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## FRANCISCO FRANCO: EXPERIENCE OF CULTURAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION OF THE HIGHEST VALUE IDENTITIES OF THE DICTATOR (PART 1)

**Background.** *This article is a continuation of a series of articles devoted to dictators and despots, whose biographies are studied in the context of cultural and socio-systemological and visual analytical approaches. Visual-analytical profiling associated with the study of bodily-morphotypic, physiognomic, non-verbal-communicative, symbolic-spatial features of the subject is an empirical continuation and tool for empirical validation of cultural and socio-systemological research of higher value, meso-communitarian and microcommunitarian identities.*

*The Spanish dictator Franco, like any other representative of a specific ethnosociety, had his own set of value identities, which were the result of selective and/or indiscriminate internalization of the meanings of Spanish imperial culture, the system of stratification of the Spanish class society and its military class in particular, a social character formed at the junction of Latin-Catholic and Arab-Islamic culture. Its set of value identities includes Catholic traditionalism, its corresponding military-type cratocentrism as the basis of the world order in philosophical identities, clerical nationalism with supra-estate and supra-class dictatorship in ideological identities, accommodativeism/ethical probabilism and political Machiavellianism in ethics and morality, legalistic relativism in legal identities, reducing the understanding of art as a tool of propaganda in artificial identities.*

**Methods.** *The following methods were used in the article: the method of qualitative identification of value identities, used in visual analytics and cultural and social systemology.*

**Results.** *Value identities of Francisco Franco. Franco's biographical context presents enculturation actors oriented toward Catholicism and Catholic values. This certainly contributed to the formation of a set of value identities corresponding to the axiosphere of Christianity with accompanying mental qualities.*

**Conclusions.** *The recursion in Franco's philosophical identities of Christianity as a religion corresponded to spiritualistic holism. The totalitarian regime he created (Spanish Francoism) became one of the most durable in Europe because it maintained structural continuity with both the monarchy and democratic projects.*

*This was facilitated, among other things, by Franco's understanding of the boundaries of his time, the exit from which implied his voluntary, conscious departure and the transfer of power to a successor from the royal dynasty, Juan Carlos. The holistic version of dictatorship, which at the final stage of its development smoothly and painlessly transformed into a legal, democratic state, avoiding both the forced imposition of democratic orders by external forces and internal cataclysms, should be considered consistent with both the religious and philosophical identities described above.*

**Keywords:** *value identities, Catholic traditionalism, cratocentrism, clerical nationalism, accommodationism, political Machiavellianism, legalistic relativism, propaganda understanding of art.*

### Background

This article is a continuation of a series of articles devoted to dictators and despots, whose biographies are studied in the context of cultural and socio-systemological and visual analytical approaches. Visual-analytical profiling associated with the study of bodily-morphotypic, physiognomic, non-verbal-communicative, symbolic-spatial features of the subject is an empirical continuation and tool for empirical validation of cultural and socio-systemological research of higher value, meso-communitarian and microcommunitarian identities (Romanenko, 2021, pp. 29–47; Romanenko, 2022, pp. 9–16; Romanenko, 2023a, pp. 5–14; 2023b, pp. 12–27; Romanenko, 2022a, pp. 38–61; 2022b, pp. 8–30; Romanenko, & Svyatnenko, 2023, pp. 40–51; Romanenko, 2023, pp. 42–56; Romanenko, 2024, pp. 40–57).

Cultural and social systemology as a synthetic and interdisciplinary (cross-disciplinary) direction of philosophical-cultural, sociological, cultural and socio-psychological theorizing considers the body and corporeality as a recursion of higher value, meso-communitarian and microcommunitarian identities. Taking into account the integration within the very direction of neofunctionalism, symbolic interactionism and structuralism, it seems productive to the author to consider visual images of the body and corporeality as a kind of language, the structure of which in the visual aspect represents symbolic isomorphisms of cultural, social and mental identities. In such a research logic, visual images of the body/corporeality recurse with identities as internalized

cultural and social meanings through the mechanisms of symbolic conversion used by mental systems. The idea of the relationship between the value, structural-institutional and sign-symbolic levels can be supplemented with a constructivist postulate

Since this article reflects the results of the author's previous research, the author himself considers it necessary to refer to already published works in order to avoid repetitions.

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### Methods

The following methods were used in the article: the method of qualitative identification of value identities, used in visual analytics and cultural and social systemology.

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## Results

Franco's biographical context presents enculturation actors oriented toward Catholicism and Catholic values. This certainly contributed to the formation of a set of value identities corresponding to the axiosphere of Christianity with accompanying mental qualities.

### *Religious and philosophical-ideological identities.*

The recursion in Franco's philosophical identities of Christianity as a religion corresponded to spiritualist holism. The totalitarian regime he created (Spanish Francoism) became one of the most durable in Europe because it maintained structural continuity with both the monarchy and democratic projects.

This was facilitated, among other things, by Franco's understanding of the boundaries of his time, the exit from which implied his voluntary, conscious departure and the transfer of power to a successor from the royal dynasty, Juan Carlos. The holistic version of dictatorship, which at the final stage of its development smoothly and painlessly transformed into a legal, democratic state, avoiding both the forced imposition of democratic orders by external forces and internal cataclysms, should be considered consistent with both the religious and philosophical identities described above.

Historically, Spain has been affected by the circumstance of lagging modernization. A factor that caused Spain to lag behind neighboring European countries around the end of the 17th century was its colonial periphery. The Spanish case may serve as a textbook example of how the exploitation of the colonial periphery had a negative feedback effect on the social structure of Spanish society and the Spanish economy. However, Christian-Catholic morality also suffered significant erosion, which adopted a stable trend of a negative attitude towards building industry, mechanization of production, and accumulation of wealth.

In general, orthodox Christian ethics cultivated a detached attitude towards wealth, directly pointing out the equal difficulty of a camel passing through the eye of a needle and the ability of a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. It is also worth remembering the fact that Spain, unlike the west and north of Europe, remained counter-reformation. Thus, in contrast to modernized Protestant Christianity, which allowed a compromise to the secularization of the ethics of accumulating and increasing wealth, Catholicism, as well as Orthodoxy, remained in pre-Reformation positions.

This counter-reformation cultural paradigm not only devalued materialism and enrichment, but also those social groups that could take part in the rationalization of society and the creation of a transparent production system. The military and noble classes preferred to go for riches on campaigns of conquest, simultaneously demonstrating Catholic proselytism in the conquered territories. This led to the underformation in Spain of both the bourgeoisie and its own capable industry.

It is worth remembering that Catholicism in Spain legitimized the acquisition of the wealth of the New World by military means. The Spanish nobility, formed during the period of the Reconquista, in the development of the colonial periphery followed the scenario of the Crusaders in the romantic-medieval understanding of this phenomenon. Within the framework of Catholic Europe, pacifism characteristic of orthodox Christian ethics was transformed into papal-Caesarean militarism. The nobility admired military valor and the ethics of the "Christian conqueror" that had taken root in the public consciousness.

The downside of any militarism is a disdainful attitude towards the material values of peaceful production, hoarding, and hedonism. This is explained by the fact that representatives of the military-noble class do not see a connection between the cultural value of honest peaceful labor, the material well-being of representatives of the "ignoble classes" and the functioning of the colonial economy.

Thus, the development strategy of Spanish capitalism consisted of an emphasis on primitive accumulation on the use of the colonial periphery and the investment of the resulting financial resources in the economic systems of other European countries. The resulting capital was used by the feudal elites for internal prestigious consumption within Spain and the export of part of the capital for its deposit in the banks of France, Germany, and England.

This strategy of extensive enrichment of Spain as a metropolis turned out to be more productive for financing the industrial development of European countries. Spain itself, as a result of such a course of cultural and economic development, was deprived of a competitive industry.

The pole of formation of the dictator's Christian-Catholic censorship was his mother, Dona Pilar, whose attachment to her was strengthened by the peculiarities of the psychophysical constitution of the future dictator. She personified calm, restraint, patience and obedience – a number of ethical virtues that Francisco could not help but idealize in his contrasting experiences with his father.

Esenwein, in a biographical study of Franco (Esenwein, 2005, pp. 1237–1239), characterizes him as "unimaginative, inflexible and morally inert, who could easily fade into obscurity." Jensen insists that Franco owed much of his success in life not to exceptional ability as a thinker, soldier, and politician, but to "pure chance".

As an example, the author cites "his rise to military fame in his youth" and the period of officer service in Morocco, where Franco distinguished himself on the battlefield. "During one of these skirmishes," as reviewer G. Eisenwein notes (Esenwein, 2005, pp. 1237–1239), "he was so seriously wounded that no one expected him to survive. However, Franco's seemingly miraculous recovery, which Moroccan troops attributed to his divine protection, he began his rapid rise through the ranks. At thirty-four he was promoted to brigadier general, after which the image of a major military figure was assigned to him".

In general, all the grounds for idealizing the mother were formed in Franco's biography also because Doña Pilar, raised in the spirit of adherence to Catholic values, was an exemplary mother. She devoted herself entirely to raising four children: Nicholas, Francisco, Pilar and the youngest Ramon. Franco was older than everyone else, which created the precondition for higher expectations regarding him. The mother was identified in Franco's mind with family values, piety and Spanish traditions.

The image of the father was the complete opposite of the mother. For Franco's psyche, the cultural model that was transmitted by his father corresponded to the stereotypes of a real military man. What was a soldier supposed to be like? In the moral aspect, he was the complete opposite of restraint, pedantic religiosity, orderliness and calm. Franco's father, according to biographers' descriptions, was a hyperthymic, unhinged, rude, hot-tempered man of passion. According to the stated features, the father's psychopathic affectothymia manifested itself, on the one hand, in his choice of professional identity, and on the other hand, in deviations manifested in civil life. Since the highly motivated mental

constitution of a military man in civilian life encounters certain restrictions, this corresponds to deviations that must maintain narcissistic homeostasis and the necessary level of self-esteem. We are talking about alcoholism and gambling, which the head of the family was passionate about. The tendency towards courage in hyperthymic psychopathic individuals is complemented by promiscuous behavior, which in civilian life also confirms the valor and identity of a representative of the military class.

Biographers note this circumstance in a metaphorical form, characterizing Franco's father as a native of Andalusia, and also noting "the habits of his youth spent in the colonies", which "caused an excessive passion for the fair sex, which also did not strengthen his craving for home comfort". Father Franco's religious and racial-ethnic mix was represented by a set of Christian-Catholic and Arab-Muslim identities. His worldview is described rather as nonconformist and cynical, which gave him a corresponding reputation as a "scandalous personality" in the military class, which is difficult to disagree with.

Thus, Catholic Christianity in Franco's set of identities corresponded to papocesarism and a clerical-hierocratic understanding of politics. In the sector of philosophical identities, Franco can be considered a consistent supporter of militarism and the understanding of the army as the basis of social life and world order as a whole. Part of this worldview was undoubtedly a clerical-tinged imperialism in which Spain was the image of the mother country that Christianized half the world.

**Ideological identity of F. Franco.** Franco's ideological identity was, by definition, clerical (integral) nationalism, which opposed both "corrupting" liberalism "and communism. However, Franco was not original here. It is worth adding to this that the caudillo at the first stage represented more of a version of integral nationalism (before the strategic turning point of the defeat of Germany in the Second World War); at the second stage of his political career he was already inclined towards clerical-Catholic nationalism.

This change was associated with several circumstances: 1) the need to integrate into the post-war world with the adoption of the Cold War strategy and the positioning of Spain as an anti-communist state, and the Francoist regime as a legitimate instrument in the struggle of the Catholic state and organic democracy against leftist despotism; 2) the need to distance themselves from the fascist Axis countries and obtain maximum political indulgences for post-war reconstruction.

In one of his speeches to the Cortes in 1996, Franco articulated several fundamental statements that were to become part of his positive and glorifying reputation management. The leitmotif of this speech was that Spain, as an organic Catholic state, adapted to the mental characteristics and life philosophy of the Spaniards, their original character ("selfishness and anarchism"), did not enter the Second World War, did not support the policies of the Axis, and therefore was able to maintain unity with the values of the West (Морадіельос, 2022, с. 93).

In the same speech, Franco complains that someone is trying to present us (the Francoist regime) to the world as "Nazi-fascists and anti-democrats," which previously, according to the dictator, did not really bother us... But today the discourse of blaming the victors against the vanquished encourages Franco point out the distinctive features of Spain as a state. Then the dictator switches to the language of Plato's "Republic", speaking not so much about a really

existing state, but about the ideal of the state, or "the ideal state for Spain." However, this ideal is presented by the dictator as an already accomplished embodiment of Catholic doctrine in ideology, a tool for overcoming a major historical crisis and an ideological renaissance.

Dictatorship is, first of all, the practice of stereotypes that have turned into automatisms for making political decisions due to the ideological reduction of more complex forms of value consciousness. The dictator is a theorizing practitioner, or a practicing theorist who consciously primitivizes more complex forms of value consciousness (ideological dogmas and axioms, philosophical categories and ideas) to the level of ideological stereotypes. The ideological and propaganda influence of a dictatorship is often due to the fact that the dictator is able to present complex, complex ideas of religious and philosophical content in the language of ideological propaganda, so that these ideas become understandable to ordinary people. In the minds of the latter, such understanding can manifest itself in the effect of false transcendence, when there is not so much an understanding of the idea itself, but rather a simplified form of its presentation. The latter circumstance does not detract from the importance of the dictator in the eyes of his subjects, since the propaganda of the dictatorship is capable of compensating for a number of deprivations in the range of organismic needs by suggesting involvement in the "high world" of ideological values.

The false transcendence of elite groups, as well as ordinary Spaniards, could not but affect the attitude of the dictator himself. For Franco, its effectiveness became observable for Alfredo Kindelan, who states that Franco has a symptom complex of cratic grandiosity, a peculiar form of megalomania. It manifests itself, from the researcher's point of view, "in complete euphoria and enviable "It is difficult for Franco to believe in what he likes and forget or deny what is unpleasant." In general, Franco, like any dictator at the peak of his powers, also showed poisoning with idealizations (ovations and flattery), which, however, corresponded to his conscious understanding of his socio-historical mission as God's chosen caudillo, who leads his homeland to the restoration of the monarchy.

**Franco's moral and ethical identity.** Franco's moral and ethical identity was formed as part of the counter-Reformation moral code, in which anti-Masonry and anti-Semitism, derived from the Augustinian doctrine of the secret orders (Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans), occupied a prominent place. This is also indicated by Prince Juan Carlos, who assessed Franco as a very cold and secretive person who spoke little and did not like to explain, and taught his heir to silent listening and passive perception rather than to the role of an active leader of the nation.

Externally censored restraint in words, laconicism, turning into concealment of one's own thoughts, corresponded to both the clerical-Jesuit self-perception of an anti-Mason who cares about his secret knowledge, and the restraint typical of obsessive-compulsive psychopaths (this part of Franco's political characterology will be discussed in the second part articles). On the other hand, Franco can be considered a supporter of the moral paradigm of accommodationism (moral opportunism), which corresponds to situationism in ethics and Machiavellianism in politics.

The accommodative (accommodative) morality of the Jesuits was to show loyalty to clergy authorities, to be loyal to centralization and unquestioning obedience to the "black pope" and, at the same time, to be flexible in interpreting

the principles of Christian ethics (Schloesser, 2014, p. 349). Franco did not profess Jesuit accommodation, he practiced it. In the situation of fighting left-wing Republicans and Communists, he had to give up the first commandment of the ten. However, to defeat them, he would easily sacrifice the remaining nine if Machiavellian political expediency required it.

However, Franco's Machiavellianism was combined with recognition of the role of professional groups in strategizing the civil war, in which the military played the leading role on the part of the nationalists led by Franco. On the other hand, on the Republican side, the functions of social integration and disciplinaryization were performed by political functionaries, which turned the corresponding regional territories into a space of arbitrariness and despotism. The left parties (communists, anarchists and socialists) were able to demonstrate a nihilistic attitude towards both the life and health and property of the civilian population, which strengthened Franco's identification as a Catholic traditionalist who stood guard over these values.

"Libertarian communism" that appeared in Spain (we are talking about Aragon, which found itself under the control of anarcho-sindicalists) began an attack on property rights, which was subject to confiscation (expropriation) from the local population in favor of anarchist militants. Such crimes of anarchist committees (for example, the Aragonese Council) were legitimized by the Republican government of Caballero, which created grounds for recognizing the regime of the second republic as an accomplice in Franco's propaganda in the crimes of the left against traditional Spanish values. It is easy to guess that Franco repeatedly mentions Catholic traditionalism as a moral and value doctrine in his public speeches.

The triumph of traditionalist morality was accompanied by widespread stories about the horrors of the "red" terror in Aragon and the Levant, in relation to which the republican government took either a position of permissive non-intervention or a "fire response" to the already unfolding practices of leftist lawlessness. The moral nihilism of the left, which inspired the delight in destruction, created an environment of general disintegration, which removed all moral restrictions on them from the Francoists.

At the same time, Franco, by allowing the intervention of the armed forces of the Axis countries (Italy and Germany), not only questioned, but crossed out any absolutist-rigoristic reasons for moral behavior. Since it was a question of relying on foreign military contingents who fought with one part of the Spaniards against the other. On the other hand, having sinned against such national communitarianism and resorting to the help of German and Italian fascists, Franco began to show rigoristic-sadistic tendencies in the period after the end of the Second World War. An example here could be the event of student unrest, associated with increasing pressure from the Falangists on liberal Catholics, some of whom protested against joining the Falangist student union in 1956.

**Frango's legal identity.** Franco's focus on the paradigm of Western Christianity, revealed in the works of M. Unamuno, predisposed him to the formation of a continental-type legal identity. In general, this type of identity is opposed to both the precedentism of common law and the quasi-legalism of Soviet-style socialist law, in which law is represented as just a legalized format of political practices and a reflection of political expediency.

The continental type of legal identity is built as a deductive-subordinated system in which there are

constitutional dogmas and postulates, the continuation of which is the laws of representative bodies and subordinate decisions of the executive branch and courts.

At the same time, it would be incorrect to classify Franco as a consistent legalist-occidental. As a person with Machiavellian tendencies, who showed obsessive-psychoopathic characteristics, Franco easily deviated from the letter of the law and reconfigured legislation if the preservation of his personal power required it. However, even here he, as a dictator, did not deviate at all from the institutional strategy and architectonics of Spanish society. Thus, in the post-war period, a similar situation arose in Spain after demands at the UN from the leadership of the USSR to remove Spain from participation in all UN events and to recall all diplomatic missions from the country. The Republicans from the Popular Front tried to take advantage of this situation, hoping to use Prince Don Juan, who was conducting separate negotiations with Paris and London about his regency.

Frango outmaneuvered the potential puppet regent of the liberal-republican opposition by launching a discrediting campaign in the press and reformatted the legislation on succession to the throne. Moreover, this was done to strengthen the stability of Spanish society, which after the first civil war no longer wanted to move on to the second. Contrary to the intentions of the Republicans to use constitutional rhetoric, Franco, with his repressive and stabilizing actions to change the legislative framework, achieved the effect of nationalist solidarity of Spanish society. In relation to liberal nationalists and Falangists, he acted as a legalistic dictator, placing himself above both the restoration intentions of the Carlist monarchists and attempts to undermine the strategy of smooth growth of Spain.

**Artificial identity of Franco (Francoism in the field of art).** Franco could not view art as anything other than a tool of propaganda, social control, which, along with traditionalist ideals, was opposed to the chaos "created by a government inspired by foreign ideologies and controlled by gangs of incompetent politicians."

In Carr and Fusi's view, "instead of seeking 'enthusiasm and support,' Franco expected 'passive acceptance' for complete cultural control" (Carr, & Fusi, 1981, p. 47). The latter was expressed in the establishment of Falangist censorship, which led to the emigration of many figures of art and literature for reasons of clerical and political ostracism. As E. Moradiellos notes, a clear manifestation of the stability of the caudillo's position at the national level was the increase in his free time devoted to recreation, playing his favorite sports and entertainment. Among them there was no music, no literature, no dance, no opera, no poetry, no visual arts in general (except for a short and unsystematic hobby of painting with oil paints: still lifes, rural landscapes and, occasionally, family members).

Pilar Franco Baamonde, (Frango's sister – Y. R.) recalled that her brother could afford very little entertainment: golf, fishing and hunting" (Морадієльос, 2022, с. 101). Frango's hobbies also included bullfighting, football, watching movies in the El Pardo living room, as well as listening to radio programs and watching television programs since their broadcast began in 1956.

The artificial content of Spanish culture under Frango was typically imperial and statist. It imitated the monumentalism of the imperial past, which the Caudillo regime wanted to inherit and continue. It was about national Catholicism and the imperial dream and the artistic achievements of the "Golden Age ... the neoclassical

tradition of the Renaissance, Spanish mysticism" that continued them (Carr, & Fusi, 1981, p. 107).

#### Discussion and conclusions

F. Franco's set of identities is determined by the cultural and social characteristics of Spain as a society with incomplete modernization and counter-reformation content of value consciousness. The retention of leading ideocratic positions in the structuring of the culture and political system of Spanish society by Catholicism led to the suppression of the trends of mercantilist rationalization and the formation of a rational bourgeoisie. A concomitant factor in the lagging modernization of Spanish society was the transformation of Spain into a metropolis with a colonial periphery and the extraction-military strategy of accumulation of capital. The latter circumstance contributed to its export and the insufficient development of the industrial sector, as well as the depreciation in the mass consciousness of the Protestant ethic of thrift for the sake of investment in production.

The type of political regime created by Franco can be defined as a praetorian clerical-integralist dictatorship, which was consistent with the social and political Bonapartism of the dictator in relation to both pro-Catholic and nationalist social groups and their corresponding political parties.

Franco's social and legal state, built on Catholicism, in its propaganda discourse was focused on justifying in the Spanish philosophy of life the messianistic role of Spain as an outpost of Western Christianity, opposing the conspiracy of leftist and liberal forces – communists and freemasons. The dictatorship itself therefore avoided the polar influence of both clerical monarchists and nationalist phalangists, implementing in an ideological sense the paradigm of "value neutrality" and "technocraticism". This false ideological positioning in relation to individual social groups allowed Franco to express the state macro-identity, bypassing corporate interests.

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## ФРАНСІСКО ФРАНКО: ДОСВІД КУЛЬТУРО- ТА СОЦІОСИСТЕМОЛОГІЧНОЇ ІДЕНТИФІКАЦІЇ ВИЩИХ ЦІННІСНИХ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТЕЙ ДИКТАТОРА (ЧАСТИНА 1)

*Вступ.* Ця стаття є продовженням циклу статей, присвяченим диктаторам і деспотам, біографії яких досліджуються в контексті культурно- та соціосистемологічного й візуально-аналітичного підходів. Візуально-аналітичне профілювання, пов'язане з дослідженням тілесно-морфотипічних, фізіономічних, невербально-комунікативних, символічно-просторових особливостей суб'єкта є емпіричним продовженням та інструментом емпіричної валідації культурно- та соціосистемологічної розвідки вищих ціннісних, мезо-комунітарних ідентичностей.

Іспанський диктатор Франко, як і будь-який інший представник специфічного етносоціуму, має у своєму розпорядженні свій набір ціннісних ідентичностей, що виступають результатом виборчої та/або невиборчої інтерналізації смислів іспанської імперської культури, системи стратифікації іспанського станового суспільства та його мілітарного стану, зокрема, соціального характеру, католицької та арабісламської культури. У його наборі ціннісних ідентичностей представлені католицький традиціоналізм, відповідний йому кратоцентризм мілітарного типу як основа світопорядку у філософських ідентичностях, клерикальний націоналізм з надстановою та надкласовою диктатурою в ідеологічних ідентичностях, акомодативізм у правових ідентичностях, редукування розуміння мистецтва як інструменту пропаганди в артифікаційних ідентичностях тощо.

*Методи.* У статті використовувалися такі методи: метод якісної ідентифікації ціннісних ідентичностей, що використовується у візуальній аналітиці та культурній і соціальній системології.

*Результати.* Ціннісні ідентичності Франсіско Франка. У біографічному контексті Франка представлені "актори" інкультурації, орієнтовані на католицизм і католицькі цінності. Це, безумовно, сприяло формуванню набору ціннісних ідентичностей, що відповідають аксіосфері християнства із супутніми психічними якостями.

*Висновки.* Рекурсія у філософських ідентичностях Франка християнства як релігії відповідала спіритуалістичному холізму. Створений ним тоталітарний режим (іспанський франкізм) тому і став одним із найдовговічніших у Європі, що зберіг структурну наступність як із монархією, так і з демократичними проєктами.

Цьому сприяло в тому числі розуміння Франко меж свого часу, вихід із яких мав на увазі його добровільно-усвідомлений догляд і передачу влади наступнику з королівської династії Хуану Карлосу. Холістичний варіант диктатури, який на завершальному етапі свого розвитку плавно та безболісно трансформувався у правове, демократичну державу, уникнувши як насильницького насадження демократичних порядків силами ззовні, так і внутрішніх катаклізмів, слід уважати відповідним описаним вище як релігійним, так і філософським ідентичностям.

**Ключові слова:** ціннісні ідентичності, католицький традиціоналізм, кратоцентризм, клерикальний націоналізм, акомодативізм, політичний макіавеллізм, легалістичний релятивізм, пропагандистське розуміння мистецтва.

Автор заявляє про відсутність конфлікту інтересів. Спонсори не брали участі в розробленні дослідження; у зборі, аналізі чи інтерпретації даних; у написанні рукопису; в рішенні про публікацію результатів.

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