## Autocrats Remake the State: Evidence from Françoist Spain\*

Ricard Grebol<sup>†</sup>
Uppsala University

Cristian Navarro<sup>‡</sup>
CEMFI

October 26, 2025

Full draft available soon
Updated regularly. Please click here for the latest version

## Abstract

In autocracies, personnel decisions often prioritize ideological alignment over merit. We investigate how such ideology-driven personnel selection affects the quality of the public workforce and its implications for state capacity. We examine this in the context of a large-scale political purge and reorganization of primary school teachers carried out by the Francoist dictatorship following the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939). We construct a novel dataset linking newly digitized purge archives and administrative records that track teacher careers, and document that more competent teachers were disproportionately dismissed and that average experience declined by about 2.2 years (12.5%). Local shortages created by the purge were partly offset by regime efforts to reassign teachers across municipalities, yet coordination frictions generated widespread and persistent staffing deficits that spread to areas not directly affected. Our findings show how ideology-driven personnel reforms can erode public workforce expertise and weaken the state's capacity to deliver essential services, providing a mechanism through which autocratic consolidation entails lasting capacity costs.

<sup>\*</sup> Cristian Navarro is deeply grateful to Carlos Sanz for his continuous guidance and support, and to Samuel Bentolila and Tom Zohar for their valuable advice and feedback. We thank Carmen Agulló, Francisco J. Beltrán, Giulia Buccione, Álvaro Delgado-Vera, Daniel Fernandez, Peter Fredriksson, Ruixue Jia, Mounir Karadja, Pedro Mira, Francisco Morente Valero, Sara Ramos, Luca Repetto, Álvaro Sánchez-Leache, Alexandra Sandström, Daniel A. Tirado, and seminar participants at CEMFI, Uppsala University, the III Spanish Workshop in Development Economics, the III Workshop in Economic History in Uppsala, and the 2025 Madrid Empirical Social Sciences Conference for valuable comments and suggestions. Víctor Fernández and Ignacio Ortiz provided excellent research assistance. Cristian Navarro gratefully acknowledges financial support from Grant PRE2022-102202, funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and the European Social Fund Plus ("ESF+"), as well as from the María de Maeztu Unit of Excellence CEMFI (MDM-2016-0684) and CEMFI CEX2020-001104-M, both funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033, and from CEMFI. Ricard Grebol gratefully acknowledges financial support from the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (Grant SO 2024-0065).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> Uppsala Universiy. Email: ricard.grebol@nek.uu.se

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>‡</sup> Centro de Estudios Monetarios y Financieros (CEMFI). Email: cristian.navarro@cemfi.edu.es