the teaching field and can be traced through the figure of the Spanish teacher of Opus Dei Victor Garcia Hoz, who was invited to Argentina by the Education Minister. He was one of the theoreticians of catholic teaching and postulated the so called "personalized education". He was also publicly identified as the educator of the Franco regime and proposed the separation of the sexes in the entire educational system, as well as teaching of specific courses for men and women.⁶⁷

So during this period, the relationship between the Church and the State could be characterized as an "active interdependence" where both parts were

⁶⁴ See Rodriguez, "La influencia católica en la educación."

⁶⁵ Laura Rodriguez, "La Historia que debía enseñarse durante la última dictadura militar en Argentina (1976- 1983)," accessed July 17, 2013, http://www.academia.edu/3612615/La_Historia_que_debia_ensenarse_durante_la_ultima_dictadura_militar_en_Argentina_1976-1983_.

⁶⁶ "Subversion in education. Knowing Our Enemy. Document of the Ministry of Education, 1978," quoted in Laura Rodriguez, "Iglesia y educación durante la última dictadura en Argentina," *Revista Cultura y religión*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2010): 4-19.

⁶⁷ M.N. Filippa, "Educación personalizada y dictadura militar en Argentina: 1976/1983," in Claudio Suasnabar, *Universidad e intelectuales. Educación y política en la Argentina (1955-1976)* (Manantial, 2004).

avored by all the educational policies: from the State's point of view, the arrangement was advantageous for pragmatic and political reasons: the pragmatic reason is that the catholic schools – which already accounted for around 70 percent of the private schools - could have been a contention for the educational demand once the primary schools were decentralized; the political reason is that the Church's program, in its ideological, pedagogical, and political dimensions, coincided with the disciplinary goals of the dictatorial government. From the Church's perspective, the arrangement was convenient because by having influence in the educational policies and contents and, at the same time, receiving the new educational demand, the institution could expand its influence in both directions: private and public, confessional and political.

G. 1983-1989. Democratic transition and Passive Autonomy

With the return of democracy, the transitional President raised a bill by which he called a National Pedagogical Convention in 1986, which was opened to students, parents, cooperative associations, trade unions, teachers, education experts, and the whole population through parties and other representative organizations. This fact caused several discussions within the Catholic community, between those who thought that they should go to the congress and those who preferred to ignore it. In the end, it was the first position that won the discussion and by 1985, the Argentine Episcopate distributed a document entitled "Education and project of life" and told the schools directors to encourage their communities to attend the forums public discussions called by the government. By 1988 the Pedagogical Congress approved ten very general motions, most of them unanimously. There were dissensions in motions referring to delicate issues for the Catholic agenda, like the religious holidays: the Catholics wanted to include the fact that the school legislation should be "harmonically embedded in the assumptions of a national project that recognizes a world vision that is originally Christian"⁶⁸. Other issues like the role of the family in education and the Latin American integration were approved with dissensions. But the most important thing about this Congress was not the contents and discussions, but the intact ability of the Church to conquer the public sphere, which led the government to abandon the education bill. So even though the first attitude of the government was "active autonomy", its inability to move the agenda forward because of the power of the church marks a period of passive autonomy.

⁶⁸ *Documentos sobre la historia educativa argentina*, accessed July 15, 2013, http://argentinahistorica.com.ar/intro_libros.php?tema=26&doc=87&cap=458.

H. 1989 – 2002. Post transition and passive complementarity

In this context, the policies of decentralization support to the private sector, and cabinet access for Catholic experts who were politically linked to the Church became stronger during the neoliberal period. Consequently, the Law 24,049 of Transference of Educational Services empowered the National Executive to transfer to the provinces all the educational services administered by the Ministry of Education as well as the powers and functions of acknowledged private institutions. Although this policy implied, in the long term, a heavier charge for the governors, they did not offer any kind of resistance because, at the same time, they would control more resources. Besides that, during the first years of the transition to a decentralized system, salaries would be paid by the national government. Two years later, the 24,195 Federal Law of Education recognized private schools as a part of the public system, by the name of 'public schools of private management'. About the incursion of Catholic-political activists with strong links to the Church during the neoliberal government of Menem, it is important to focus on the case of Salonia, who was Menem's Minister on Culture and Education for the first three years of government and had been subdirector of McKay during Frondizi's, and led the consulting team of the military government of Onganía. So during this period, the State-Church relationship was 'passive complementarity' because the State's strategy of shrinking the state and decentralize the educational system converged with the Church's strategy of growing in the private sector.

Conclusions

As a consequence of the convergence of the decentralization policies and the church's strategy of discussing the education policies at the subnational level, provincial educational systems are now very heterogeneous from the point of view of subsidiarity levels and levels of secularism. Looking at the distribution of the provinces from these two dimensions, four groups of provinces (according to the percentage of educational spending that is transferred to the private sector) may be detected. And observing the way in which the incursion of religious education in public schools is prescribed in provincial constitutions and education, there are also four groups of provinces --with secular public education and religious education allowed outside the normal school hours, without specifying the schedule, and religious education within the normal school hours--. The combination of these two dimensions in a typology of 16 categories shows the heterogeneity of subnational educational systems (See table I). So even though the State becomes increasingly autonomous in general, it described a relationship of passive complementarity with the Church in the educational field (See chart II).

This change in the pattern of co-variation could be explained by the dynamics of decentralization and privatization of the educational policies during the last 60 years, which converged with the broad strategy of the church of strengthening the private sector and improving the ties with provincial education authorities. At the same time, these facts show that the religious education in public schools has usually been a temporary policy in Argentina, while these other policies that do not affect directly the contents of education tend to be more lasting because they affect the educational institutions and therefore they change the educational system in the long term. From this starting point, it is up to future studies to try and answer the question about the reasons that explain the variance between provinces in the type of educational system and the link of this variation to the Church-State relationship.

APPENDIX

Chart I. *Provinces according to their type of subnational educational system.*

		Level of secularism			
		Lay	Religious incursion in public schools in afterschool schedule	Religious incursion in public schools without specifying the schedule	Religious incursion in public schools into class hours
Level of subsidiarity	Not subsidiary	Formosa; La Rioja; Neuquén; Chubut; Chaco	.	Jujuy	.
	Low subsidiary	Mendoza; Río Negro; Tierra del Fuego; Corrientes	La Pampa	Catamarca	Salta
	Subsidiary	Santa Cruz; Misiones	San Juan; San Luis	Santiago del Estero	Tucumán
	Very subsidiary	CABA; Buenos Aires; Santa Fe; Entre Ríos;	.	Córdoba	.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data gathered from provincial constitutions, provincial education laws, and figures provided by the National Directorate of Educational Statistics.

Chart II. *Church - State relations and Church - State relations on the educational field.*

Years	Period	Church- State relation	Church-State relation on the educational field
1500-1879	Colonial Times and consolidation of the national state	Passive complementarity	Passive complementarity
1880-1929	Liberal Offensive	Active Autonomy	Active Autonomy
1930-1945	Nondemocratic regimes	Active complementarity	Active complementarity
1946-1955	Peronism	Active autonomy	Active autonomy
1955-1976	Developmentalism and proscription of peronism	Passive complementarity	Passive complementarity
1976-1983	Dictatorship and genocide	Active complementarity	Active Complementarity
1983-1989	Transition	Active autonomy	Passive Autonomy
1989-2002	Post transition	Passive Complementarity	Passive complementarity
2003-2011	Strong democracy	Active Autonomy	Passive complementarity

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