

Molding “Economic Woman”: Conflicting Portrayals of Women’s Economic Roles in
Magazines Published During the Franco Dictatorship

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
Romance Studies in the Graduate School
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2022

ABSTRACT

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Abstract

This dissertation explores how the depiction of gender-differentiated economic roles in women's magazines contributed to shaping Spanish women as economic actors during the first 30 years of Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939-1968). The analysis focuses on eight publications: *Y*, *Revista para la Mujer* and *Teresa*, published by the Sección Femenina (Women's Section) of Spain's fascist Falange party; *Senda* and *Para Nosotras*, published by the women's wing of the lay religious group Acción Católica (Catholic Action); and commercial magazines *El Hogar y la Moda*, *Marisol*, *Ama*, and *Telva*. My interdisciplinary methodology combines a close reading of these magazines with an analysis of relevant economic data from this historical period. This approach sheds new light on the conflict between magazines' idealized rhetoric, which centered primarily around models of feminine domesticity and motherhood, and the desperate economic circumstances that many Spanish women endured under Francoist rule.

The years immediately following Spain's brutal Civil War (1936-1939) were marked by violent repression and devastating material conditions, which were exacerbated by the Franco regime's failed attempts to achieve economic self-sufficiency. In my analysis of magazines published during the 1940s, I track the discursive strategies that editors used in an attempt to shift the blame for the country's post-war economic woes away from the regime and onto women. I then explore how magazines' discourses evolved in the 1950s and 1960s, as the regime began to embrace more liberal economic

policies and reopen Spain to international trade. I demonstrate how comparatively more permissive models of economic womanhood appeared in the magazines of the 1950s in the context of Spain's reentry into global society. But I argue that a reactionary backlash arose in the magazines of the 1960s as more and more women began to actually embrace economic opportunities and identities that fell outside traditional norms.

Throughout this work, my analysis draws attention to the numerous contradictions that existed, both between women's magazines' messages and their readers lived experiences, and within magazines' discourses themselves. I therefore challenge previous readings of these popular media texts as straightforward propaganda tools, arguing instead that they served as a crucial site in an ongoing struggle for cultural hegemony in Francoist Spain. While magazines' editors sought to reinforce a dominant narrative regarding women's roles in Spanish society against the looming threat of potential counter-narratives, I argue that their attempts were not entirely successful. Rather, I demonstrate how didactic elements like fictional dialogues, and collaborative components like advice columns, enabled provocative queries, and even dissent, to enter into and disrupt the discursive exchange between editors and readers.

Dedication

In loving memory of my grandmother, Anita Irene Carmen Fernández Bouse.

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Introduction

In her groundbreaking book *Subversión feminista de la economía*, feminist economist Amaia Pérez Orozco explains how the invisibilization or visibilization of certain types of work is the result of an intersection of various interrelated factors:

En términos de trabajos, la invisibilidad se refiere a un conjunto amplio de carencias que se acumulan y conforman una intersección (no necesariamente todas confluyen a un tiempo) para dar como resultado final que ese trabajo (las condiciones en las que se da y la contribución socioeconómica que supone) no sea objeto de discusión pública y política. Viceversa, un trabajo será más visible cuanto más reconocido sea y colectivamente asumido esté. (191)

According to Pérez Orozco, certain types of work are made invisible, or denied recognition as forms of work, not only because they are un- or under-paid, or because they are statistically under-reported (though these factors certainly play a role), but also because of the broader lack of a societal framework through which to understand, and terminology through which to describe, these types of work and their role within our economic system. If the historical invisibilization of work done by women (as well as by members of other marginalized and exploited communities) has functioned through both material devaluation and statistical erasure, as well as within the discursive realm, it follows that the work of recovering and making visible the history of women's economic contributions will be most effective if it combines both a numerical *and* a discursive approach.

This dissertation employs an interdisciplinary method that combines a close reading of women's magazines published during the first 30 years of Francisco Franco's dictatorship in Spain (1939-1968) with analysis of relevant economic data from the period. The goal of this analysis is to explore the nuanced role of women's magazines as mediators between the Franco regime and Spanish women, and more specifically to shed new light on the conflict between magazines' portrayal of women's prescribed economic roles and the various material challenges that Spanish women faced during this period. While prior scholarship has often assumed that the suffocating context of an authoritarian regime would yield an univocal form of propaganda, my analysis of the women's magazines published during this 30-year period contends that they were not a definitively effective indoctrination tool, but rather the site of an ongoing struggle for cultural hegemony.

My dissertation seeks to contribute to the fields of Spanish cultural and media studies by fundamentally rethinking the discipline through the dual lens of economics and gender. The trend of incorporating an economic perspective into literary and cultural studies has become popular during the past several decades within the field of Anglophone literature and culture, but has only more recently begun to be adopted within the field of Spanish letters. My work seeks to help open up a new breed of economic cultural studies that commits to the close reading of cultural texts against the

specific, microeconomic circumstances faced by members of these texts' potential reader/viewership in the historical context in which they were produced.

The analytical approach employed in this project expands on those traditionally employed by cultural theorists. Since the field's inception with the founding of the Birmingham School in 1964, cultural studies scholars have sought to situate cultural objects within the context of a Marxist critique that focuses on social class as the primary category of analysis. Interrogating the class dynamics at work in Spanish society under Franco is evidently essential to analyzing the interplay between gender and class issues that emerges in magazines' representations of women's economic roles. But situating the publications I study within a data-based analysis of the economic context in which they circulated allows me to consider the *specific* circumstances that Spanish families—and women in particular—faced over the course of the dictatorship. Population numbers by age and gender, real wage metrics, migration flows, and data on the uptake of consumer items are all pieces of information that a traditional perspective focused solely on the issue of class disparity might overlook. Backing up my textual analysis with quantitative data allows me to more fully understand the economic inequalities and challenges that were present in Spanish society during the period I study, and that informed readers' interpretation of the discourses developed in women's magazines.

Within the sphere of Spanish literary and cultural studies, the most frequently studied genre of texts created for a primarily female audience is the *novela rosa*. Studies

of Spanish romance novels have sought to reevaluate the importance of this popular genre, rescuing it from its previous consideration as “low art” unworthy of critical scholarly attention. This approach is similar to the one I take in my own analysis of Spanish women’s magazines, which are perhaps even more essential objects of study given that their prescriptive nature for readers was explicit, in comparison with novels, whose behavioral prescriptions were more implicit. It is precisely the dismissal of these sources as mere propaganda tools that has caused them to be ignored by scholars in the field of cultural studies, and has thus precluded the types of close reading analysis that I propose here.

It is notable that women’s magazines published during the Franco dictatorship have in fact received significant prior scholarly attention, dating back to as early as 1985, but that these existing studies have come primarily from the discipline of history. As such, magazines have often been used primarily as an alternative archival material to investigate the operations and ideology of women’s organizations such as the Sección Femenina de Falange and the Rama de Mujeres de Acción Católica, rather than being considered in their original role as texts created with the goal of mediation between readers and editors (and, in a broader sense, between readers and the Franco regime). For example, scholars like Inbal Ofer and Ángela Cenarro have made an important contribution by pointing out contradictions within the magazines published by the Sección Femenina, highlighting the contrast between the repeated emphasis they placed

on feminine domesticity, on one hand, and their positive representations of the organization's leaders and other models of exceptional, non-domestic womanhood, on the other. But even as they acknowledge and explore these publications' discursive plurality, they continue to frame it primarily in relation to the Sección Femenina's complex negotiation of its own organizational identity as a group of women leaders within a patriarchal political structure. In my own work, using an interdisciplinary methodology that incorporates economic history alongside a close reading of women's magazines allows me to approach these magazines not as a mere representation of the values of the particular organizations responsible for editing them, but rather as components of an ongoing cultural dialogue that in themselves reveal many of the contradictions between the regime's official rhetoric and women's practical life circumstances.

My dissertation makes several key contributions to the existing scholarship on the women's magazines of this period. While most prior work on these magazines has focused on the period between 1939 and 1945 and on the magazines of the Sección Femenina, my project expands on this scope by incorporating lesser-studied Catholic and commercial magazines, and by considering a 30-year period during which Spain's economy experienced important changes. Beyond simply including a broader corpus, my economic contextualization underscores the intense contradictions between magazines' rhetoric of domesticity and the dire economic realities of the postwar period,

and also enables me to track how magazines' messages evolved in the face of economic aperture and development. I argue, for example, that magazines initially attempted to partially integrate more progressive, international models of economic womanhood in the 1950s, before later reverting to reactionary backlash against women's changing attitudes and behaviors in the 1960s.

Exploring magazines' discourses over three decades also allows me to challenge the common conception that Spain's strict austerity in the 1940s and early 50s was rapidly displaced by the intense consumerism of the 1960s. Rather, I demonstrate that the competing discourses of thrift and consumption coexisted in women's magazines — as they did within Spanish society — throughout this entire period. On one hand, the existence of consumerist messages even within the magazines of the earliest postwar years is symptomatic of the fact that the regime's austerity doctrine did not really apply to the upper echelons of Spanish society. On the other hand, we can see how austerity continued to be a part of the development rhetoric that arose during the 1960s; just as autarky had been before it, development was portrayed as a national project that would require the sacrifice of everyday Spaniards. Across both periods, those expected to sacrifice were consistently those who belonged to the most vulnerable sectors of Spain's population, while those who occupied the top of the economic hierarchy were permitted to indulge in economic excess.

Finally, my close reading approach helps me demonstrate that magazines functioned as a site of struggle for cultural hegemony in which the proponents of a dominant narrative sought to legitimize it over potential counter-narratives. My work frames the editor-reader relationship in a more complex way than in previous studies. First, I challenge the assumption that magazines were directed exclusively towards a wealthy audience by showing that they simultaneously included components designed to appeal to readers from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds. I argue that the need to appeal coherently to this dual audience was one of the key challenges that magazines' editors faced in shaping these publications' discourses, and that it often resulted in the emergence of contradictions within magazines' messages. Secondly, I make the argument (supported by evidence in the form of advice column letters) that readers did not necessarily interpret magazines' messages about women's roles in the way their editors intended. Rather, I assert that contradictions between the magazines' expectations and their own life circumstances likely led to unexpected interpretations on the part of some readers, as they "decoded" magazines' messages — to use Stuart Hall's term from his seminal essay "Encoding, Decoding" — in light of their personal experiences. In identifying opportunities for such against-the-grain readings, I focus on didactic elements like fictional dialogues and on collaborative components like advice columns, demonstrating how both enabled provocative queries and even open dissent to become part of magazines' discursive exchange. In this way, magazines could afford

readers the rare and valuable opportunity to see their own private struggles and worries reflected and acknowledged within the media space.

Of course, the control and suppression of information was a crucial tool in the arsenal of Francoist repression, and it is essential to keep in mind that all of these publications were subject to strict government censorship, in accordance with the April 1938 Ley de Prensa. This law remained in effect for nearly three decades, until it was superseded by the Ley de Prensa e Imprenta, or “Ley Fraga”, in March 1966. The introductory text of the 1938 law openly acknowledged the essential role that journalism would need to play in the consolidation of the regime — “siendo la Prensa órgano decisivo en la formación de la cultura popular y, sobre todo, en la creación de la conciencia colectiva” — and asserted that because the press had so much cultural impact, it must be subject to state control (6938). The law’s preliminary articles delegated control of all Spanish press to the Servicio Nacional de Prensa (Art. 1), and granted the state the power to regulate the number and length of periodical publications, designate the directors of periodicals, regulate the journalistic profession (journalists would be required to register and hold a “carné de prensa” in order to work), monitor all press-related activities, and censor all periodical publications (Art. 2) (6938).¹ The Servicio Nacional de Prensa reserved the right to “castigar gubernativamente todo escrito que

¹ Even the Falange’s official publications were subject to state censorship, despite an attempt by Antonio Tovar, then Subsecretario de Prensa y Propaganda, to relieve them of this burden in May 1941 (Diego González 340-41).

directa o indirectamente tienda a mermar el prestigio de la Nación o del Régimen, entorpezca la labor de Gobierno en el Nuevo Estado o siembre ideas perniciosas entre los intelectualmente débiles” (Art. 18) (6940). It seems safe to assume that the writers of this law considered most (if not all) women to fall under this latter designation.

Press censorship under Franco functioned in a two-fold manner. On one hand, government-appointed censors were given full liberty to remove any text they found to be politically or morally objectionable before a newspaper or magazine was published. On the other hand, journalists engaged in self-censorship based on an ever-evolving list of directives, or *consignas*, that included both prohibited topics, terms, and opinions that they could *not* publish, as well as information or news stories that the state *required* them to publish (Sinova 137). While censors’ judgments were often capricious, and in some cases appeared to be arbitrary, there is no doubt that the state maintained strict control over the entire journalistic apparatus (Sinova 140). An equally rigorous system of censorship was applied to literature, film, and theatre; in short, the regime closely monitored every major form of cultural expression. Prohibited content across all of these genres included any criticism or questioning of Spain’s military or civil law enforcement, the Falange, the Catholic Church, or the Francoist government; any news or commentary that was not in line with the regime’s official economic or foreign policy; and any works considered to conflict morally or ideologically with the New State’s doctrine, such as those that espoused Marxist philosophy or included any type of

pornographic content (Martínez Rus 71-72).² I argue that it is precisely the fact that so many contradictions emerged in the discourses of women's magazines *despite* the extreme limitations imposed by censorship that makes them so remarkable, and all the more significant for readers whose access to media and information was so vigilantly controlled by the state.

In addition to contributing to the field of Spanish cultural studies, this dissertation also seeks to dialogue with the field of economic history. Traditional accounts of Spain's economic history (and those of economic history at large) have tended to overlook or greatly oversimplify the economic contributions made by women. This crucial omission stems from a variety of factors. First, economic histories tend to focus on tracking broad macroeconomic trends over time, and they attribute these trends to a particular combination of demographic, geographic, political, and economic factors. The types of data that economic historians use to assess the state of a country's economy over time are often impersonal statistics that summarize complex systems into a single, standardized number at the national level, ignoring crucial issues such as class and gender inequality. For example, per-capita GDP is a widely accepted measure of a nation's economic success, despite the fact that a country's wealth is evidently *not*

² Ana Martínez Rus has described how the regime's efforts to limit the popular class's access to information went so far as to include the burning of purportedly immoral or subversive books (162). These books were forcibly taken from bookstores and libraries during and after the war and destroyed in what the author describes as a backlash against the Second Republic's policies promoting public access to information, especially among poor and rural Spaniards (Martínez Rus 168).

distributed equally between all of its citizens, and that the wealth of different countries is distributed with differing degrees of inequality. Moreover, the very use of economic growth as a measure of economic “success” is symptomatic of a ubiquitous but inherently flawed perspective, inextricably tied to a capitalist mindset that does not take into account the negative effects that such unbounded growth has on our planet and on its most vulnerable inhabitants.

Even when traditional economic histories do provide some amount of information at the level of the individual worker or household, these statistics do not tend to point out or distinguish between the unequal economic circumstances faced by men and women. For less recent historical periods, this omission may be somewhat inevitable from a numerical standpoint, due to the lack of available, reliable metrics such as women’s labor force participation rate. But one might think that economic historians would mention women’s labor even in the absence of accurate statistics, especially for historical periods like postwar Spain, in which hundreds of thousands of men were killed, imprisoned, or removed from their jobs, leaving women as the sole breadwinners for many households. But often this omission is not corrected even for the contemporary period, in which one would assume that gender-differentiated labor statistics would be more readily available. Moreover, unpaid caregiving work — primarily performed by women — is not generally considered in economic histories, despite its vital importance to the functioning of the economy. The fact that economic histories rarely mention

women explicitly means that the economic experiences of men become the exemplary ones by default. Even in discussions of issues related to population growth and fertility, women and their reproductive labor are conspicuously absent. Reflexive pronouns afford a bizarre level of agency to the abstract concept of the population — “*la población se ha más que sextuplicado en los últimos tres siglos*” — while references to women’s reproductive labor are nowhere to be found (Carreras and Tafunell 23).

Recently, economists and historians like Margarita Vilar Rodríguez, Carmen Sarasúa, and Carme Molinero, following in the footsteps of pioneering scholars like María Ángeles Durán, have made significant contributions to Spain’s economic history by acknowledging both the importance of women’s economic contributions and the discrimination that Spanish women have historically faced (and continue to face today) in terms of economic opportunities. These scholars, alongside thinkers from the burgeoning field of feminist economics, recognize and acknowledge that it is impossible to understand the way that economies function without accounting for women’s historically undervalued economic roles, and that the unpaid and underpaid caring work and reproductive labor that women perform acts as an invisible base upon which entire economic systems rest. Nonetheless, even those scholars who are actively attuned to questions of gender inequality and recognize the fundamental role that women’s

domestic and extra-domestic labor played during the Franco dictatorship still face challenges when it comes to quantifying these essential contributions.³

In my dissertation, I follow the lead of the women historians mentioned in the previous paragraph by aggregating and presenting data on the economic situation women faced under Franco. While I, like other authors, acknowledge the limitations of this numerical data, I see presenting the best available statistical information as an important step towards making my analysis of the economic challenges women faced (and the economic contributions they made) as specific and concrete as possible. In addition, precisely because the paucity of historical data makes it difficult to paint a complete picture of women's economic activities from a purely statistical perspective, the women's magazines I analyze in my dissertation can be seen as an additional archival source that can help us to fill in this incomplete picture.

While these publications should by no means be considered a historically accurate account, certain elements, such as letters to advice columns, provide anecdotal evidence of economic phenomena that are not captured fully through official statistical sources (e.g., women's work in the largely unregulated domestic service sector, the difficulties women faced in making ends meet, and the advice they received about what

³ For example, while Vilar Rodríguez asserts that "[s]ola esta aportación monetaria procedente del trabajo de las mujeres y de los hijos, invisible a ojos del régimen y de los recuentos estadísticos oficiales, permite entender la supervivencia de muchas familias en la posguerra civil," even she is forced to restrict her quantitative analysis of real wages over time during the dictatorship to the relatively more complete (though still not totally reliable) historical data on the employment status and remuneration of Spain's male workers (*Los salarios del miedo*, 232).

to do given the extreme conditions they faced). In addition, considering media representations and the role they played in molding and disseminating expectations and social standards for women's economic behavior is essential to understanding the economic history of the Franco dictatorship, because it can help us to better comprehend the types of ideological discourses that were circulating at the time and give us a fuller picture of how the distinct economic circumstances that emerged during this period were presented in the media to those who lived through them.

Moreover, while economic historians have already made strides in debunking many of the common economic myths that the regime employed, both to misattribute blame for the poor economic conditions Spaniards suffered in the 1940s and early 1950s, and to claim undue credit for the supposed "economic miracle" of the 1960s, my work continues this pattern by identifying the specific discursive strategies that magazines' editors used to place blame for various economic problems onto women, rather than with the regime where it belonged. By using magazines as a medium through which to explore the unjust and unreasonable expectations that the regime placed on women in terms of the economic roles they should fulfill, my work helps enhance our understanding of how the dictatorship's devastating economic circumstances were experienced by women, both as a group and as individuals.

Finally, while my project uses the women's magazines published during the Franco dictatorship as a case study to examine the relationship between economic reality

and the representation of gender-related economic issues in the media, my interdisciplinary analytical framework is applicable across a wide variety of historical contexts and cultural traditions, including the world in which we live today. Both the economic crisis of 2008 and the ongoing global pandemic have brought to light the disproportionate impact that economic and social crises continue to have on the lives of women, especially working women. Lamentably, many of the same struggles that Spanish women faced during the Franco dictatorship—the societal expectation to take on unpaid care work and domestic chores; wage inequality and hiring discrimination; and comparatively greater participation in temporary, informal, or otherwise precarious labor—are still faced by women around the world today. In this context, my work seeks to help deepen our understanding of the complex intersection between women’s practical economic circumstances and the mediated cultural norms surrounding women’s economic behavior.

In order to properly contextualize the discourses surrounding women’s economic roles that circulated during the Franco dictatorship, it is essential that we understand, at least in broad terms, how women’s legal status and societal roles in Spain had evolved up to that point. Authors including Bridget Aldaraca and Mary Nash have described how gender discourse in nineteenth-century Spain built on previous articulations of domestic womanhood—in particular Fray Luis de León’s sixteenth-century text *La perfecta casada*—to establish a “cult of domesticity” that sought to limit

women's sphere of influence to the family home. But, as Nash argues, "it is also quite clear that not all Spanish women ascribed to this model" (*Defying Male Civilization* 14). Spanish women had always been involved in agricultural labor during the pre-industrial period, and the nineteenth century saw them incorporated into the industrial workforce as well. Thus, even in the nineteenth century we can find the same sort of discrepancies between official discourse regarding womanhood and women's material circumstances that we will observe during the Franco dictatorship over the course of this dissertation.

But while not all women in nineteenth-century Spain subscribed to the imposed doctrine of domesticity, they did all face significant legal discrimination. The Civil Code of 1889, based heavily on the Napoleonic code, relegated women, and especially married women, to a second-class form of citizenship. Husbands were designated as their wives' legal representatives (Art. 60), meaning that married women were essentially minors before the law. A married woman took on her husband's nationality (Art. 22), was obliged to reside wherever he chose (Art. 58), and was prohibited from buying or selling assets or property without his permission (Art. 61). Another of the Civil Code's stipulations (Art. 168) was that any widow who re-married following her husband's death lost custody rights over her children, unless her first husband's will specified otherwise. Husbands also maintained control over their households' money and assets (Art. 59), while women were only permitted to control minor household expenses such

as daily food purchases (Art. 62). Moreover, while the legal age of majority for both women and men was 23, women were not allowed to leave their family home without parental consent until the age of 25 (Art. 321).

As Nash explains, between 1900 and 1930, the separate spheres doctrine that had governed nineteenth-century gender ideology, motivated in large part by conservative religious beliefs, was supplemented by a new strain of more “scientific” discourse proposed by medical experts such as Dr. Gregorio Marañón, who argued that biological difference (more specifically, women’s role as child bearers), rather than religious doctrine, was the true justification for the distinct status assigned to men and women within society (“Un/Contested Identities” 33). But while the emergence of such new arguments may have updated the reasoning behind the discrimination Spanish women faced, such discrimination persisted, especially when it came to limiting (although not eliminating) women’s job opportunities. As Nash has argued, “[t]he rejection of women’s wage work centered on the belief that women’s continuing economic dependence was crucial for safeguarding a gender hierarchy within the family” (*Defying Male Civilization* 24). But while Spanish women continued to face discrimination during the first third of the twentieth century, this period also saw the emergence of an important number of women’s organizations, made up primarily of privileged women with access to wealth and education, that dedicated themselves to the promotion of

women's civil and political rights. These associations paved the way for the significant legal progress that would accompany the arrival of the Second Republic in 1931.⁴

Particularly during the *primer bienio* (1931-1933), the Second Republic (1931-1936) gave rise to an unprecedented number of legal changes affecting the lives and rights of women. Women were granted the right to vote and hold political office, and civil marriage and divorce were legalized, as was secular coeducation. Several women did in fact hold political office during this period, including two of Spain's first licensed women lawyers, Clara Campoamor and Victoria Kent, and writer and intellectual Margarita Nelken. The notion that women could begin to participate in a wider range of professional sector did begin to arise during this time, although the Republic's short duration limited its ability to effect the significant, long-term change for which many had hoped; as Raquel Vázquez Ramil argues, "[l]as disposiciones legislativas de la República a favor de la igualdad tardaron en trasladarse a la vida cotidiana" (76).⁵ When the Civil War began just five years after the proclamation of the Second Republic, women's roles differed to some extent depending on what side they were on. While

⁴ Such organizations included the Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Españolas and the Unión de Mujeres Españolas, both of which were founded in 1918, as well as the Cruzada de Mujeres Españolas, founded in 1921, and the Unión del Feminismo Español, founded in 1925. For a detailed analysis of these organizations, see Vázquez Ramil (2014).

⁵ According to Vázquez Ramil, "[e]n los años treinta adquieren auge profesiones y oficios considerados aptos para las mujeres, como corte y confección, taquigrafía-mecanografía, numerosos ramos del comercio, enseñanza a distintos niveles, al tiempo que aumenta el número de centros privados y públicos que proporcionan una cultura general especialmente diseñada para ellas" (73). It is notable that the majority of the professions to which the author refers are still what we might consider to be "feminized" professions; lawyers like Campoamor and Kent and other exceptionally educated women professionals were still relative anomalies at this time.

women on the Republican side briefly joined militias and fought alongside their male compatriots, they soon found themselves relegated to the rear guard, where women on both the Republican and the Nationalist side supported the men on the front lines by performing feminized tasks such as laundry, cooking, and nursing soldiers' wounds. Republican women also played other crucial roles, including helping procure food for a besieged Madrid, and providing volunteer relief services in Cataluña and Valencia for refugees—especially children—who had been evacuated from Madrid and from other regions that fell under Nationalist attack (Nash, *Defying Male Civilization* 142-48). With the Nationalist victory in 1939, women would find themselves once again subjected to the same laws that had restricted them at the end of the nineteenth century, as Franco's reinstatement of the 1889 Civil Code exemplified his regime's desire to negate all of the progress made in terms of women's roles during the previous half-century.

Women's magazines also had a significant history in Spain prior to the Civil War and the establishment of Franco's dictatorship. In their book *Mujer, prensa y sociedad en España, 1800-1939* (1980), Adolfo Perinat and María Isabel Marrades have presented a rigorous historical and sociological study of the role of women's magazines in Spain during the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth century. The very first women's magazines published in Spain appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, with the number of publications increasing significantly in the mid-nineteenth century with the improvement of printing technologies (Perinat and Marrades 29). Due

to the fact that the majority of women in Spain were illiterate at this time—only 12% of them could read in 1860, and two thirds were still illiterate by the turn of the twentieth century—nineteenth-century women’s magazines were primarily read by wealthy women and by those belonging to Spain’s emerging middle class (Carreras and Tafunell 415).⁶ Aldaraca has discussed the crucial role that women’s magazines such as *La Moda Elegante Ilustrada*, *El Correo de la Moda*, *La Guirnalda*, *El Museo de las Familias*, and *El Ángel del Hogar* played in propagating the domestic ideology that arose in Spain in the nineteenth century: “[A]n ideal of womanhood which can be synthesized in the phrase *el ángel del hogar* lived and breathed in the pages of the women’s and family magazines [...] [T]he growing public of Spanish middle-class women were instructed in minute detail on how to be and act, what to do and think, and, especially, what they as superior beings might never aspire to” (63). Magazines instructed women with regard to how to decorate and clean their homes, cook and care for their families, and organize their domestic finances, and reminded them that it was their responsibility to keep their families clothed, fed, and financially solvent.

While this more traditional type of magazine continued to exist into the twentieth century, politically affiliated women’s magazines emerged as another subgenre during the final decades of the nineteenth century, and played an especially

⁶ Perinat and Marrades acknowledge, however, that magazines’ teachings and customs may well have been transmitted to the lower classes through the oral communication between well-off women and their domestic servants (80).

important role during the Second Republic and the Civil War. During this period, we can find examples of women's magazines of all political stripes, from *Ellas*, directed by right-wing intellectual José María Pemán, to *Mujeres Libres*, published by the anarchist women's group of the same name, and *Mujeres*, published by the Asociación de Mujeres Antifascistas. That individuals and organizations with such distinct ideological perspectives chose women's magazines as one of their key tools for reaching out to women and persuading them of their viewpoints indicates the influence that this genre was understood to have in the years leading up to the start of the Franco dictatorship.

With this historical precedent in mind, I will use what remains of this introduction to outline the various primary and secondary sources used in this analysis, and to sketch out my dissertation's five core chapters. My dissertation consists of three chronologically-ordered parts corresponding to the first three decades of the Franco dictatorship. The first part, which includes Chapters 1 through 3, as well as its own introduction and conclusion, corresponds to the 1939-1948 period; Chapter 4 corresponds to the 1949-1958 period; and Chapter 5 corresponds to the 1959-1968 period. I have intentionally chosen this division over a more simplistic division into decades due to the significance held by many of these dates in terms of Spain's economic and cultural history. 1939 marked the end of the Civil War and the beginning of Franco's rule, the first U.S. bank loan to the Spanish government following the war was issued in 1949, and the crucial economic Plan de Estabilización was implemented in 1959. My

decision to end the period of analysis in 1968 is also motivated by two important considerations. First, while the reverberations of the May 1968 protests in France took on a comparatively more muted quality in Spain due to the repression protesters faced under Franco, this year nonetheless represented a significant marker of cultural change, particularly for the younger generation of Spanish university students (Labrador Méndez 58-59). The second consideration relates to the increasing competition that print media sources such as magazines faced from television media during the late 1960s. Access to television among Spain's urban working class more than doubled in the latter half of the 1960s, from 29% in 1966 to 67% in 1969 (Castillo Castillo 74). While this advancement did not enable television to usurp magazines' role within media culture entirely, it seems reasonable to assume that print media did experience a marked decrease in relevance around this time.

Table 1 contains information on the titles, publishers, publication years, and publication frequency of the eight women's magazines that were selected for this study, in addition to indicating the relevant chapter(s) that correspond to each of the publications:

Table 1: List of Selected Magazines

	Publisher ⁷	Years in publication	Publication frequency	Relevant chapter(s)
<i>Y, Revista para la Mujer</i>	S.F.	1938-45	Monthly	1, 2, 3
<i>El Hogar y la Moda</i>	H.Y.M.S.A.	1941-89 ⁸	Monthly ⁹	All
<i>Senda</i> ¹⁰	A.C.	1941-66	Monthly	All
<i>Para Nosotras</i>	A.C.	1944-65	Monthly	All
<i>Teresa</i>	S.F.	1954-77	Monthly	4, 5
<i>Marisol</i>	G. Espejo	1954-63	Weekly	4, 5
<i>Ama</i>	C.A.T.	1959-89	Twice a month	5
<i>Telva</i>	S.A.R.P.E.	1963-present	Twice a month	5

Due to the finite amount of archival research time available, I could only choose a limited number of publications to analyze in this study, and thus I selected the eight publications I would study based on a series of criteria. First and foremost among these criteria was my desire to include magazines published by the two primary women's organizations that were active during this period, the Sección Femenina and the women's wing of Acción Católica. Given the outsized responsibility that the regime conceded to these two organizations in terms of shaping women's understanding of their roles within Spanish society, it was important to me to analyze the discourses that both groups conveyed to women through their periodical publications.

⁷ S.F. = Sección Femenina; H.Y.M.S.A. = El Hogar y la Moda, Sociedad Anónima; A.C. = Acción Católica; G. Espejo = Gráficas Espejo; C.A.T. = Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes; S.A.R.P.E. = Sociedad Anónima de Revistas, Periódicos y Ediciones.

⁸ *El Hogar y la Moda* had previously been published between 1909 and 1936.

⁹ *El Hogar y la Moda* shifted from its original monthly publication schedule to a twice monthly publication schedule in April 1959.

¹⁰ *Senda* was temporarily renamed *Senda y Alba* between 1959 and 1963, as the result of the publication's fusion with another A.C. publication, *Alba de Juventud*, which had been specifically focused towards young women.

When choosing among the many magazines published by both of these groups, I looked to select publications that were directed towards a general audience of Spanish women, rather than towards a specific group based on age, geographical location, or profession. This criterion led me to exclude publications specifically directed towards young girls, such as the S.F.'s *Bazar* and A.C.'s *Tin-tan*, as well as several A.C. magazines directed towards adolescents and young women (*Volad*, *Cumbres*, *Alba de Juventud*, *Impulso*). Similarly, I excluded regional magazines such as *Assumpta* (magazine published by the A.C. women's regional chapter in Valencia) and profession-specific magazines such as *Consigna* (the S.F.'s magazine for teachers). In the case of the S.F., I also excluded *Medina*, a weekly magazine that ran contemporaneously with *Y*. Given that the two magazines contain similar content, I chose *Y* over *Medina* both because *Y* covers a wider time period of time due to starting publication during the Civil War, and because of the greater convenience with which I was able to access the issues of *Y*.¹¹

Thus, my final sample contains two S.F. magazines, *Y* representing the postwar period and *Teresa* representing the 1950s and 60s, and two A.C. magazines, *Senda* representing a publication for a broad female audience (including the organization's leaders and other well-off affiliates) and *Para Nosotras* representing a publication specifically directed towards working-class women.

¹¹ Most of the issues of *Y* have been digitalized and are available via the Biblioteca Nacional de España's Hemeroteca Digital.

In choosing the remaining commercial magazines to be analyzed, I again looked for publications that were national in scope and directed towards a general female audience. I excluded popular magazines such as *¡Hola!* and *Garbo* which, though they likely had a primarily female readership, were not explicitly directed towards an audience of women readers, but rather to a general audience. After eliminating magazines for girls and young women, as well as those designed for other niche audiences (such as *María Luisa*, a magazine for university women that appeared in 1963), I chose a selection of four commercial magazines that had significant print runs, at least a decade of publication, and that entered the magazine market at different stages of my 30-year period of interest. In my final sample, *El Hogar y la Moda* serves as an example of a women's magazine published from the 1940s through the 1960s. Similarly, *Marisol* serves as an example of a commercial publication launched in the 1950s, at the same time as the S.F.'s *Teresa*. Finally, *Ama* and *Telva* represent two different types of women's magazines that appeared in the 1960s, the former specifically addressing the concerns of Spanish housewives, with the latter addressing a broader female audience.¹²

Over the course of this dissertation, I will report figures regarding the number of monthly issues and the per-issue price corresponding to each of these publications. However, we should be careful to avoid equating a publication's print run with its

¹² Examples of other commercial women's magazines that appeared within the same approximate timeframes as those selected for this study include *Mujer* (published beginning in 1937), *Ilustración Femenina* (published beginning in 1957), and *Cristal* (published beginning in 1960).

readership, as a given physical copy could reach multiple readers in the same household, be passed around between friends, or be read by numerous individuals if made available to women at either an S.F. or A.C. center or another commonly frequented establishment (e.g., a hair salon or dressmaking shop). The S.F. and A.C. promoted their publications quite actively, and appear to have made efforts to reach out to the widest possible population of potential women readers, regardless of their class background.¹³ For this reason, we should also be cautious about interpreting the per-issue price data for these magazines. Comparing relative prices between magazines can show us how different publications stacked up against one another, and comparing magazine prices with the cost of other entertainment activities (e.g., movie ticket prices) can help us better understand the opportunity cost of purchasing a magazine. However, given the multiple ways in which women could potentially read a magazine without having bought it personally, we should avoid assuming that these publications only reached women with the economic means to purchase them. Much more than prohibitive prices, the factor most likely to affect women's access to these magazines was the high rate of illiteracy among women that persisted in Spain during this period. In 1940, 29% of Spanish women were illiterate, with this proportion decreasing slowly

¹³ Both *Senda* and *Para Nosotras* conducted contests awarding the reader who could recruit the most new subscribers, and *Y* published several reports in 1939 and 1940 featuring photos of S.F. members distributing the magazine on the streets of major cities. Inbal Ofer also notes that the S.F.'s magazines were made available to women in the organization's centers, and that the group's affiliates received free copies of the magazines to hand out to their friends and neighbors ("A 'New' Woman for a 'New' Spain" 588).

over the course of this period (22% in 1950, 18% in 1960, and 14% in 1970) (Carreras and Tafunell 415). These proportions were consistently between 70% and 133% higher than the respective illiteracy rates among men (17% in 1940, 12% in 1950, 8% in 1960, and 6% in 1970) (Carreras and Tafunell 415). That said, even women who were unable to read themselves could potentially have received magazines' messages via oral transmission (e.g., through the out-loud reading of articles in factory or workshop settings).

While the eight women's magazines analyzed are the most important primary materials used in this work, the economic data against which I read magazines' discourses are also crucial. It is important to emphasize that available statistics from the period in question vary greatly in terms of their reliability. This is due both to practical limitations that inhibited the accurate collection of data—especially during the extreme circumstances of the early postwar years—and to the existence of incentives for Francoist officials to incorrectly estimate certain metrics or otherwise falsify records in ways that would paint a more favorable picture of the regime. Because I understand that officially reported statistics from this period are unreliable, I have culled data from a mix of both primary and secondary sources. The main primary source I consulted for this project were the *Anuarios Estadísticos de España*. The *Anuarios* are a series of annual statistical reports that are available through an online database curated by Spain's Instituto Nacional de Estadística. The primary metrics that I report from this source include the breakdown of the Spanish population by gender, employment status, and

job sector, as well as the official minimum wage data by gender and job sector. While the *Anuarios* represent the best available source for these data, we know that certain metrics—in particular women’s employment rate—are likely to be significantly underreported, and should thus be interpreted as lower-bound estimates and compared over multiple years in order to establish a directional trend.

In addition to the *Anuarios* (and other primary sources such as the 1966 *Encuesta de Población Activa*), I draw significant data and analysis from economic histories, especially Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell’s *Entre el imperio y la globalización* (2018) and Carlos Barciela et al.’s *La España de Franco (1939-1975): Economía* (2000). I also draw migration data from Julio Alcaide Inchausti’s *Evolución de la población española en el siglo XX* (2007) and consumption data from José Castillo Castillo’s *Sociedad de consumo a la española* (1987). Perhaps the source of data to which this study is most indebted is Margarita Vilar Rodríguez’s monograph *Los salarios del miedo: Mercado de trabajo y crecimiento económico en España durante el franquismo* (2009). Vilar Rodríguez’s innovative study provides new, more reliable estimates of real (cost-of-living-adjusted) salaries for Spanish men between 1936 and 1963, which correct many shortcomings of the *Anuarios*’ equivalent data series, helping us to better understand the approximate trajectory of Spanish households’ purchasing power over time. While I consider estimates of economic data from these and other secondary sources to provide a comparatively more accurate representation of Spaniards’ economic circumstances than do the estimates

published by the regime, due caution is still advised in interpreting any of the economic data presented in this study.

The first part of my dissertation, entitled “Handbooks for the Hunger Years: Domestic Ideals and Dire Realities in the Magazines of Early Francoism (1939-1948)”, is made up of three chapters that focus on the women’s magazines published during the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. During this period, many Spanish families saw the loss of male breadwinners and their incomes due to war deaths, executions, imprisonment, and job purges compounded by the country’s devastating economic conditions, including dire food shortages and the rise of an exorbitantly priced black market. Yet despite these harsh realities, magazines repeatedly reproached women who failed to carry out their assigned domestic labor according to the regime’s prescriptions. My analysis in these first three chapters explores the conflict between magazines’ idealized rhetoric of domesticity and the desperate economic circumstances that so many Spanish women endured in the 1940s. I reveal the discursive strategies magazines’ editors used in an attempt to shift the blame for Spain’s post-war economic woes away from the regime and onto women, while also exploring how the entrance of contradictory messages into the magazines’ discourse complicated the narrative and ultimately hindered editors’ indoctrination attempts.

Chapter 1, “Domesticity and its Discontents”, explores magazines’ representations of motherhood, the home, and marriage in the 1940s. I argue that these

publications' veneration of prolific motherhood contrasted sharply with the daily struggle for subsistence that made it incredibly difficult for Spaniards to support and feed large families, that their depiction of the family home as a refuge rhetorically erased the destruction that so many Spanish families faced at the hands of the regime, and that their idealized vision of marriage as a sacred bond ignored both the economic motives underlying many marriages at this time and the demographic imbalance that made finding a husband more challenging for women. I demonstrate the variety of rhetorical tactics employed to convince readers to accept their assigned roles as wives, mothers, and caretakers of the family home, while also highlighting evidence within the magazines that the fulfillment of these roles was not something that all women were able to—or even wanted to—achieve.

In Chapter 2, “(Mis)Advising Spain’s ‘Ministras’ of Family Finance”, I delve into depictions of women’s assigned role as the managers of their families’ household budgets in the magazines of this decade. I demonstrate magazines’ efforts to make women solely responsible for keeping their families afloat financially, and show how these efforts ignored the role that the regime’s own policies played in bringing about the drastic situation in which food was rationed, black-market prices skyrocketed, and hunger was a widespread phenomenon. At the same time, I also reveal the contrast between magazines’ primary message of anti-materialism and the existence of overtly materialist content such as fashion spreads and consumer advertisements, which

undermined the message of austerity that was projected through the more doctrinal components of magazines' discourse.

Chapter 3, "Discordant Depictions of Working Women", analyzes magazines' portrayals of women's remunerated labor. I argue that discourses surrounding the dangers purportedly posed by such work butted up against many women's dire economic need to earn a wage, whether to supplement the insufficient income of a primary male breadwinner or to serve as their family's primary income earner. I go on to demonstrate that women's very real need to work was also represented within these publications, both through doctrinal articles characterizing women's extra-domestic work as a necessary evil and through advice column letters discussing career and job opportunities, which created another key internal contradiction within the magazines. Moreover, in addition to evidencing women's economic need to work, advice column letters show that some women also harbored professional dreams that were not strictly tied to necessity, but rather to a sense of personal vocation.

In Chapter 4, entitled "'Bienvenida, Mrs. Marshall': Revising Economic Womanhood in Spain Amid New Global Perspectives and Evolving Internal Circumstances (1949-1958)", I explore the discursive evolutions that occurred in women's magazines during the 1950s, against the backdrop of Spain's slow emergence from geopolitical and economic isolation, which began with an influx of economic aid from the United States starting in 1949. In this new decade, I argue, we see

comparatively more open, less restrictive portrayals of women's economic roles begin to appear in magazines, as part of editors' efforts to maintain relevance within the context of a society in which Spaniards were increasingly more aware of what was going on outside of Spain. But I argue that the increased acknowledgement and acceptance of women's participation in professional life and in conspicuous material consumption came about in part because ongoing economic inequality in Spain meant that only a small proportion of Spanish women actually had access to these types of opportunities and behaviors. These permissive models of economic womanhood thus did not pose a significant threat to Spanish society's *status quo* during the dictatorship's second decade.

Chapter 5, entitled "'Soplan por el mundo corrientes de renovación': Progress Rhetoric and Reactionary Backlash in the Magazines of the 'Desarrollismo' Era (1959-1968)", addresses how magazines' editors updated their messages once again in light of the wave of economic growth and development that swept Spain following the 1959 Plan de Estabilización. I challenge the narrative that official discourses made a hard turn from preaching austerity to promoting consumerism during this period, showing that austerity actually remained an important part of the narrative surrounding Spanish women's role in the development process. Moreover, I contrast magazines' representation of material improvements—exemplified by increasingly frequent invitations to consumption in the form of ads for home appliances—with their discussions of mass emigration and women's domestic service work, which evidence

ongoing inequality and the fact that serious economic struggles coexisted alongside the dawn of Spain's consumer society. Finally, even though the evolution of Spanish women's roles as workers and consumers continued to be incremental and incomplete in the 1960s, even modest increases in women's access to work and nonessential consumer goods led magazines' editors to engage in a reactionary backlash that returned to emphasizing traditional notions of both domestic womanhood in general, and prolific motherhood in particular. I thus argue that magazines' discourses on topics such as women's professional advancement and material consumption are often less open and permissive in the magazines of the 1960s than they had been in those published during the 1950s.

Handbooks for the Hunger Years: Domestic Ideals and Dire Realities in the Magazines of Early Francoism (1939-1948)

Introduction

In the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), those who had opposed Francisco Franco's Nationalist uprising were subjected to a repressive authoritarian regime. While violence and persecution would characterize Franco's entire 36-year-long dictatorship, the initial years of his rule were by far the most brutal. Hundreds of thousands of Spaniards, primarily men, who had supported the Republican government during the war—or were accused of having done so—were executed or imprisoned. Others who managed to avoid such fates lost their jobs, their money, their political and labor rights, and their standing within Spanish society. The vast majority of Spaniards also faced devastating economic conditions during the decade following the war: rationing and severe resource scarcity, widespread hunger and disease, and vast disparities between rich and poor, victors and vanquished, were everyday realities in 1940s Spain.

During this period, many Spanish families depended on women's income for survival, either as the sole source of financial support for those left without a male breadwinner, or as a supplement to plunging male wages. And yet, the gender ideology promoted by the Franco regime ran counter to the needs presented by this material reality, focusing exclusively on women's roles as wives and mothers. Helen Graham has

argued that the heteropatriarchal nuclear family unit was used as a tool to promote order within Franco's National-Catholic state, with the family's vertical power structure "representing the corporate order of the state in microcosm" (184). The regime viewed the patriarchal family as complementing the hierarchical structure of the state, in contrast to the horizontal relationships that had existed between members of labor unions, political parties, and other solidary social groups. In a similar vein, Nash has described the regime's efforts to portray motherhood as "a duty to the fatherland," a tactic aimed towards regenerating Spain's decimated population and producing robust generations of future defenders of the *patria* (*Defying Male Civilization* 183). If women's submission to their assigned domestic role was necessary to reinforce order in the Francoist state, prolific motherhood was essential to ensuring its survival.

The construction of gender roles under Franco cannot be fully understood without taking into account Spain's political history leading up to the Civil War. The regime was determined to quash any and all progressive ideas and policies that had been promoted under the democratically elected governments of the Second Republic, many of which were directly tied to improving women's political and labor rights and to expanding their educational and professional opportunities, including those of middle-class women who did not strictly *need* to work.¹ Upon winning the war, Franco sought to

¹ For more in-depth analysis of the evolution of women's legal status during the Second Republic, see Núñez (1998), Lizarraga Vizcarra (2002), and Liñán García (2016).

erase any vestige of the progressive ideology that had inspired such groundbreaking legal changes as women's suffrage and the right to civil marriage and divorce.² By annulling the Republican Constitution and repealing Republic-era legislation, the regime reverted Spain back to the Civil Code of 1889, which, as was explored in the Introduction, relegated Spanish women, and particularly married women, to a second-class form of citizenship. Moreover, the 1944 Ley de Contrato de Trabajo explicitly specified that married women could not work outside the home without their husbands' permission. Husbands also reserved the right to receive their wives' salaries directly, meaning that even those married women who were allowed to work did not control the money they earned.

The regime also implemented legal changes in support of its pro-natalist interests. In January 1941, abortion and any form of education regarding contraceptive methods were criminalized. In addition, several new policies incentivized Spaniards to form large families:

Various measures provided for family allowances, *premios de natalidad* (birth prizes) and certain concessions for specially large families, the *familias numerosas* which were offered specific protection and were often evoked as models to be followed. [...] Members of large families were allowed numerous fringe benefits graded according to their category. These ranged from transport and school grants to tax exemptions, credit facilities, access to housing and sanitary assistance. Family allowances in

² Civil marriage was repealed in March 1938 and divorce was prohibited in September 1939. Ironically, because these legal changes left only canonical Catholic marriages recognized, many Spaniards found themselves in a situation that was anything but orderly, as they were suddenly considered unmarried (or remarried to their ex-spouses) in the eyes of the law.

July 1938 and family bonuses in June 1945 affected a much wider section of the population. Both represented a clear support of paternity through income supplements. (Nash, "Towards a New Moral Order" 299)

These benefits were intended to increase male breadwinners' income, but also to discourage women's extra-domestic work, as evidenced by a modification made to the family bonus law in March 1946, which clarified that the bonus would be reduced for men whose wives also worked outside the home.³ In fact, as we will explore further in Chapter 3, making it more difficult for women (especially married women) to work was an objective that permeated much of the labor-related legislation passed following the Civil War's end. But legal changes in favor of traditional family structures were not enough to ensure the propagation of National-Catholic values among the Spanish populace. Indoctrination was also crucial, and the task of reeducating Spanish women fell primarily to women's organizations with ties to the regime.

The two principal women's groups active during the postwar period were the Sección Femenina de Falange (hereafter referred to as the S.F.) and the women's wing of the lay Catholic group Acción Católica (hereafter referred to as A.C.). The S.F. was created in 1934 as part of the Falange Española de las J.O.N.S., and was led by Pilar Primo de Rivera, the sister of Falange founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera.⁴ The fascist

³ The text of this ministerial order explicitly stated that the purpose of the family bonus was to "reintegrar al hogar a las mujeres casadas que trabajan por cuenta ajena" ("Orden de 29 de marzo de 1946" 2433).

⁴ José Antonio Primo de Rivera was imprisoned in March 1936, but continued to lead the Falange. He was sentenced to death for conspiracy and insurrection in November of that year, following the failed coup that ignited the Civil War.

Falange was, at this time, a small party made up primarily of younger members of the Spanish haute bourgeoisie. Falangists saw themselves as nationalist revolutionaries who would return Spain to its former imperial glory by imposing a totalitarian state in which individual interests were subordinated to the good of the unified *patria*. S.F. members were quite active politically leading up to and during the Civil War, spreading propaganda, stashing weapons, visiting imprisoned party members, leading fundraising efforts, and assisting Nationalist forces from the rear guard. However, after the unification of the Falange with Carlist traditionalists during the war (becoming the Falange Española *Tradicionalista* y de las J.O.N.S.) and the Francoist victory in April 1939, the S.F.'s functions changed significantly.

S.F. membership—like that of the Falange as a whole—swelled significantly between the beginning and the end of the Civil War, increasing from 2,000 in 1935 to over half a million in 1939 (Tavera García 213, 225).⁵ As María Teresa Gallego Méndez explains, the organization's chief priority during the postwar period was to indoctrinate women politically and disseminate its key values and rules for appropriate feminine behavior. The Franco regime, adamant about controlling Spanish women's education and political formation, specifically entrusted the S.F. with this important pedagogical

⁵ As Inmaculada Blasco Herranz has pointed out, the surge in S.F. membership around the end of the war was ultimately short-lived, and can most likely be explained by Spanish women's desire to avoid political reprisals in the aftermath of the conflict (“«Sección Femenina» y «Acción Católica»” 61).

task.⁶ During the dictatorship, the S.F. facilitated the Servicio Social program, considered to be the female counterpart to young men's military service. Through the program, single women and childless widows under age 35 were required to receive three months of education on national-syndicalism, religion, home economics, childcare, and other purportedly feminine topics, after which they would perform an additional three months of unpaid practical service.⁷ The S.F. taught women in no uncertain terms that their role in the collective project of creating a New Spain was as wives, mothers, and caretakers of the family and the home.

Kathleen Richmond has described the S.F.'s attempts to re-signify and professionalize women's traditional maternal and domestic roles. The group updated the rhetoric surrounding these roles to align with the political moment at hand and characterized the sacrifice they entailed as women's active contribution to the Falangist goal of building the *patria*. Gallego Méndez, for her part, asserts that, despite the group's political foundations, the model of womanhood it promoted was closer to the figure of the subservient bourgeois housewife than to that of the "fascista desenvuelta y

⁶ Under Franco, coeducation was also eliminated, and school-aged girls were educated separately from boys.

⁷ This program remained in existence until the S.F.'s dissolution in 1977, over a year after Franco's death. Completing the program was ostensibly obligatory for all women who met the relevant requirements in terms of age and marital status. However, both Gallego Méndez and Kathleen Richmond note that, according to the S.F.'s official records, a significant proportion of Spanish women managed to avoid participating, which was possible so long as they did not need to work, attend university, drive a car, or obtain a passport (Gallego Méndez 93; Richmond 17-18). The program also provided special accommodations for working-class women, who were exempt from the practical service requirement, and were instead required to take six months of theoretical classes that lasted two hours per day ("Servicio Social" 12).

contemporánea" (107). While Pilar Primo de Rivera strove to carry on her martyred brother's legacy and instill Falangist values among her S.F. colleagues, the organization was ultimately subordinated under the Franco regime, whose policies and values were not always in line with the Falange's original revolutionary aims. Gallego Méndez argues that it is precisely the group's strategic flexibility and willingness to incorporate elements of the regime's ideology (particularly religious ones) that enabled the S.F. to position itself as a reliable ally to Franco.⁸

If the S.F. was the only sanctioned political group for women during the postwar years, the Rama de Mujeres de Acción Católica (a lay Catholic women's group originally founded in 1919 as Acción Católica de la Mujer) served as its religious counterpart. As Inmaculada Blasco Herranz explains, the women's wing of A.C. had been involved primarily in the fight for women's civil and political rights prior to the Second Republic. The organization's aims changed significantly, however, after combining forces with the Unión de Damas del Sagrado Corazón in 1934 to form the Confederación de Mujeres Católicas de España. A.C. women's original goal of achieving women's rights (many of which had been granted over the course of the Second Republic) was replaced by an effort to defend Catholic culture, and particularly the family, against perceived political attacks from the left (Blasco Herranz, "Tenemos las armas de nuestra fe" 15). Much as

⁸ It is this flexibility that ultimately enabled the S.F. to outlive its parent organization, whose influence within the Francoist government rapidly declined just a few years after the war's end.

the S.F. was given the mandate to educate women as participants in the New State following the Civil War, A.C. was similarly tasked with re-Catholicizing the nation.⁹ Thus, Rebeca Arce Pinedo describes A.C. women's primary objective as bringing morality back to the home and reinforcing the Catholic family model. The moral formation of young, unmarried women was of particular importance to the group, which hoped to convince young members to adopt appropriate moral conduct and become role models for others.

Though the S.F. and the women's wing of A.C. shared similar goals and organized parallel outreach efforts, it is worth pointing out a few key differences between these two women's groups. While Blasco Herranz acknowledges that both organizations sought to achieve a similar model of conservative, domestic womanhood, she argues that A.C. was more focused on the religious and moral components of this model, while the S.F. emphasized the aspects most associated with fascist ideology, which included an obsession with hygiene and childcare practices, seen as essential to creating a robust imperial nation ("«Sección Femenina» y «Acción Católica»" 60-61). In terms of membership, S.F.'s numbers peaked in the early 1940s, whereas A.C. membership continued to grow steadily over the course of the decade (Cazorla 267).

⁹ Like the S.F., A.C. saw its membership increase during the years following the Civil War, a phenomenon Blasco Herranz attributes to the strong relationship between the Catholic Church and the Franco regime ("«Sección Femenina» y «Acción Católica»" 62-63).

While there appears to be little evidence of direct confrontation between the two groups, there is equally little evidence that they cooperated in any significant way.¹⁰

The three chapters that make up the first part of my dissertation analyze the discourses on Spanish women's economic roles that circulated between 1939 and 1948 in four representative women's magazines: *Y, Revista para la Mujer*; *Senda, Órgano Nacional de la Rama de Mujeres de A. C. de España*; *Para Nosotras, Revista de Obreras*; and *El Hogar y la Moda*.¹¹ *Y* is an S.F. magazine that ran between 1938 and 1945, and is the only one to have begun publication during the Civil War. *Senda* and *Para Nosotras* were both published by the women's wing of A.C.; the former appeared in 1941 and was addressed primarily to the group's leaders and other middle- or upper-class members, while the latter appeared in 1944 and was directed specifically towards working-class women. *El Hogar y la Moda* is a commercial magazine that was distributed by the publisher of the same name (El Hogar y la Moda, S.A., more commonly known as HYMSA); it was first published in 1909, suspended its publication during the war, and resumed publication once again in 1941. All four of these magazines were published on a monthly basis, though *Senda* and *Para Nosotras* often combined multiple summer months into a single issue, publishing

¹⁰ Blasco Herranz cites sporadic evidence of the S.F.'s wary attitude towards the A.C., and notes that there was a nearly complete lack of collaboration between the two organizations, despite the similarity between their educational activities and charity efforts ("«Sección Femenina» y «Acción Católica»" 62). While women were permitted to be members of both groups at the same time, they could not hold leadership positions in both.

¹¹ María José Rebollo Espinosa and Marina Núñez Gil (2000, 2007) are the only scholars thus far to simultaneously address all four of these publications (as part of a broad sample of nearly fifty publications corresponding to the period between 1940 and 1960).

ten issues annually for most years in this period.¹² Of these publications, *Y*, along with its weekly counterpart *Medina* (1941-1945), has thus far received the most critical attention.¹³

Prior scholarship on these publications has clustered around two primary lines of analysis. The first group of studies focus primarily on the special emphasis magazines placed on women's domestic role. Carmen Carrión Jiménez and Javier Hernando Carrasco (1985) explore how the S.F.'s fascist ideology and traditional Catholic values were mobilized in tandem in *Medina's* doctrinal discourse to characterize marriage and motherhood as women's sacred and patriotic duty. María José Rebollo Espinosa and Marina Núñez Gil (2000, 2007) examine the nuanced touches that S.F., A.C., and entertainment magazines put on the narrative of feminine domesticity, arguing that "las revistas de Sección Femenina lo profesionalizan, las de Acción Católica lo mistifican, las de entretenimiento lo decoran" ("Tradicionales, rebeldes, precursoras" 205). The second group of studies includes those that acknowledge and interpret the countermodels of womanhood that can be found in the S.F.'s publications (i.e., those that *contradict* the promotion of a solely domestic role for women). Scholars taking this approach include

¹² *Y* and *El Hogar y la Moda* both published a full set of monthly issues during this period, with the exception of *Y's* final year of publication (1945), which consisted of only eight issues. *Senda* and *Para Nosotras* typically published at a rate of ten issues per year during this period, with the following exceptions: *Senda* 1944 and *Para Nosotras* 1946-1947 (twelve issues per year), *Senda* 1941 (seven issues), and *Senda* 1948 (nine issues).

¹³ As Carmen Carrión Jiménez and Javier Hernando Carrasco point out in their analysis of *Medina*, both *Medina* and *Y* emerged during the Falange's political heyday and ceased publication in 1945, coinciding with the Falange's political decline in the wake of World War II (164). I agree with the authors' assertion that these publications' intensely political rhetoric could only have arisen within the specific context of the immediate postwar years.

Inbal Ofer (2009), who analyzes the image of the National Syndicalist woman in *Medina* and subsequent S.F. magazine *Teresa* (1954-1977); María Rosón (2016), who explores Y's use of visual imagery in the portrayal of the S.F.'s leaders; and Ángela Cenarro (2017), who highlights tensions within the model of womanhood presented in *Y* and *Medina*.

As evidence of the plurality that characterized the S.F. magazines' discourses, both Ofer and Cenarro reference the various types of strong, talented, and independent women portrayed within these magazines, from the mythicized historical figures of Isabel la Católica and Santa Teresa de Jesús, to S.F. martyrs who perished during the war, to a variety of exceptional contemporary women (writers, artists, scientists, university students, etc.). Both authors attribute the inclusion of non-domestic models of womanhood in the magazines to the delicate negotiation of identity that took place among the team of S.F. leaders responsible for publishing them: they found themselves in a paradoxical situation as women who held positions of authority, but were also inscribed within a patriarchal political movement whose core beliefs demanded women's subordination to the authority of men. Rosón focuses more specifically on the representation of Pilar Primo de Rivera and other prominent S.F. members in the form of carefully constructed photographs, arguing that these ambiguously gendered portrayals convey an air of power that was rarely afforded to women at the time. She explains that such representations were possible because the regime's hierarchy established the S.F.'s *mandos* as having authority over the general population of Spanish women. While these

analyses contribute significantly to our understanding of the S.F.'s ideology, they conceive of these magazines primarily as a site for the construction and projection of the elite organization's political identity.

In contrast, my analysis focuses on these magazines' function as a key site for what Antonio Gramsci calls a struggle for cultural hegemony (i.e., control of the "popular mentality") (652). I argue that these publications were a place where the regime's concerted efforts to circumscribe women's behavior butted up against contradictory evidence of what women's roles in Spanish society were and could be. In the wake of a fratricidal Civil War that had deepened existing ideological divisions among the populace, the Franco regime needed more than brute force and terror to consolidate itself; it needed to convince a broad sector of the population to accept its core values as a part of their everyday lives. Convincing ordinary women was especially important, not only because their acceptance of domesticity was essential to maintaining the established gender hierarchy, but also because their assigned place within that hierarchy made them responsible for educating the next generation, upon whose tacit acceptance (if not all-out support) the regime depended in order to ensure its longevity. In this context, women's magazines served as crucial mediators between the regime and Spanish women, aiding in the regime's attempts to establish cultural hegemony by repackaging the domestic doctrine that women were simultaneously receiving via other

social institutions such as the Church, schools, and their mandatory Servicio Social training in a more amenable format.

What complicated these discursive efforts was the fundamentally untenable nature of magazines' prescribed model of feminine domesticity for the majority of Spanish women, which becomes readily apparent if we contrast the messages they communicated to their readers with the practical economic circumstances that women in 1940s Spain faced on an everyday basis. This discrepancy has often led scholars to assume that magazines like *Y* were directed solely towards an audience of wealthy, upper-middle-class women, because this was the only audience for whom conforming to many of the magazines' prescribed behaviors would have been economically feasible (whether doing so was intellectually or emotionally fulfilling for such women is another matter altogether). However, a close reading reveals that these magazines sought to appeal not only to members of Spain's economic elite, but rather to readers from across the class spectrum, an editorial strategy which often resulted in the creation of internal contradictions within magazines' discourses. In the context of postwar Spain's increasingly stratified society, convincing a diverse readership to accept values and patterns of behavior that flew in the face of lived experience for many was no straightforward task. This is why I contend that these popular texts were a site of hegemonic struggle in which the proponents of a dominant narrative sought to

legitimize it over any potential counter-narratives, rather than a definitively effective tool for straightforward, top-down indoctrination.

A key factor that has limited the scope of past work on these magazines is that scholars have tended to situate the publications' discourses within the relevant political context, but without fully addressing the *economic* conditions under which these discourses emerged. Similarly, economic historians concerned with analyzing women's material conditions during this period tend to overlook the ways in which cultural representations of womanhood shaped women's expectations for and perspectives on their own lives and experiences. By weaving economic data into my analysis of these magazines, I seek to tie these two parallel lines of investigation together, and to paint a more complete picture of how women's economic roles within Spanish society were constituted simultaneously through practical economic circumstances and cultural discourses on womanhood that often conflicted with one another.

In Chapter 1, which looks at representations of motherhood, the home, and marriage, data on the population breakdown by gender and marital status will help us better understand the structure of family units in Spain at this time, which often differed from the traditional nuclear family model that these magazines so frequently depicted. In Chapter 2, which focuses on magazines' treatment of women's role as the designated administrators of their families' domestic finances, tracking real income levels over time will allow us to observe the plummeting purchasing power of the average Spanish

household over the course of the 1940s.¹⁴ And in Chapter 3, which centers on discourses about women's work *outside* the home, data on Spanish women's employment rates across a variety of sectors will give us a clearer (if still incomplete) idea of the extent to which women *did* in fact participate in the extra-domestic labor market, despite the regime's numerous efforts to stifle such participation.

Employing a two-pronged analytical approach that combines economic history and data analysis with a close reading of women's magazines enables me to identify the specific rhetorical mechanisms that magazines' editors used in their role as mediators between the regime and women, as they attempted to reckon with and rationalize the immense contradictions between the gender ideology promoted by the regime and the economic realities experienced by their readers. Editors used several types of discursive strategies in an effort to reframe the serious social and economic problems caused by the regime's policies (which ranged from the simply ill-advised to the intentionally cruel). Such problems were often minimized (i.e., construed as less severe than they actually were) or trivialized (i.e., acknowledged, but in a humorous context that made light of them rather than taking them seriously). Another strategy was to rhetorically erase any mention of a given problem altogether, or to immediately displace the reader's focus away from a serious issue onto another, more trivial one. One of the rhetorical

¹⁴ Household budgeting was a crucial component of the economic responsibilities assigned to women during this period, but is a topic to which previous studies on women's magazines have made surprisingly little reference, especially given the frequency with which issues related to budgeting and spending money were referenced in these publications.

mechanisms most commonly utilized by magazines' editors was to openly address a serious societal problem, but to displace the blame for the problem onto women, rather than to acknowledge any wrongdoing on the part of the regime. In some cases, editors even employed a strategy of preemptive refutation, intentionally introducing an opposing viewpoint in the voice of a fictional character in order to subsequently provide arguments against it. When such opposition was presented as having been articulated by a reader or another real person, I refer to this mechanism as containment of dissent.

Yet, in spite of the elaborate ideological work attempted by these magazines' editors, I will demonstrate that the conflicts between the regime's doctrinal values and their readers' lived experiences ultimately remained unresolved, leading to the dissemination of messages that readers could potentially interpret or "decode" in alternative, unexpected ways in light of their own experiences. This line of analysis represents a logical next step in the progression of critical work on these publications, which began by assuming that magazines conveyed a strictly uniform message and attributing any contradictions to evolving socioeconomic conditions (Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco, Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil), and has progressed to admitting the possibility that the inclusion of exceptional countermodels as a byproduct of the editors' complex positionality may have prompted readers to reconsider their own societal roles (Cenarro, Rosón). I argue that conflicting portrayals of women's economic roles in these magazines did not emerge solely as a result of their editors'

privileged place in Spain's sociopolitical hierarchy relative to other women. Rather, it was editors' need to bridge the gulf between the regime's conservative gender ideology and the material conditions that made embodying that ideology impossible for most women that inevitably caused such conflicting and ambiguous discourses to arise.

In highlighting the potential for alternative interpretations on the part of magazines' readers, I emphasize less-frequently-studied components of these magazines such as advice columns (*consultorios*) and advertisements. My analysis of the unique *consultorio* medium builds on prior studies, which have focused primarily on the Elena Francis radio program (1950-1984) (Armand Balsebre and Rosario Fontova, 2018), as well as on magazine advice columns from the 1960s and 70s (Pura Sánchez, 2016).¹⁵ I explore the discursive content of these columns in Chapters 1 and 3, arguing that their quasi-testimonial nature makes them particularly fertile ground for the cultivation of against-the-grain readings.

As prior work on women's magazines from this period has largely omitted any substantial interpretation of magazine ads, my analysis of advertising builds on the work of Susana Sueiro Seoane (2007), who has analyzed advertising materials from the

¹⁵ An earlier monograph on the Elena Francis radio program, Gérard Imbert's *Elena Francis, un consultorio para la transición* (1982), addresses only the program's later years (1977-1980), highlighting its role during the transition to democracy that followed Franco's death.

first two postwar decades.¹⁶ In Chapter 2, I further contextualize the specific ad campaigns directed towards women consumers in the magazines of the 1940s by contrasting them with the doctrinal messages that appeared alongside them. The fact that magazines conveyed a strong consumerist message in the form of advertisements, along with fashion spreads and other conspicuous invitations to consumption, significantly undermined the credibility of the anti-materialist discourse that proliferated in their articles praising the ideal housewife's austerity and capacity for sacrifice. More broadly, my approach to investigating these archival materials has been to explore not only the most commonly occurring patterns in these magazines, but also—and most especially—those elements that seem the most unexpected or out of sync with a given magazine's overall discourse. This in-depth approach allows me to explore the types of crucial discursive disruptions that prior analyses of these publications have yet to address.

Before we proceed, it will be useful to review a few key pieces of available data regarding these magazines' publication and circulation. As Table 2 shows, the number of magazine issues published each month varied significantly between titles:

¹⁶ While the studies conducted by Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco and by Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil refer to advertising in passing, this component of the magazines has not yet been afforded the importance it is due, particularly in light of its frequency and visual prominence within these publications.

Table 2: Monthly Print Runs, 1943-1946¹⁷

	1943-1944	1945-1946
<i>Y, Revista para la Mujer</i>	38,600	18,000
<i>El Hogar y la Moda</i>	45,000	50,000
<i>Senda</i>	1,500	2,500
<i>Para Nosotras</i>	n/a	5,000

Perhaps unsurprisingly, *El Hogar y la Moda*—which had already established a readership prior to the war—reported printing the most monthly issues during both of the periods for which data were available. With approximately 10 million women aged 13 and over in the Spanish population as of 1940, by 1945 *El Hogar y la Moda* was printing roughly one monthly issue for every 200 adult women or teenage girls in Spain.¹⁸ While *Y* reported printing close to as many monthly issues as *El Hogar y la Moda* in the 1943-1944 period, its officially reported print run decreased by more than half in 1945 (its final year of publication).¹⁹ The print runs of the two magazines published by A.C. were significantly more modest. At 1,500 issues for the 1943-1944 period and 2,500 for the 1945-1946 period, *Senda*'s officially reported print run during the 1940s never surpassed one monthly issue per 4,000 Spanish women. *Para Nosotras* reported twice as many

¹⁷ Data reported in the 1943-1944 and 1945-1946 volumes of the *Anuario de la Prensa Española*.

¹⁸ Data from the 1940 population census (*Censo de la población de España en 1940*, "Censo de población de 1940 (Hecho): Resumen nacional, Clasificación por edades").

¹⁹ A comparison of these numbers to those reported by the Administración General de la Prensa del Movimiento, which listed *Y* as having printed between 15,000 and 18,000 issues per month in 1940 and 1941 and between 10,000 and 12,000 issues in 1942, suggests that the 38,600 issues reported for the magazine in the 1943-1944 *Anuario* may represent an artificially inflated figure (AGA, boxes 21/1452, 21/1583, and 21/1592). *Y*'s final issue was the December 1945/January 1946 issue.

issues as *Senda* in 1945-1946 (the first recorded period following its 1944 debut), but this figure still represented just one tenth of *El Hogar y la Moda*'s print run in that period.

These differences are key, as they reflect the financial, material, and human resources available to the entities publishing these magazines, as well as the relative diffusion of each publication compared with the others. Keeping these statistics in mind can therefore help us to better understand the extent of these publications' societal impact. The magazines published by A.C. evidently had a more limited reach than either the S.F.'s *Y* or *El Hogar y la Moda* (though, as was discussed in the Introduction, a publication's print run should not be considered equivalent to its readership). This makes sense if we consider *Y*'s status as an official regime-sponsored publication and *El Hogar y la Moda*'s long tenure and familiarity to its reading public. Comparing the print runs of multiple publications from the same organization or publisher can also tell us something about that organization's editorial priorities. For example, the fact that during the same time period A.C. produced twice as many issues of *Para Nosotras* as they did of *Senda* would appear to reflect the organization's particular interest in circulating *Para Nosotras* as widely as possible among the population of working-class women the organization hoped to reach with its propaganda and indoctrination

efforts.²⁰ Notably, though the number of issues distributed varied greatly between these magazines, all four do appear to have obtained nationwide readership.

The prices of these magazines also varied, as shown in Table 3:

Table 3: Single Issue Prices (pesetas), 1939-1948²¹

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948
<i>Y, Revista para la Mujer</i>	2.00	2.00	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	—	—	—
<i>El Hogar y la Moda</i>	—	—	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.50	2.50	3.00	4.00
<i>Senda</i>	—	—	—	—	—	2.00	2.00	2.75	4.00	4.00
<i>Para Nosotras</i>	—	—	—	—	—	0.35	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.75

As we can see, *Para Nosotras* was a clear outlier among the group. The working-class women’s magazine, whose price remained below one peseta throughout the entire period, cost just over one sixth of the price of *Senda* in 1944, and in 1947 this fraction was reduced to just one tenth. This significantly lower price point reflects *Para Nosotras*’s lower page count, but it also evidences the A.C.’s effort to make the publication affordable and accessible for working-class readers.²² The remaining three magazines maintained approximately the same prices as one another over the course of the 1940s,

²⁰ A proposal to merge the two magazines circulated in the late 1950s, but the suggestion was strongly opposed by the press secretary of the women’s wing of A.C., who argued that both publications were necessary in order to serve two radically different readerships, “distinto en cuanto a su cultura y distinto también en cuanto a su capacidad económica, y para nosotras igualmente interesantes, desde el punto de vista apostólico, una y otra” (Montero García 36).

²¹ Data reported directly by the magazines. Prices listed represent the maximum single-issue price charged for a given magazine in a given year, excluding special issues (*extraordinarios*). For example, the single-issue price of *El Hogar y la Moda* was raised from 2.00 pesetas to 2.50 pesetas in June 1945; the price of *El Hogar y la Moda* in 1945 is therefore listed as 2.50 pesetas. While *Senda* was first published in 1941, per-issue pricing was not introduced for the magazine until 1944.

²² *Para Nosotras* consisted of just 8 pages until its page count increased to 12 in 1948, compared with *Senda*’s 32 to 48 pages during the same period.

which would seem to be an indication that they were actively competing with one another for readership.

Notably, none of the magazines' prices remained stable over this period, with *El Hogar y la Moda* and *Senda* both doubling their prices from two to four pesetas between 1944 and 1948. These increases can be attributed both to a generalized phenomenon of price inflation in Spain during this period, and to the rapidly rising cost of scarce paper materials in particular. To put these prices into perspective, a standard movie ticket cost five pesetas in 1945 (double the cost of an issue of *El Hogar y la Moda* or *Y* in that year) and five pesetas and fifty cents in 1948 (1.4 times the cost of an issue of *El Hogar y la Moda* or *Senda*) (Diez 9). While these magazines undoubtedly represented a non-trivial investment for many of their readers, we should keep in mind that there existed several mechanisms through which copies could reach even those readers who did not have the means to purchase them directly.

Chapter 1. Domesticity and its Discontents: Deconstructing Motherhood, the Home, and Marriage

Over the course of this chapter, we will critically reconsider the three basic elements that comprise the official model of womanhood promoted under Francoism—motherhood, the home, and marriage—taking into account the economic circumstances that Spanish families faced during the 1940s.¹ This context reveals a fundamental disconnect between magazines' portrayal of feminine domesticity and the challenges women faced in their daily struggle for subsistence and survival. We will look to identify the rhetorical strategies that magazines employed in their veneration of prolific motherhood, their depiction of the home as a refuge, and their characterization of marriage as a sacred, indissoluble bond. These strategies include the displacement of blame for regime-induced problems onto women, the trivialization of such problems or their erasure altogether, and the preemptive refutation or containment of dissenting points of view.

Prior studies by Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco and by Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil have demonstrated that magazines' dominant discourses presented women's return to their traditional domestic role as an essential societal goal, in line with the Franco regime's ideological aim of restoring order to Spanish society and centering that order around the traditional family unit. Yet this chapter will explore how

¹ Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil identify these constitutive elements ("Tradicionales, rebeldes, precursoras" 204).

certain magazine texts introduced discursive disruptions into this dominant narrative, providing readers with the opportunity to extract an alternative message or arrive at a different conclusion, thereby challenging both Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco's assertion that all discursive elements conformed strictly to a consistent ideological mold, and Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil's suggestion that contradictory messages and countermodels emerged only in the 1950s as a result of changing socioeconomic conditions.

Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco have rightly pointed out that, because women's role in the home was construed to be both their mission as faithful Catholics *and* their patriotic duty to the nation, political and religious discourses often blended together in magazines' depictions of domesticity, particularly in magazines published by the S.F. For example, a report on S.F.-run homemaking courses for women published in *Y* in December 1942 states that the S.F.'s aim is to "formar a la mujer en su misión fundamental, dentro del hogar, para el mejoramiento de la familia [...] hacer llegar a todas las mujeres encuadradas en la Organización estas enseñanzas, que le hagan comprender la trascendencia de la misión que tienen que realizar, como parte integrante del Partido" ("La mujer, alma del hogar" 37). This piece, which characterizes women as the "alma del hogar" and declares the fulfillment of that lofty task to be "su verdadera misión: la sagrada y augusta, la única," portrays women's role within the family home as a crucial contribution to Spain's nationalist political project, as well as a divinely

ordained mission from which they should not deviate (“La mujer, alma del hogar” 37). Women’s societal roles, while distinct from men’s, were depicted as essential in the eyes of both God and country.

While this discourse evidently sought to look forward towards Spain’s future, Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco note that it also harkened back to the nation’s past. Just as we cannot understand Francoist gender ideology without contextualizing it as an effort to erase the Republic’s footprint on women’s rights and roles within society, we must recognize that the image of women as *reinas y señoras* of the family home was not a Francoist invention, but rather a reconstruction of nineteenth-century bourgeois values. What Aldaraca has termed the “cult of domesticity” that developed among Spain’s middle and upper classes during the nineteenth century —based on the gendered distinction between the public (masculine) and private (feminine) spheres and on the idealized image of women as *ángeles del hogar*—was revived once more by the triumphant Franco regime following the brief interlude of the Second Republic (63).

In fact, Gallego Méndez has argued that the fact that Francoist gender ideology represented a return to well-known, traditional ideas was one of the keys to its success. The regime saw no need to reinvent the wheel, preferring instead to refurbish and re-signify pre-established societal norms with regard to women’s roles and conduct. Both Aldaraca and Geraldine Scanlon have pointed out similarities between the type of language used to promote feminine domesticity in nineteenth-century conduct manuals

and the rhetoric that typically appeared in the magazines published under Franco.² Gender norms themselves, as well as the types of media through which they circulated, were copied to a significant degree from their nineteenth-century predecessors.³ As a result, many of the contradictions inherent in the ideal of domestic womanhood under Franco were the same discrepancies that had plagued this model from the outset, though they became all the more cruel in the context of the regime's brutal repression, which destroyed so many homes and families. Aldaraca explains that, though nineteenth-century ideology divided society into a private and a public sphere, these two ostensibly separate arenas were simultaneously viewed as inextricably interconnected. Women in the 1940s were similarly instructed to remain exclusively in the realm of the home, while also being told that the way they conducted themselves within that realm was responsible for the success or failure of the nation as a whole.

² For example, Scanlon observes: "Los libros y folletos relativos al papel de la mujer publicados durante los años cuarenta y cincuenta con [*sic*] casi indistinguibles de los del siglo XIX. Todos los viejos mitos cobraron nueva vida y fueron objeto de una manoseada retórica" (329).

³ It should be clarified that gender ideals under Franco did not replicate those that flourished in the nineteenth century *exactly*, but rather co-opted them to meet the needs of the new political situation. Blasco Herranz points to two key differences that separated Francoist gender ideology from nineteenth-century values: first, that Francoist gender norms were formulated as a direct response to the transformation of gender norms and roles that had begun during the Second Republic; and second, that these norms came about in the context of an authoritarian state ("«Sección Femenina» y «Acción Católica»" 57). Moreover, the S.F.'s rhetoric in particular diverged from the nineteenth-century idea that weakness was a defining element of femininity (Aldaraca 67). As Pilar Primo de Rivera asserted in a speech given at the restructured S.F.'s third National Council in Zamora in January 1939, the organization would not permit women to be educated "con espíritu pequeño ni con ese estilo tan asustadizo que tienen algunas metido dentro de sí" (11). While the S.F.'s discourse urged women to devote themselves to motherhood and domesticity, it alleged that such roles were rooted not in weakness, but rather in strength and in an unbounded capacity for self-sacrifice.

Moreover, efforts to implement a universally domestic model of womanhood, both in the nineteenth century and under Franco, largely overlooked the experiences of working-class women. Aldaraca attributes this erasure to the effort of the dominant class to impose its own gender ideology onto the lower strata of society, an effort that undoubtedly persisted under the Franco regime. And yet, as will become apparent over the course of this and subsequent chapters, many of the contradictions and inconsistencies that arose within these magazines' messages can be traced back to editors' apparent attempts to appeal to a wide readership that included women from a variety of class backgrounds, as Spain's postwar society became increasingly stratified not only in political terms, but also in terms of wealth.⁴ I posit that the magazines of this period may even have served as a meeting point for women from different social classes, as a place where they incidentally came into contact with representations of how the proverbial other half lived.

With this background in mind, we will now turn to our critical examination of magazines' discourses on motherhood, the home, and marriage. According to magazines, women's most valuable contribution to society was their role as mothers. All of the publications studied in this chapter placed an extreme focus on promoting not just motherhood, but *prolific* motherhood. As was alluded to previously, Franco's nationalist

⁴ An exception to this general rule is *Para Nosotras*, the publication whose intended audience (working-class women) was most concretely defined.

project included significant pro-natalist efforts, a common feature of fascist regimes that took on particular importance in the Spanish context in light of the devastating death toll of the Civil War. While the precise demographic impact of the war is difficult to calculate, experts attribute approximately 600,000 deaths to its direct and indirect effects (Clavera et al. 53, Carreras and Tafunell 24). In order to build a new nation worthy of Spain's former imperial glory, Spanish women needed to have as many children as possible. Anything less was a selfish display of materialism on their part, at least according to the majority of women's magazines' contributors.

For example, in an article entitled "La misión de la mujer", published in *Senda's* May/June 1941 issue, A.C. women's president Luisa Gómez Tortosa asserts that a mother deserves the utmost veneration because she sacrifices everything for her children: "Ella todo lo da; su sangre y su vida, su cuerpo y su alma" (15). Her effusively positive depiction likens mothers' reproductive and affective labor to the sacrifice made by Christ himself. Gómez Tortosa goes on to complement her praise of mothers by condemning women who fail to complete their mission of self-sacrifice: "La mujer que no sigue este camino que Dios le ha trazado [...] pierde su dignidad y se convierte en un ser despreciable y egoísta, que la sociedad rechaza" (16). Alongside such religiously motivated arguments in favor of motherhood, we find pseudo-economic ones like that put forward in pediatrician Juan Antonio Alonso Muñozerro's October 1940 *Y* article "Creced y multiplicaos". Declaring children to be "el capital del hogar" and "una fuente

de riqueza” due to their promise of future productivity and earnings, the author launches an attack on families who lament having too many children, alleging that their selfishness and materialism “conduce a estas gentes al suicidio” (Alonso Muñoyerro 14, 15). Here, those who avoid having numerous children are again described as causing harm to humanity as a result of their own selfishness, but this author’s primary argument is his claim that large families are an economic benefit, rather than a burden.

In a February 1946 *Para Nosotras* article “Deberes de la esposa” that combines economic and religious reasoning in a single tirade, Carmen Cabestany strikes an even more accusatory tone. She blames the use of contraceptive methods—“el horrible pecado actual de evitar los hijos”—for the world’s recent bout of war and catastrophe, arguing that such suffering is a punishment inflicted by God on those who had hoped to maintain a comfortable lifestyle by having fewer children:

¿De qué ha servido a esas pobres gentes preparar cuidadosamente el porvenir de uno o dos hijos (pues con más les parecía que no vivirían tan bien) si luego una guerra devastadora ha aniquilado ese hogar, muerto a sus seres queridos, arruinado su nación hasta el punto de que han de pagar por el pan de cada día, mil veces más de lo que hubiesen gastado en alimentar una familia numerosa? (Cabestany 5)

Like Alonso Muñoyerro, Cabestany claims that having numerous children is *not* a losing economic proposition, but a financial boon—“las madres que recibieron con generosidad el depósito sagrado de los hijos, ven siempre que se aumentan insensiblemente sus fuentes de ingresos”—though without providing any concrete cost-benefit analysis to shore up this claim (5). In lieu of such evidence, the author relies on

threats, vehemently warning reluctant mothers that “¡La ira de Dios no se desafia en vano!” (Cabestany 5). These articles prove that what happened in the ostensibly private sphere of the home was actually a very public concern in 1940s Spain, with women’s insufficient commitment to prolific fertility bearing the blame for all manner of social ills.

Whereas these authors’ fiery rhetoric blamed the practice of family planning for bringing ruin to the Spanish nation, the reality of the situation was quite the opposite. In fact, it was the intense poverty in which so many Spaniards lived during the postwar period that made it practically impossible for them to support and feed large families. Food shortages and rationing on the official market, exorbitant prices on the black market, and plummeting real income levels meant that achieving even basic nutrition was a daily challenge for many Spaniards. Because every new child born was another mouth to feed, having numerous children represented a significant financial burden, even taking into account the government’s efforts to monetarily incentivize motherhood.⁵ As we will explore in more detail in the subsequent chapter, these stark

⁵ The regime afforded various economic benefits to Spain’s “familias numerosas” (those with five or more children). The *Subsidios Familiares* established in 1938 also provided monthly supplements to working heads of household with more than one child: 15 pesetas per month for the first two children; 7.5 each for the third and fourth children; 10 each for the fifth, sixth, and seventh children; 15 each for the eighth, ninth, and tenth children; 20 each for the eleventh and twelfth children; and 25 pesetas each for any additional children thereafter. A related measure established in 1945, the *Plus de Cargas Familiares*, dictated that employers establish a fund equal to 5% of the total salary paid to employees in the previous trimester, which must then be distributed among married male workers whose wives did not work according to a relative points system: 5 points were awarded to married men with no children; 1 additional point each for the first,

economic conditions were a direct result of the government's disastrous economic policies. But while Franco's purportedly pro-family regime brought about the practical conditions that made adhering to the idealized model of the *familia numerosa* impossible, magazines intentionally ignored this fact. Instead, editors used one of their preferred rhetorical strategies, displacing blame onto women who did not want to have more children, mischaracterizing as selfishness what was actually a survival tactic.⁶

The fact that editors felt the need to argue so fiercely in favor of motherhood is indicative of their understanding that women did not universally accept the pro-natalist narrative pushed by the regime and the Church. Thus, in addition to pieces chastising non-compliant women in the abstract, we find two pieces from María Cristina Santa María's recurring *Senda* column "Cogido al vuelo" that use the artifice of fictional dialogues to explore the duty of motherhood through a more approachable lens. In a November 1944 piece, a woman named María Teresa discusses her upcoming marriage with one of her friends, explaining that she and her fiancé have decided not to have children in order to be able to live a more comfortable lifestyle. In María Teresa's estimation, "los hijos son una carga terrible," and she and her future husband will be

second, and third children; 2 for the fourth child; 3 each for the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth children; and 5 points each for any additional children thereafter.

⁶ As we will discuss more in the next chapter, calling ordinary women materialistic based on their individual family planning decisions also ignores the role of Spanish society's true materialists: the landholders and businessmen who made huge profits exploiting the black-market demand for food and the extremely low wages mandated by the regime.

much better off “sin complicaciones de familia” (Santa María, Nov. 1944, 9). While María Teresa goes on to describe herself as “moderna” and “sin prejuicios,” her unnamed friend quickly chastises her, calling her a “mujer con errores” (Santa María, Nov. 1944, 9). She explains that having children is the true purpose of marriage and that any form of birth control is strictly prohibited by the Catholic Church. As per the conventions of this dialogue genre, María Teresa ends the conversation by thanking her friend for setting her straight. Her successful conversion to her friend’s way of thinking is a microcosm of the pedagogical efficacy to which the magazine aspired, with María Teresa serving as a stand-in for any reader who might have shared her incorrect beliefs.

In the second article, published in February 1945, the conversation is not between two friends but between a mother, doña Carmen, and her newlywed daughter, Beatriz. When Beatriz says she has heard of the existence of abortion methods from a family friend, her mother quickly warns her that intentionally terminating a pregnancy is a crime. She also takes the opportunity to expound upon the lack of “espíritu de sacrificio” and “sentimiento instintivo del amor maternal” that she has observed among the women of her daughter’s generation, who seem increasingly reluctant to start large families: “hoy impera un gran horror a todo lo que significa abnegación y sacrificio, y en cambio, se nota afán desmesurado de bienestar y goce material que va corrompiendo a los individuos, a las familias y a los pueblos” (Santa María, Feb. 1945, 26). As these dialogues show, any desire on the part of women not to have as many children as

possible was portrayed in Santa María's column not only as a sin, but as proof of a woman's selfish and materialistic tendencies. By couching this doctrinal argument in the guise of well-meaning advice shared between close confidantes, the author clearly sought to make her message more accessible to her readers.

But what I find most striking about this format is that, because the dialogues take the form of a cordial debate, the purportedly erroneous ideas surrounding the merits of family planning had to be introduced first through arguments made by characters like María Teresa and Beatriz, in order to be corrected later by those of the well-intentioned friend or mother. Even if the goal of these pieces was ultimately to condemn them, broaching such sensitive topics as contraception and abortion in a conversational context can be seen as an admission that these practices were in fact an everyday subject of debate. Moreover, while this strategy of preemptively refuting opposing arguments relies on the notion that readers will follow the dialogue's linear path and arrive at the same conclusion as the fictional participants, some readers may have identified more with the arguments made by the supposedly misguided characters.⁷

Depictions of the home as a pristine, orderly refuge, carefully kept up by the indefatigable housewife, are another example of discourse that ignored the practical realities of 1940s Spain. Magazines frequently gave readers homemaking advice, often

⁷ As Graham points out, even the strictest legal measures could not prevent women, particularly working-class women, from seeking out whatever contraceptive and abortive methods were available to them (192).

presented under the guise of amusing quizzes or ostensibly helpful calendars. A quiz from *Y*'s November 1939 issue asks readers a series of 50 yes or no questions in order to determine whether they are good housewives. The questions range from relatively simple—“¿Sabes coser?”—to absurdly nit-picky—“¿Puede pasarse el dedo sobre cualquier moldura o esquina de tu casa sin cuidado que éste se manche de polvo?” (“Para ser” 14-15). Upon completing the quiz, readers are invited to calculate their score and associate it with one of several evaluative statements, including “eres la reina de las amas de casa,” “es francamente insuficiente,” and “eres una pequeña calamidad” (“Para ser” 15). Similarly, the “Calendario del ama de casa” that appeared in *Y* in January 1941 reminds women that their work taking care of the family home is a never-ending task. The calendar suggests a plan for how to tackle the various components of the reader’s home that need to be organized, cleaned, or mended during every month of the year, every day of the week, and even every hour of the day (from seven in the morning to ten at night). The magazine promises readers that if they follow the prescribed plan, they will be able to make their home “un modelo de orden,” suggesting that conserving the orderly nature of the home was an achievable goal for any housewife who simply planned ahead and worked with the sufficient diligence and self-sacrifice (“Calendario” 38-39).

And yet, for many Spaniards, the impact of the Civil War and the subsequent persecution exercised by the Franco regime meant that the ideal of the home as a

pristinely cared-for refuge from the outside world stood in stark contrast to their lived experience. The estimated 600,000 deaths referenced above include not only those who died during the war itself, but also those who were executed following the war.⁸ While the official executions that the regime carried out totaled nearly 30,000, Carlos Barciela et al. estimate that the total number of executions exceeded 150,000, meaning that roughly 80% of executions were extra-judicial in nature (18). Thus, while the S.F.'s magazines associated the return to the family home with Franco's victory—in an April 1939 *Y* article, Francisco Guillén Salaya characterizes women as rejoicing in this victory after surviving “la terrible barbarie roja,” claiming that they are yearning for “hogares católicos, alegres, morales y dignos” and promising that the new regime will provide them with “el Pan de vuestros hijos y la alegría materna del hogar”—this depiction was far from accurate (7). The regime in fact contributed actively to the destruction of the home as a sanctuary, both by instigating the brutal Civil War in the first place, and through the system of violent, vindictive repression that was implemented in its aftermath. It is difficult to reconcile magazines' depiction of the family home as a sanctuary with the reality that people could be taken from their homes in the middle of the night, executed without trial, and buried in unmarked mass graves. Magazines'

⁸ Joan Clavera et al. estimate 200,000 deaths as a direct consequence of the war, and another 400,000 related to “indirect causes”, among them postwar repression (53). Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell employ a chronological approach, estimating approximately 350,000 deaths during the Civil War, and 250,000 additional deaths during the three years following the war's end (24).

strategy of actively erasing this cruel truth served to rhetorically mask the devastating effects that the regime had on so many Spanish homes.

The impact of the Civil War and the subsequent repression affected the structure of hundreds of thousands of Spanish families. The majority of those killed during or following the war were men, many of whom left behind widows, children, and elderly parents who had lost not only a loved one, but a key source of family income. In addition to those who lost their lives, many others lost their freedom. Barciela et al. estimate that, in 1940, 300,000 Spaniards were in prison, accounting for 8 percent of the country's total working population (19). Members of the prison population left their families without their traditional income earner, and were instead put to work on government infrastructure projects for little to no pay.⁹ Women whose husbands or sons were killed or incarcerated saw their emotional suffering compounded by economic repression at the hands of the dictatorship, with many being forced to pay court fees or denied access to pensions (Graham 188).¹⁰ Many men who were not imprisoned still lost their jobs, as those who had supported the Republic were purged from civil service

⁹ This forced work was undertaken as part of the Francoist sentence-reduction policy known as the Sistema de Redención de Penas por el Trabajo [System of Punishment Redemption Through Work]. For detailed analysis of the economic exploitation of imprisoned individuals under Franco, see Lafuente (2002), Acosta Bono et al. (2004), Gutiérrez Molina (2014), and Hernández de Miguel (2019).

¹⁰ One of the first pieces of monetary policy enacted by the Franco regime was to annul Republican currency that had been put into circulation after the start of the Civil War, as well as to decrease the value of Republican bank accounts to account for depreciation relative to the Nationalist peseta. While Barciela et al. acknowledge that this policy was technically sound as an anti-inflation measure, they also explain that it unjustly penalized holders of Republican money (47-50).

positions and replaced by Franco loyalists.¹¹ This, in turn, increased incentives for those looking for a promotion to denounce their superiors, regardless of whether their claims were based on sincere suspicion or simply on personal greed.

Due to the combined effect of war deaths, executions, imprisonment, and job purges, Rafael Abella estimates that over half a million Spanish families were left without a male breadwinner following the war (32). This drastic demographic shift is reflected in a sharp decrease in marriage rates among young women:

Table 4: Female Population Aged 20-39 by Marital Status, 1930 & 1940¹²

	Single			Married			Widowed		
	1930	1940	% change	1930	1940	% change	1930	1940	% change
Age 20-24	73.1%	78.6%	+8%	26.7%	20.6%	-23%	0.3%	0.8%	+228%
Age 25-29	35.8%	44.4%	+24%	63.1%	52.3%	-17%	1.1%	3.4%	+200%
Age 30-34	21.9%	25.2%	+15%	75.1%	69.2%	-8%	3.0%	5.6%	+85%
Age 35-39	16.0%	18.7%	+17%	78.6%	74.2%	-6%	5.4%	7.2%	+34%

As Table 4 shows, the proportion of women aged 20 to 39 who were listed as married decreased notably between 1930 and 1940. While many factors may have contributed to these decreasing marriage rates, the fact that the proportion of widows in the under-thirty age groups *tripled* over the same period can almost certainly be attributed to the increased mortality rate among young men during and after the war. Moreover, reported marriage rates likely *overestimate* the proportion of women who could count on

¹¹ To provide just one example, 15,800 civil servants were dismissed in Cataluña alone (Abella 29-30).

¹² Data from the 1930 and 1940 population censuses (*Censo de la población de España en 1930*, "Clasificación de los habitantes inscritos en la población de hecho, por edades, año por año, combinado con el sexo y estado civil"; *Censo de la población de España en 1940*, "Censo de población de 1940 (Hecho): Resumen nacional, Clasificación por edades").

the financial support of a male breadwinner, as many men were either in jail, missing, or had been killed without their deaths being officially recorded.

Despite creating a situation in which so many families were single-parent, women-run households, the regime still made a concerted effort to restrict women's capacity to provide for their families by working outside the home, all while claiming to have defended the family from the disruptive influence of those who fought for women's equality during the Second Republic. With laws restricting women's work outside the home and providing systematically lower wages to those who did, the Franco regime officially institutionalized women's economic dependence on men, making it necessary for them to seek out and form heterosexual marriages. In the face of widespread hunger and with limited options to provide for themselves, marriage to a man was the only viable option most women had to ensure their own survival and lessen the financial burden that their continued presence in the paternal home implied for their families.

And yet, magazines' dominant narratives on the topic of marriage actively discouraged readers from considering the institution in terms of its practical ramifications. Rather, they counseled readers that marriage should be exclusively for love, and that women should value the character and moral qualities of a potential spouse over any financial considerations. This sentiment is exemplified in an April 1941 *Y* piece comparing two archetypal women, dubbed Mariana and Ana María. Ana María

is chastised and portrayed as frivolous and materialistic, because she is only interested in young men “que por su dinero o por su posición social cree ella poder presumir al ir en su compañía” (“¿Mariana o Ana María?” 52). Mariana, on the other hand, is praised because she places greater value on the “valor intrínseco” of her suitors than on “una mera posición brillante” (“¿Mariana o Ana María?” 52). The comparison of these two fictional women ends by prompting the reader to consider her own priorities in looking for a husband—“¿por qué normas te dejas llevar?” (“¿Mariana o Ana María?” 52). The implication of this piece was that women concerned about the financial status of their potential husbands were frivolous, selfish individuals interested only in their own wellbeing and social status, when in reality marrying someone who was able to support them economically was a genuine necessity for the majority of Spanish women at this time. The author’s strategy, then, is to distract from the true issue at hand—namely, women’s limited opportunities to provide for themselves and their families—by displacing the blame for financially-interested marriages onto women’s greed, rather than acknowledging this phenomenon as a symptom of a deeply flawed patriarchal system.

Messages about the appropriate criteria to use in choosing a marriage partner were conveyed not only to eligible young women, but also to their mothers. In an *El Hogar y la Moda* article from June 1944, entitled “Los mejores esposos”, Mercedes Fortuny urges parents to carefully consider their hopes for their daughters’ futures,

advising them to look for “un esposo, que aunque carezca de fortuna, sea un verdadero hombre con capacidad para desenvolverse y que, además, sea honrado y bueno” (5). The author, who apparently sees parents of young women as just as liable as their daughters—if not more so—to be attracted by the promise of a wealthy match, attempts to convince them that this is not, in fact, the ideal priority:¹³

El hombre rico y de fortuna no es el más conveniente para la mujer, sino el que sabe ofrendar más amor y más cuidados, pues con estos dones hace la vida más dichosa que con el dinero. Tener mucho, no lo es todo. Lo más grande, es poder ofrecer atenciones y bondades, goces y satisfacciones; brindar un pedazo de pan solo, pero que pueda comerse en un hogar alegre y bendito, humilde, si es preciso, pero lleno de sol, de alegría y de amor. (Fortuny 5)

The author’s proposed appraisal system for evaluating potential partners is one in which love, not money, is the highest-valued currency. While such an argument appears at first to appeal to the spiritual notion of prioritizing moral values and righteous behavior over material comfort, a more cynical reader might surmise that the elite individuals in charge of the magazine were concerned about the dilution of their own financial and political interests as a result of lower-class women’s social ascension through marriage.¹⁴ This would support the hypothesis that these magazines were directed to readers from a

¹³ Martín Gaité would appear to agree with this assessment; she characterizes postwar courtship as “un negocio doméstico,” asserting that young women’s mothers were particularly concerned with the future prospects of their sons-in-law, with many hoping that their daughters would improve their social standing through marriage (*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* 113).

¹⁴ Many of these poor women would have belonged to families that had supported the Republican side during the war, and thus the elites who were loyal to the regime were likely concerned about marriage across both class and ideological lines.

variety of social backgrounds, including those women who would stand to benefit from marrying (or marrying off a daughter to) someone of a higher social status.

And yet, despite magazine editors' vested interest in maintaining the *status quo* by persuading readers that marriage should be for love and not for money, the reality that many (if not most) marriage decisions during this period were indeed made with financial concerns in mind still becomes evident upon a careful review of these publications. When, in a November 1946 *El Hogar y la Moda* article, frequent editorial contributor Román D'Artois proposes conducting a survey asking soon-to-be-married couples why they decided to get married, he notes that it will be necessary to discount the feedback of "los innumerables contrayentes que ven en la boda un sencillo contrato con fines más o menos comerciales o utilitarios, y van a la pesca de una dote, a remediar una situación angustiosa, o en busca de una vida menos difícil" (5). While D'Artois takes a sharply critical tone with such ostensibly self-interested individuals, it is clear that, in his estimation, marrying for financial interest was an extremely common practice. And though the author dismisses these cases as irrelevant to the present discussion—"atengámonos sólo a los que forman un nuevo hogar, sin otros motivos que los de orden sentimental o humano"—his admission likely keyed readers into the fact that what magazines recommended in theory was not necessarily the norm in practice (D'Artois 5).

Perhaps the most extensive evidence of the fact that financial considerations were indeed fundamental to young Spanish women's experience navigating the marriage market can be found in the contributions made to advice columns (*consultorios*).¹⁵ These columns were rife with letters from women expounding on romantic troubles that were caused by a mismatch in economic background between them and their potential partners. Taking the letters published in Y's two primary advice columns—"Consultorio sentimental" and "Usted quiere casarse, pero antes desea saber..."—as an example, I identified twelve different cases submitted to the columns between 1939 and 1945 in which the women requesting advice were considering whether or not to pursue a relationship with a man in a *better* economic or social position than their own.¹⁶ Unsurprisingly, given the evidence we have seen thus far, in only two of the twelve cases was the reader in question encouraged to pursue such a match. However, what is most interesting about these contributions is that several of the letters lend credence to Fortuny's suspicion that financially advantageous marriages were not always the future bride's idea.

¹⁵ The potential falsification or censoring of advice column contributions is important to keep in mind as we analyze these sources. Balsebre and Fontova cite evidence of such falsification in the creation of the Elena Francis radio *consultorio* (49). But while I suspect that some nontrivial proportion of the letters printed in magazine advice columns during this period may have been either entirely fictitious or heavily modified and censored, Balsebre and Fontova's study also provides ample evidence that the Elena Francis program did receive over a million real letters from Spanish women (these letters were discovered in an abandoned warehouse in Cornellà in 2005) (49). Thus, I find it quite plausible that many of the letters printed in these magazines' advice columns may actually have been submitted by readers.

¹⁶ Balsebre and Fontova note that this particular category of consultation was also extremely common in the letters received by the Elena Francis program (164).

In August 1943, a young woman dubbing herself “La alumna de San Michael” explains her intense worries regarding her family’s attempt to set her up with a much older man—“ese señor tan gordo y tan paternal a quien odio con todo mi alma”—in order to guarantee a return to their once lofty social station—“leo entre líneas que mi matrimonio con ese señor sería la vuelta al esplendor pasado” (Fernández, Aug. 1943, 10). Families like the one described in this letter apparently considered securing a prosperous marriage for their daughters to be a sure-fire ticket out of poverty, with little regard for their daughters’ own opinions on the matter. The response “La alumna” receives counsels her strongly against agreeing to marry a man she does not love in order to benefit her family. But regardless of the nature of the proffered advice, her account paints a much more credible picture of young Spanish women and the tough choices many of them faced in finding a husband than did the aforementioned one-dimensional portrayal of the gold-digging “Ana María”. Examples like this one implicitly contradicted the idea that financially mismatched marriages were the result of young women’s frivolous nature and materialistic intentions.

During the same period, I also identified eleven cases in which the situation described above was inverted (i.e., the reader asked a question related to a relationship or potential relationship with a man of *inferior* social status). Interestingly, though this type of situation was by no means considered ideal, women were encouraged to pursue such a relationship more often than its opposite, five times out of the eleven total cases.

For example, in November 1941, a reader writing under the pseudonym “Ilusionada de la vida” is given the go-ahead to pursue marrying a man whose family has less money than hers does, provided that he is hardworking — “el trabajo siempre triunfa” — and that she is willing to make sacrifices and accept “la carencia de lujo o comodidades a que estés acostumbrada” (“Consultorio sentimental”, Nov. 1941, 47). While advice columns generally counseled women that the most successful marriages were among individuals of similar social backgrounds and economic positions, it is fascinating to observe the influence of gender on the representation of unequally matched couples. Because women, as a group, were seen as possessing an almost supernatural capacity for the type of self-abnegating behavior that marrying downward was assumed to imply, such matches were portrayed as more acceptable, relatively speaking, than those that could be construed as an attempt by women to evade the sacrifices society demanded of them. Of course, what magazines classified as selfish materialism on the part of women who sought to secure their future through an advantageous marriage was in reality a necessary survival strategy used by women to whom the regime offered few viable alternatives to alleviate their desperate poverty and hunger.

Another important consideration that went largely unacknowledged in magazine pieces on marriage was that, as Martín Gaité puts it, young Spanish women who were looking to find a husband “luchaban con desventaja, estadísticamente hablando” (*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* 46). If we once again compare census

data from 1930 to that of 1940, we see a particularly drastic demographic shift among Spain's young population. In 1930, 48.8% of the Spanish population aged 20 to 29 was male, meaning that there were approximately 95 men per 100 women in that age group. In 1940, just after the end of the war, that percentage had dropped to 46.4%, or approximately 86 men per 100 women.¹⁷ Women searching for a husband thus faced increased competition for a smaller pool of potential partners, a fact of which most magazine articles on marriage made no mention. That said, if we look carefully, we can identify scattered contributions that, in some way, acknowledged the practical difficulties eligible women faced on the marriage market.

In *Y*, this took the form of advice to readers on how to "catch" a man. The author of an August 1942 article entitled "El arte de 'pescar marido'" acknowledges that, while marriage may be the ideal path for women to take in theory, "en la práctica da más trabajo, más preocupaciones y más disgustos que otro cualquiera" ("El arte" 29). The article is rife with language that compares the process of looking for a husband to a hunt, a misogynistic metaphor that depicts calculating women as preying on unsuspecting men. A number of factors purportedly contribute to "la facilidad que un hombre pueda tener para caer en el matrimonio," and widowers, along with very young or very old men, are considered to be "víctimas propicias" ("El arte" 28). Perhaps most

¹⁷ Data from the 1930 and 1940 population censuses (*Censo de la población de España en 1930*, "Clasificación de los habitantes inscritos en la población de hecho, por edades, año por año, combinado con el sexo y estado civil"; *Censo de la población de España en 1940*, "Censo de población de 1940 (Hecho): Resumen nacional, Clasificación por edades").

strikingly, in a departure from the magazine's typical obsession with tidiness and order, a woman's search for a marriage partner is characterized as a game in which it pays to play dirty. "La mujer que quiere jugar limpio, sin engaños, sin trucos" is called "demasiado valiente," implying that her unwillingness to employ underhanded tactics to reel in a man puts her at a disadvantage compared with her competition ("El arte" 29).

We find a similar sentiment in the "Calendario de la soltera" that appeared in Y's December 1944/January 1945 issue offering single women tips on what behaviors to adopt or avoid during each month of the year in order to increase their chances of finding a husband. Women are advised to avoid becoming "demasiado exuberantes" in the new March sun, and to leave their umbrellas at home in April in the hope that some kind gentleman will rescue them from a rainstorm ("Calendario de la soltera" 14). The playful tone of both of these pieces exemplifies another of the rhetorical strategies often employed in these magazines, the trivialization of a serious problem. What could be interpreted as an admission on the part of the magazine's editors that ascending to the much-revered status of *casada* was not actually as straightforward a task as the publication's dominant narrative made it seem is intentionally undermined by the jovial, joking manner in which the admission is presented. And yet, I would argue that even the most subtle and seemingly humorous of official acknowledgments that the path to

marriage was not an easy one could have provided comfort to readers, many of whom undoubtedly found themselves struggling to live up to this ubiquitous societal norm.

To conclude this chapter, we will look at a sample of magazine texts that, in more or less overt terms, challenged the dominant narrative designating wifedom as one of women's essential societal roles. For example, the July/August 1944 issue of *Para Nosotras* included a fictional story about a housewife struggling under the overwhelming weight of her assigned domestic chores. Forced to endure both the physical and verbal abuse of her alcoholic husband and the disrespect of her children, the woman confides in her neighbor, frustrated that her hard work has gone unappreciated by her family:

Mi marido y mis hijos me odian, todo lo que hago les parece mal; un buen día me voy con mi madre y ahí queda eso. [...] Es que quieren que sea su esclava, que sólo piense en ellos, en coser, lavar, poner orden en lo que ellos rompen, ensucian o tiran. [...] Mi marido, a cada momento dice que con su mismo jornal se arreglan otros tan requetebién; será porque no irán tanto a la taberna y los hijos ayudarán a su madre... (“¿Esclava?” 5)

In a rhetorical move of preemptive refutation that mirrors those we saw previously in the *Senda* dialogues on motherhood, the exhausted woman's neighbor does not hesitate to place the blame squarely on the struggling woman herself. She explains to her bluntly that “la culpa la tienes tú,” instructing her to stop complaining and accept her wifely duties: “no creas que eres esclava, sino madre y mujer que tiene que cumplir obligaciones sagradas” (“¿Esclava?” 5). Once again, I would argue that this story, whose narrative structure requires it to give voice to the complaints of a long-suffering mother

in order for those complaints to be subsequently invalidated, could unintentionally have provided readers who were facing similar circumstances in their own lives with the opportunity to identify with the struggling woman's feelings of frustration and helplessness.

Returning once again to the advice columns, we find that they provide additional evidence that not all women were necessarily as enthralled by the prospect of marriage as magazines' editors appeared to be. In February 1948, a young woman using the pseudonym "Azul Cielo" wrote in with an urgent question for fellow readers of *El Hogar y la Moda's* collaborative column, "De todos a todos", which differed slightly from similar columns in that both the questions *and* the answers were ostensibly submitted by readers: "¿A qué se debe que la mayoría de las personas casadas aconsejan que el mejor estado para la mujer es el de soltera? ¿Por qué esa decepción después del matrimonio? Tengo novio y yo siento bastante ilusión, pero, francamente, me asustan estas opiniones hasta el extremo de sentir «miedo» a que llegue el día de mi casamiento" ("De todos a todos", Feb. 1948, 44). While a few responses assured "Azul Cielo" of marriage's many benefits and dismissively attributed the comments she had heard to married women's grass-is-greener mentality, the letter itself is significant in that it implies the existence of doubt or uncertainty about marriage on the part of some young women.

Another letter, signed “María Ilusión” and published in July of the same year, expressed a similar concern regarding the prospect of marriage as the only viable alternative for women:

Cada vez que pienso casarme me horrorizo, y cada vez que pienso quedarme soltera, me horrorizo también. [...] Casarse, para un punto de vista, es esclavizarse. Zurcir los calcetines y aguantar las impertinencias de un señor que exige ir elegante para que lo vean Fulanito y Menganita. Me imagino el hogar como una cárcel, donde se pierde la libertad y la inquietud espiritual. Pero quedarse soltera, ¡qué horror también! Siempre la burla y la ironía a lo largo del camino, pues las gentes no entienden los idealismos de una solterona... (“De todos a todos”, July 1948, 44)

This contributor succinctly describes one of the principal dilemmas facing young women growing up in 1940s Spain, namely, that neither the “prison” of marriage nor the financial precariousness and social ostracization of singledom presented a particularly promising hope of facilitating women’s self-realization.¹⁸ The letter-writer’s concern is again brushed off, with a lone response in September 1949 suggesting that “no has aprendido (por lo que sea), a ser mujer y por esto no te gustan las cosas de tu sexo” and advising “María Ilusión” to alleviate her doubts “estimul[ándote] por hacer cosas de tu sexo, zurcir, guisar, etc.” (“De todos a todos”, Sept. 1949, 45).

Prior scholarly work on the *consultorio* medium has approached interactions like these in a number of ways. Sánchez has analyzed the way in which this epistolary

¹⁸ Martín Gaité affirms that advice columns addressed the unmarried reader with a singular purpose in mind: “el de insuflarle, de mejor o peor fe, la ilusión de que algún día podía dejar de serlo” (*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* 42). While it is certainly true that advice columns attempted to push women towards marriage, I would argue that letters like these at least provided readers with an articulation of the problematic nature of young women’s unappealing binary choice between marriage and social rejection.

genre's structure creates an illusion of intimacy and masks the unequal power relationship between the readers or listeners who seek advice and the purported experts who dispense it (286-87). Even in the case of "De todos a todos", in which the singular authority figure is ostensibly removed, it is easy to see how having scorn heaped upon them by strangers could contribute to the pressure single women felt to accept marriage as their only valid path in life, regardless of the costs. But Sánchez's insistence on the hierarchy of advice-givers over advice-receivers dismisses the possibility that readers could have interpreted these discourses in unexpected, emotionally productive ways (284-85). My own assessment aligns more closely with Balsebre and Fontova's suggestion that *consultorios* served as an "instrumento para la catharsis," particularly to the extent to which readers found evidence within these columns that their fellow women also experienced difficulties in conforming to their assigned societal roles, or in some cases did not wish to conform to them at all (140). For women who identified with the concerns that "Azul Cielo" and "María Ilusión" put forward, reading these letters could have helped put words to their own unvoiced worries, allowing them to feel comforted in imagining that they were not alone in experiencing trepidation about the future.

We can also find examples of failed marriages whose harrowing details contradict the idealized depiction of marriage that magazines typically espoused. A letter to Y's "Consultorio sentimental" in May 1941 under the pseudonym "Flores y

espinas" details the negative effects that the contributor's marital separation has had on her life and on her possibilities for future happiness:

Queridos camaradas: Voy a exponeros mi caso; es bien triste y nada vulgar, y además está clasificado como un caso inmoral, aunque mi conciencia no me reprocha nada. Yo me casé un año antes de estallar el glorioso Movimiento, y como consecuencia de la guerra mi matrimonio se tambaleó tanto...; hasta una separación convencional.

A raíz de esa separación no sentí nada más que unos deseos enormes de morir; después, el tiempo, actuando de bálsamo bienhechor (pues han transcurrido tres años), cicatrizó la herida de mi alma incomprendida. Hoy surgen los escollos de mi vida. Conozco y trato a dos muchachos de distinta psicología; sin embargo, la amistad noble que me ofrecen le hace mucho bien a mi corazón, sediento de afectos, pero la amistad, como todo, tiene sus límites.

Hoy uno de ellos quiere trocar la amistad por otros lazos más sólidos, y por lo tanto, peligrosos para mi decoro, y aquí está mi duda. ¿Es que una mujer, en lo mejor de su vida, ha de resignarse a vivir sin ilusión por la insensatez de un hombre que pudo hacerla feliz? (52)

Not only does this woman's separation appear to have caused her significant emotional trauma, but given Franco's reestablished prohibition of divorce, she also sees her marital status as an unfair impediment to what might otherwise be a promising future.

The columnist's response is, predictably, limited to reminding the letter's author that her original marriage cannot be undone, except by her death or that of her husband. But while the contributor acknowledges that her personal situation "está clasificado como un caso inmoral," she also expresses her own disagreement with this official classification, claiming that "mi conciencia no me reprocha nada" ("Consultorio sentimental", May 1941, 52; my emphasis). This statement recalls Sánchez's description

of letters sent to *consultorios* as expressions of the contradictions between “una realidad virtual, creada por el discurso hegemónico” and “la realidad que las mujeres vivían y sentían” (285). The declaration made by “Flores y espinas” demonstrates her opposition to the moral code to which both Francoist laws and Catholic doctrine would have endeavored to hold her, acknowledging the disconnect between her personal reality and the one imposed upon her in society. Such a statement is remarkable in itself, and all the more so given that it was published in a Falangist magazine and attributed to an actual reader.

Sánchez has argued that any potential that an advice column letter had to serve as an “acto de insumisión” became rhetorically neutralized by the advisor’s hierarchically superior response (280). Though I agree that it is essential to acknowledge the vertical nature of the relationship between those who were soliciting advice and those who were dispensing it, I am not convinced that responses had the indisputable power to nullify or cancel out the discursive weight of reader-articulated problems. While the magazine’s editors likely published the letter attributed to “Flores y espinas” in an effort to exemplify the type of immoral behavior that other women should avoid—a strategy similar to that of preemptive refutation that I would characterize as containment of dissent—such an articulate plea likely resonated with some readers, and may even have led them to question the official dictates that originated such unnecessary suffering.

In April 1944, Y's "Usted quiere casarse" column presented readers with an even more tragic case of marriage gone wrong. In this instance, the original letter was not printed, and so the magazine's readers were prompted to infer the letter's contents based on the printed response.¹⁹ This structure was a fairly common convention in advice columns from this period, serving ostensibly to conserve space, while at the same time modifying the discourse by recounting readers' stories through indirect rather than direct speech, thereby allowing editors to take control of these personal narratives. The letter-writer has reportedly told the story of a good friend who is struggling to care for her daughter after having left the home she formerly shared with her serially unfaithful husband, asking desperately if she "está condenada a pagar una culpa que no cometió" (Fernández, Apr. 1944, 41).

The columnist's reply demonstrates an almost shocking lack of empathy, claiming that based on the details provided, the woman in question has only herself to blame for her husband's mistreatment: "dió aquel paso, contra la voluntad de los padres, pasando por encima del amor paterno para unirse con un hombre cuya mala vida conocía y cuyos malos tratos eran de esperar" (Fernández, Apr. 1944, 41). He states bluntly that her duty as a married woman was not to abandon her marriage, but rather

¹⁹ While Martín Gaité alludes to the limitations imposed by this unusual format, going so far as to say that the reader-submitted letters "casi nunca se transcriben," I would contest the assertion that advice column letters were almost never printed, at least in the publications I study here (*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* 165). As is evidenced by the examples presented in this chapter, the columns' format varied, sometimes including the original letter and sometimes omitting it. Balsebre and Fontova have noted that that this variation in format was also present in radio *consultorios* (39).

to resign herself to “llevar la cruz que ella se había preparado con la paciencia que ello requería” (Fernández, Apr. 1944, 41).²⁰ Remarkably, the extreme nature of this woman’s situation does lead the columnist to conclude that “la mejor solución es buscar una colocación digna para ganar su vida e independizarse económicamente” (Fernández, Apr. 1944, 41). The implication of this statement, that women’s right to seek economic independence could only be earned through suffering abuse, abandonment, or the loss of a male family member loyal to the regime, is ultimately the exception that proves the inherent injustice of the rules that governed women’s societal roles and economic opportunities under Franco’s rule.

This letter’s testimony was buried underneath layers of discourse that cruelly chastised its protagonist and attempted to blame her for her own mistreatment. But despite this unreasonably harsh feedback, and despite the convoluted, third-hand way in which the story was told, this case (whether real or invented) presented the magazine’s readers with a clear example of how failed marriages could become a torturous experience, leaving women with no resources and very limited opportunities to make a life for themselves and their children. By including this account in the advice

²⁰ This response perfectly exemplifies Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco’s observation that, in the S.F.’s magazines, marital problems were always treated as solvable through women’s sacrifice, patience, and resignation (171). Balsebre and Fontova have noted a similar tendency in the responses provided to the desperate letter-writers whose questions were answered on the Elena Francis program, in which women nearly always bore the blame for their own mistreatment at the hands of men (143). This idea harkens back to those that circulated in nineteenth-century conduct manuals, which blamed husbands’ extramarital affairs on their wives’ inability to facilitate a happy home life: “las uniones ilegítimas, los amores borrascosos y trágicos, no nacen de otra cosa que de anhelo de amor y de felicidad” (Sinués de Marco 325).

column at all, the magazine's editors published, perhaps inadvertently, an example of what Balsebre and Fontova describe as "esas cartas de mujeres infelices [que] significaron implícitamente una crítica severa a la institución del matrimonio" (395). That texts with the potential to inspire these kinds of subversive interpretations on the part of readers made it into print, even under such restrictive publication conditions, proves that the rhetorical mechanisms employed in even the most doctrinal of magazines could still end up going awry.

We have seen in this chapter how women's magazines' depictions of motherhood, the home, and marriage were fundamentally intertwined with the host of social and economic problems that Spaniards faced during the 1940s. As the examples analyzed have demonstrated, magazines' editors employed a variety of discursive strategies in their attempt to promote a model of domestic womanhood that was often incompatible with reality. They presented their readers with idealized depictions of the home and married life, attributing any problems that women experienced in these areas to their laziness and unwillingness to make sacrifices. Such portrayals ignored the fact that Francoist repression destroyed Spanish homes by robbing them of their male breadwinners, while at the same time forcing women to depend economically on men by impeding their ability to provide for themselves financially, all during a time when marriage-aged women statistically outnumbered marriage-aged men. Magazines' contributors frequently accused women of selfishness and materialism, chastising them

for engaging in behaviors like family planning or choosing a husband based on financial interests, when these choices were really an inevitable response to the unlivable economic conditions bred by the regime's misguided and corrupt economic policies. All of these rhetorical strategies share a common thread: they take a problem caused by the regime and turn it around to make it seem as though women readers themselves are actually responsible.

While editors presumably hoped to convince readers to blame themselves for their circumstances, a close reading of these magazines reveals numerous opportunities for women to see their lived realities reflected, belying the simplistic assumption that they conveyed a monolithic message. Such instances of discursive disruption included dialogues debating the pros and cons of motherhood, humorous articles acknowledging the difficulty of finding a husband, or advice columns where women shared concerns about the prospect of marriage or stories of marital failure from the past. I have argued that these types of texts likely provoked feelings of identification or sympathy on the part of those readers who recognized some aspect of their own experience in these alternative accounts. In the chapter that follows, we will take a deeper look into representations of women's role as managers of their families' household budgets, exploring how magazines heaped financial responsibilities onto women in the midst of a regime-provoked economic crisis.

Chapter 2. (Mis)Advising Spain's "Ministras" of Family Finance: Paradoxical Portrayals of Women's Everyday Spending Practices

Though magazines' characterization of the home as a sanctuary often made it seem as though women's assigned domesticity isolated them from the wider economic sphere, housewives were in fact seen as having an essential function within Spain's national economy during the precarious years of the early postwar period. Women were repeatedly reminded of their obligation to manage their families' budgets, and were considered to be Spain's primary consumers of food and household goods during a period marked by resource shortages, widespread hunger, and poverty. Yet despite the importance of this topic, and the frequency with which it was addressed, previous scholarship on magazines published in Spain during the 1940s has devoted almost no attention to the discourses surrounding this key role, with the exception of passing references to the presence of commercial advertising. In the introduction to her study on postwar courtship practices, Martín Gaité characterizes the 1940s in Spain as a decade marked by "una condena del despilfarro," describing how both official propaganda and popular media emphasized the inherent danger of "cualquier exceso o derroche," but her study ultimately focuses on how these concepts were expanded to condemn excesses of a more emotional or sentimental nature, rather than on the question of women's day-to-day spending practices (*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* 12-13).

In this chapter, we will again observe magazines' employment of various discursive strategies, this time in an effort to place the burden of resolving their families' financial struggles squarely on women's shoulders. This rhetorical approach intentionally ignored the fact that these struggles were due in large part to the devastating impact of the regime's own ineffective and unjust economic policies, as well as the fact that it was men who controlled their families' major financial decisions, with women's sphere of authority limited to the administration of everyday household purchases. We will explore magazines' deployment of anti-materialist rhetoric—deeply hypocritical in the context of a regime that consolidated its power by granting profitable favors to those who supported it—while also examining how such doctrinal messages were ultimately undermined by magazines' own overtly consumerist content. Much like the elements of women's domestic role that were discussed in the previous chapter, the designation of housewives as their families' dedicated bookkeepers had already been established as a key feature of gender ideology in Spain by the mid-nineteenth century. In exploring the archetypal figure of the *ángel del hogar*, Aldaraca cites a piece from nineteenth-century women's magazine *La Moda Elegante Ilustrada*, which describes the ideal housewife as, among other things, "la reguladora del orden y de la economía" (66). This description demonstrates how women's appropriate regulation of domestic spending was characterized as a crucial contribution to the creation of a happy home.

We can find a more detailed explanation of the proposed best practices for achieving this lofty goal in a conduct manual written by novelist Pilar Sinués de Marco, and strikingly entitled *La dama elegante: Manual práctico y completísimo del buen tono y del buen orden doméstico* (1880). In a chapter entitled “La vida práctica”, the author remarks that economizing is an essential component of women’s prescribed role as homemakers: “La ciencia de gobernar una casa es el saber emplear para la *utilidad* y el *bienestar* de la familia los recursos que la Providencia ha puesto en nuestras manos. [...] [L]os individuos del sexo fuerte, el padre, el hermano, los hijos, traen de fuera los elementos del bienestar; mas sin el concurso nuestro, esos elementos serían improductivos” (Sinués de Marco 61-62; author’s emphasis). The division of economic labor is clearly established here: while men were tasked with bringing money into the home, women were charged with spending it frugally. In fact, Sinués argues that it is housewives, not breadwinners, who are ultimately responsible for keeping a family afloat. In order to fulfill this responsibility, they must fight tirelessly against the specifically feminine vices of wastefulness and vanity, and avoid falling prey to “la ociosidad y los caprichos [que] ocasionan la ruina de muchas familias” (68).¹ While the author also mentions two other vices—gambling and risky investments—that most commonly lead men to squander

¹ Sinués’s contemporary, Concepción Arenal, argued in her proto-feminist treatise *La mujer del porvenir* (1869) that women’s frivolous behavior was the direct result of their exclusion from formal education and extra-domestic work: “Las minuciosidades inútiles y enojosas, los caprichos, la idolatría por la moda, la vanidad pueril, todo esto viene de que su actividad, su amor propio, tiene que colocarse donde puede, y hallando cerrados los caminos que conducen a altos fines, desciende por senderos tortuosos a perderse en un intrincado laberinto” (91).

away their families' wealth, she suggests that a good wife will be able to combat the negative effects of her husband's spending behavior "si es virtuosa é inteligente," despite the fact that women in the nineteenth century, like those in the 1940s, had no real legal recourse to rein in their husbands' irresponsible spending (Sinués 66). Both the importance of women's thrift and the corresponding danger of women's prodigality are sentiments that we will see echoed in many of the examples presented in this chapter.

Like their nineteenth-century predecessors, Spanish women's magazines published during the 1940s often lamented the materialistic tendencies that purportedly threatened to lure women away from their duty as guardians of household austerity. In the third installment of a multi-issue piece entitled "La deserción de la mujer", published in *Senda's* May, June, and July/August 1945 issues, Nicolás González Ruiz claims that women's tendency towards engaging in frivolous diversions is one of the factors that most often leads them to neglect their household duties. The author harshly admonishes "las mujeres entregadas a una frivolidad tan sin sustancia, que en algunos momentos resulta aterradora," attributing their dangerous behavior to the influence of a modern society "entregada al culto de lo material" (González Ruiz 1, 10). The language used in González Ruiz's piece is emblematic of the type of anti-materialist rhetoric that characterized the tandem propaganda campaigns deployed by the Francoist government and the Catholic Church in the 1940s. This discourse of austerity was rooted equally in Catholic doctrine, which privileged spiritual rewards over material comforts, and

traditional fascist ideology, according to which individuals were expected to sacrifice personal pleasures in order to more effectively promote the collective good of the nation. The rhetoric of austerity and self-abnegation—deemed to be universally laudable traits, but seen as especially necessary for women—permeated the discourses presented in the magazines of this period.

Magazines repeatedly provided readers with advice on how to spend as thriftily and as efficiently as possible, particularly with regard to food. Recipes published in these magazines often featured ostensibly low-cost meals and included money-saving tips. This tendency was particularly exemplified in the issues of *Y* published in 1941, nearly all of which contained at least one recipe article aimed at the thrifty home cook. The February recipe is introduced by a brief story about a housewife who wants to buy chicken to feed her family a special meal, but ultimately decides against it because of the ingredient's excessive cost. The narrator wastes no time in coming to her rescue, proclaiming that a plate of chicken can in fact be cooked for only a single peseta per plate: "¿Y si os dijéramos que esto es un error, queridas lectoras? ¿Que ese pollo que todas deseáis poder servir a vuestra familia no os costará más caro y aún quizá menos que un plato ordinario de carne? Nada debe desaprovecharse, y para que el pollo os produzca el máximo rendimiento debéis utilizar las recetas que a continuación os damos" ("Por una peseta" 34). Though the author of this piece proclaims to understand the economic problems faced by housewives trying to feed their families, and promises

that they can be easily solved by following a few straightforward tips, the very nature of the so-called problem discussed in this story reveals the economic privilege of both the magazine's editors and the piece's implied audience.

While the text cited above refers to a meat-based dish as "ordinario", the opportunity to eat such a protein-rich meal was anything but ordinary in 1940s Spain. As we discussed briefly in the previous chapter, Spain experienced serious food shortages following the Civil War. A government rationing program ultimately remained in place from 1939 to 1952, but did not succeed in mitigating the hunger that plagued the population. As Abella explains, official rations were totally insufficient in terms of both quantity and variety, often containing bizarrely unhelpful combinations of items such as "aceite, bacalao y jabón," "pasta para la sopa, azúcar y un huevo," or "garbanzos, tocino y carne de membrillo" (50). In his study on food intake and nutrition in Francoist Spain, Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco demonstrates that meat, fish, and milk were "virtually absent" from many Spaniards' diets during the 1940s (468). He combines historical data on available rations in Almería in 1943 and in Jaén in 1945 with estimates of average daily energy expenditure in order to numerically quantify Spaniards' extreme lack of nutrition:²

² Arco Blanco's calculations are based on "monthly reports submitted to central government by Civil Governors," which the author assumes to be a more accurate measure of the rations distributed than officially published statistics would be (463). Still, the author acknowledges that even these sources likely overestimate the amount of rations distributed.

In Almería nutritional intake was far from satisfying the basic minimum, with a deficit of up to 827 calories for men, and 538 for women in towns, and with a quite unsupportable deficit of 1906-2582 calories in rural areas. In Jaén the situation was hardly any better: the male diet suffered a deficit of 900-1980 calories and that of women a deficit of 560-1425 calories. (Arco Blanco 468)

As these shocking figures demonstrate, many Spaniards were quite literally on the brink of starvation during the period now known as *los años del hambre*. Experts estimate that, between 1939 and 1945, as many as 200,000 Spaniards died from disease and hunger (Cazorla 274). While well-off Spaniards could pay steep markups on the black market to supplement the government's meager rations, those who could not afford to do so were often forced to go without.

Some of the recipes published in women's magazines did make explicit reference to food items that were difficult or impossible to acquire given the shortages that existed at the time. These recipes often suggested alternative options to readers, proposing solutions that were typically more inventive than they were appetizing. For example, Y's November 1941 issue contained an article entitled "Esta semana no tengo aceite", which recommended a series of oil-free recipes including sardines fried in their own grease, promising readers somewhat unconvincingly that all of the dishes would be "sanos, económicos y de mucho alimento" ("Esta semana" 42). Other articles tackled the scarcity and prohibitive cost of meat by suggesting that readers attempt vegetarian recipes, lauding the cost-efficiency of hunting one's own game, or even suggesting that women

cook the legs of the frogs that their children brought home after playing outside.³ Even some consumer products advertised in magazines—from bouillon cubes meant to “suplir al aceite y a las grasas que faltan en los regímenes corrientes de hoy,” to lower-quality replacement products (*sucedáneos*) like Buena Salud coffee substitute, to a Bayer tonic for weakness and anemia—promised to help housewives address the nutrition problems that their families faced during the postwar period (“Caldo Muller” 20).

While, on a surface level, these diverse contributions all attempted to offer housewives useful advice and practical solutions, they were united by the underlying assumption that, no matter what difficulties they faced in their efforts to keep food on their families’ tables, women could and should make use of their feminine ingenuity in order to solve them. According to a June 1941 article offering readers affordable recipes for afternoon snacks, the most important ingredient for a housewife to have on hand is “un poco de habilidad e ingenio,” with which even those with limited economic means will supposedly be able to “obtenerse magníficos resultados” (“La cocina en el verano” 40). We can see multiple complementary rhetorical mechanisms at work within this discourse. First, while magazines did technically acknowledge the dire problem of food shortages, the language used minimized the gravity of this problem to the point of absurdity. Secondly, magazines’ rhetoric displaced responsibility for solving this

³ “Cocina vegetariana” (July 1941); “La cocina y la caza” (September 1941); “¿Queréis comer gratis un plato exquisito?” (October 1941).

problem onto women, implying that they were solely responsible for coming up with the solution.

In point of fact, most economic historians agree that Franco's misguided policies bear the lion's share of the blame for the devastation Spain's economy suffered during the 1940s and early 1950s.⁴ Francoist economic policy focused primarily on government intervention, and on the relentless pursuit of autarky (economic self-sufficiency).

Barciela et al. explain that Franco and his collaborators viewed autarky as an expression of extreme nationalism and of the country's imperial aspirations, and also tied this policy to their belief in Spain's need to isolate itself from the outside world politically and culturally. Autarky was thus as much a political and ideological position as it was an economic one. In any case, what is undisputed is that Franco's policies were *not* based in sound economic principles. While producing enough food to feed the nation is essential to a self-sustaining economy, Spain's agricultural production suffered in the aftermath of the Civil War. Francoist rhetoric blamed this phenomenon on both the physical destruction caused by the war (which, in turn, was blamed on the *rojos*), and on the bad luck of persistent drought conditions (perennially referred to as *la pertinaz*

⁴ To give an idea of the extent of this catastrophe, Barciela et al. explain that Spain's GDP did not return to pre-Civil War levels until 1951—twelve years after the war's end—and that GDP per capita did not do so until 1952 (25).

sequía). But scholars like Barciela et al. argue that Francoist policy itself was a much more important contributor to Spain's production woes.⁵

One of the regime's most disastrous policies was its attempt to establish fixed prices for essential foodstuffs designated as part of the government rationing system. Prices of goods such as wheat were set well below the market equilibrium price, which led the agricultural sector to reduce production, rather than increasing it. Moreover, the fact that regulated products could not be sold on the official market for any more than the government-mandated price incentivized producers to sell their goods on the black market instead. Whatever insufficient supply of food was not diverted to the black market was quickly exhausted, as desperate Spaniards (primarily women) waited in long lines with ration cards in hand. The government's price-regulation policy thus created "una espiral inútil," as the shortcomings of intervention inspired illegal dealings, which in turn prompted further unsuccessful attempts at intervention (Barciela et al. 107).⁶

In light of this harsh reality, the fact that explicit references to rationing and the daily struggle that acquiring food posed to housewives appeared relatively infrequently

⁵ Barciela et al. assert that the loss of physical capital as a result of the war was relatively limited, and that this loss was by no means sufficient to explain the economic downturn of the early postwar years. Rather, they affirm that the most damaging loss suffered by the agricultural industry as a result of the war was the loss of human life (Barciela et al. 20).

⁶ Though detailed pricing guides (*guías*) were circulated and frequently modified, José Martí Gómez describes the practical implementation of government-set prices as less than successful: "Era difícil que las «guías» pudiesen normalizar algo en un país en el que el abastecimiento vivía entre la ficción de la normalidad legislada en el *Boletín Oficial del Estado* y la anormalidad que regía en la ley de la calle, que era la durísima ley del mercado" (117).

in women's magazines is particularly noteworthy.⁷ Such an omission in and of itself represents an attempt to rhetorically erase an important part of Spanish women's everyday life experiences. As we see in Esperanza Ruiz-Crespo's August 1941 *Y* article "Cara y cruz de las cartillas," the few allusions that magazines did make to the rationing system highlighted the system's administrative complexity, but never acknowledged its utter failure to meet the population's needs. In fact, this piece, which is prefaced by a series of stories about the inconveniences the ration card system has caused in the past—from long lines to update the cards upon the birth of a new family member to families who neglected to report the death of loved ones in order to keep receiving their rations—serves primarily to tout the supposed *improvements* that have recently been made to the system.⁸ Ruiz-Crespo excuses the past inconveniences by asserting that "ningún sistema de gobierno, ninguna reforma administrativa puede implantarse con totalidad de acierto desde el primer momento," absolving the Franco government of any responsibility for the system's inefficiencies while simultaneously blaming individuals for trying to take advantage of them (31). In a similar vein, a brief piece in the July/August 1945 issue of *Para Nosotras* warns housewives about the "gran contratiempo" that losing their family members' physical ration cards would entail,

⁷ Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco have alluded briefly to the fact that *Medina's* focus on official S.F. activities and pristine domestic femininity served to hide the reality of widespread hunger and poverty: "Todos son actos festivos [...] Nada de esas difundidas y téticas imágenes del hambre" (176).

⁸ In an attempt to reduce the possibilities for fraud and corruption, the ration system was eventually changed in 1943 from *cartillas familiares* to *cartillas individuales* (Arco Blanco 460-61).

suggesting that they bind the cards together with a cord to avoid leaving one behind (“Cuidado con las cartillas” 7). Once again, the onus is put on women to adeptly navigate a broken system. Once again, while both of these pieces did acknowledge problems associated with rationing, they rhetorically minimized these problems to a mere bureaucratic hang-up, completely overlooking the far more serious problems of hunger and malnutrition that were plaguing the population.

Notably, a May 1942 *Y* article does make a cursory reference to the insufficiency of the rationing system, but only in the context of instructing women to “esta[r] siempre alegres” and advising them that husbands most appreciate a wife “que le habla de cosas agradables y que nunca le plantea problemas domésticos de carestía de vida o de escaso racionamiento” (“Tú... y él” 18). An article published in *Senda* in December 1941 employs strikingly similar rhetoric in its attempt to encourage women not to “atorment[ar] al esposo con la relación de hechos desagradables ni con la exposición de las dificultades—tan corrientes hoy por la escasez y penuria económicas—con que tropezamos diariamente en la administración del hogar” (“La buena esposa” 5). Even when magazines acknowledged the difficulties women might be facing in trying to make ends meet, their primary concern was not to offer them consolation or support, but to remind them that these difficulties were theirs alone to resolve. Such rhetoric displaced focus away from the real problem, instead prioritizing women’s duty to provide domestic tranquility and not allow their struggles to become a burden for men.

This insistence on maintaining an agreeable atmosphere within the home and never complaining about the practical challenges involved in maintaining it connects back to the domestic ideology of the nineteenth century, as reflected in Sinués's warning that women must ensure a happy home environment or risk their husbands' infidelity: "cuidad y embelleced vuestros hogares, y vuestros esposos no irán á buscar á los ajenos solaz y ventura" (106).

Only extremely rarely do we see pieces such as Enrique Ambard's "Cómo gastan las mujeres el dinero en el mercado", an August 1942 *Y* article in which the author calls on his fellow men to better understand the challenges their wives face in putting food on their families' tables: "tengamos compasión de nuestras esposas, que es más difícil hacer la compra que proyectar un puente sobre el Atlántico" ("Cómo gastan" 41). But even though such a piece—whose lighthearted tone seemed to trivialize a very serious problem—technically called on men to take pity on women, it did nothing to actually question or amend the expectations that Spanish society imposed on them. As Gallego Méndez has explained, these expectations were fundamentally grounded in "un desplazamiento de las responsabilidades" (84). Women were instructed to use their unbounded feminine capacity for sacrifice to alleviate the disastrous economic situation in which they found themselves as a result of the state's ineptitude. If they failed to do

so, they took the blame for impeding Spain's economic recovery "con su ignorancia y desidia" (Gallego Méndez 84).⁹

If magazines' attitudes towards food shortages and rationing were plagued by such false attributions of responsibility, their depictions of the black market suffered even more acutely from this flaw. As discussed previously, insufficient rations and the thriving black market for food and other products were two sides of the same coin. While it may have been clandestine, the black market that arose in the wake of the regime's policy failures was by no means marginal, with more than half the total supply of some key food items being bought and sold outside the official market (Carreras and Tafunell 229). Various scholars have attempted to estimate the difference between officially-controlled prices and those charged on the black market: Barciela et al. estimate that black market prices were between two and three times the official prices, while Carreras and Tafunell cite a range from twice all the way up to *ten times* the official amounts (Barciela et al. 108, Carreras and Tafunell 228-29). Selling food and other goods illegally at such astronomical prices—a practice known colloquially as *estraperlo*—was a method through which a select group of Spaniards sought to profit off the desperation of their compatriots.

⁹ Margarita Vilar Rodríguez also notes that even the details of the rationing system implied an extraordinary sacrifice on the part of women, whose ration amounted to only 80% of those received by working-aged men (men over 60 years old also received 80% of the total ration, while children under 14 years old received 60%) (*Los salarios del miedo* 160).

The well-off sectors of society that had supported Franco during the war were rewarded following his victory, resulting in a generalized pattern of corruption that started at the top with Franco himself, and the extremely profitable black market became a key component of this corruption.¹⁰ As Barciela et al. explain, while the government was nominally opposed to black market dealings, the regime never genuinely attempted to stop these illegal practices. In fact, the situation was quite the opposite, as many Francoist officials and loyalists were themselves involved in *estraperlo*. Arco Blanco has thus characterized hunger as “the ballast of the new ship of state,” arguing that the regime used hunger as a means of control, ensuring both the submission of its opponents, who were too preoccupied with their own daily survival to fight back against the regime’s oppression, and the continued allegiance of its supporters, who profited from the hunger of others by leveraging their political connections and turning them into huge profits (458).¹¹

For the majority of low-level participants, though, *estraperlo* was simply a necessary survival tactic. As Carmen Sarasúa and Carme Molinero explain, women’s participation in the black market was often the inevitable consequence of having lost the income formerly contributed by a male head of household. By culling anecdotes from

¹⁰ Mariano Sánchez Soler, author of *La familia Franco S.A.* (2019), has said that the exact value of the Franco family fortune is incalculable, but that estimates reach as high as 600 million euros in today’s currency (xi, lix).

¹¹ As Abella explains, both traditionally wealthy sectors of Spanish society—“los ricos de siempre”—as well as new players—“el tipo de estraperlista recién enriquecido”—were positively affected by the rise of this dual economic market (93).

the administrative records of individuals arrested for black market activities in the province of Granada, Gloria Román Ruiz has brought to light many real-life stories of women who resorted to these types of activities. Examples include Rosario Sánchez, a kiosk owner who re-sold rationed tobacco “para ayudar a su familia,” and Concepción Rodríguez Fajardo, who was caught transporting black market coffee with the intention to “venderlo y poder ayudarse a vivir, por encontrarse viuda” (Román Ruiz 13, 18). As Arco Blanco has pointed out, who was punished for participating in the black market and who was granted impunity often depended on economic means or political affiliation, with approximately 90% of those found guilty belonging to the less well-off sectors of society (474). Though Spaniards who participated as a means to ensure their own survival and that of their families may have been the visible face of the black market, the phenomenon of low-level *estraperlo* was only “la parte emergente de un gigantesco iceberg” (Clavera et al. 84). While the poor and those who opposed the regime politically were disproportionately punished for their involvement in black market dealings, the regime’s supporters were generally permitted to get rich without consequence.

Historical sources make it clear that women participated actively in the black market for food, both as low-level sellers in order to help augment their families’ income, and as buyers who needed to supplement the government’s insufficient rations. Yet despite the fact that many food items were only attainable through black-market

means, *Y*'s editors were insistent that resorting to such measures was dangerous, irresponsible, and equivalent to failing as a housewife. The previously referenced article "Esta semana no tengo aceite" asks readers to consider what they would do if they found themselves with no cooking oil in the house: "En este caso, ¿qué haces? ¿Te consideras perfectamente incapaz de dar de comer a tu familia sin aceite? ¿Vas a cometer la debilidad de acudir al «estraperlo»? ¡No queremos creerlo de ti! Sería una vergüenza para tu conciencia de española y una falta de imaginación como ama de casa" ("Esta semana" 42). Rather than recognizing the black market as the unavoidable recourse of desperate women helping their families survive in dire circumstances, the magazine chalks such behavior up to a simple lack of imagination. An even more accusatory piece from *Y*'s July 1942 issue is accompanied by an eye-catching caricature of a woman about to drop a bomb on her family's dinner table, and bears the striking title "¿Serías capaz de hacer esto?" The article's author, Dr. Román Serrano Díaz, warns readers about the dangers associated with black-market foodstuffs, "productos alimenticios en condiciones no solamente antihigiénicas, sino adulterados conscientemente," and likens exposing one's family to such risks to igniting an explosive device in front of them (30).

Both of these pieces clearly intended to evoke guilt in readers, displacing the blame for black market activities entirely onto women, while failing to acknowledge the fact that women who did take the risk of purchasing potentially unsafe food from the black market only did so in the face of a total lack of other options. Moreover, they do

not address the real possibility that family members of the magazine's wealthy readers could very well be among the black marketeers that Serrano Díaz condemns as "gentes que con un afán de lucro desmesurado tratan de satisfacer sus ambiciones, de realizar sus aspiraciones económicas desmedidas en un mínimo de tiempo incompatible con el trabajo honesto y constante" (30). Even when the role of such self-interested black marketeers is explicitly acknowledged, women are *still* depicted as bearing the ultimate responsibility for the black market's negative consequences, because their housewifely ingenuity is presented as a panacea that should theoretically be capable of solving all of Spain's social and economic ills. Through the intentionally implemented rhetorical strategy of displacing blame, women's need to resort to the black market was attributed to their own personal failure, rather than that of the Francoist state and the web of corruption it upheld.

The precedent set by articles like these makes a brief piece on *estraperlo* from the December 1946 issue of *Para Nosotras* particularly striking in comparison. The piece in question contrasts quite starkly with the aforementioned articles, placing the blame for the turmoil caused by black-market dealings not on women, but on the *estraperlistas* themselves. Citing Pope Pius XII, the article speaks out strongly and clearly against those Spaniards looking to profit from the misery and desperation of their compatriots: "El Papa les ha llamado «Nuevos Caínes» que «en la inmensa calamidad en que hoy ha caído la familia humana, no ven más que una ocasión propicia para enriquecerse

deshonestamente, explotando la necesidad y miseria de sus hermanos, alzando indefinidamente los precios para procurarse ganancias escandalosas» (“Que lo sepan” 3). Not only does this article encourage the Francoist government to come down hard on black market profiteers — “han de dar ejemplo y poner mano dura, inflexible sobre los estraperlistas...” — but it also acknowledges the reality that some of those involved were the same government workers tasked with preventing such injustices in the first place — “...sobre todo, si en algún caso fuesen sus propios funcionarios” (“Que lo sepan” 3).

This piece is perhaps the closest that women’s magazines came to explicitly pointing out that government corruption was at the heart of Spain’s black market. It seems significant that such a piece was published in *Para Nosotras*, a magazine directed towards working-class women, who were among the most likely to be victims of the greed of *estraperlistas*. It is possible to imagine that such an accusation might have gone over less successfully had it instead been published in *Senda*, whose readers were comparatively more likely, based on their class background, to be connected to the perpetrators vilified in the piece.

The question of how to put food on the table was only one part of magazines’ broader discourse around the importance of women’s domestic spending. In some instances, magazines provided their readers with extremely specific instructions regarding how to efficiently manage their household budgets. In Ángel B. Sanz’s two-part article “Señora, gaste con orden”, which appeared in consecutive issues of *Y* in January and February of 1940, the author expounds on his recommended budgeting

strategy, delineating the numerous spending categories that women should administer (food, clothing, shoes, cleaning, housekeeping, rent, home furnishings, utilities, and hired help), along with a few specific items (insurance, taxes, charitable donations, family leisure activities, travel, communications, and healthcare) that should be left in the hands of men.

Sanz suggests that women divide the money their husbands give them into envelopes corresponding to the categories assigned to them, including in each envelope a piece of paper on which they can mark down the dates and amounts of payments associated with the category. This approach is remarkably similar to the one Sinués recommended to her nineteenth-century readers, emphasizing the need for women to keep “un libro de cuentas y apuntes” and affirming that “este libro es el regulador de la vida material” (67). Sanz’s call to women, like that of Sinués before him, is for them to spend judiciously to ensure the wellbeing of their family members: “gastad, mujeres, gastad, pero gastad con orden para que, al estar satisfechas vuestras necesidades de todo orden, contribuyáis al bienestar de todos, que es, en suma lograr vuestra propia felicidad” (Sanz, Feb. 1940, 52). Spending, in this view, is acceptable, as long as it is in the best interest of the family unit, and is meticulously recorded in order to avoid exceeding the family’s available budget.

In January 1946, *El Hogar y la Moda* provided readers with a more lighthearted guide to household spending in the form of a story featuring the magazine’s recurring

fictional housewife, Marichu. The piece, entitled “Marichu evita el déficit de fin de mes, repartiendo sus 1.500 pesetas”, describes Marichu as a dedicated housewife who plans carefully to ensure that her family budget always lasts to the end of the month, and offers to share her helpful budgeting tactics with readers:

Marichu, para lograr ese perfecto y armonioso equilibrio entre sus deseos y sus posibilidades, debe vigilar constantemente sus reservas y administrar «fieramente» su presupuesto. Creyendo que de su sistema de economía podrán nuestras lectoras sacar algún provecho, vamos a exponerles cómo vive, compra y ahorra Marichu durante un mes. (39)

The article goes on to explain the breakdown of Marichu’s 1,500-peseta monthly budget in detail: 806 pesetas for daily food shopping, 60 for weekly rations, 250 pesetas for rent, 50 pesetas each for utilities and school fees, 100 pesetas for the maid, 10 pesetas for society memberships, another 10 for the doorwoman, and 100 pesetas for unexpected costs. This leaves Marichu with 64 pesetas to spare, which the article cites as indisputable evidence of her meticulous money management.

But while this article describes Marichu’s home as “una casa relativamente modesta” and therefore presents her budgeting plan as a model for readers to follow, her budget is in fact quite comfortable compared with what many of the magazine’s readers likely had at their disposal (“Marichu” 39). Assuming 20 workdays per month, a monthly budget of 1,500 pesetas would indicate that Marichu’s husband earned at least 75 pesetas per day (it is implied that this sum represents only part of his total income). That this figure is roughly *six to eight times* the minimum daily wage range for working-

class professionals, which was between 9.50 and 12 pesetas in 1946, makes Marichu an example not so much of ingenious thrift as of upper-middle-class privilege.¹² Marichu's shopping list also includes all the major food groups (meat, fish, eggs, fruits, vegetables, bread, and milk), a wide variety of items to which, as mentioned earlier, most Spaniards did not have reliable, consistent access. That the magazine's editors treated this case as exemplary once again reflects both their economic privilege and their perception of their target audience, while serving to erase the economic realities faced by the majority of Spanish families. But for readers who saw a disparity between this example and their own situation, the details of this piece may have served as an indication that the editors' advice was not necessarily relevant to them.

In order to understand just how difficult it was for the majority of Spanish housewives to equilibrate their spending with their families' income, we need to consider the combined effects of rampant price inflation and plunging real wages. The Francoist government's efforts to control prices applied not only to the prices of consumer goods, but also to the price of labor (i.e., workers' salaries). As Margarita Vilar Rodríguez explains in *Los salarios del miedo*, regulating workers' wages was yet another way for the regime to intervene in and control the ostensibly private sphere of the home. While wages had risen substantially during the initial years of the Second Republic

¹² *Anuario estadístico de España 1950* ("Salario nominal mínimo, por jornada, que corresponde a obreros de tipo profesional corriente, según los distintos grupos de actividad," 600).

under Manuel Azaña’s left-wing government, and had remained relatively stable up until the Republic’s end, the poorest working-class laborers had already been on the brink of starvation in the years leading up to the war. That pre-war wages were already unlivable for many makes it all the more shocking that real wages (wages adjusted for inflation in order to reflect the amount of goods and services that can be purchased over time) declined drastically during the 1940s.

Table 5 shows Vilar Rodríguez’s estimates of real daily income for male industrial workers in the 1940s:

Table 5: Index of Real Daily Income for Male Industrial Workers, 1943-1948¹³
(Base year 1936 = 100)

	Unskilled workers, Cost of living AEE	Skilled workers, Cost of living AEE	Unskilled workers, Cost of living CSCCIN	Skilled workers, Cost of living CSCCIN
1943	79.9	73.7	57.1	52.7
1944	75.8	69.7	56.5	52.0
1945	70.3	64.4	58.9	54.0
1946	64.4	61.8	52.5	50.3
1947	58.7	55.5	47.9	45.2
1948	58.4	55.4	45.4	43.1

Even when calculated using official, government-reported cost-of-living metrics from the Anuarios Estadísticos de España (AEE), real income indices—a cost-of-living-

¹³ Real daily income data from Vilar Rodríguez, *Los salarios del miedo* (Cuadro III.5, p. 202-3). AEE = Anuarios Estadísticos de España. CSCCIN = Consejo Superior de Cámaras Oficiales de Comercio, Industria y Navegación. While the price indices published in the AEE represent the state’s official cost of living metrics, Vilar Rodríguez calculates her own series of price indices based on supplemental data from the CSCCIN, which she considers to more accurately reflect the true cost of living in Spain during this period.

adjusted measure of remuneration calculated relative to a base year, in this case 1936—decreased significantly for male industrial workers over the course of the 1940s.¹⁴

According to these conservative estimates, the average daily income earned by these workers in 1943 had only 74-80% of the purchasing power of their 1936 income, and by 1948 that proportion had dropped even further, to just 55-58%. Moreover, that these estimates are based on officially-reported price figures means that they likely represent an optimistic, upper-bound estimate of real incomes. Taking into account the higher prices charged on the black market using price metrics from the Consejo Superior de Cámaras Oficiales de Comercio, Industria y Navegación (CSCCIN), Vilar Rodríguez estimates that real salaries for industrial workers decreased to even less than half of their previous levels by 1948 (43-45%). With incomes lagging far behind the cost of living, many Spanish households found it impossible to cover even their most basic needs.

Moreover, the fact that political parties and labor unions other than the Falange and the government-controlled vertical syndicate were banned under Franco's rule meant that

¹⁴ Vilar Rodríguez calculates these indices for male workers only because she considers the aggregate data available regarding women's salaries to be even less reliable than those available for men: "De hecho, los salarios de las trabajadoras asalariadas aparecen tan solo de una manera testimonial en la mayor parte de las fuentes estadísticas de carácter oficial. Se contabilizan, en ocasiones, los salarios correspondientes a las hiladoras, tejedoras y también los ingresos estimados de las costureras y las modistas, pero no hay información salarial para otro tipo de industrias donde la presencia de la mano de obra femenina también era importante (conserva, tabaco...). En consecuencia, el análisis histórico del trabajo femenino en la economía española a través de las estadísticas oficiales resulta muy dificultoso y poco fiable, pues éstas han infravalorado considerablemente su volumen" (*Los salarios del miedo* 86). However, as we will explore further in the next chapter, women working outside the home during this period consistently made less than men who worked in similar fields (this had also been the case prior to the war). Thus, women-headed households would have faced even greater challenges in their efforts to make ends meet.

workers had little to no recourse to defend their class interests and fight back against unjust wages, and fear of repercussions meant that the first major labor strike under Franco's dictatorship did not take place until 1951, a whole twelve years after the end of the Civil War.

As Clavera et al. contend, many of the Franco regime's economic policies, particularly during this period, were motivated primarily by a desire to maintain the loyalty of economically powerful groups like bankers, landowners, and industrialists.¹⁵ Wealthy capitalists across the board benefitted from Francoist wage cuts, and the land-owning class in particular took advantage of both the reduction of labor costs *and* the establishment of a thriving black market where they could charge higher prices for the crops their land produced.¹⁶ Moreover, as José Luis Gutiérrez Molina has pointed out, many private companies operating during this period were given access to the free (or virtually free) forced labor of prisoners. When such companies — many of which still exist today — wound up generating enormous profits, they owed their financial success to prisoners' unacknowledged "contribución de sangre" (Gutiérrez Molina 4). Vilar

¹⁵ According to Barciela et al., Franco's dedication to his wealthy supporters led him to implement a regressive tax policy, focused on indirect (e.g., sales) taxes rather than direct (e.g., income and wealth) taxes, which made procuring essential goods even more difficult for cash-strapped Spaniards, while benefitting rich industrialists and landowners (60-61). It should also be noted that a huge proportion of government spending during this time went towards Spain's military (53.5% on average between 1940 and 1945), meaning that neither the collection of tax revenue nor the disbursement of government funds was configured in the best interest of Spain's poor populations (Cazorla 271).

¹⁶ Rich landowners were also more equipped to benefit from participation in the black market than small farmers, due to factors including political connections that gave them impunity from legal sanctions (Barciela et al. 109).

Rodríguez has also used data on employment, wages, and corporate profits to quantify the increasing economic inequality Spain experienced under Franco. She concludes that, following the Civil War, the share of collective wealth that went to workers plummeted in comparison with the share captured by businessowners, reversing the pre-war tendency towards more relative equality between labor and capital (Vilar Rodríguez 350). Though the Spanish economy as a whole was hard hit by Franco's failed attempt at autarky, the regime's favoritism cruelly ensured that the brunt of the impact fell on Spain's vulnerable working class, while more privileged sectors of society were comparatively better off.

When we approach the women's magazines of this period with the understanding that the society in which they were created and circulated was extremely divided in terms of social class, it becomes easier to understand why we are sometimes met with messages that seem directed towards two completely different audiences in the same publication. We might imagine, for example, that some readers would have found it difficult to square the advice found in a December 1941 *Y* article encouraging them to splurge on a holiday meal with the suggestion that they cook the legs of wild frogs caught by their children, which the magazine had published just two months earlier.¹⁷

¹⁷ The article in question, entitled "Nochebuena y Nochevieja", suggests that readers give up their thrifty ways in honor of the holiday season—"desecharemos un poco la idea de la economía y por esta noche nos sentiremos derrochadores"—and goes on to provide menu ideas for an eight-person dinner costing 80, 160, or 250 pesetas (32). As minimum daily wages for a working-class male professional ranged between 7.50 and 9.50 pesetas in 1941, even the cheapest of these meals would have been worth around two weeks' wages

On the other hand, if we interpret the existence of these inconsistent messages as an effort on the part of editors to appeal to as wide a range of potential readers as possible, such apparent inconsistencies can be viewed as an implicit acknowledgement of the vast wealth disparities that existed within Spanish society at this time. The existence of discourses directed towards multiple readerships may have served to remind upper-class Spaniards of the plights of their compatriots. For less-well-off readers, pieces targeting the wealthy may have encouraged them to aspire to a more comfortable standard of living, but they likely also underscored the hypocrisy of magazines' doctrine of sacrifice by highlighting the types of luxuries that others could afford.

While the existence of a bifurcated readership sometimes resulted in a *diversification* of messages, we can also observe an opposite effect: the *homogenization* of advice or expectations with little regard for the discrepancy between different women's economic situations. For example, despite the fact that Spain's working class was earning starvation wages, *Para Nosotras's* readership of working-class women were regularly held to the same high standards that we observed previously in *Y* and *El Hogar y la Moda* with regard to their budgeting abilities. In a fictional story from the February 1945 issue, a young working-class woman explains that even though money was very

for a single-income working-class family (*Anuario estadístico de España 1950*, "Salario nominal mínimo, por jornada, que corresponde a obreros de tipo profesional corriente, según los distintos grupos de actividad," 600).

tight when she was growing up, she and her siblings never worried about their family's finances, because they knew their mother had a savings account that they could fall back on in case of an emergency.¹⁸ But when she grows up, the narrator is shocked to discover that the savings account never existed, and that the family only made it through hard times by making sacrifices, and with the help of their mother's meticulous bookkeeping efforts. The tale represents a clear attempt to convince poor readers that all they needed to do to solve their economic problems was to "arrima[r] el hombro con alegre y alentador esfuerzo común" ("Mi madre" 3). Such flawed logic once again displaces the responsibility for making ends meet entirely onto families—and most especially on women in their assigned role as thrifty housewives—without acknowledging insufficient wages as the true root of their financial problems.

A similar story that appeared in February 1948 places the onus even more explicitly on working-class women in their function as domestic accountants. The story follows a group of awe-struck neighbors gossiping about another neighbor and wondering how she manages to keep her home running so smoothly. One of the women notes that her neighbor's husband works with hers and earns the same amount, but that she, unlike her neighbor, finds herself "and[ando] siempre arrastrada" ("¡Ama de casa!" 4). While the gossipmongers speculate that their neighbor must be receiving money

¹⁸ This is one of the very few references that was made to women's use of banking institutions in the magazines of this period. As mentioned previously, the Civil Code did not permit women to open bank accounts without their husbands' explicit permission.

from a wealthy relative or some other unknown source, the story's narrator explains that her success is due only to her exceptional planning and foresight: "¡Es el misterio de la previsión, del ahorro y del trabajo, animados de la confianza en Dios! [...] ¡Cuántas perrillas ahorradas con ese orden y guardadas para un apuro!" ("¡Ama de casa!" 4). What this piece fails to acknowledge is that working-class Spanish women in the 1940s found themselves in *en apuros*, financially speaking, on an all-too-regular basis. The moral of the story is once again that, if families were struggling to make ends meet, it was not because they found themselves in dire economic circumstances—as so many did—but because women were simply not trying hard enough to organize and control their spending.

If the aforementioned articles attempted to reinforce an impossibly high standard of *positive* behavior among working-class women with regard to their household budgeting, we can also find pieces warning these same women about the dangers of succumbing to *negative* materialistic tendencies. In the July/August 1945 *Senda* article mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, González Ruiz notes that the prodigal spending behavior he is railing against has become extended not only among the wealthy classes, but across the entire socio-economic spectrum: "la frivolidad ha invadido en gran parte a la clase media y hasta a la clase humilde" (1). In a similar vein, a piece published in the May 1948 issue of *Para Nosotras* warns readers against looking for happiness in the fulfillment of material desires, and instead urges them to control

their inherently selfish tendencies: “no te pongas a los pies de tus apetencias y deseos, no seas su esclava, ponte sobre ellos y domínalos” (“Te deseo la felicidad” 6).

Both Richmond and Cenarro (in *La sonrisa de Falange*) have argued that the portrayal of women’s role as household administrators whose prodigality needed to be controlled at all costs served to validate upper-middle-class values and project them onto to other social sectors. But the rhetoric of these pieces advocating sacrifice and decrying superfluous spending (which could easily have been plucked from the pages of one of Sinués’s manuals for the elegant ladies of nineteenth-century Spain) rings quite hollow when directed towards a population of working-class women whose very survival was a daily struggle. The projection of the values of thrift and austerity onto even Spain’s poorest women served to rhetorically erase the state’s active role in aggravating and prolonging their poverty. In addition, while these magazines were directed towards a working-class readership, this message may also have served to assuage the guilt of the upper-class women who edited the publication by reiterating the belief that if poor women were suffering, it was their own fault, rather than that of the wealthy.

Explicit acknowledgements of the fact that many families simply did not have enough to make ends meet, no matter what a housewife did, were few and far between, but they did occasionally appear. For example, a story published in *El Hogar y la Moda* in August 1947 is presented as an epistolary exchange between two women, one of whom

is telling the other about the predicament faced by her married neighbors. While in the beginning of their marriage, the husband, José, “subía, peldaño tras peldaño, en su carrera, modesta y segura,” and his wife, María, “administraba sus ingresos con habilidad digna del más deseable ministro de la Hacienda Pública,” their combined efforts are unfortunately no longer sufficient to secure their family’s happiness and wellbeing (“De mujer a mujer” 3). In the harsh economic climate of the postwar years, José’s income won’t stretch far enough, and “todas las facultades de María en funciones de ministro de Hacienda ... no bastan a resolver básicos problemas para los que no hay solución en el cuadro de la vida actual” (“De mujer a mujer” 3). The fictional letter-writer frames this story first and foremost as an example of the type of behavior married couples should avoid, displacing focus from the couple’s financial problems in order to condemn the acrimonious arguments that arise between the pair as a result of their economic difficulties. The possibility of interpreting this piece as a critique of the unjust socioeconomic realities of the postwar period is therefore somewhat mitigated. Nonetheless, this story does state outright what so many magazine contributors refused to admit: that women’s scrimping and saving to stretch their household budgets, laudable though it might have been, was not actually a viable solution to Spain’s grave economic problems.

Though *Para Nosotras* did not admit this harsh truth so overtly, we can observe once again that the magazine’s short pieces of moralistic fiction were susceptible to

letting unpleasant realities seep through. In September 1946, the magazine's editors had the gall to publish a cautionary tale about the dangers of poor young women spending money on fun activities. The story is framed as a conversation between two working-class women, one of whom, Juana, has just received a modest raise from her employer. Instead of giving her additional daily earnings to her mother to help her make ends meet at home, Juana informs her friend matter-of-factly that "esas dos pesetas las quiero para divertirme" ("En la calle" 7). Juana quite rightly points out that, even with the raise, her wages are still far too low to keep up with the ever-increasing cost of living. She openly curses her employers, suggesting that they should be condemned to hell for paying starvation wages: "Que los patronos tienen que irse al infierno. ¡Con lo cara que está la vida y que nos den unos jornales que no llegan para nada...!" ("En la calle" 7).

Unsurprisingly, her friend admonishes Juana fiercely for being unwilling to give her family the little money she has to spare, arguing that it is *she* who deserves damnation for her selfishness: "Lo que te digo es que no puede quejarse de los patronos, la obrera que niega a su madre el dinero necesario para atender a los gastos familiares y poder vivir. Y que, si aquéllos merecen, en tu concepto, el infierno, mucho más lo merece ella que, al fin y al cabo, sabe lo que es pasar necesidad" ("En la calle" 7). As we have seen in prior examples, even in those cases in which women's economic means were extremely limited, magazines still found a way to attribute their families' financial problems to their penchant for spending selfishly on personal luxuries. However, I

would argue that this story's narrative need to introduce Juana as a purportedly negative example to be rejected—another prime example of the rhetorical strategy of preemptive refutation—ultimately led the author to present a fierce denunciation of the selfishness of capitalists who were content to increase their profits at the expense of their workers' wellbeing. It is not hard to imagine working-class readers identifying with Juana's defiant statement, which put voice to a complaint that many young women likely had, but that few would have dared to speak out loud for fear of repercussions.

Interestingly, the magazine in which we see poverty acknowledged most often and most explicitly is not *Para Nosotras*, but rather *Senda*. This is most likely due to the fact that A.C. complemented its proselytization efforts with extensive charity work. While *Senda* was ostensibly directed towards all women, it specifically targeted the wealthy individuals whose donations were necessary to ensure the success of the organization's charitable efforts. Thus, while *Para Nosotras* depicted poor working-class women as responsible for their own financial woes, *Senda's* editors promoted the idea that wealthy women were to blame for not contributing enough to charity, arguing that the money well-off readers spent on unnecessary products and leisure activities should instead be invested in assisting Spain's poor communities.

A pointed fictional story published in February 1948 sharply criticizes a woman who does not want to contribute money to the nuns who come to her door requesting

donations for their asylum-hospital, thinking only of the many non-essential costs that she and her family members have recently incurred:

Precisamente acaba de pagar las cincuenta pesetas de la cuota de entrada en el Club de Natación a Chari, la «peque» de la casa. [...] Y Mari-Loli, la primogénita (¡y que no sabe dar coba la niña cuando quiere conseguir algún capricho!), la ha sacado veinte pesetillas más para ir por la tarde con sus amigas al estreno del Capitol. [...] Y que ya está al caer esa facturita del abrigo de astracán, que se compró a plazos, y que como se descuide se muere usted antes de ver liquidada deuda tan tontamente contraída. ¡No, no quiero más suscripciones!, afirma con la misma energía con que un general ordena la batalla. (Vázquez de Castán 4-5)

Of course, after visiting the hospital and seeing the poor children the nuns are helping, the woman quickly repents of her selfish ways and decides to donate to their cause, an act of charity that the publication's editors clearly hoped their readers would emulate.¹⁹

What is missing from this discourse contrasting wealthy women's superfluous purchases with their selfless donations is any coherent recognition of the political and economic factors responsible for the fact that so many Spaniards found themselves in need of such charity in the first place. Once again, we observe the displacement of blame for a societal problem onto individual women. Moreover, this discourse totally obscures the reality that one of the reasons the Civil War started was because wealthy Spaniards felt threatened by the redistributive economic policies promoted by the recently-elected left-wing coalition government (Frente Popular). The piece's message of generosity

¹⁹ Curiously, articles implying that women should not donate *money* to charitable causes, but rather contribute with their own time and effort, can also be found in both *Y* (Ruiz-Crespo, "Canastillas", December 1940) and *Senda* (Santa María, "Cogido al vuelo", May 1947).

contrasts sharply with both the Spanish elite's self-preserving political adherence to their own class interests, and the Franco regime's unconcealed spirit of vengeance against the losing Republican side, whose adherents were subjected to a calculated system of violent repression.

Much like their charitable giving, wealthy women's spending practices with regard to food were also portrayed in magazines as having broader societal consequences. A November 1940 *Y* article entitled "Cada día... ¿cuánto dinero malgastas?" urges rich women to be thrifty in the kitchen, not only for themselves, but also for the sake of their fellow Spaniards: "Con mucho dinero y con abundancia de manjares, es fácil ser una buena ama de casa. Pero, ¿es ser una buena española el malgastar la comida que otros pueden necesitar? Aprovechadlo todo; vuestro bolsillo y el país entero sabrán agradeceréoslo" ("Cada día" 26-27) With key food items in such short supply, even housewives with above-average means were asked to make sacrifices and conserve resources for the greater good of the nation. An article published the following month takes an even stronger tone, warning wealthy women against selfishly hoarding scarce supplies:

¿No creéis que es muy egoísta de vuestra parte, y hasta muy anticristiano, comprar, porque vuestros medios lo permiten, las subsistencias enteras de una tienda, dañando así a las personas más modestas, que no pueden sino comprar justo lo de cada día? Al acaparar vosotras, ¿no entendéis que ocasionáis que se retrase la buena distribución necesaria? ¿Por qué no hacer un esfuerzo y tener más fe y más generosidad? ("Cocina de circunstancias" 39)

That these articles attribute Spain's catastrophic resource distribution problems to the selfishness of individual housewives is yet another example of the rhetorical displacement of responsibility. Such arguments attempted to redirect blame away from where it truly belonged, with the regime's unsound and unjust economic policies.

The regime's trade policy also had a damaging effect on Spain's economy. Insufficient domestic production during the 1940s meant that, despite the regime's goal of self-sufficiency, Spain had a need to import food. Yet, as Cazorla has noted, the Francoist government's insistence on maintaining the peseta's exchange rate at artificially high levels—due to Franco's belief that having strong currency projected a nation's strength—forced Spain to keep strict control over its imports and discouraged other countries from buying Spanish exports.²⁰ Thus, as Barciela et al. point out, Spain actually *exported* food during the 1940s, focusing its imports primarily on industrial materials. This demonstrates that the population's wellbeing was a secondary concern in the eyes of Francoist authorities, who were more preoccupied with their staunch commitment to industrialization at any cost. In the past, scholars typically construed the diplomatic sanctions that the U.N. levied against Spain in the wake of World War II as enforcing Spain's continued economic isolation in the latter half of the decade. However, more recent economic histories such as that of Carreras and Tafunell note that the U.N.'s

²⁰ In addition, a large portion of Spain's exports were being used to clear the debts incurred to Nazi Germany during the Civil War, which meant that they were not compensated by equivalent imports (Barciela et al. 87).

resolution did not explicitly prohibit trade with Spain, and thus argue that the country's continued resource shortages cannot be explained by this externally imposed policy alone.²¹ When we consider the sum of the historical evidence, it becomes clear that the economic policies Franco implemented in his futile search for "la quimera de autoabastecimiento" were directly responsible for much of the unnecessary suffering endured by Spaniards during the 1940s (Barciela et al. 25). No amount of rhetorical convolution on the part of magazines in an effort to shift this blame onto Spanish women did anything to change that fact.

Almost all of the magazine elements that we have reviewed up to this point have taken a clear stance against both materialism in the abstract and wasteful spending in practice. Yet, paradoxical though it may seem, it should be acknowledged that these magazines also included an abundance of materials that *encouraged* readers to engage in the same consumerist tendencies that their primary discourses so harshly maligned. We cannot forget that all of these magazines, regardless of the organization that published them, were, at the end of the day, consumer products, and thus had the underlying goal

²¹ Carreras and Tafunell note that some countries, like Great Britain, continued to purchase Spanish products following World War II in order to aid in their own reconstruction efforts (222-23). Thus, while diplomatic sanctions were imposed, there was never a true international blockade or economic boycott in place. Clavera et al. second this notion and affirm that Spain's lack of sufficient international trade following the end of the global conflict was a direct result of the Spanish government's own autarkic policies (175). While economic scholars now tend to reject the narrative that externally-imposed isolation was a determining factor in Spain's economic woes, they do acknowledge that this isolation deprived Spain of the financial assistance that other European countries received for their reconstruction efforts (e.g., the 1948 Marshall Plan) and left Spain excluded from the key international institutions that would form the basis of the post-WWII economy (Barciela et al. 90).

of attracting the largest number of readers possible in order to sell more copies, earn more revenue, and remain in circulation. Editors' efforts to achieve this goal included dedicating space to topics like fashion and beauty. Such traditionally "feminine" magazine components, which had been staples of the genre since the nineteenth century, were evidently assumed to be of interest to a wide swath of women readers, and were thus included despite not being strictly necessary to women's completion of their assigned domestic role. In addition to such implicit invitations to consumption, magazines like *Y* and *El Hogar y la Moda* also relied heavily on commercial advertising in order to offset their production costs. These elements, while essential to ensuring magazines' success and survival, complicated their primary discourse of austerity.

The fashion spreads that were regularly published in both *Y* and *El Hogar y la Moda* are one of the most obvious manifestations of this contradictory phenomenon.²² Most issues of *Y* included between two and four pages worth of images depicting the latest fashions, though some contained more. *El Hogar y la Moda*, living up to its name, featured fashion as a principal component, with spreads of clothing models for women and children typically occupying between one third and one half of a given issue's pages.²³ The majority of these pages were essentially an advertising catalogue for sewing

²² Neither *Senda* nor *Para Nosotras* placed a particularly strong emphasis on fashion during this period—except as it related to the expectation that women should dress modestly—though *Senda* did include some fashion images.

²³ These images most often took the form of drawings, though photographs were also included on occasion and became increasingly prevalent over time.

patterns distributed by the magazine's eponymous publisher, HYMSA, which readers could purchase for around ten pesetas a piece by filling out and sending in the included order form. The fact that fashion spreads were quite literally central to the magazine — the middle pages tended to include the most attractive and colorful spreads — indicates the editors' focus on enticing readers to spend money on the company's products. Fashions for women and children were often grouped by the relevant occasion ("Para acompañar a los pequeños que hacen la primera comunión...", "En el campo, en la playa, en la ciudad"), by age group ("Para el pequeñín", "Vestir como deben las jovencitas"), or by season ("Estampados de primavera", "Si este invierno tiene usted frío..."), underlining, as Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil have pointed out, the ever-changing nature of fashion and the perennial need to keep up with the times.

In addition to touting the company's own wares, *El Hogar y la Moda* joined the other magazines analyzed in this chapter in consistently publishing instructions for home sewing, knitting, or embroidery projects (*labores*). The inclusion of these components highlights the fact that a large proportion of readers likely made their own clothes from scratch using very basic materials. On the opposite side of the fashion spectrum, *El Hogar y la Moda* (and, less frequently, *Y*) included photos of popular Hollywood stars modeling high-fashion evening gowns and other ostentatious clothes that most readers were unlikely to be able to afford. And yet, it seems quite likely that some readers would have been inspired to emulate these famous women's high-fashion

looks, at least to the degree that their limited budgets allowed. Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil have argued that this contradiction between reality and escapist fantasy, which gave readers the chance to momentarily avoid their own difficult realities, may actually have been one of the explanations for the success of women's magazines at this time.

But while the presentation of unattainable fashions that most young women could only dream of owning did undoubtedly serve to attract more readers, what has not been sufficiently discussed is the way these elements simultaneously undermined the magazines' doctrine of austerity. It becomes much more difficult to imagine readers taking magazines' cautionary tales against consumerism to heart when we realize that they could flip to the next page and find the image of a beautiful, well-dressed starlet onto whom they could immediately project their own desires. Moreover, if we take into consideration the relative prominence of such enticing visual messages over the equally repetitive, but less immediately eye-catching, narrative directives to practice thrift, prioritize the spiritual over the material, and put national goals ahead of personal pleasures, we can see how readers could extract different conclusions depending on their specific level of engagement with different magazine elements.

Even more contradictory than the inclusion of fashion spreads that subconsciously reinforced women's material desires is the occasional appearance of magazine articles *explicitly* encouraging women to spend money on fashion items. Such

pieces relied on the logic that such consumption had the potential to benefit and stimulate Spain's national economy. In an *Y* article published in March 1940, special royal contributor Mercedes de Baviera urges women to help advance the regime's autarkic efforts by wearing domestic fashions and providing jobs to Spanish workers: "Mujeres españolas: no busquéis en el extranjero vuestros vestidos [...] Nuestras fábricas trabajan de nuevo, los obradores esperan vuestros encargos para poder vivir" (75). A December 1941 *El Hogar y la Moda* article even advocates that animals used for their furs should be bred in Spain in order to reduce the country's dependence on foreign imports: "¡si pudieses llevar algún día un magnífico abrigo de astrakán español, de zorro plateado pirenaico, de chinchilla aragonesa, de castor gallego!" ("Pielés" 38). Whereas the aforementioned articles on wealthy women's food consumption argued that their thrifty habits could help to resolve Spain's grave resource shortages, these pieces alleged that women's spending on fashion would jump-start the country's stagnant economy. Such a discourse not only repeated the pattern of displacing responsibility onto women, but presented a total paradox by simultaneously attributing the fate of the national economy to women's ability to save money and resources *and* to their willingness to spend abundantly.

Apart from their focus on fashion, magazines' inclusion of sponsored advertising materials for everything from acne soap to aspirin was the most visible component of their pro-consumption message. The most frequent and eye-catching advertisements

were those appearing in *Y* and *El Hogar y la Moda*, whose issues both featured ads on nearly *half* of their pages. In a time when paper was increasingly expensive, and the margin for raising the price of magazines without losing subscribers razor-thin, corporate ads were essential to keeping these publications up and running. While magazines promoted a wide range of consumer items, superfluous beauty products such as skin creams (Crema Caffarena, Crema Cutifina, Crema Tokalón), perfumes (los perfumes de Myrurgia; Marisa, la colonia de la mujer; Perfumes Dana), hair dye (Camomila Intea, Velox, Komol Carasa), tanning oil (Brunisol Milady, Bronce Líquido Gran Dama), and mascara (Rimmel's, Negrina) were among the most commonly advertised items during this period.

The materialistic message implicitly communicated to readers through these ads directly contradicted the ideology conveyed by the more doctrinal articles published in *Y* and *El Hogar y la Moda*. In addition to the many examples we have already reviewed in this chapter, *Y*'s editors often published the text of Pilar Primo de Rivera's speeches, which repeatedly emphasized the importance of women's sacrifice. Primo de Rivera tells her fellow S.F. leaders in one address that they need to "formar en las camaradas una moral de sacrificio," and underlines in another the need for Spanish women to "procurar que vuestra economía casera vaya acorde con la economía nacional," a necessary sacrifice that she says pales in comparison to the "sacrificios mucho más grandes [que] hicieron otros en la guerra, sin una palabra de queja!" ("V Consejo Nacional de la

Sección Femenina" 14; "Un año más" 11). *El Hogar y la Moda*'s editors also sought to persuade their readers with dire warnings against frivolity and materialism. The publication's "Experiencias de nuestras lectoras" section, which purported to publish personal stories submitted by readers (though the majority were so evidently didactic that this claim of authenticity strains credulity), included multiple stories alleging that women's self-absorbed, frivolous behavior had directly resulted in the death of their children, who perished in tragic accidents in the care of their nannies while they indulged their penchant for luxury.²⁴ Against the backdrop of such emphatic praise of sacrifice and such threatening portrayals of materialism, advertisements enticing women to spend money on unnecessary consumer products presented an extremely striking counter-narrative.

At the same time, as Susana Sueiro Seoane has argued, it was the societal expectation that women keep themselves looking attractive for the benefit of men that enabled advertisements for beauty products to continue to circulate even during Spain's most difficult economic times, and nowhere was this expectation more reinforced than within women's magazines themselves. *Y* often included quizzes that interrogated readers about their personal hygiene and beauty regimens. One such quiz, published in November 1940 and accusatorily titled "¿Te consideras a ti misma como una mujer cuidadosa?", urges women to grade themselves based on how many of the items on a

²⁴ See, for example "Dulce hogar" (January 1943) and "Un consejo a tiempo" (July 1943).

list of thirty hygiene practices they regularly complete. A year later, in December 1941, another quiz entitled “¿Te conoces a ti misma?” ups the ante by giving readers a *ninety*-item test on “el arte de cuidar vuestra salud y vuestra belleza,” including categories on general health and hygiene, facial care, makeup, dental care, haircare, and more (“Te conoces” 16). From keeping “las uñas siempre escrupulosamente limpias” to “evit[ando] el feo espectáculo de vello en las piernas,” the many steps purportedly required to ensure women’s pristine feminine beauty could by no means be considered cheap (“Te consideras” 48). Maintaining such an elevated level of self-care implied the ability to invest money in the purchase of health and beauty products, and thus a universal mandate to do so erased the reality that most women could not afford such luxuries.

Nonetheless, even *Para Nosotras*, whose audience of working-class women were least likely to have spare funds to spend on their appearance and were most heavily criticized for their wasteful spending, emphasized the importance of women’s cleanliness and beauty: one May 1944 article advises readers that the number one tip for keeping a husband happy is “que os vea siempre limpias y arregladas” (“Consejos para retener a los maridos en casa” 8). That magazines harped on this topic, making women responsible for meticulously maintaining their appearance despite the implied cost, directly contradicted their usual condemnation of unnecessary personal spending. Indeed, while women’s prodigality was often chalked up to their own frivolity or vanity, examples like these reveal that their spending on beauty products could more accurately

be interpreted as an attempt to live up to the unrealistic beauty standards that magazines constantly reiterated.

While many companies published the same ads for their products in both *Y* and *El Hogar y la Moda*, it is possible to identify some publication-specific trends. *Y*, for example, frequently featured ads for gourmet wines and liquors. That such high-priced beverages, most commonly associated with luxurious parties and functions, were promoted in the same magazine that preached fascist austerity and sacrifice is a contradiction that ultimately reflected a real-life discrepancy between the values espoused by the Falange's official rhetoric and the behavior of those closest to the Franco regime. Sueiro Seoane has even pointed out that Francoist officials tried to censor any advertisements that connoted an excess of luxury in order to conceal Spain's extreme social inequities.²⁵ Nevertheless, the fact that ads that could only be directed towards elites still made their way into these magazines would seem to indicate that these attempts were unsuccessful.

El Hogar y la Moda, for its part, frequently promoted romance novels, housewives' manuals, and other types of literature directed towards women. That many of the books that were advertised came from the same editorial house that published the

²⁵ In fact, Sueiro Seoane goes on to explain that Francoist officials actively used censorship to avoid revealing the extent to which their own ostentatious celebrations contradicted their austere rhetoric: "Varios circulares prohibieron expresamente que las noticias publicadas en la prensa mencionasen el nombre del popular barman Perico Chicote cuando servía los banquetes de los actos oficiales del Estado o recepciones militares, a fin de evitar que la gente asociase a los políticos y funcionarios con una vida muelle" (200-203).

magazine is another example of the cyclical phenomenon of self-promotion that we saw with the publication's fashion patterns. The line between advertising and the magazine's content often became blurred in *El Hogar y la Moda*, not just in the areas of fashion and literature, but also in the area of beauty products, as exemplified by a segment from the September 1947 issue, "Lecciones de estética y belleza: ¡No malgastéis!" Though this article purported to offer readers helpful money-saving tips regarding the use of beauty and hygiene products, many of these tips implied that the best way to economize was actually by buying *more*: readers were advised to purchase items in large quantities and to add supplemental products to their existing beauty regimens. That the article was signed by R. and L. Blanch of the Blanch Beauty Institute—one of the magazine's frequent advertisers—suggests that commercial influences were most certainly at play behind the scenes.²⁶

The magazines published by A.C. included far less advertising during this period. The vast majority of *Senda's* advertising consisted of brief, text-only ads for small businesses in Spain's provincial capitals, presumably owned by individuals with ties to A.C.'s regional delegations.²⁷ *Para Nosotras* was the lone publication that did not print any advertising materials at all. But while it did not include any actual ads, *Para Nosotras*

²⁶ Starting in 1946, R. and L. Blanch also coordinated the magazine's *Consultorio de belleza* section, thus inviting a comparison to the later Elena Francis radio *consultorio*, which was sponsored by the Instituto de Belleza Francis and frequently recommended its products as a response to listeners' beauty-related inquiries (Balsebre and Fontova 28).

²⁷ More traditional corporate advertisements did not begin to appear in *Senda* until 1951.

did offer a monthly giveaway of fashion accessories such as gloves or silk stockings as part of a recurring section called “Nuestros regalos”. I would argue that the inclusion of this section likely encouraged the magazine’s working-class readers to desire such consumer items, achieving an effect not dissimilar to that produced by other publications’ corporate-sponsored advertisements. While the extent to which formal advertising was included varied among publications, all of the magazines analyzed in this chapter included some positive representation of consumption that fell outside the realm of the truly indispensable.

Notably, the concept of payment in installments (*venta a plazos*), most commonly associated with the vigorous mass market culture that arose in Spain during the late 1950s and 60s, is in fact referenced in these magazines in the context of consumer advertising as early as 1943. Ads in *El Hogar y la Moda* for big-ticket items like refrigerators and furniture, as well as some less costly products like dresses, promoted women’s ability to pay for items over time, demonstrating that this hotly debated commercial practice was already beginning to take shape in the 1940s.²⁸ In fact, a snippet from *Senda*’s January 1948 “Página de hogar” cautions readers against falling victim to this potentially risky payment scheme:

En las adquisiciones a plazos, si da el comerciante facilidades para el abono de la mercancía, es porque recarga su precio considerablemente.

²⁸ “Frisice: 2 modelos de refrigeradoras” (August 1943); “Muebles Prat” (February 1945); “Vestidos a plazos” (June 1945).

Compra usted así más caro y además se encuentra gravada durante una temporada con un compromiso contraído que no sabe si podrá cumplir en los plazos periódicos que se obligó a abonar, lo que, caso de suceder, puede crearle una difícil y angustiosa situación. (21)

Though the types of merchandise that were available to be purchased through installment plans were likely out of reach for many readers, the fact that this system was already being referred to in magazines from the 1940s suggests that the idea of paying in installments may have been planted in women's minds long before the practice became widely popularized during the *desarrollismo* of the late 1950s and 60s.

It is precisely these types of unexpected, seemingly anachronistic magazine elements that call into question the traditional periodization of the Franco regime as it pertains to discourses surrounding women's economic roles within Spanish society. While historians of the dictatorship tend to establish strict divisions between the austere, anti-materialist rhetoric of the regime's earlier years and the more modern, pro-capitalist position espoused in the later period, my analysis calls this discrete break into question, showing that consumerist messages *did*, in fact, exist in the 1940s despite the decade's purported austerity. As we analyze the rhetoric of the women's magazines of the 1950s in Chapter 4, and of those of the 1960s in Chapter 5, it will be essential to keep this earlier discursive precedent in mind.

Over the course of this chapter, we have observed how magazines' often-overlooked discourses encouraging Spanish women to manage their families' economic resources with the utmost thrift were in fact rife with contradictions and undermined by

inconsistent messaging. While magazines' editors presented readers with suggestions for preparing economical meals and organizational strategies for household bookkeeping, these materials formed part of a rhetorical effort to displace the Franco regime's responsibility for the failed economic policies that caused so many Spaniards to suffer hunger, disease, and crushing poverty during the 1940s. The blame for households' lack of solvency was transferred onto the housewives who faced a daily struggle to ensure their families' survival. And yet, scattered magazine texts did more openly acknowledge the harsh economic realities of the period, whether through specific references to the damage that black-market profiteers and greedy factory owners inflicted on Spain's working class, or through more general acknowledgments that making ends meet was often impossible even for the thriftiest housewife. As we saw in the previous chapter, these types of texts provided an opportunity for readers to question the primary message projected through these magazines' dominant narratives.

That magazines preached austerity and warned women against succumbing to their selfish, materialistic desires contrasted sharply with the true materialism of the regime's adherents, who leveraged their political connections to turn a profit. But in fact, consumerist discourses were also present within the magazines themselves, tempting readers with eye-catching depictions of luxury fashions and bombarding them with advertisements for beauty products and other non-essential goods, promoting the same vanity and wasteful spending that their doctrinal directives scorned. While the types of

fashions and consumer products advertised may have been out of many readers' reach, their mere presence undermined the consistency of magazines' messaging, serving as a subtle marker of the vast economic disparities that existed within Spain's postwar society and revealing the hypocrisy inherent in the regime's rhetoric of sacrifice. In the following chapter, we will continue to explore the complexity of magazines' portrayal of women's economic roles by analyzing their messages regarding women's extra-domestic work, which was often represented as a societal danger or a lamentable economic necessity, but was ultimately revealed to be a commonplace occurrence, and, in some cases, a potential avenue towards independence and personal fulfillment.

Chapter 3. Discordant Depictions of Working Women: Extra-Domestic Employment as a Danger, a Duty, and a Dream

As historians have pointed out, the regime's concerted efforts to limit Spanish women's work outside the home created a highly contradictory situation for many in the wake of the Civil War.¹ Not only had the war decimated Spain's male population, but the repression that followed meant that many surviving men were either imprisoned or banned from their professions, leaving women to fill the role of breadwinner for their families. While female heads of household (i.e., widows, orphans, and family members of men unable to work due to illness or injury) were theoretically exempt from regime-imposed work restrictions, not all of the women who actually took on such a role would have been legally recognized as such. Moreover, even those women whose families *did* include a male breadwinner often found themselves in need of a job in order to contribute financially; as we saw in the previous chapter, a single income was all too often insufficient. As Sarasúa and Molinero argue, regime-imposed barriers to women's extra-domestic work did not prevent millions of Spanish women from seeking out ways

¹ See Graham (1995), Sarasúa and Molinero (2009), and Vilar Rodríguez (2014). As mentioned previously, the Franco regime's efforts to circumscribe women's societal roles within the domestic sphere included a slew of legal changes that restricted the ability of women—especially married women—to work outside the home. In the spirit of the March 1938 *Fuero del Trabajo*, which had promised to “liberta[r] a la mujer casada del taller y de la fábrica,” ministerial orders in December 1938 and November 1939 sought to limit Spain's pool of working women to widows, orphans, and others whose families had no male breadwinner to rely on (“*Fuero del Trabajo*” 6179). In addition to the 1944 *Ley de Contrato de Trabajo*, which required married women to obtain their husbands' permission in order to work outside the home, a series of updated labor regulations implemented across various job sectors beginning in 1946 established that women were *obligated* to leave their jobs upon getting married (though notably this did not apply to women who had already started working prior to the regulations' passage).

to make a living, “sólo lo hicieron mucho más difícil” (333). In fact, Vilar Rodríguez asserts that it is only by acknowledging the invisible contributions made by women’s income that we can understand how families were able to survive the suffering and poverty that defined the postwar period (*Los salarios del miedo* 232).

Yet while women’s labor force participation was a significant phenomenon in 1940s Spain, particularly among the poor, the studies of women’s magazines published during this period that have explored non-domestic models of womanhood (Ofer, Rosón, Cenarro) have tended to focus primarily on the work performed by elite S.F. women. These scholars have pointed out the contradictory nature of the organization’s ideology: while the S.F. preached an exclusively domestic role for women in general, the group’s leaders demonstrated an independence and influence in the public sphere that appeared to directly contradict their own prescriptions for appropriate feminine behavior. Leaders were generally required to be young, unmarried women, which undermined the organization’s affirmation that women’s most important roles were those of wife and mother. Moreover, they were referred to using the authoritative masculine titles *mando* and *jefe*, which contradicted the emphasis that the S.F.’s teachings placed on the need for women to maintain their femininity at all costs.² As the group’s

² In a memo circulated on June 24, 1938, Pilar Primo de Rivera declared that all married *jefes* (or those who were widowed with children) should be relieved of their duties and replaced. This policy was justified by the assertion that such women “aunque teniendo buena voluntad y magnifico espíritu, como han demostrado muchas de ellas, no pueden entregarse enteramente a la Organización, teniendo, como dicen, otros deberes más urgentes que cumplir” (“Circular número 99” 9). Despite the emphasis placed on S.F.

publications attest, S.F. women saw themselves as a “selecta minoría” whose tasks within society were significantly different from those attributed to ordinary women (“¡A la formación de la selecta minoría!” 45). Both Ofer and Cenarro have also made reference to magazines’ depictions of other extraordinary women who had achieved an exceptional level of success in creative or scientific fields.

In contrast, representations of the paid work performed by ordinary Spanish women have been analyzed much less frequently. Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco briefly allude to *Medina’s* arguments that work distracted women from the goal of motherhood and stripped them of their feminine nature. They also mention the encouragement of women who had no other choice but to work to pursue jobs that were considered appropriately feminine. Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil echo the idea that magazines characterized women’s work as “un mal necesario,” arguing that more nuanced messages on this topic emerged only later in the 1950s (“Tradicionales, rebeldes, precursoras” 206). While these authors refer to magazines’ anti-work messages in the abstract, framing them as complementary to the exclusive prescription of domesticity, neither study analyses these discourses in much depth.

leaders quitting upon getting married, a small number of women, including prominent members Carmen Werner and Julia Alcántara, did hold important roles despite being married or widowed with children (Sánchez López 134; Cenarro, “La Falange es un modo de ser (mujer)” 108).

Of the authors mentioned above, Cenarro is the only one to explicitly acknowledge the ambivalence of the editors' stance towards the issue of *ordinary* women's work. She notes that in addition to profiles on successful women artists, writers, and intellectuals, *Y* and *Medina* also included pieces that showcased the everyday labor of "mujeres anónimas con las que fácilmente podían identificarse las lectoras" ("La Falange es un modo de ser (mujer)" 112). She rightly posits that such depictions may have prompted readers to reconsider their own societal roles, "abri[éndose] para ellas la posibilidad de configurar una subjetividad no estrictamente identificada con el matrimonio y la maternidad" ("La Falange es un modo de ser (mujer)" 96). Cenarro ultimately focuses the majority of her attention on exploring the alternative models of feminine identity embodied by the S.F.'s members (and by the other exceptional women featured in the group's publication), and on positioning these representations within the context of the editors' complex negotiation of their own identity as women leaders. Nonetheless, her recognition of the importance of more quotidian representations of women's labor in magazines is one upon which my own work in this chapter will seek to build.

Over the course of this chapter, we will explore three of the principal frameworks through which the magazines of the 1940s depicted ordinary Spanish women's work outside their homes. First, we will analyze the various arguments editors presented regarding the purported negative consequences of women's participation in

the labor force, exploring how these discourses once again displaced the blame for crucial social problems away from the regime and onto Spain's most economically vulnerable women. Of course, such depictions of women's work as dangerous both for them and for society did not align with the fact that women's unpaid, compulsory labor through the Servicio Social program provided the economic backbone for many of the Franco regime's social programs.

Next, we will assess the discursive strategies magazines' editors used as they attempted to contend with the contradiction between the idealized model of domestic womanhood presented in Chapter 1, and the fact that many Spanish women had a dire need to work outside the home in order to support their families. Specifically, we will observe how S.F. and A.C. magazines' framing of women's work as an exceptional circumstance and a lesser evil contrasted with the more pragmatic discussions about women's work that were facilitated through *El Hogar y la Moda's* collaborative advice column "De todos a todos".

Finally, we will explore magazines' representations of ordinary women who saw extra-domestic work not as a last resort, but as an end in itself, whether as a fulfillment of their professional aspirations or as a gateway to economic autonomy outside the confines of marriage. While magazines' editors typically employed strategies of containment and preemptive refutation in an attempt to discount this type of work as a legitimate possibility for women, the unique space provided by "De todos a todos"

effectively facilitated the expression of professional dreams that fell outside the norms that had been established for women within Spanish society.

First though, we should set the scene by addressing a fundamental question: what did women's participation in Spain's labor market during the 1940s look like, and how did the situation compare to the one that had existed *prior* to the Civil War? While we have previously alluded to the short-lived expansion of women's educational and professional opportunities that occurred during the Second Republic, the history of women's work in Spain goes back much further. Women in pre-industrial Spain had traditionally worked in agriculture alongside men, though they were often charged with their own set of designated tasks (Cabrera Pérez 37-38). By the mid-nineteenth century, women had also been incorporated into Spain's industrial workforce. In 1839, women accounted for 38% of textile workers in Cataluña (45,210 women out of 117,487 workers in total), and in 1849 the tobacco factory of Sevilla employed 4,046 women, accounting for 89% of its total workforce (Cabrera Pérez 34, 39).³ Finally, the largest sector of women workers in the nineteenth century consisted of those working in domestic service, with 416,560 women employed in the sector in 1860 (Cabrera Pérez 39). While women's work was often criticized in nineteenth-century Spain using many of the same arguments we will analyze in this chapter (such work broke with the idealized, bourgeois model of the

³ Child labor was also very common during this time. With children accounting for 9% of textile workers in Cataluña in 1839, women and children together made up nearly half of the industry's workforce (Cabrera Pérez 34).

ángel del hogar that was previously discussed in Chapters 1 and 2), Spanish women's participation in the workforce was not insignificant even then.

During the first third of the twentieth century, women continued to work primarily in these same three areas (agriculture, industrial factories, and domestic service). But between 1900 and 1930, there was a significant sectoral shift within the female workforce. The proportion of women who worked in agriculture decreased significantly (from 58% of working women to just 24%), and the proportional contribution of the industrial and domestic service sectors increased (from 12% to 32% for industry and from 19% to 31% for domestic service) (Cabrera Pérez 83).⁴ The decrease in the number of women working in the agricultural sector (which paralleled a similar decrease among male workers), is one of the primary factors that contributed to a drop in the officially reported employment rate among Spanish women, which decreased during this period from 14.5% in 1900 to 10% in 1910, and to just 9.2% by 1930 (Capel Martínez 49). That said, Rosa María Capel Martínez wisely cautions us against relying on these official census figures, especially when it comes to measuring agricultural labor, as a changing understanding of what it meant for women to be economically active may have contributed to the decreased reporting of such work.⁵

⁴ The remaining women workers not accounted for in these percentages presumably worked in other areas within the service sector, including professions that required some level of formal education.

⁵ As Capel Martínez argues, "la mujer siguió trabajando en el campo como antes, ayudando a su esposo en las diferentes labores o realizándolas a jornal; sólo que bien por un cambio en el concepto de población activa dentro del sector o por ocultación personal, su presencia no se contabiliza como tal" (68).

The arrival of the Second Republic in 1931 brought with it important changes for women workers, including enhanced legal protection of the labor rights of married women and mothers, as well as educational policies that promised to prepare women to perform better-paying, higher-skilled professional jobs in the future (Cabrera Pérez 147). Unfortunately, the Republic's short duration and its abrupt interruption make it impossible to know what the long-term effects of these policies might have been in terms of improving Spanish women's job prospects and increasing their labor force participation. Returning to the period that concerns us presently, the question of exactly how many Spanish women worked during the 1940s is a difficult one to answer, given that, as for previous decades, there is a severe lack of reliable data. The best starting point currently available is the employment data reported in Spain's 1940 and 1950 national censuses:

Table 6: Women's Employment, 1940 & 1950⁶
(N = Number of employed women, % = Percentage of all women who are employed)

	1940		1950	
	N	%	N	%
Total	1,116,549	8.3%	1,708,830	11.8%
Urban areas	457,199	13.7%	906,353	16.3%
Non-urban areas	659,350	6.5%	802,477	9.0%

⁶ 1940 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1946-1947* ("Clasificación de los habitantes por sexo y grupos profesionales," 209-58). 1950 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1954* ("Clasificaciones de la población de Hecho del Censo de 1950, obtenida a base de una muestra aleatoria," 78-83). The 1940 census report differentiates only between capital cities and all other municipalities, while the 1950 census report divides the population into three groups: urban, intermediate, and rural. Thus, residents of non-capital municipalities with over 10,000 inhabitants (approximately one third of all residents of non-capital municipalities) would be included in the urban category in 1950, but in the non-urban category in 1940.

As Table 6 shows, 8.3% of all Spanish women reported being employed in 1940. A 1961 study by Margarita Pérez Botija reports that just over a fifth of the women who made up that 8.3% were married (78). In 1950, the proportion of women who reported being employed rose to 11.8%, indicating a 42% increase over the course of the decade. Unsurprisingly, urban areas reported greater labor force participation than non-urban areas in both periods (13.7% vs. 6.5% in 1940 and 16.3% vs. 9.0% in 1950), though due to differences in survey design, caution should be taken in comparing these subgroup results across the two censuses (see footnote 6).

While these data represent the *officially reported* employment rates among women at the beginning and end of the decade, they should definitely be taken with a grain (or better yet, a heap) of salt, as it is almost certain that official statistics *significantly* underestimate the true proportion of Spanish women who held some form of paid employment during this period.⁷ This is due not only to the practical difficulties that surrounded the accurate collection and reporting of statistical data during the early years of the dictatorship, but also to the high probability of underreporting by the women surveyed, which can be attributed to several factors. For one, as Capel Martínez argues with regard to women's work in the early twentieth century, some Spanish women who worked in the 1940s may not actually have considered their work to be

⁷ Economic historians focused on women's employment, including Vilar Rodríguez, Sarasúa and Molinero, and María Ángeles Durán, appear to be in universal agreement regarding the unreliable nature of census data collected during (or prior to) this historical period when it comes to accurately documenting women's labor force participation.

such, especially those who worked in rural agriculture or making clothing and other consumer items at home. For another, given the strict and rapidly changing labor laws regarding women's work outside the home in different sectors, it is possible that some working women did not report their employed status because their employers were keeping them on illicitly in spite of official regulations.

Because women's reported labor force participation rates in this period clearly represent a low-end approximation, there have since been attempts to calculate more reliable estimates. The report that followed the Organización Sindical Española's Consejo Social in 1959 estimated that the proportion of Spanish women employed in 1950 was likely around 19%, a striking 61% increase over the official census figure (Pérez Botija 106-107). Nonetheless, while such revised estimates may be comparatively more accurate than officially reported ones, the true proportion of Spanish women who worked during this period will never be known for certain. As Graham has asserted, "the significant number of family units which did not conform to the state-projected norm were statistically invisible" (189). Thus, in order to fully understand this period, we must recognize and acknowledge working women's existence, despite their erasure from official records.

Though the same caveats apply, census data on the breakdown of women's employment by job sector can shed some light on the types of work in which women most often participated:

Table 7: Women’s Employment by Job Sector, 1940 & 1950⁸
(N = Number of employed women, % = Percentage of all women who are employed)

	1940		1950	
	N	%	N	%
Total	1,116,549	100.0%	1,708,830	100.0%
Tertiary Sector	536,821	48.1%	826,934	48.4%
Commerce	70,970	6.4%	103,310	6.0%
Other Services	465,851	41.7%	723,624	42.3%
Industry	317,646	28.4%	443,874	26.0%
Agriculture	262,082	23.5%	417,877	24.5%
Unknown	—	—	20,145	1.2%

As Table 7 shows, nearly half of women who reported being employed in 1940 and in 1950 worked in the tertiary sector—the majority as domestic workers—while the manufacturing and agricultural sectors accounted for approximately a quarter of reported women workers each.⁹ It should be pointed out that the relative proportions reported are unlikely to be particularly accurate, given that both rural women working in agriculture and domestic workers employed by individual families would likely have been more susceptible to underreporting their labor than women who worked in manufacturing, commerce, or non-domestic services. Still, the raw numbers alone attest to the fact that hundreds of thousands of Spanish women left their own homes during

⁸ 1940 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1946-1947* (“Clasificación de los habitantes por sexo y grupos profesionales,” 209-58). 1950 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1954* (“Clasificaciones de la población de Hecho del Censo de 1950, obtenida a base de una muestra aleatoria,” 78-83).

⁹ Of the 465,851 women who reported working in the service industry (excluding commerce) in 1940, 332,838 (71%) worked in domestic service, making up 30% of the reported female workforce. Domestic service was not listed as a separate category in the 1950 census.

the 1940s to work in factories, in commercial establishments, in the fields of rural Spain, or in the homes of wealthier families.

In fact, I would argue that it is precisely *because* these working women existed that magazines dedicated copious space to arguing that women's extra-domestic work was a threat to women, their families, and Spanish society at large. Legal restrictions on women's work and financial incentives to remain in the home undoubtedly had a substantial deterrent effect, but they alone were not enough to erase the changes that women's expectations around work had undergone during the brief period of the Second Republic. One argument frequently made in this regard, especially in A.C. magazines, was that workplaces themselves were inherently dangerous places for women in both a moral and a physical sense. A July/August 1946 *Senda* article entitled "El trabajo de la mujer", written by Ministerio de Trabajo official José Pérez Serrano, quotes a leader of A.C.'s rural proselytization efforts as saying that "es casi imposible que en el taller [la mujer] logre conservar la castidad de su espíritu" (2). The chief concern, from a moral perspective, was that workplaces exposed women to potentially compromising contact with men outside their immediate families. Another *Senda* article from November of that same year affirms this concern: "La mujer en esto [el trabajo] pierde; el roce con los hombres sin delicadeza o la hacen sufrir o la contaminan" (Gil 9). Painting workplaces as morally dangerous environments in which women would either

be mistreated or corrupted by men made it appear as if editors (and the regime) had their best interests in mind when they argued that women belonged only in the home.

Furthermore, as scholars like Richmond and Vilar Rodríguez have pointed out, the purported negative impacts of work on women's health — and specifically on their fertility — were commonly employed by regime officials as arguments against women's extra-domestic work, with one doctor referring to such work as a “verdadera plaga social” (Richmond 20). Pérez Serrano echoes this sentiment in the aforementioned *Senda* article:

Por último, los médicos, sobre todo los higienistas, se han preocupado de divulgar que el trabajo femenino en las fábricas hace disminuir la natalidad, por no tener tiempo la mujer trabajadora de ser y sentirse madre, aparte de que con su esfuerzo prepara la degeneración de la raza a causa del agotamiento físico sufrido, que origina, al propio tiempo, el incremento de la mortalidad infantil. (2)

These types of concerns about the health effects of strenuous work on women were nothing new; this issue had been the subject of significant debate in Spain since the turn of the twentieth century. But when we consider the fact that Spanish women's work at this time was often the only thing standing between their children and abject hunger, it becomes clear that editors employed this argument primarily as a distraction tactic, an attempt to displace the blame for the health problems suffered by Spanish children onto working women, without acknowledging the regime's role in creating the conditions of starvation and squalor that significantly exacerbated those problems.

The author uses similarly drastic terms to describe the negative effects that working mothers' absence from the family home was presumed to have on their children: "sin la vigilancia materna, [los hijos] viven prácticamente en el arroyo, expuestos a daños morales acaso irreparables" (Pérez Serrano 1). The same assertion is made in a *Para Nosotras* piece from July/August 1944, whose title, "Queremos que nos cuiden nuestras mamás", was clearly intended to evoke guilt in the magazine's readers. The article claims that "los niños, sin el cuidado vigilante de la madre, están expuestos a mil peligros, y uno de ellos, y no el menos grave, es el de perder su cariño" ("Queremos" 6). Such a brazen attempt to emotionally manipulate readers, some of whom were likely working mothers themselves, seems a particularly cruel means of trying to convince them to leave the jobs that allowed them to feed their children. By focusing only on women's duty as mothers and caregivers and failing to acknowledge that many had an equally essential role as breadwinners, articles like these displaced focus away from the daily struggle for subsistence that so many Spanish families faced.

Another concern mentioned repeatedly in these magazines was centered not on work in and of itself, but on the migration of young women from rural areas to the city *in search of work*. Moving to the city was a common aspiration at this time among rural women looking to improve their lot in life.¹⁰ Yet *Para Nosotras* published numerous

¹⁰ For example, Elena Soler's study of the testimonies of two migrant women from Montes de Pas (Cantabria) affirms that "muchas pasiegas vieron en esta emigración una estrategia económica y social con la que paliar la miseria y penurias que se vivían en el entorno rural" (Sarasúa and Molinero 336).

articles warning its working-class readers about the dangers and immorality associated with young women's transition from rural to urban life. A June 1945 piece from the recurring "Página rural" section warns young readers that the city poses a unique risk to naïve country dwellers like them:

El atractivo de diversiones para ella desconocidas, el lujo brillante que por todas partes la rodea, la multitud ruidosa, la iluminación de las calles, todo ese conjunto que la aturde y fascina [...] en el espejuelo de tanta falsa alegría, cae fascinada y muchas, muchas veces rompe sus alas, pierde la inocencia y la pureza, y hace desgraciada una vida que pudo y debió ser dichosa. (6)

As this piece attests, editors attempted to convince young woman that, if they moved to the big city, they would inevitably end up adopting a frivolous or immoral lifestyle. On one hand, it seems likely that many women who moved to the city may well have ended up disillusioned by the lack of opportunities; Abella points out that while many women "soñaban con emplearse en la industria o en el comercio," the majority ended up as domestic servants and others "se lanzaban al alterne" (98). On the other hand, magazines' threatening depictions of internal migration rhetorically erased the numerous economic factors that prompted women to migrate in the first place, many of which were attributable, at least in part, to the regime's failed economic policies. Instead, editors chose to displace the blame onto young women themselves for falling prey to the city's trap.

Magazines expressed particular concern that young women moving to the city might resort to making a living as sex workers: a July/August 1942 *Senda* article

proclaims that something urgently needs to be done to help the “cientos y cientos [de] jóvenes que se pierden” (“Amor a la sociedad” 3). Part of the regime’s response to this perceived threat to young women’s innocence was featured in a November 1944 *Senda* report. The piece focused on the work of the Patronato de Protección a la Mujer, a group sponsored by Carmen Polo de Franco herself, and whose goal was to “lograr la regeneración de las mujeres caídas y de velar por aquellas muchachas que por uno u otro motivo se encuentran en peligro moral” (“La esposa del Caudillo” 3). The work of the Patronato was purported to serve as a failsafe measure to redeem women who had already “fallen” into prostitution, but the article’s unbridled praise for this effort erased the state’s responsibility for causing the economic and political strife that pushed them to such extremes. Prostitution had indeed become increasingly common in the 1940s, fueled by the widespread suffering women faced and their lack of access to other income sources (including state pensions, which were denied to the widows and orphans of Republican soldiers). Common profiles included “mujeres maduras con el marido en paradero desconocido, con hijos que mantener” and “muchachas solas y con la familia perdida en algún éxodo” (Abella 54). Moreover, while the aforementioned report made it seem as if the regime took a hard line on prostitution, the reality was quite the opposite. As Graham points out, the regime’s ideological disdain for sex workers was contradicted by its official policy, with so-called *casas de tolerancia*

remaining legal until 1956. Magazines' fierce anti-prostitution rhetoric ignored the fact that the regime itself actively chose to look the other way on this issue.

But perhaps the most revealing of the messages that magazines communicated regarding women's extra-domestic work was their concern about the competition that women posed to male workers on the labor market.¹¹ In an *Y* piece from February 1940, Ángel B. Sanz characterizes the competition that women's labor could pose to male workers in violent terms, claiming that the women fighting for labor equality during the Second Republic pitted themselves against men: "disputáseis [*sic*] al hombre sus ocupaciones de hombre, en competencia brutal" (Sanz 23). Pérez Serrano expresses similar concerns in his aforementioned *Senda* article, alleging that women who enter the workforce steal jobs from men and exacerbate the problem of male unemployment: "cada mujer que trabaja en funciones y labores que puede realizar un varón, desplaza a éste y agrava el pavoroso fenómeno del paro forzoso" (1). The existence of articles characterizing women's work not just as a problem at the individual or familial level, but as a danger to Spain's entire social and economic structure, would appear to support Martín Gaité's suggestion that the regime's copious efforts to encourage women to return to their homes likely had as much to do with preserving men's economic interests

¹¹ This idea can be traced back to José Antonio Primo de Rivera's 1935 address to the women of the Falange, which was reproduced in *Y*'s April 1940 issue. The Falangist leader explained the party's aim to keep women from competing with men for jobs, claiming that this goal was for women's own good: "A mí siempre me ha dado tristeza ver a la mujer en ejercicios de hombre, toda afanada y desquiciada en una rivalidad donde lleva—entre la morbosa complacencia de los competidores masculinos—todas las de perder" (Primo de Rivera 37).

as it did with protecting women's sensibilities and moral conduct: "dentro de las cortapisas que se ponían a la independencia femenina latía un recelo fundamentado también en razones de tipo económico" (*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* 47).¹²

With arguments like these, editors once again displaced the blame for a regime-caused social problem—in this case, the unemployment many Spaniards experienced following the Civil War—onto women, when in fact, women themselves were also victims of that very same problem.¹³

While it is evident that many, if not most, Spanish women who worked outside the home at this time did so out of economic necessity, magazines even peddled the argument that women's extra-domestic work represented a net financial *cost* to their families, and was therefore a harmful economic burden rather than a benefit. We see this argument, for example, in the presumably fictional first-person testimonial from a working-class woman that appeared in *Para Nosotras* in May 1945. The story's

¹² Lena Gálvez Muñoz, et al. concur with this hypothesis, arguing that the regime's labor policies were characterized by "un marcado sesgo de género que solo buscó el pleno empleo masculino" (145).

¹³ As Sarasúa and Molinero argue, even though women at this time were unlikely to self-identify as unemployed, "puesto que el discurso dominante no reconocía su empleo como un derecho o una necesidad," their unemployment was a statistically invisible reality, even more so than that of men (339). Pedro González Murillo has pointed out the regime's reticence to accurately quantify or even acknowledge the existence of unemployment (a generalized form of unemployment insurance was not implemented in Spain until 1961): "El franquismo social abordó el tema del desempleo con desgana, de forma esporádica, sin afán de continuidad y despreciando las servidumbres técnicas mínimas de un seguro de estas características. Para el régimen la situación teóricamente idílica que vivía el país hacía innecesario un seguro contra el desempleo. [...] Por tanto, no existió una organización del seguro de desempleo en un plan general propio de la seguridad social; solo parches cuyo fin fue evitar el reconocimiento del paro como una realidad estructural de la economía española cuyo reconocimiento hubiera explicitado el fracaso del Estado franquista" (217).

protagonist claims that learning basic accounting has enabled her to calculate that married women working outside the home are wasting more money than they earn:

Sumar los jornales que ganan las mujeres casadas cuando salen a trabajar fuera, y restar de ellos los que ganan las que hacen la ropa que ellas tienen que comprar hechas, calcular lo que vale y alimenta un potaje preparado con inteligente cuidado y los alimentos fríos que aprisa y corriendo dejan en casa para los hijos y el marido; calcular lo que dura la ropa bien lavada y cosida a tiempo y el ahorro que representa. [...] Eso todo vale mucho, mucho más que pueden valer unas pesetas que ganen fuera de su casa [...] (“Caridad” 4-5)

Making, washing, and mending clothes, preparing home-cooked meals, and even maintaining a clean home to keep their husbands there instead of at the bars were all portrayed as crucial money-saving opportunities of which working women could not take full advantage. The implication was that well-meaning women, motivated by “la mal entendida abnegación de la madre que se mata trabajando,” ultimately ended up costing their families money unintentionally (“Caridad” 5). The blame for Spanish families’ financial woes was displaced onto women once again. But this time, instead of being blamed for over-spending as we saw in Chapter 2, they were paradoxically accused of *losing* money by leaving home and working to earn a wage.

Of course, it was true that Spanish women working in the 1940s not only had access to less lucrative jobs than men, but also received less pay for performing the same work. Many women had their wages legally set 20 to 30 percent below those earned by male workers who performed the exact same duties, which not only made it more difficult for women to contribute to their households’ income as *supplemental* wage-

earners, but also put female heads of household at a disadvantage relative to their male counterparts.¹⁴ While the census data do not include any *average* wage information, the *minimum* daily wage by gender and job sector is reported:

Table 8: Minimum Daily Wage by Job Sector and Gender (pesetas), 1940-1948¹⁵

Job Sector	1940			1944			1948		
	Men [A]	Women [B]	[B] / [A]	Men [A]	Women [B]	[B] / [A]	Men [A]	Women [B]	[B] / [A]
Paper	8.71	3.51	40.3%	9.91	5.37	54.2%	13.92	8.50	61.1%
Tailoring	7.43	3.48	46.8%	9.09	4.54	49.9%	11.50	8.48	73.7%
Textiles	7.91	3.93	49.7%	9.89	5.64	57.0%	13.75	8.05	58.5%
Ceramics	7.51	4.33	57.7%	8.94	5.43	60.7%	12.33	10.50	85.2%
Agriculture	6.66	4.25	63.8%	8.62	5.41	62.8%	10.40	6.90	66.3%

As Table 8 shows, minimum wages for women across a variety of industries in the 1940s were consistently lower than those established for men. Women working in manufacturing industries in 1940, for example, could be making *less than half* of what their male coworkers made. In fact, as Vilar Rodríguez explains, it is precisely for this reason that the regime's ban on married women's work did not apply across all sectors of production; in some industries, employing and underpaying women was too financially advantageous to employers for such a prohibition to be viable ("Las

¹⁴ For example, the labor regulations for the shoemaking sector, published in April 1946, not only assigned higher-paying jobs to men versus women overall, but also included a blanket statement that "los trabajos no indicados específicamente como femeninos, y que sean desarrollados por operarias, percibirán el 80 por 100 de la retribución señalada al personal masculino para la categoría correspondiente" ("Orden de 27 de abril de 1946" 3875).

¹⁵ Data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1950* ("Salario nominal mínimo, por jornada, que corresponde a obreros de tipo profesional corriente, según los distintos grupos de actividad," 600).

diferencias salariales” 75).¹⁶ While it is evident that Spanish women were indeed at a severe disadvantage relative to men in the 1940s with regard to both job opportunities and compensation, the fact that they continued to work outside the home in low but growing numbers over the course of the decade clearly indicates that their labor *did* represent an essential source of income for themselves and their families, in spite of magazines’ efforts to convince them of the contrary.¹⁷

As we have seen, S.F. and A.C. magazines included several different arguments about the dangers that Spanish women’s extra-domestic work supposedly posed. But one category of work that was universally excluded from such criticism was that done by women under the auspices of these organizations themselves. During this period, the S.F. organized numerous pedagogical and social programs—including the creation of Escuelas del Hogar to educate working-class women in the homemaking arts, and the provision of assistance to women in rural areas through the Hermandad de la Ciudad y el Campo and the Regiduría de Divulgación y Asistencia Sanitario Social—and these

¹⁶ Moreover, even in those industries in which women were legally required to quit working after marriage, employers did not necessarily comply with the official regulations. For example, a telephone operator interviewed in Y’s February 1941 issue matter-of-factly informs her interviewer that married women are allowed to keep their jobs, in spite of regulations to the contrary: “Ahora, aunque la orden no se ha derogado, se hace la vista gorda. Se pone una mala por tres días, y a la vuelta hay que llamarla señora. Esto es todo” (Sanz 29).

¹⁷ The issue of wage equality between men and women came up in magazines occasionally, though it was not portrayed in an entirely favorable light. For example, Pérez Serrano’s article urged readers to consider whether a policy of equal pay would really work to women’s advantage: “[D]ebe destacarse que el sistema [de igualdad salarial] constituye un arma de dos filos: es evidente que con él se aumentan los haberes femeninos, pero, a la par, el procedimiento puede significar la sustitución en la práctica de trabajadoras por productores hombres, pues habrá empresarios que, al no lograr economía con el empleo de mano de obra femenina, prefieran la utilización de varones” (2).

activities were featured prominently in the group's periodical publications. A.C., for its part, also provided a series of strikingly similar, parallel initiatives.¹⁸ These charity efforts, ostensibly meant to help provide Spaniards — particularly country dwellers — with better access to social services, also served as an important means of social control under Franco's dictatorship. As Cenarro points out, the regime used these social assistance programs as a propaganda tool to project "una buena imagen de un estado represor," attempting to increase the vulnerable population's reliance on the same state whose policies were contributing to their predicament in the first place (*La sonrisa de Falange XVI*).¹⁹ These programs gave the S.F. significant access to the homes and affairs of rural populations, with reformers visiting homes and collecting data on the families they assisted, including information on their living situations, health status, economic means, and status with regard to religious rites like baptism and marriage. This

¹⁸ Like the S.F., A.C. organized Escuelas de Formación para el Hogar and deployed members as Visitadoras, whose mission was ostensibly to attend to rural families' needs, but also included inspecting homes and getting acquainted with families' material and moral circumstances. While the community work performed by A.C.'s members was inevitably smaller in scale, descriptions of this work took on an outsize presence in its publications as well.

¹⁹ Jo Labanyi has analyzed the nineteenth-century antecedents to these types of interventions: "[T]he social became constructed as a female area, since it meant the extension to the public sphere of the ideology of domesticity. This blurred the public/private division, not only because female 'improvers' entered the public sphere, but also because the stress on 'family values' was an attempt to 'privatize' the public arena of class relations. Thus, the working-class home became a target of reform. Indeed, this reform process, which invaded working-class homes to 'moralize' the poor through the inculcation of domestic virtues, was referred to in Spain as a 'política familiarista': a term which makes clear the confusion of public and private" (85-86).

information was not only used for statistical purposes, but also as a means to coerce women into conforming to regime-approved behavior in order to receive benefits.²⁰

Moreover, while Y frequently lauded S.F. women for working selflessly and without any regard for monetary remuneration, their free or nearly-free social work was in fact extremely lucrative for the state.²¹ Moreover, labor was contributed not only by women who elected to join the S.F. voluntarily, but also by the young, unmarried women who were required to receive three months of practical training (i.e., provide three months of unpaid labor) as part of their obligatory Servicio Social. Deeply flawed though these social programs were, the coerced work of ordinary Spanish women represented a crucially important economic contribution to Spain's social infrastructure at a time when the country was struggling economically, as the regime used the Servicio Social program to "secur[e] rudimentary welfare provision on the cheap" (Graham 187). Women's work outside the home was suddenly not such a terrible problem when it was the state that was benefitting financially from their labor.

²⁰ In *La sonrisa de Falange*, Cenarro notes that families who did not appear for a scheduled home inspection could be denied assistance. Similarly, Gallego Méndez and Richmond both detail how new mothers were given S.F.-made cradles in exchange for submitting to prenatal care or baptizing their newborn children.

²¹ For example, a speech by Pilar Primo de Rivera published in April 1939 declares that, with the war over, "viene ahora la labor callada, continua, que no os traerá más compensación que el pensar cómo gracias a la Falange, las mujeres serán más limpias, los niños más sanos, los pueblos más alegres y las casas más claras" (Primo de Rivera 16). Blasco Herranz explains that, while the S.F.'s *mandos* did receive salaries, "el sueldo recibido en la SF, aunque ocuparan un cargo, resultaba siempre insuficiente e inferior al que recibían los mandos masculinos" ("Las mujeres de la Sección Femenina" 263). Moreover, she notes that S.F. workers lower down in the hierarchy, such as the aforementioned *divulgadoras*, were barely paid at all: "no recibían un salario sino en forma de gratificación, y con muchas resistencias en la práctica" ("Las mujeres de la Sección Femenina" 264).

While the first section of this chapter has shown that the broad portrayal of women's extra-domestic work as a detrimental phenomenon was an important discursive thread that ran through S.F. and A.C. magazines, the fact that many women needed to work in order to support their families was a reality that magazines' editors could not totally ignore if they wanted to appear at all in touch with everyday life in postwar Spain. Thus, another strategy they employed was the characterization of women's work due to financial necessity as a rare and temporary exception to the general domestic rule. One of the most common narratives, particularly during the earliest postwar years, attributed women's need to work outside the home exclusively to the extraordinary circumstances Spain was experiencing following the Civil War, and specifically to the loss of male breadwinners who had fought on the Nationalist side.

A report published in *Y*'s January 1940 issue on the creation of a professional training school for women in Madrid focuses on the economic necessity now faced by young women from middle-class Nationalist families:

La guerra ha planteado graves problemas a mujeres que hasta ahora nunca tuvieron necesidad de valerse por sus propios medios. Las más, de dieciséis años en adelante, proceden de la clase media. Sus padres y sus hermanos eran militares, arquitectos, ingenieros, médicos y funcionarios, por lo que el marxismo les anatematizaban [*sic*] de *burgueses*. [...] [P]or decenas de miles, artesanos, caballeros, españoles auténticos cayeron en el «paseo», con el terror entremezclado a la angustia del «¿qué va a ser de ellos?» (Hernández-Petit 15; author's emphasis)

Author Juan Hernández-Petit's fiery language clearly represents an attempt to evoke sympathy in readers by painting the Civil War's victors as victims. Such an account

intentionally overlooked the persecution and suffering that the *vencidos* and their families had experienced during the war, not to mention the terror and discrimination they were still enduring at the time the article was written, and ignored the fact that Nationalist widows and orphans were actually at a comparative advantage because they benefitted from state pensions, while those on the Republican side did not. Moreover, from a class perspective, the author's lofty praise of the course's participants, former "señoritas frívolas" who, with no prior work experience, "resolvieron ser ellas las que, con su esfuerzo personal, dirigirían en adelante la nave hacia buen puerto," paints as exceptional heroism what working-class women had been doing since long before the war, rhetorically erasing their long-standing struggles (Hernández-Petit 15). Hernández-Petit explicitly portrays the professional skills that these women are acquiring as a *temporary* solution to their families' financial ills, quoting one of the students as instructing the photographer to portray her and her classmates as attractively as possible: "¡Sáquenos usted bonitas que, más que nunca, hacen falta maridos...!" (15). The work these women would be able to do upon completing the course was assumed to be a stop-gap measure until they could rely on a husband's income, "un desdichado sucedáneo," in the words of Martín Gaité (*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* 46-47). Such a discourse served to obscure the dire need that many Spanish women had to earn money, regardless of their marital status or political affiliation.

A.C.'s magazines similarly characterized women's need to work as an extraordinary symptom of Spain's current situation, though, notably, their contributors acknowledged the broader effects of the country's economic problems, rather than focusing on the specific plight of Nationalist widows and orphans. In his article "La deserción de la mujer", published in *Senda* in June 1945, Nicolás González Ruiz admits that economic insecurity is what drives many women to seek work outside the home: "La angustia económica plantea problemas innumerables. No todas las mujeres tienen un hombre que las mantenga. No todos los hombres pueden mantener a todas las mujeres que de ellos dependen en la esfera familiar" (15). The author argues that women's extra-domestic work should be permissible in cases where the alternatives are starvation, or worse, prostitution: "¿Qué hacer? ¿Pasar hambre y privaciones? ¿Incrementar el servicio doméstico o alimentar el vicio en sus peores y más bajas formas? Preferible a todo eso es trabajar" (González Ruiz 15).²² And yet, while the exclusion of explicit political considerations makes this depiction marginally more inclusive than what we saw in the previous example, the hypothetical case of acceptable female labor that González Ruiz proceeds to present bears a remarkable resemblance to that described above: "¿Conocéis a esta muchacha? Es buena. Se quedó sin padre.

²² We see a similar argument made in the aforementioned article on the Patronato de Protección a la Mujer. In addition to creating residences for so-called *mujeres caídas* and providing them with moral advice, the organization is said to have founded workshops as a way to give such women a more acceptable means of making a living ("La esposa del Caudillo" 3). While women's work outside the home was less than ideal in the eyes of the regime, promoting such work was justifiable if it meant "saving" women from prostitution.

Carece de bienes de fortuna. Su madre es anciana y rige el hogar penosamente. Entre ella y otra hermana suya reúnen lo necesario para ir viviendo” (15). Even in this case, the author cannot help but add that this young woman “quisiera casarse, tener unos hijos, dejar la oficina” (González Ruiz 15). Not only is this fictional woman’s work justified exclusively based on her extreme economic need and lack of adult male relatives, but it is also assumed that any such woman would hope to get married and quit working as soon as she possibly could. Once again, women’s work is recognized as valid only as a last resort for exceptional cases, and ideally as a temporary one.

Another rhetorical strategy that magazines used in an effort to acknowledge women’s need to earn income without renouncing their rhetoric of domesticity was to encourage women to pursue work opportunities that were compatible with homemaking and domestic life. Such work included rural agriculture, *artesanía*, and the homemade production of clothing and other goods. The S.F.’s Hermandad de la Ciudad y el Campo created Granjas-Escuelas to teach rural women to raise a variety of animals and plants for food and other purposes. But even though a December 1941 *Y* article acknowledges the types of agricultural work that women did under the auspices of these schools as benefitting their families economically, such work was presented more like a hobby than an actual occupation, with women described as “ocup[ando] sus *ocios* en las industrias agropecuarias” (Ferrari Billoch 41; my emphasis). The idea that women would be using their “leisure time” to perform agricultural labor only reinforced the

notion that women's primary job was caring for the home and the family. The S.F. also made a huge effort to stimulate a renewed interest among rural women in the production of traditional artisan goods. The emblematic nature of these products linked them to the regime's propagandistic efforts to venerate the traditions and charm of rural Spain, as evidenced in Y's May 1939 interview with Jacinto Alcántara, the national director of Spain's Servicios de Artesanado.²³ Of course, as María Ángeles Durán has argued, "el fomento de la artesanía [fue] una preocupación política más que económica," and it is likely that the S.F.'s focus on encouraging this type of work at the expense of others prevented some young women from obtaining more practical job skills (113). The idealization of *trabajo a domicilio* harkened back to "la «estampa romántica» de la «mujer hacendosa»," but ignored the instability, low remuneration, and lack of regulation that plagued this type of work (Scanlon 338). The promotion of these marginal economic activities thus served to minimize the problem of women's need to work, making rural and home production out to be a panacea that it was not.²⁴

²³ "El pueblo español es eminentemente artista; hay sobre todo en las mujeres una vocación irresistible, que se extiende desde el dibujo del refajo y las sayas del traje popular, hasta los adornos y los utensilios de casa. La misión de los Servicios de Artesanado es recoger esta tradición, imprimirla impulso y desarrollo donde lleve una vida desmedrada y hacerla resurgir donde amanece muerte o haya llegado a su extinción." (Mendizábal 8).

²⁴ The purported convenience of working from home was also a selling point for several Academias de Corte y Confección that purchased ad space in women's magazines. An advertisement first appearing in *El Hogar y la Moda* in November 1941 promotes the instructional services of the Barcelona-based Instituto Técnico Femenil Central de Corte y Confección Martí de Gili, claiming that sewing clothes at home is a convenient and lucrative profession (the veracity of the latter claim is quite doubtful): "En la época agitada y difícil que vivimos, nada mejor que prevenirse contra todo malestar económico. [...] Con poco gasto ponemos a su fácil

While the editors of S.F. and A.C. magazines clearly saw ordinary women's work outside their homes as a suboptimal phenomenon, it was nonetheless a facet of Spain's social reality that they could not ignore, and thus, in addition to representations that painted women's extra-domestic work as extreme or exceptional, we can find more mundane depictions of working women's experiences in these publications on occasion.²⁵ But perhaps the place where we find the most consistent evidence of real women's need to earn an income is in *El Hogar y la Moda's* interactive advice column "De todos a todos". Between 1941 and 1948, we can identify dozens of examples of women who wrote in asking their fellow readers for advice about issues relating to remunerated work. An analysis of these inquiries, along with the reader-submitted responses published in subsequent issues of the column, suggests that members of the magazine's readership held a wider range of opinions regarding women's work than were typically presented in other publications at the time.

Many of these contributions support the hypothesis that the magazine's readers did indeed come from a variety of class backgrounds, including those with limited

alcance una especialidad que le reportará grandes economías, inesperadas satisfacciones y hasta un medio de vida cómodo y lucrativo" (Martí de Gili 24).

²⁵ For example, reports scattered throughout *Y's* issues from 1940 and 1941 interviewed women working in various professional roles, including mint workers, administrative assistants, telephone operators, metro attendants, nurses, and ice cream vendors.

financial means.²⁶ In one of the column's earliest submissions, a woman using the nickname "Enamorada" wrote in asking for a combination of relationship and job advice. She explains that she is in love with a man whose only less-than-ideal quality is that "tiene por toda fortuna un trabajo sencillo y mal remunerado, de forma que los ingresos no permiten siquiera vivir humildemente" ("De todos a todos", Apr. 1941, 35). Concerned due to her belief that a married woman "se debe a sus labores propias y no ha de abandonar la casa por el trabajo de fuera," "Enamorada" asks her fellow readers whether or not she should accept this economically inconvenient match. Several replies purportedly submitted by readers were published in the magazine's June 1941 issue (though, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, we should always keep in mind the possibility that both letters and responses may have been fabricated by the editors). One response suggested that "Enamorada" focus on encouraging her future husband in his career pursuits, and another assuring her that "si de verás te quiere hará lo que sea necesario para procurarte las máximas comodidades y bienestar" ("De todos a todos", June 1941, 34). But other contributors, like "Magnolia", suggested that "Enamorada" consider the possibility of working after marriage in order to augment her family's income:

"permítame decirle que actualmente las circunstancias son más fuertes que todas las

²⁶ Balsebre and Fontova have pointed out that the majority of Elena Francis listeners were working-class women, and have noted that these women's contributions to the advice program "proyectan sobre el futuro soñado una ambición por mejorar en la escala social" (212). While the radio medium was evidently more accessible to those women who were not literate, it seems possible that poor women's interest in the radio *consultorio* format may have extended to its magazine counterpart, at least for those who could read and could get their hands on copies of the publications.

conveniencias y no le queda a la mujer otra solución, si no quiere vivir con suma estrechez, que ayudar al marido por medio de su trabajo" ("De todos a todos", June 1941, 34). This last response reflects an appreciation of the harsh economic reality "Enamorada" and so many other Spanish women were facing at this time. And though the inconsistent nature of the advice received may have been a source of confusion for the contributor who posed the question, it does demonstrate that dissenting opinions were permitted to exist within this unique advice column devoid of a single, authoritative voice.

The most frequent references to women's work in the "De todos a todos" column came from individuals who had already decided to work, and were directly soliciting advice about either how to pursue a specific career, or which career to choose. Nursing and midwifery were among the most common professions in which the women who reached out to the column expressed interest.²⁷ In December 1947, a reader who called herself "Cuitadiña" wrote in asking readers their opinion regarding whether nursing was an appropriate career for a woman, citing her mother's concern that working in medicine could "llega[r] a «anestesiarse» [su] sensibilidad," but notably, all of the responses her letter received assured her that this would not be a problem ("De todos a todos", Dec. 1947, 44). Many women also expressed interest in working as dressmakers,

²⁷ Some were looking to take night classes ("Una futura enfermera", June 1941) or to study at home ("Nura", Feb. 1944), while others wanted to know if these career paths would be viable for them without having completed their *bachillerato* studies ("Golondrina de Moncán", Aug. 1944).

whether on their own or as instructors to other women.²⁸ Other careers that contributors to the column reported considering included beautician (“Francesca”, Feb. 1944), pharmacist (“Maribel”, Feb. 1944), typist (“Violeta”, Aug. 1947), dry cleaner (“Chiki-Nina”, Oct. 1947), elderly companion (“Angelina Fernández”, Oct. 1947), and commercial secretary (“Una joven de más de treinta años”, Dec. 1948). These diverse contributions suggest that women in the 1940s were looking for work across a wide variety of job sectors, though interest unsurprisingly tended to skew towards the types of jobs that were considered to be traditionally feminine.

Still others who wrote in expressed willingness to take nearly any type of job. Such was the case of “Voluntad de vencer”, whose letter published in the column’s August 1948 issue reveals her desperate desire to escape her current small town environment and, in doing so, relieve some of the financial burden currently placed on her family:

Queridos lectores: Vivo en un pueblo pequeñito desde hace un par de años, y un poco por aburrimiento y otro poco por necesidad, quisiera trabajar en alguna empresa o negocio, a ser posible en Madrid, Barcelona, o cualquier capital importante, e ignoro a quién debo dirigirme. Son tantos los deseos que tengo, de no ser por más tiempo gravosa a los míos, creándome un medio de vida propio que me haga independiente [...]

²⁸ A woman who called herself “La Innominada” (Oct. 1943) asked readers if they knew of open positions for a Profesora de Corte y Confección in any of Spain’s capital cities, while “Flor de Ter” (Feb. 1946) wanted to get certified without leaving her small town. Unsurprisingly, sewing was a job that many women were interested in doing without leaving their homes (“Josita y sus cinco hermanas”, Aug. 1948). When “María del Pilar” (Feb. 1944), a 35-year-old domestic worker who feared she was in danger of losing her current post, asked for suggestions about what type of work she could do from home while supporting her elderly mother, dressmaking was her fellow readers’ unanimous recommendation.

Conozco perfectamente la taquigrafía y mecanografía, así como la cultura general necesaria y una gran fuerza de voluntad para salir adelante en cualquier misión que se me encomendara, aunque de momento me fuera desconocida y extraña. (“De todos a todos”, Aug. 1948, 44)

Letters like this suggest that Spanish women often cast a wide net when looking for potential work opportunities; with fewer options available to them, they could not afford to be choosy. But even when contributors provided insufficient information regarding their personal situations, readers were still willing to respond to them with offers of advice and encouragement. In September 1947, “Marja” explained her family’s desperate economic situation and her desire to contribute in the vaguest possible terms (perhaps unable to reveal the details of her family’s situation due to their Republican affiliation): “No tiene padre, y como su familia pasa apuros económicos ella desearía aliviar esta situación. Si alguna lectora puede ayudarla, orientándola sobre algo que pudiera hacer le quedaría eternamente agradecida” (“De todos a todos”, Sept. 1947, 44). While her interlocutors did request additional information about the particular skills and education “Marja” possessed, all of the responses expressed a desire to help, encouraging her to persevere despite her difficult situation, and even providing contact information in some cases: “No te aflijas que todo es muy fácil cuando se tiene voluntad;” “Escríbame y procuraré ayudarla;” “Mis mejores deseos de que triunfes junto con un abrazo” (“De todos a todos”, Aug. 1948, 46; “De todos a todos”, Oct. 1948, 46). Though it is impossible to know whether these burgeoning connections came to fruition outside the magazine, these responses demonstrate that the “De todos a todos” column

was a space where readers could find solidarity and work together to solve the economic challenges they faced.

The personal testimonies found in “De todos a todos” primarily reflected the stories of women who *needed* a source of income to help their families survive. But while magazines paid comparatively little attention to women’s professional hopes and aspirations, to the possibility that they might be interested in working outside the home for reasons unrelated to financial desperation, we can, on occasion, find this phenomenon represented in these publications as well. However, when this possibility *was* mentioned, it was often construed as a selfish desire incompatible with the idealized model of the self-abnegating woman. In his previously referenced *Senda* article, Nicolás González Ruiz expresses contempt for a series of archetypal women who work without having the financial need to do so. He describes a woman who works for extra spending money because she enjoys wearing copious makeup and exaggerated fashions, a beautiful blonde secretary who was hired for her looks despite not knowing how to type, a married woman who works in the same office as her husband to give her family of four a better quality of life, and a spunky young woman who doesn’t need to work but who does so “porque [le] es preciso hacer *algo*” (González Ruiz 15; my emphasis). Whether out of a desire to dress better, show off their beauty, live more comfortably, or simply be “modern”, the different types of women imagined by the author all worked for reasons that he did not consider to be justifiable, and were thus described in a

sarcastic tone meant to elicit disdain from readers. This type of depiction served to trivialize several of the legitimate motivations outside of strict economic necessity that might have driven women at the time to look for gainful employment outside the home.

While *El Hogar y la Moda*'s discourse on this issue was significantly less dogmatic, the magazine's "Experiencias de nuestras lectoras" section published stories that served implicitly as cautionary tales to women with professional dreams. For example, the protagonist of a March 1945 story is a young artist and teacher who loves her career. But when her fiancé, Andrés, becomes upset about her desire to continue working, their disagreement leads to a breakup. She later pursues Javier, a fellow creative spirit, only to find out that he does not want a serious relationship. Having lost both of her loves, the protagonist continues her career and ends up achieving resounding success: "He triunfado y ascendido en mi profesión [...] Mis cuadros son alabados, y mi nombre famoso" ("La dicha perdida" 20). But she also expresses dissatisfaction with the sacrifices she has had to make—"Sólo yo sé cuánto me cuesta. Nunca más he vuelto a enamorarme"—leaving readers with the sense that she ultimately regrets her choice ("La dicha perdida" 20). In a similar story from September 1947, Maribel, a young woman with "ancha ambición" who is determined to become an artist, plans to submit a painting to a local exhibition in hopes of winning a prize with which to fund her career ("Maribel" 26). Maribel's childhood friend, Enrique, is in love with her, but he worries that "el arte, absorbente como cualquier otra pasión, ahogara su

feminidad en lo que ésta tiene de tierno, abnegado y generoso" ("Maribel" 26). It is only when Maribel takes pity on a starving child she meets while on her way to submit her painting, and decides to help him even though it means giving up her chance at glory, that Enrique finally concludes that she is a viable candidate for marriage. These narratives exemplify the strategy of preemptive refutation by presenting ambitious female characters with whom readers might identify, only to portray them as regretting their choices or changing course by the story's end. Here, women's career aspirations were not portrayed as strictly dangerous or harmful, but they were characterized as a significant impediment to finding true love and personal fulfillment through marriage (which, as we saw in Chapter 1, was portrayed in these magazines as the pinnacle of feminine success).

We can find representations of women's professional hopes and dreams in *consultorios* as well, though the way they were presented varied significantly depending on the nature of the column in question. In Y's "Usted quiere casarse" column from July 1942, a letter purportedly written by a university student calling herself "Luces de Primavera" confesses the profound indecision she feels regarding her future: "Siento en mi misma dos fuerzas contrarias que solicitan mi entendimiento y mi corazón. La una impulsa a mi espíritu y lo incita a buscar sus triunfos brillando en las Ciencias o en las Letras [...] La otra me inclina a buscar mi felicidad siendo la reina de un hogar feliz" (Fernández 45). This letter's stilted, overly formal syntax suggests that it might in fact

have been written by the magazine's editors and falsely attributed to a reader as part of a strategy of preemptive refutation, that is, in order to facilitate the presentation of the columnist's prescriptive response. Indeed, the published reply predictably suggests that "Luces de Primavera" will only find happiness by becoming a wife and mother and remaining in the home. And yet, regardless of whether the letter was falsified or not, I would argue that we should not discount the importance of this articulation of a young woman's dream of achieving academic brilliance. Readers of the magazine may well have identified with this purported reader's quandary, a possibility that is even acknowledged in the text of the letter itself: "Yo creo que lo que me pasa a mi les sucede a muchas jóvenes modernas, que, lo digan o no lo digan, ellas lo sufren y lo padecen" (Fernández 45). If the letter was in fact planted as a tool to reiterate the superiority of domestic womanhood over professional success, then the editors' chosen rhetorical strategy was by no means foolproof.

"De todos a todos" also published several letters from women expressing their desire to pursue careers that pushed boundaries and defied traditional expectations. In this case, though, they appeared largely uninterrupted by the interjection of the corrective voice of authority that we saw in the previous case. For example, a contributor whose letter was published in the July 1941 issue was hoping to parlay her training as a nurse into a more advanced scientific career:

Una enfermerita nos dice lo siguiente: Tengo aprobados los estudios de Practicante en la Facultad de Medicina, soy Bachiller, sé Francés e Inglés,

mi edad es 21 años y mi posición modesta. Siento mucha afición por las Ciencias médicas, Bacteriología, Análisis clínicos, etc. ¿Algún amable lector o lectora podría orientarme cómo podría ampliar mis conocimientos actuales en relación con mis aficiones y aplicarlos para que fuesen de utilidad a mis semejantes y a mí misma? Les quedará muy agradecida a sus orientaciones una enfermerita (“De todos a todos”, July 1941, 33)

On one hand, the use of the diminutive descriptor “enfermerita” by the contributor may evidence a societally conditioned tendency towards self-effacement, while its repetition by the editors prior to the text of the letter appears intentionally designed to diminish or trivialize the contributor’s standing as a working professional. But, on the other hand, it is clear from the letter that this contributor saw the field of medicine not only as a way to make money, but also as an academic passion and an authentic vocation, demonstrating to fellow readers that such interests were not the exclusive domain of men.

In May 1947, the column published another unusual request, this time submitted by a woman who called herself “Walkyria”. She writes: “¿Podríais decirme si hay en España, o ha habido, alguna aviadora, a quien pueda dirigirme y adónde podría presentar mi solicitud para poder aprender a volar?” (“De todos a todos”, May 1947, 46). Even more surprisingly, this letter received a response from a reader named “Alas”, offering to write to “Walkyria” and provide her with “datos acerca de lo que te interesa” (“De todos a todos”, Apr. 1948, 46). While a woman who dreamed of becoming a pilot was clearly an anomaly at this time, there is no telling what other dreams the column’s

readers might have been inspired to pursue upon learning about the types of lofty goals their contemporaries were harboring.

Another reader who wrote to the column broke with convention in a different way: by expressing her desire to work not due to pressing financial need or to personal vocation, but simply in order to maintain her independence. The January 1943 letter came from “Diana del Bosque”, a single woman living with her elderly parents who was looking to make plans for the future in the case of her parents’ death. “Diana” explains her internal debate between living alone and supporting herself through work and giving up her job to move in with her sister and brother-in-law: “¿Debo quedarme en casa sola y trabajar, porque mis rentas no me bastan para sostenerme [...] o debo irme con una hermana que se empeña en llevarme con ella? En su casa no tendré ningún quebradero de cabeza, sólo ayudarles en sus negocios, pero me parece que voy a perder la libertad” (“De todos a todos”, Jan. 1943, 39).²⁹ This query and others like it demonstrated to fellow readers that ordinary women could actually consider working to maintain their independence as a viable and attractive option, even if their economic circumstances did not strictly necessitate it, fundamentally belying the narrative that women should view extra-domestic work only as a last resort after all other possible options had been exhausted.

²⁹ As far as I can tell, no responses to this particular letter were ever printed in the column.

As the examples analyzed in this chapter have shown, the topic of women's extra-domestic work was present in the pages of women's magazines throughout the 1940s. Magazines' editors employed a battery of discursive strategies in an attempt to characterize women's work as a pernicious phenomenon for both women themselves and society as a whole, shifting the blame for numerous social problems — from infant mortality, to prostitution, to male unemployment — onto women who were simply doing what they needed to do to survive. Such rhetoric largely ignored the reality that a significant number of Spanish women found themselves in need of work in the wake of the Civil War, and also failed to acknowledge the economic value of the uncompensated labor young Spanish women were obligated to perform for the state under the auspices of the Servicio Social program. Even when editors did depict women's work outside the home in a less disparaging light, it was still portrayed as an extraordinary — and hopefully temporary — exception to the ideal model of domestic womanhood, and magazines pushed women to engage in the type of underpaid economic activities that could be performed from within their homes.

And yet, the evidence found in the letters readers sent to *consultorios* such as *El Hogar y la Moda's* "De todos a todos" presented women's extra-domestic labor in a more pragmatic light, revealing it to be the commonplace necessity that it was. These discourses serve as important evidence of the various productive tasks that Spanish women actually undertook in exchange for remuneration during this period, despite the

fact that statistical underreporting and labor informality resulted in the erasure of much of their work from official state records. Moreover, we can even find scattered representations attesting to the fact that some women's desire to work was motivated by factors other than just financial need, including personal interest in a given field, aspirations to professional success, and the opportunity to eliminate their economic dependence on others. While magazines' editors often attempted to undercut these motivations by preemptively refuting their legitimacy, in the repressive social climate of postwar Spain, any depiction of women who harbored dreams of personal achievement outside the domestic realm likely provided any readers who also held such aspirations with sorely-needed evidence that motherhood and housekeeping were *not* the only contributions that they could make to society.

Conclusion

In these first three chapters of my dissertation, I have endeavored to demonstrate how the women's magazines of 1940s Spain became a site where disparate messages formed part of a struggle for cultural hegemony, a discursive battle to control Spanish women's perceptions of their economic roles within society. Despite the Franco regime's persistent promotion (and in some cases, legal enforcement) of an exclusively domestic model of womanhood during this time, this prescription butted up against the realities many women encountered in their daily lives, as they faced an extended period of extreme poverty and hunger, often without the financial support of a male breadwinner to rely on. We have observed the myriad rhetorical strategies that the editors of Falangist, Catholic, and commercial women's magazines employed in an effort to reconcile these contradictions between official ideology and women's practical circumstances. From erasing unpleasant realities to displacing blame and responsibility onto women, from trivializing serious societal problems to representing but containing, or even preemptively refuting, dissenting points of view, these discursive tactics were designed to convince women to accept their circumstances without complaint, and to conform to regime-imposed ideals regarding appropriate feminine behavior. And yet, it is precisely because these ideals were so often incompatible with reality — as relevant economic data has helped to make evident over the course of these three chapters — that

magazines' attempts to promote a patriarchal view of women's societal roles as comprised solely of motherhood and domesticity ultimately came up short.

In fact, we have observed through a close reading of four representative publications that magazines' dominant messages often deconstructed themselves. Even discourses that at first glance appeared straightforward and doctrinal could offer the potential for readers to interpret them in unexpected ways. Articles about women's need to find a husband, dutifully care for their homes and children, or stretch their families' limited budgets to make ends meet incidentally admitted the host of serious challenges that Spanish women faced as they attempted to fulfill these prescribed roles. Moralistic stories and dialogues meant to lead readers to accept a particular viewpoint still ended up acknowledging important economic issues that contradicted that viewpoint, from the practical need for family planning to the fact that Spain's working class was earning starvation wages. And even when the advice that magazines offered to working women was patronizing and misogynistic, its inclusion still served to increase the visibility of women's extra-domestic labor. To return once more to Hall's articulation of the mechanics of media communication, magazine editors did have the power to "encode" the messages they published, but they could not "determine or guarantee [...] which decoding codes [would] be employed" by those receiving the messages. Thus, readers interpreting this curated content through the lens of their own experiences may have arrived at very different conclusions (100). The fact that the same magazine could be

picked up and read by women from vastly different class backgrounds rendered this communication process even more complex, with messages often becoming muddled as editors sought to appeal simultaneously to women from both extremes of this broad readership continuum.

More overt discursive disruptions also crept their way into these magazines' pages on occasion, despite the limitations imposed by the regime's strict program of censorship. Magazines' practical need for advertising revenue in order to remain in circulation meant that readers were encouraged to splurge on beauty products and emulate the luxury of Hollywood stars, a highly visible consumerist discourse that undermined the values of austerity and self-sacrifice promoted elsewhere in these publications. In addition, collaborative elements such as advice columns enabled provocative queries, and even open dissent, to become part of the discursive exchange. Though the magazines' editors most likely viewed this parasocial epistolary communication as a convenient way to contain opposing views and correct unfit patterns of behavior, *consultorios* simultaneously served as a place where readers could encounter testimonies on taboo topics, from broken marriages and spousal abandonment to women's dreams of professional success and independence. With the inclusion of these anonymous personal narratives, however censored or even falsified they may have been, readers were afforded the rare opportunity to see themselves reflected in the questions, doubts, difficulties, and hopes attributed to women like them.

The examples analyzed over the course of these chapters have evidenced magazines' capacity to serve as a resource and even a comfort for readers during the 1940s, as they navigated and negotiated their own economic roles and did whatever they could to survive this traumatic period in Spain's history. In Chapters 4 and 5, we will follow these magazines forward into the 1950s and 60s, as they continued developing their messages and discursive strategies in an effort to keep up with the times. Within the historiography of the Franco dictatorship, this latter period has long been associated with cultural and economic aperture, development, and modernization. Such change has been understood as having a special impact on Spanish women, viewed on one hand as having gained access to an expanded slate of extra-domestic activities, and on the other as benefitting from new technologies that promised to simplify their assigned household duties. In interrogating this historical narrative as it pertains to women's magazines and the messages they transmitted, two fundamental questions arise. First, to what extent were these purportedly novel phenomena truly new, and to what extent were they extensions of roles and discourses that had already existed in the dictatorship's early years? Secondly, which of the many changes depicted within these magazines' rhetoric were reflections of actual real-world developments affecting women's experiences, and which can be described more accurately as part of a propaganda campaign for a pattern of modernization that benefitted certain groups of Spaniards much more than others? Observing how these magazines' discourses evolved

over the subsequent decades, as well as considering the perspectives of the new publications that entered the market, will help us begin to answer these and other crucial questions.

Chapter 4. “Bienvenida, Mrs. Marshall”: Revising Economic Womanhood in Spain Amid New Global Perspectives and Evolving Internal Circumstances (1949-1958)

In this chapter, we will explore how Spanish women’s magazines and the messages they conveyed to readers developed and evolved during the 1950s, as the Franco regime endeavored to maintain its cultural hegemony in the face of a new set of economic circumstances and the new challenges that accompanied them. As Spain began to re-form its economic ties to other countries in the wake of the failure of autarky, the country’s renewed concern with its place in global affairs was accompanied by renewed reflections on how Spanish women’s experiences compared to those of their counterparts around the world. I argue that the emergence of new, less restrictive portrayals of women’s roles as workers, consumers, and even mothers in the magazines of this period reflect editors’ desire to maintain relevance within an increasingly global context, while still maintaining control over women’s understanding of their designated place as economic actors within Spanish society. Yet, while magazines concocted idealized portrayals of women as working professionals and as modern consumers, these depictions often clashed with representations of the continued economic inequality that kept such newly accepted models of womanhood out of reach for the vast majority of women. I posit that it is precisely because of this disconnect that editors chose to make the types of discursive concessions that they did during this decade. Doing so

enabled them to claim that they were advocating for women's advancement within society, but without having to concern themselves with the consequences such advancement would have if it were actually to occur on a significant scale.

As Manuel Antonio Garretón lays out in his analysis of the military dictatorships that arose in the 1970s in the countries of Latin America's Southern Cone, authoritarian regimes typically involve several successive phases. This was especially true in the case of the Franco dictatorship, due to its exceptionally long duration. As Garretón argues, in the face of the extreme violence that characterizes the earliest phase of a dictatorship, "the losers experience a primary, existential fear" of death or physical harm that forces them into silence and prevents them from speaking out and expressing any contrary opinions (18). However, during the subsequent phase, the different subgroups that make up the opposition to the regime in power, while still affected by fear, can begin to mobilize once again, albeit in a tentative and fragmented way.¹ As we analyze magazines' discourses over the course of this chapter, it is essential that we keep in mind both the economic changes that Spain experienced during this decade and the significant new challenges to Francoist hegemony that began to emerge. These challenges include both internal pressures—from the first major labor strikes under Francoism to the increasing prevalence with which specific individuals spoke out in support of Spanish

¹ If the 1940s—and most particularly the first half of the decade—can be characterized as what Garretón calls the "reactive phase" of the dictatorship, whose goal was to "deactivate and dismantle the previous sociopolitical system," then the 1950s mark the start of the "transformational, or foundational, phase," what Garretón refers to as "the era of grand plans" (17, 19).

women's rights—as well as more broad, external influences that emerged as the economic and cultural insularity that had characterized Spain in the 1940s gave way to a gradual process of aperture on both of these fronts.

In the 1950s, Spain's economy began a tentative process of transformation, as the country slowly re-opened to global trade after a prolonged but unsuccessful attempt to achieve economic self-sufficiency. One of the major turning points in this process was the 1953 signing of the Pactos de Madrid, a series of economic and military treaties with the United States, in which the U.S. agreed to provide economic aid in the form of loans and grants in exchange for the right to establish air and naval bases in Spain, which was considered to be a geographically strategic site during the Cold War conflict with the Soviet Union. Both economic aid from the U.S. and an increase in trade with other Western European countries had a significant impact on Spain's economic trajectory during this decade, helping to finance a renewed process of industrialization that had been hampered by Spain's lack of access to sufficient foreign imports in the 1940s (Barciela et al. 156).

U.S. economic assistance played a crucial role in the development of Spain's economy in the 1950s. The first U.S. bank loan to the Spanish government was a 1949 credit for 25 million dollars, which was followed by a subsequent loan of 62.5 million the following year, approved by Congress as part of the General Appropriation Act (Barciela et al. 159). By the mid-1960s, the total amount of U.S. aid that Spain received

would reach an estimated total of between 1.2 billion dollars (Barciela et al. 160) and 1.5 billion dollars (Carreras and Tafunell 244) in a combination of grants and loans. Nearly a quarter of a billion dollars of this aid (230 million) was to be spent on building the four U.S. military bases that Spain conceded to the U.S. as part of the 1953 Pactos de Madrid, 414 million dollars took the form of aid that did not need to be repaid, and the remaining 539 million dollars was in the form of loans (Barciela et al. 160).²

The arrival of this foreign assistance was not lost on the Spanish public, as evidenced by the appearance of Luis García Berlanga's 1953 comedic film *Bienvenido, Mister Marshall*, whose plot is succinctly summarized in a review that was published in *Para Nosotras* in June of that year:

Una comisión del Plan Marshall recorre España, y Villar del Río es uno de los lugares de su itinerario. Todo el pueblo debe prepararse para recibirles. Del resultado de lo que se les enseñe y de la simpatía con que se haga, depende el que luego envíen dólares y que cada uno pueda tener aquello más necesario para mejorar su condición. [...]

Pero lo que no han previsto es lo que realmente sucede. Los automóviles de los americanos pasan sin detenerse, levantando una inmensa polvareda en medio de la cual se pierde la ilusión de un pueblo. ("¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!" 9)

² The four bases included three air bases in Torrejón de Ardoz (Madrid), Zaragoza, and Morón de la Frontera (Sevilla), as well as a naval base in Rota (Cádiz). The U.S. military retained its presence in Torrejón and Zaragoza until 1992, and still maintains an active presence in Morón and Rota (Cooley and Hopkin 500). Oscar Calvo-González arrives at a fairly similar breakdown, estimating that of the 1.3 billion dollars provided by the U.S., 380 million (29%) was in grants, 472 million (36%) was in loans, and 459 million (35%) as sales of American goods for pesetas, which "may have otherwise diverted foreign exchange from the recipient country" (20, 59).

Though this particular review concludes on an optimistic note, praising the townspeople's efforts to rally together and shoulder the costs of their ultimately unnecessary festivities, the iconic image of the villagers being left quite literally in the dust by the passing motorcade stands as a metaphor for the dubious impact of the much-celebrated economic assistance Spain received from the U.S.

In fact, Carreras and Tafunell have argued that U.S. aid had a less significant impact on the Spanish economy than the earlier Marshall Plan assistance did on other Western European economies, in part because a similar quantity of assistance was provided over a much longer period of time, and in part because Spain was not immediately incorporated into the networks of economic cooperation that had helped countries like the U.K., France, and West Germany recover following World War II (244). Barciela et al. add that the dedication of a significant proportion of the funds to the military sector, as well as the delay in implementing the monetary and fiscal policy changes that were technically stipulated by the 1953 accords, further prevented this economic assistance from having a more significant and long-lasting impact on the Spanish economy (160). What the accords did achieve, on the other hand, was to bolster the consolidation of the Franco regime in the eyes of many both at home and abroad, by symbolically linking Spain's political and economic future with that of "la potencia occidental hegemónica" (Carreras and Tafunell 245).

That said, the influx of U.S. aid, along with an increase in agricultural exports, did temporarily allow Spain to increase its imports of the primary materials needed for infrastructural growth (Di Febo and Juliá 74). Whereas in 1950, the contributions of the agricultural sector, the industrial sector, and the services sector to Spain's GDP were 30%, 26%, and 44% respectively, by 1960 the contribution of agriculture had decreased to 24%, while that of industry had increased to 35% (Barciela et al. 220). In terms of the working population, while nearly half (48%) of all active workers in Spain worked in agriculture in 1950 (with the remaining half split evenly between industry and services), by 1960 just 37% of the working population worked in agriculture, with 30% working in industry and 33% in services (Barciela et al. 220). As these data indicate, industrialization brought important structural changes to Spain's economy, shifting the workforce away from agriculture and towards the manufacturing sector and prompting rural Spaniards to migrate *en masse* to the country's metropolitan and industrial centers (Di Febo and Juliá 75-76). Although industry became relatively more predominant over time, Spain's agricultural sector benefitted from modest improvements during the 1950s as well. With the help of policies that reduced government intervention and raised the price caps that had previously made the production of food for the legal market unprofitable, the worst food shortages of the 1940s were finally alleviated, and Spain's rationing system came to an end in 1952 (Barciela et al. 206, 209).

In the 1950s, as we saw previously in the 1940s, there continued to be opportunities for a small minority of Spaniards to amass large fortunes at the expense of others. After the elimination of rationing and the associated black market, *estraperlo* was no longer a viable money-making enterprise, but infrastructure projects constructed with the forced or coerced labor of prisoners and former prisoners continued through the 1950s. In their book about the experiences of the prisoners who worked on the construction of the Canal del Bajo Guadalquivir between 1940 and 1962, Gonzalo Acosta Bono et al. point out that many individuals continued to work on the canal even *after* their prison sentences were over, because, whether economically, legally, or both, they simply had no other option:

Si bien hacia 1943 comenzaron a trabajar obreros libres, hay que decir que muchos de éstos son los mismos presos que, una vez conseguida la libertad condicional, optaron por quedarse en el Canal dadas las dificultades laborales de momento, además de que, en muchos casos, el destierro y la presión social les impedían acercarse a sus pueblos de origen. Son los denominados «libertos», conocidos en el entorno como «presos» aunque fueran libres. (208)

As this example makes clear, the most brutal repression of the early dictatorship years had far-reaching impacts for both the *vencidos* who suffered it and the *vencedores* who profited from it.

Other ways in which elite Spaniards profited during this period were through control of the growing banking sector and through real estate speculation. Abella refers to banks as “el otro gran poder fáctico que contaría entre los pilares de la España de

Franco" beginning in the 1950s (alongside the Church and the armed forces), and links this new mechanism for facilitating the consolidation of economic power in the hands of the few to the earlier process of capital accumulation through black market profiteering: "Entre 1950 y 1954 los seis grandes bancos nacionales duplicaron sus beneficios y como muestra del proceso de concentración del capital resultante de la derrama de ganancias del mercado negro, 130 españoles, a través de la banca privada, controlaban 740 empresas con 106.328 millones de capital desembolsado" (134-135). In terms of real estate, the growth of Spain's urban population, due in large part to the influx of migrant workers into the country's city centers, opened up a new business opportunity in the purchase of land and the construction of new residential buildings. While there was an important amount of new construction done during this period, there was also a significant amount of fraud through the sale of homes that would never actually be built. Abella characterizes the greed of real estate speculators in the 1950s as similarly rapacious to that of *estraperlistas* a decade earlier: "se reprodujeron todas las malas artes adquiridas en la época del mercado negro" (143).

Against this evolving macroeconomic backdrop, Spain's labor movement made important strides during this period. While there had been a smaller wave of workers' strikes in Cataluña and the Basque Country in 1946 and 1947, the first major workers' strikes and consumer boycotts in Spain since the end of the Civil War took place in the spring of 1951 (Ysàs 172-73). In March, users of the Barcelona tram boycotted the use of

the transit system in order to protest fare hikes, ultimately achieving the annulment of the price increase, though several strikers were also detained (Ysàs 173). The boycott was followed by a general strike among industrial workers in Barcelona and the surrounding municipalities later that month, organized in a somewhat haphazard manner by members of the official vertical trade union (OSE) (Ysàs 173). This strike, in turn, was followed by further workers' strikes in the Basque Country in April, after word about the Barcelona strikes had spread through unofficial networks and channels beyond the reach of censorship (Ysàs 173-74). Finally, in May, the clandestine Partido Comunista Español (PCE) organized a "huelga blanca" in Madrid, urging the boycott of public transportation, commerce, and entertainment activities in the capital (Ysàs 174). These conflicts, while predictably met with violent repression on the part of the regime, ultimately had an impact on government policy by making it clear that there was significant discontent among the population with regard to the current standards of living in Spain. The new government appointed in July 1951, considered by many to be a direct response to these protests, would attempt to fix the damage done by the extreme autarkic policies of the 1940s (Ysàs 174).³

Several years later, Spanish workers participated in additional waves of strikes.

The strikes began in the spring of 1956, inspired by the demands agreed upon at the III

³ In 1951, Laureano López Rodó, a law and economics professor, Opus Dei member, and the future commissioner of the Plan de Desarrollo, began advising the newest official cabinet member, Luis Carrero Blanco (Muniesa 117).

Congreso Nacional de Trabajadores a year prior—which included “un salario mínimo con escala móvil, jornada efectiva de trabajo de 8 horas, seguro de paro y aplicación del principio de igual salario por igual trabajo”—and continued into 1957 and 1958 (Ysàs 174).⁴ The persistence of strikes during these later years had at least three concrete effects. First, it forced the regime to declare significant wage increases over the course of 1956. Secondly, it prompted another overhaul of Franco’s cabinet in 1957 (the entrance of the so-called “technocrats”, whose role in the more complete opening of Spain’s economy in the 1960s will be discussed in Chapter 5). And thirdly, it led this new government to grant workers the right to firm-level salary negotiations in 1958 through the Ley de Convenios Colectivos Sindicales (Vilar Rodríguez, *Los salarios del miedo* 74; Ysàs 177). While Ysàs notes that these negotiations were limited to some extent by the fact that they still fell within the restraints of the government-imposed vertical syndicate, he argues that the law still represented an important opportunity for workers (177).

Though no explicit reference to these strikes was made in any of the magazines studied in this chapter—the strict censorship law enacted during the Civil War was still in full effect until 1966—*Para Nosotras* did publish a series of articles in the spring of 1951 that, in light of this historical context, can be viewed as an oblique response to the

⁴ While there was also a notable student protest and conflict between left-wing and Falangist students at the University of Madrid in February 1956, and a student occupation of the Paraninfo of the University of Barcelona in February 1957, the incorporation of students into large-scale strikes and protests would become more significant in the 1960s (Gómez Oliver 96; Domènech Sampere 141-42).

growing social pressure that workers' groups were putting on the regime and on Spain's economic *status quo*. In a February 1951 piece entitled "La redención del proletariado", which formed part of Josefa Martín Sampedro's recurring section "Hojas de mi álbum", the author made an argument that workers should attempt to improve their lot primarily through individual effort and dedication, rather than through participating in solidary movements with their fellow workers. Though this piece was published just before the start of the Barcelona protests, it clearly outlines a political position that is concerned about the power that workers could have as a solidary group. Martín Sampedro made a similar argument in the section's May 1951 edition, strikingly entitled "«La paja del ojo ajeno»". This time, she sought to remind workers that they too had their part to play in the path towards social justice, and that they should not simply rely on asking for concessions from their employers without holding up their end of the labor contract. Though these types of ideas had appeared previously within this publication, it can hardly be a coincidence that they reappeared in the exact moment in which workers were breaking through the silence and fear of the 1940s to work together and fight for their right to earn a livable wage.

But despite the incremental victories won by the workers' movement, Spanish society in the 1950s continued to be plagued by socioeconomic inequality. Though real wages *finally* reached pre-war levels in 1956—twenty years after the start of the Civil War—such improvement was fleeting, as continued inflation counteracted nominal

salary hikes and limited their ability to have a lasting impact on the purchasing power of Spanish households (Barciela et al. 164). Moreover, while the increase in trade and the reduction in economic interventionism kick-started the country's industrialization process at the beginning of the decade, allowing Spain to increase the proportion of domestically consumed goods that were produced domestically, the country's demand for imports to continue development began to outpace its exports by the middle of the decade (Carreras and Tafunell 245-46).⁵ By the end of the 1950s, this extreme trade imbalance had depleted the country's foreign currency reserves, and Spain's economy had fallen into a crisis that would necessitate the implementation of the Plan de Estabilización in 1959 (Cazorla 273).

With this historical background in mind, this chapter will continue to examine three of the four publications that were addressed in the first three chapters — A.C.'s *Senda* and *Para Nosotras* and commercial magazine *El Hogar y la Moda* — all of which remained in circulation during the entirety of the 1950s.⁶ During this period, we begin to see some incremental changes in the format of the two A.C. magazines. As Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil have pointed out, they began to emulate certain stylistic and thematic characteristics of commercial magazines, from including more visually attractive elements to shifting from organization-specific information to topics of more

⁵ This strategy is known as import substitution industrialization (Carreras and Tafunell 251-54).

⁶ Whereas *El Hogar y la Moda* and *Para Nosotras* continued publishing twelve and ten issues per year, respectively, during the entirety of this period, *Senda* began publishing twelve issues per year instead of ten in 1957.

general interest, presumably in hopes of attracting a wider readership (“La prensa femenina de postguerra” 246). This chapter will also analyze the messages conveyed through two new magazines, both of which first appeared in 1954. The first of these magazines is *Teresa, Revista para Todas las Mujeres*, the S.F.’s first magazine for a general female audience since the discontinuation of *Y* and *Medina* in 1945. The magazine’s initial editorial text, penned by famed journalist and Falangist militant Víctor de la Serna, framed the magazine’s vision of womanhood as a more modern, updated version of its namesake Santa Teresa de Jesús: “TERESA, que anduvo por el ancho mundo en borriquillo [...] anda ahora en “Vespa”, habla un poco de inglés, fuma y nada, porque eso no es pecado” (1).⁷ The second magazine launched in 1954 is *Marisol, El Semanario de la Mujer*, a weekly magazine from commercial publisher Gráficas Espejo, which had previously launched several other magazines directed towards a general audience, including *Gran Mundo* in 1950, *Diez Minutos* in 1951 and *Sucesos* in 1953.

All of the magazines discussed in Chapters 1-3 increased their print runs during this period:

⁷ Víctor de la Serna’s son, Jesús de la Serna, was the head editor of *Teresa* until Aurora Mateos replaced him in November 1956.

Table 9: Monthly Print Runs, 1945-46, 1954 & 1957⁸

	1945-46	1954	1957
<i>El Hogar y la Moda</i>	50,000	80,000	80,000
<i>Marisol</i>	n/a	—	60,000
<i>Teresa</i>	n/a	20,000	*27,000
<i>Para Nosotras</i>	5,000	*10,000	†9,250
<i>Senda</i>	2,500	5,000	†6,500

As Table 9 shows, *El Hogar y la Moda*'s run increased by 60% compared with the 1945-46 period, reaching 80,000 issues during the 1950s, and *Marisol*'s run was the next largest at 60,000 monthly issues. *Teresa* debuted at 20,000 issues per month and increased to 27,000 monthly issues by October 1955 (the latest data point available during this period).

Though their reach remained relatively modest compared with the other magazines, *Para Nosotras* and *Senda* also doubled their print runs during this period as compared with the previous decade.

Magazine prices also increased across the board over the course of the 1950s:

⁸ Data reported in the 1945-1946, 1954, and 1957 volumes of the *Anuario de la Prensa Española*, with the exception of the figures indicated, which were not reported in the *Anuario* and have thus been culled from other available sources. Figures indicated with an asterisk (*) were reported directly by the magazines themselves ("*La nueva etapa de «Para Nosotras»*", January 1955, 3; "*Carta de Teresa a los señores anunciantes*", October 1955, interior cover). The figures indicated with a dagger (†) appeared in an A.C. report from April 21, 1958 (Montero García 35).

Table 10: Single Issue Prices (pesetas), 1949-1958⁹

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
<i>Senda</i>	4.00	4.00	5.00	8.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00
<i>El Hogar y la Moda</i>	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	6.00	6.00
<i>Teresa</i>	—	—	—	—	—	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	6.00
<i>Para Nosotras</i>	0.75	0.75	1.15	1.15	1.75	1.75	1.75	1.75	2.00	2.00
<i>Marisol</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1.00	1.25	2.00	2.00	2.00

As Table 10 shows, *Senda*'s price increased by 75%, from four to seven pesetas, between 1949 and 1958, and *El Hogar y la Moda*'s price increased by 50%, from four to six pesetas. *Teresa* debuted at five pesetas and did not increase its price until 1958, when it began charging six pesetas per issue. *Para Nosotras* remained relatively affordable, in line with its working-class audience, maintaining its price at less than a third of what *Senda* cost throughout this period, though its proportional increase in price was the greatest at 167%. *Marisol* debuted at one peseta per issue and reached two pesetas by 1956, but given its greater frequency as a weekly publication, it was actually the most expensive of these magazines from an annual perspective. As discussed in the previous section, these price increases were tied to a global trend of price inflation, which made both paper and the production of periodicals more expensive, and also affected the prices of entertainment activities more broadly. For comparison, the price of a standard movie ticket rose from 6 pesetas in 1949 to 10 pesetas in 1955, an increase of 67% (Diez 9). At the same time, we can observe an improvement in the technical aspects of these

⁹ Data reported directly by the magazines. Prices listed represent the maximum single-issue price charged for a given magazine in a given year, excluding special issues (*extraordinarios*).

publications over the course of the decade, with both photographs and pages printed in color becoming increasingly frequent.

Most of the prior scholarly work on women's magazines published during the Franco dictatorship has focused either on those published during the immediate postwar period or on those published during the later *desarrollista* period.¹⁰ Even those publications that do address the entirety of the dictatorship period still tend to divide their analysis up into two distinct sections. For example, Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil (2007) group the magazines of the 1950s along with those of the 1940s in the category "postwar and early Francoism", while Ofer (2009) uses *Medina* (1941-1945) and *Teresa* (1954-1977) to represent the S.F.'s magazines from an earlier and a later period, respectively. As a result of this trend towards presenting Franco-era media discourses regarding Spanish women's societal roles as clearly divisible into two distinct blocks, the messages magazines communicated to readers during this crucial "hinge decade" have tended to become lost in the shuffle, rendering invisible the changes that occurred from the 1940s to the 1950s and from the 1950s to the 1960s.

Because the magazines published during the second decade of the dictatorship have yet to be considered on their own terms, the evolution of these publications' treatment of women's economic roles over time has often been portrayed as an

¹⁰ Carrión Jiménez and Hernando Carrasco (1985), Rosón (2016) and Cenarro (2017) study the S.F.'s publications from 1938 through 1945. Ofer (2017) studies the issues of *Teresa* published in the 1960s, while Muñoz Ruiz (2002) analyzes twelve different magazines from 1955 to 1970.

artificially discrete break between the postwar period's ultra-conservative, nationalist rhetoric that promoted economic austerity and strictly traditional gender roles, and a comparatively more progressive, plural characterization of women's roles in Spanish society, purported to have emerged only during the development-crazed *tardofranquismo*. Ofer is one of the only authors to challenge this perspective, in the context of her analysis of the S.F.'s process of organizational identity formation: "My contention is that in the SF, it was not a case of 'old-fashioned' femininity being replaced over the years by a model of 'modern' femininity, but rather that of coexistence of modernist and conservative elements, which could be found in the organization's rhetoric from the beginning" ("A 'New' Woman for a 'New' Spain" 587). In my view, Ofer's proposal that we step away from the dichotomous perspective that associates more antiquated, conservative models of womanhood with "early Francoism" and more modern models of womanhood with "late Francoism" can also invite us to consider how women's magazines navigated the specific challenges of representing economic womanhood in the historical period that fell between extreme autarky and *desarrollismo*.

My analysis in this chapter thus seeks to remedy a historically oversimplified periodization by zooming in on the magazines published between 1949 and 1958 and analyzing their messages in relation to their own specific historical, economic, and cultural context. Upon doing so, several interesting patterns emerge that prior studies of these magazines have left largely unexplored. First, we can see how the consolidation of

more permissive models of womanhood including the “professional woman” and the “modern housewife-consumer” coincided with a notable increase in reports on how women were living in other countries, particularly the United States. This correlation suggests that editors were keenly aware of what was going on outside Spain’s borders with regard to women’s societal roles and were concerned about how Spanish women might react in the face of these more liberal models of feminine behavior. Editors thus sought to preemptively intervene both by interpreting foreign models of womanhood for their readers, and by adjusting their own discourses to embrace certain progressive notions regarding women’s economic roles in a controlled and measured way.

Secondly, we can observe a stark contrast between discourses that presented women’s professionalization and consumption in an increasingly positive light, and those that demonstrated that these alternative models of womanhood continued to be relevant to and attainable for only a small proportion of Spanish women. This discrepancy becomes visible, for example, through articles and advice column letters indicating that many women still only had access to low-paying, precarious jobs such as those in domestic service, as well as through other representations of continued economic necessity, such as those found in articles that discussed Spain’s urban housing crisis. These elements of magazines’ discourses make it evident that, if a few lucky women were breaking into the professional world as lawyers and university professors in the 1950s, far more women were leaving their families’ homes to work long hours for

minimal remuneration in the homes of wealthier families. If a few women were decking out their homes with the latest consumer appliances, far more were living in shantytowns in the suburbs surrounding cities like Madrid and Barcelona. Editors thus had little to lose and much to gain by featuring new job opportunities for women in various professional sectors, or by promoting the latest innovations in home design. These types of narratives would help stave off accusations that magazines' editors were behind the times in terms of their depiction of women's societal roles, but they would not upend Spain's societal order, because only the most economically privileged women actually had the means to put these discourses into practice in their everyday lives.

In what remains of this chapter, we will begin by analyzing magazines' representations of the customs and behaviors of foreign women, before proceeding to explore in detail how these publications updated their approaches to portraying women's extra-domestic work and household spending and consumption during this decade, while at the same time continuing to provide evidence of Spain's stark class disparities. Finally, we will conclude with a consideration of how magazines' discourses on motherhood and marriage evolved in the 1950s to include a growing recognition of the injustices married women faced in Spain, due to their legal inferiority and the limited recourses available to allow them to escape from physically and emotionally abusive marriages. While major legislative reform with regard to women's *labor* rights would not be passed until the beginning of the subsequent decade, the country's Civil

Code was revised in 1958, removing some of the most unjust restrictions on the rights of married and separated women, particularly as it pertained to the issue of maintaining custody over their children. The analysis of these ongoing debates about women's civil rights will thus serve as a key jumping-off point for the following chapter on the magazines of the 1960s, in which we will see how magazines' messages to readers changed once more in the wake of real, practical improvements to women's civil and labor rights in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The conception of Spain as forming part of an international community — while still maintaining its own distinctive characteristics as a nation — was a prominent idea conveyed through magazines during this transitional period. This insider/outsider quality of Spain's national identity at this time is crucial, because it meant that everything happening in Spain, including the nation's conception of women's economic roles, began to be viewed more and more in comparison with what was happening in other countries. The parallel process of cultural aperture that accompanied the end of Spain's economic and diplomatic isolation was reflected in women's magazines in the form of an increased focus on the experiences of women in other countries, particularly the U.S., which had been more or less absent from the magazines of the 1940s.¹¹ These foreign models of womanhood became an obvious baseline against which both Spanish

¹¹ The one significant exception to this general absence of foreign models in the magazines of the 1940s were the frequent depictions of the lives and work of Hollywood stars.

women's economic behaviors, and magazines' prescriptions for their behaviors, were compared.

The most critical depictions of foreign women focused on portraying women from the U.S. as frivolous materialists, a perspective particularly pervasive in the A.C.'s magazines. Editorial pieces by A.C. spiritual advisor Emilio Enciso Viana in both *Senda* and *Para Nosotras* (published in the latter magazine under the pen name Luis de Haro) warned readers about the inherently immoral nature of U.S. culture. In February 1950, he cautions readers of *Para Nosotras* not to model themselves after film characters—"esas mujeres que no piensan más que en disfrutar, en vivir con gran lujo de diversión en diversión"—or be swayed by "las noticias que vienen de América, donde la mujer hace poca vida de hogar," asserting that U.S. women's move away from homemaking makes them "un peligro para la sociedad americana" (Haro 3, 13). This editorial make clear that U.S. customs with regard to women's roles within society were seen not only as immoral, but also as a dangerous role model that many of Spain's young women could be tempted to imitate thanks to the influence of film and other media.

Even some of the less moralizing contributions to magazines still framed U.S. women as materialistic above all else. In January 1955, *Teresa* published the results of a survey of women in the U.S. regarding the factors that contributed to their happiness in marriage. Over half of the women surveyed indicate that marital happiness is based primarily on money: "Nada de «contigo, pan y cebolla». Dólares, muchos dólares, para

el modisto, para el peluquero, el perfumista, el peletero, y el zapatero..." ("¡Ay! La felicidad" 47). Though this piece was presented without much additional commentary, even this brief comparison of a traditional Spanish saying with the list of items on which U.S. women enjoyed spending money, served as a subtle marker of differentiation between the two countries' customs, with a clear preference for domestic over foreign priorities.

We find a similar tone in an article published in *Marisol's* March 17, 1958 issue, entitled "Cómo son las mujeres de otros países", which ties U.S. women's greater rates of labor force participation to extreme levels of materialism and a purported tendency towards divorce:¹²

Cada día se acuestan rendidas pensando sólo en descansar para comenzar la tarea semanal de ganar dinero. La meta: un abrigo de visón y el último modelo de coche. Generalmente, las mujeres casadas trabajan también, con lo cual la vida de hogar pierde mucho. Pero si llega un momento en que sucede la ruptura matrimonial, y no son católicas, el divorcio se produce: un hogar deshecho y unos hijos que se sienten confundidos y asustados. (14)

The article proceeds to describe the bad habits of women in different European countries, with the express intention of convincing readers to be proud of their Spanish heritage, "para que no las envidiéis nunca, para que estéis muy orgullosas de ser

¹² The divorce rate among women in the United States actually *decreased* slightly between 1950 and 1960 (from 10.3 per thousand married women to 9.2 per thousand married women) following a brief spike immediately after World War II, perhaps due to a renewed cultural focus on the nuclear family model during this decade (Michael 178). That said, the U.S. was indeed a global outlier in terms of divorce rates at this time, and the highly publicized divorces and remarriages of various Hollywood stars only reinforced the association between divorce and U.S. women.

españolas" ("Cómo son las mujeres" 14). Once again, we see the recurrence of the "us vs. them" mentality, with readers encouraged to consider Spanish women's way of participating in society as morally superior.

But at the same time, other representations of U.S. women in these magazines offered a much more positive portrayal. A *New York Times* article penned by British economist Barbara Ward, and republished in *Senda* in November 1955, claimed that what Europeans perceived as materialism was actually the result of hard work: "Para muchos no americanos, el estilo de vida americano parece haber bajado del cielo el algún cuerno de la abundancia de desmesuradas proporciones. Lo que no se calibra es la constancia y la intensidad de trabajo que la sostiene" (Ward 10). Moreover, we can find many representations that praise U.S. women, emphasizing how their extra-domestic work has improved their families' quality of life. A piece from *Marisol's* May 10, 1954 issue entitled "La importancia de la mujer que trabaja" explains that the fact that so many families in the U.S. own their own homes is due, in large part, to the additional income provided by women. Once again the U.S. model is presented as an example, but this time as one that should be followed, rather than rejected: "Este comentario de la revista americana nos demuestra que la importancia de la mujer se pone de manifiesto en todos los casos de la vida y en todos los países" ("La importancia" 15).

Some of the most attractive depictions of women in the U.S. were those that touted the comparatively greater independence they enjoyed. A *Marisol* piece from April

8, 1957 bore the eye-catching title “Norteamérica paraíso de la mujer”. While the piece could not resist the time-honored trope of declaring that, in spite of their independence, “su feminidad permanece inalterable,” it painted the U.S. as an idealized utopia for women: “En ningún lugar de la tierra la población femenina gana tanto dinero, fuma tanto cigarrillo, conduce tanto vehículo, hace tanto deporte y vive tan independientemente como en los Estados Unidos de América” (“Norteamérica” 4). Given the level of scrutiny that young Spanish women faced growing up during this turbulent time, the idea of living a life of freedom on the margins of familial and social pressures was probably very appealing, whether or not this was in fact the case for most U.S. youth.

While the aforementioned articles painted foreign women in either a clearly positive or a clearly negative light, other pieces offered less conclusive assessments. A February 1954 *Senda* article on changes in U.S. women’s societal roles since the end of World War II provides a clear example of the equivocal language used to describe evolving cultural practices such as women’s increased participation in the labor market. The article explains that more and more women in the U.S. are continuing to work outside the home after marriage, going so far as to characterize this phenomenon as “el acontecimiento más destacado de la última década” (“Se habla de ellas” 15). But the author proceeds to ponder rhetorically “a dónde conducirá todo esto,” ultimately declaring that this trend towards dual-income families “ha producido cosas buenas y

cosas malas" ("Se habla de ellas" 15). On one hand, the positive effects of this tendency—according to the article—include more families owning their own homes and sending their children to school. On the other hand, the author argues, "la ausencia de las madres del hogar crea graves problemas para la crianza y educación de los hijos" ("Se habla de ellas" 15). This failure to take a definitive stance on a crucial phenomenon in U.S. women's lives is repeated in Carmen Iglesias-Hermida's July 1958 interview with Blanche R. Brown, a married art historian working at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The author concludes the piece by noting that Mrs. Brown "aconseja a la mujer que no tiene hijos que trabaje," but immediately proceeds to question her own interviewee's advice: "Ahora bien: ¿es esto conveniente? ¿O, por el contrario, debe quedarse en casa y ocuparse de las labores propias de su sexo?" (Iglesias-Hermida 14). The author promises to address this question in her subsequent contribution to the magazine, but in fact her byline would never appear again, and thus *Senda's* readers were left, once again, to draw their own conclusions.

Editors' critiques of foreign models of womanhood clearly demonstrate their fears about the possibility that Spanish women would adopt such less restricted forms of economic or even moral behavior. But, as these examples have shown, magazines did not condemn such models universally and often offered ambiguous or unclear judgements. It is possible that this equivocal stance may have been a strategic way to continue differentiating Spanish women and their experiences from those of women in

other countries, but while simultaneously beginning to situate Spanish gender norms within a broader international context and paving the way for a partial and controlled form of assimilation into global culture that would help the regime to maintain cultural hegemony and ultimately remain in power. In any case, what is clear is that this international context, which gave readers a window into a wider range of experiences and roles that women around the world took on, provided a crucial and ever-present backdrop for the other discourses that magazines developed regarding Spanish women and their economic roles within society during this decade.

As in the magazines of the 1940s, the issue of women's work outside the home was once again a topic of supreme interest in magazines published during the 1950s. Women's waged work in Spain continued to become more prevalent during this period, despite ongoing (and in some cases increased) legal restrictions.¹³ The official, census-reported labor participation rate, which had increased from 8% in 1940 to 12% in 1950, reached 15% by 1960, nearly doubling over the course of two decades.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the fact that occupational sector information is missing for 12% of working women in Spain's 1960 census makes it difficult to clearly identify how the overall sectoral makeup

¹³ A July 1957 decree restricted women's employment opportunities further by prohibiting them from participating in activities that were deemed to be "dangerous or unhealthy" ("Decreto de 26 de julio de 1957" 785). While such legislation was ostensibly implemented in order to protect women, the restriction was most likely imposed in an attempt to reduce male unemployment.

¹⁴ 1940 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1946-1947* ("Clasificación de los habitantes por sexo y grupos profesionales," 209-58). 1950 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1954* ("Clasificaciones de la población de Hecho del Censo de 1950, obtenida a base de una muestra aleatoria," 78-83). 1960 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1969* ("Población por sexo, edad, estado civil, instrucción y características económicas," 50-54).

of women workers evolved over the course of the 1950s. However, the data that are available appear to indicate the beginning of a trend towards women's increased employment in the commercial sector, due at least in part to the increasing availability of jobs for them in Spain's burgeoning tourist industry. The total number of women who reported that they worked increased by 39% between 1950 and 1960. But while the number of women who reported working in the agricultural and industrial sectors increased by 39% and 32%, respectively, the number of women who reported working in commerce increased by 71% (from 103,300 in 1950 to 176,900 in 1960), indicating that this sector was growing even faster than women's labor force participation overall.

Amidst this continued upward trend, we can still observe some lines of continuity in terms of many of the messages we saw in the magazines of the 1940s. Editors continued to reiterate the concern that women's remunerated work would detract from their ability to effectively manage and care for the family home. Moreover, one specific argument against women's work became particularly popular in the 1950s: the assertion that women who were working outside the home were only doing so to make money to spend on frivolous things. In an editorial published in *Senda's* December 1957 issue, Federico Sopeño launched a treatise against women who worked outside the home without an express need to do so: "[M]uchachas españolas de buena y aun buenísima posición, se colocan, 'trabajan' en oficinas del padre o de los amigos del padre. No necesitan ese sueldo y trabajan generalmente mal, sin poner ilusión ni

personalidad en la tarea. Quieren el sueldo para dorar con 'su' dinero, su libertad, para tener pleno poder sobre el capricho." (Sopeño 3). Sopeño criticized these young women harshly, arguing that they had selfishly abandoned the home, where they could be helping with domestic tasks: "dejando la casa vacía de su presencia y de su trabajo, mostrando de manera un tanto pedante silueta 'moderna' de mujer protagonista de su vida" (3).¹⁵

But while the purportedly negative effects of women's work outside the home were still debated much as they were in the prior decade, positive depictions of such work, even when performed by married women, were no longer as rare in the 1950s as they were in the 1940s. A piece published in *Para Nosotras* in March 1958 suggested that women who were preparing to get married should be sure to perfect their professional skills, in case they needed them to help keep their families afloat in the future: "No está fuera de lo posible que, después de casada, y por causa de algún trastorno económico, imputable o no al matrimonio, la mujer tenga que volver a ganar todo o parte del pan de

¹⁵ Continuing the pattern we saw previously, *Para Nosotras*'s readers were not exempt from this type of discourse by dint of their humble means. In fact, an editorial from Emilio Enciso published in this magazine's April 1950 issue bears a remarkable similarity to the piece by Sopeña. Enciso starts out by saying that there are only three legitimate motivations for a young woman to work: to help out her family, to save for a rainy day, or to prepare a future for herself in the event that she does not get married (though he notes that he is sure none of his readers are even considering this possibility). He goes on to say that women should not be permitted to work "para con sus ganancias entregarse a la presunción y a la vanidad," arguing that this custom is dangerous not only because these women could be denying their families a much-needed supplemental income, but also because they run the risk of becoming accustomed to a lifestyle that they will not be able to sustain when they get married and start a family: "¡Cuántas amargadas hay que, acostumbradas a gastar, luego no pueden, añoran lo pasado y sufren!" (Haro 3). Moreover, he insinuates that these types of young women will not be attractive candidates on the marriage market in any case: "¿Quién se casa con una obrera acostumbrada a gastar mucho en trapos y diversiones?" (Haro 3).

cada día para los suyos. Dominar un oficio puede ser, en tales circunstancias, un puerto seguro de salvación para la familia" ("Antes que te cases" 16). *Teresa* even included a piece in May 1957 in which author Begoña García-Diego interviewed several famous married couples who spoke about having met and bonded over their shared professional interests. Far from presenting these distinguished figures as an exception to the general rule, García-Diego closed the piece with a call to the magazine's readers to follow their example:

Vamos, menéate, niña. Anda, corre, date prisa, estás a tiempo. Puedes pintar, estudiar periodismo, marcharte a trabajar al extranjero, interesarse por la filosofía india. Cualquier cosa. Pero tienes que hacer algo en la vida si quieres, hoy día, triunfar. Como triunfaron, compaginando su vocación con sus más íntimos anhelos de mujer, Ana María, Menchu, Purita y Josefina. Y con ellas todas las valientes, femeninas, atractivas y curiosas mujeres trabajadoras de ahora. (39)

Pieces like these highlighted the *advantages* that a woman's professional experience or vocation could bring to a marriage, rather than focusing only on the challenges associated with juggling work and home life.

Moreover, in sharp contrast with pieces wringing their hands over women's supposed abandonment of the home, we can find articles *praising* the efforts of women who had to balance their extra-domestic work with their assigned domestic responsibilities. An article from *Para Nosotras's* June 1950 issue discusses the common perception that modern women are shirking their domestic duties, but affirms, as its title indicates, that "No es cierto todo lo que se dice". The piece urges readers to have

compassion for women who are shouldering the double burden of working for a wage and caring for their family home: “No hay, pues, derecho a que por incomprensión no se estime, en todo su valor, esta actuación de la mujer de hoy, que en muchas ocasiones tiene que hacer la comida y limpiar la casa, dando para los suyos este trabajo físico, después de haber dado una buena porción del tiempo al trabajo intelectual o manual, o los dos a la vez, y muchas veces quitándoselo del sueño” (“No es cierto” 12).

A May 17, 1954 *Marisol* piece conveys a similar sentiment, arguing that working and being an ideal wife are not, in fact, incompatible: “El trabajo y la ocupación no están reñidos con el ideal de esposa modelo. No se trata de aconsejar a todas las mujeres casadas que acudan a una agencia de colocaciones en demanda de un puesto, pero admiramos a las que, además de llevar la casa y saber cuidar a sus hijos, encuentran todavía tiempo para contribuir a los gastos del hogar” (“Eres” 9). A piece from *Senda's* May 1955 issue even interviews different women regarding their tactics for balancing their *doble jornada*, which center around working as efficiently as possible: “No desperdiciar los minutos, ser puntual, ordenada, alegre ¡y saberse organizar! He aquí con qué sencillez puede el ama de casa aumentar su trabajo fuera de ella sin miedo a fracasar” (Hernán 13). It seems likely that these changing perspectives, which differ significantly from the messages typically published by women’s magazines in the 1940s, can be attributed at least in part to a desire to “catch up” with the changing norms set by global society in the context of the economic and cultural aperture that characterized this

new decade, in addition to reflecting the reality of women's continually increasing labor force participation.

The increasing prevalence of practical job information for readers was undoubtedly one of the most crucial transformations that magazines' discourses underwent during this period, as Ofer has pointed out in her analysis of *Teresa* ("A 'New' Woman for a 'New' Spain" 595). As we saw in Chapter 3, magazines in the 1940s contained a few scattered reports on women's participation in different job sectors (focused disproportionately on the work women did in affiliation with social programs run by the S.F. and A.C.), but saw most mentions of ordinary women's job opportunities confined to *consultorios*. The magazines of the 1950s, on the other hand, began to include frequent reports on career opportunities that readers might be interested in pursuing. *Teresa*, *Senda*, and *Para Nosotras* all included recurring sections during this period that focused on this topic.

Of particular note is *Teresa's* section "Las mujeres quieren trabajar", which first appeared in November 1955, ran monthly until June 1957, and continued to appear periodically afterwards. The section's inaugural edition opened by proclaiming that "una de las más importantes transformaciones sociales de nuestro siglo es la incorporación de la mujer a todas las tareas de la comunidad humana," and explaining that the new section aimed to "orientar las vocaciones femeninas" ("Las mujeres quieren

trabajar” 44). The idea that women could have their own professional vocation was repeated a second time in the article’s conclusion:

Con este servicio creemos ayudar en nuestra medida la urgente necesidad de que las mujeres tomen conciencia de su propia misión, ya que en cada una de las promociones que entran en el ejercicio profesional, la mujer debe encontrar el puesto que le corresponde sin traicionar su propio destino, en el que más en armonía se sienta con su vocación verdadera. (“Las mujeres quieren trabajar” 44)

This stance was quite ironic given the fact that the Second Republic had sought to incorporate women into more professional fields, while the S.F. had fought to eliminate such a societal change over the course of the previous decade, but it evidenced the S.F.’s willingness to modify its rhetoric in an attempt to counteract the organization’s waning relevance and continue attracting readers.

After providing general guidelines in the first few subsequent editions, the column proceeded to detail available opportunities for university study, training courses, and job placements across an wide variety of sectors. Readers were offered information on where to study foreign languages, graphic arts, fashion design, ceramics, advertising, product packaging, and photography, and on job opportunities as research assistants, tour guides/interpreters, journalists, archivists, librarians, nurses, flight attendants, optical technicians, draftswomen, or Visitadoras Sociales, and even as workers in the film, radio, and TV sectors. It was also accompanied by a “Consultorio de Orientación Profesional” that answered readers’ questions about the opportunities that might be available to them given their level of education and interests. Though the

January 1956 edition did remind readers that it was not able to provide them with actual job placements, the fact that women were ostensibly writing in to the magazine to ask for help obtaining a job would appear to indicate that this type of information was indeed of great interest to at least some readers (“Las mujeres quieren trabajar” 41).

While many of these fields align with jobs traditionally categorized or coded as feminine, we see a much wider range of possibilities here than we saw considered in the magazines of the previous decade.¹⁶ That said, it is worth noting that the majority of these jobs fall into the category of liberal professions that require some non-trivial amount of training. In line with the fact that this magazine sought to cater primarily to a relatively more well-off audience of S.F. affiliates, we can see that the types of jobs publicized were those that required a prior investment of time and money, and therefore could not serve as an immediate fix to the economic penury faced by young women or their families. Thus, while the editors of *Teresa* proclaimed the usefulness of the magazine’s new work-oriented sections, and while their inclusion might appear to be a marker of social progress, the model of the “professional woman” that this magazine portrayed did not accurately reflect the possibilities that the majority of Spain’s working women had available to them.

¹⁶ Ofer notes that “about a third of all the professions examined in this column were practised within SF institutions;” the rest were in fields not directly connected with the S.F.’s activities (“A ‘New’ Woman for a ‘New’ Spain” 595-96).

Where we *can* find a more realistic picture of the average working woman's experiences during this period is in *Para Nosotras* and in *El Hogar y la Moda's* collaborative *consultorio* "De todos a todos". *Para Nosotras* initiated several different columns highlighting working women and their professions over the course of the decade. In 1949 and 1950, the magazine published a section entitled "Páginas profesionales", which often interviewed women who worked in artisan workshops and factories about their workplace experiences, and it also published a series of longer interviews with women workers in 1949 under the section heading "Nuestras interviús".¹⁷ While these columns were relatively short-lived, in January 1958 the magazine began a new monthly column entitled "Un trabajo y una vocación", in which author Margarita Sánchez Brito promised readers that, over the course of the year, "veremos qué alegrías y penas trae consigo este trabajo de la mujer, en cada una de sus actividades" (4). The articles in this series, which also used the interview format, covered each of the featured professions—hairdresser, saleswoman, seamstress, typist, telephone operator, nurse, schoolteacher, stocking repairer, and metro attendant—in significant detail.¹⁸ The decision to include interviews of women in their capacity as workers

¹⁷ In 1950, the magazine also briefly published a section called "Tu ficha profesional", which provided advice for pursuing three traditionally feminine careers: seamstress, office administrator, and hairdresser.

¹⁸ *Senda* included a similar string of career orientation articles in 1953, two about careers in childcare and one about becoming an Asistente Social. In 1952, *El Hogar y la Moda* provided advice to readers about becoming a nurse or a fashion model. *Marisol*, for its part, included two general articles related to professional orientation in 1956 and 1957.

represented a significant departure from the pattern the magazine had set in the 1940s, which was to refer to working-class women primarily in more abstract terms.¹⁹

This new interview framework facilitated the circulation of more relatable, authentic testimonies from working-class women about their daily lives. To give just one example, one of the interviewees, Everilda Verde (a mother of three) describes her hectic work schedule, which includes three different domestic service jobs in addition to her own household chores:

Mire, señorita: me levanto todas las mañanas a las seis y media. Arreglo a mis hijos y mi marido. Justito me viene el tiempo para marcharme a casa de unos señoritos aviadores, a los que arreglo su piso de solteros; siete pesetas me pagan. A casa corriendo para hacer nuestra comida. Las tardes las empleo en la siguiente forma: tres de la semana a lavar; dos, vengo a hacer la limpieza en el Consejo, y las dos restantes que me quedan me vienen justas para atender mi casa y la costura y planchado de la ropa de los aviadores. (“Nuestras interviús” 11)

Such a picture of the lengths to which women had to go to make ends meet and feed their families stands in stark contrast to *Teresa’s* typical representation of young Spanish women pursuing their “authentic professional vocation”.

In “De todos a todos”, the broad requests for career advice that had been published during the previous decade were increasingly supplanted in the 1950s by

¹⁹ When individual women were portrayed in *Para Nosotras* in the 1940s, it was typically in their capacity as A.C. affiliates, rather than as workers *per se*.

more direct requests to be connected with job opportunities.²⁰ Between 1950 and 1958, the column published well over a hundred short letters from women asking their fellow readers for assistance finding employment. The vast majority of women writing in were looking for a job in the domestic service sector, though they often phrased their requests using the euphemistic, somewhat more dignified title of “señorita de compañía”.²¹ One of the first examples, which appeared in March 1950, made it clear that many of the women who were looking for employment were from formerly better-off families that had come upon hard times:

M.^a Isabel dice: Tengo que trabajar. Por circunstancias de la vida me veo obligada a ello pero es que en este pueblo no hay trabajo para señoritas. Tengo padres y soy la segunda de siete hermanos, (casi todos parados). A los veintitrés años me encuentro desesperada. Sé hacer varias cosas y me adapto a todo. Desearía ser como una especie de señorita de compañía, al lado de una señora anciana que pueda necesitarme. Mis señas en la Redacción. (“De todos a todos”, Mar. 1950, 42)

Other requests included similarly non-specific references to the reasons for which women needed to work—“debido a las actuales circunstancias de mi familia necesito

²⁰ *Marisol's* section “Club Internacional de la Mujer”, which was ostensibly intended to connect international pen pals, also received several requests for employment that are nearly identical to those published in “De todos a todos”.

²¹ As was mentioned in Chapter 3, domestic service was not listed as a separate category in the 1950 census. However, if we assume that approximately the same proportion of service workers (excluding those working in commerce) worked in domestic service in 1950 as in 1940 (71%), we can estimate that there were over half a million Spanish women working in domestic service in 1950 (517,000). While available 1960 census data do break down the number of employed Spaniards by sex and job sector, occupational sector information is missing for 12% of working women, making it difficult to compare these data with those of the 1940s and 1950s. If we assume that approximately the same proportion of all women workers worked in domestic service in 1960 as in 1940 (30%), we can estimate that there were around 632,000 women working in domestic service in 1960. These estimates, however, do not take into account any shifts in the proportion of women workers who worked in domestic service between 1940 and 1960.

buscar un empleo" ("Carmen", July 1953); "he estado en un plan de vida, que hoy por circunstancias de la misma no puedo continuar" ("Maca", June 1954); "por razones sentimentales, deseo ausentarme del pueblo donde resido" ("Una pequeña triste", November 1955). We also start to see the beginnings of the trend towards economic emigration abroad among young women, with many desperate job-seekers affirming in their missives that "no me importaría marchar al extranjero" ("Josefina", January 1951; "Carmen", January 1956; "María Angeles", February 1957).

The letter-writers' use of vague language and euphemisms most likely stems from one of two causes—either their families' economic struggles were associated with a male breadwinner's loss of work due to a real or suspected Republican allegiance, or their own personal circumstances were in some way categorizable as morally questionable. Here again, the precarious reality of women's work as reflected in this column could not be more different than the idealized depictions that we saw earlier in *Teresa*. In this case, analyzing multiple magazines simultaneously, rather than focusing on a single publication, can help us to better comprehend the limitations of *Teresa's* "professional woman" model and recognize the important types of women's labor that such seemingly progressive rhetoric failed to capture. In the next section of this chapter, we will observe a similar discrepancy between the model of the "modern housewife-consumer" that appeared in magazines in the 1950s, and the challenges that many Spanish families faced during this period in their efforts to find a safe place to call home.

Just as we can still find familiar messages regarding the dangers of women's extra-domestic work in the magazines of the 1950s, we can immediately recognize the continuation of magazines' anti-materialist rhetoric in this period when it comes to discussions of household budgeting. One of the most likely explanations behind the marked continuity in messaging between the 1940s and the 1950s is the relative continuity in terms of ordinary Spaniards' economic means. As was discussed in the introduction to this chapter, despite significant industrialization efforts, workers' real wages remained remarkably low during the entirety of this decade, as Vilar Rodríguez's estimates of real daily income over the course of the decade show:

Table 11: Index of Real Daily Income for Male Industrial Workers, 1949-1958²²
(Base year 1936 = 100)

	Unskilled workers, Cost of living AEE	Skilled workers, Cost of living AEE	Unskilled workers, Cost of living CSCCIN	Skilled workers, Cost of living CSCCIN
1949	55.3	52.1	44.1	41.5
1950	56.6	53.3	45.7	43.0
1951	52.9	49.5	39.4	37.0
1952	59.8	55.2	43.2	40.0
1953	58.7	56.8	43.5	42.1
1954	69.3	67.9	51.6	50.6
1955	67.8	65.4	50.2	48.5
1956	115.8	105.9	87.5	80.0
1957	107.9	99.5	75.3	69.4
1958	96.1	89.2	66.3	61.6

As the data in the left-hand columns of Table 11 show, the downward trend that had begun during the 1940s continued until 1951, and though a slow recuperation between 1951 and 1955, followed by a sharp jump up, led real wages to reach their pre-war levels in 1956 (according to official AEE price indices). But this phenomenon was short-lived, and by 1958 real wages had dipped back below those from 1936, which had already been insufficient in the first place. Moreover, as the data in the right-hand columns show, according to what Vilar Rodríguez considers a more accurate estimate of cost-of-living metrics, real wages never reached 1936 levels at all during this period. Thus, while the

²² Real daily income data from Vilar Rodríguez, *Los salarios del miedo* (Cuadro III.5, p. 202-3). AEE = Anuarios Estadísticos de España. CSCCIN = Consejo Superior de Cámaras Oficiales de Comercio, Industria y Navegación. While the price indices published in the AEE represent the state's official cost of living metrics, Vilar Rodríguez calculates her own series of price indices based on supplemental data from the CSCCIN, which she considers to more accurately reflect the true cost of living in Spain during this period.

most extreme food shortages that characterized the “hunger years” were alleviated by the partial economic aperture of the 1950s, many Spanish families still found themselves struggling to make ends meet.²³

Given the poverty many families still faced, it comes as no surprise that women’s responsibility for household budgeting and spending money as efficiently as possible was still portrayed as an issue of paramount importance in the magazines published during this decade. January (the so-called “cuesta de enero”) was a popular time for magazines to invite readers to re-think their budgeting strategies, and articles advised women on how to take advantage of discounts without being tricked into purchasing products they didn’t really need. *Marisol* and *Teresa* even provided quizzes that readers could take to find out whether they were good administrators or wasteful spenders. The assumption that women were solely responsible for ensuring that the family’s income lasted to the end of the month remained virtually unchanged in this new decade.

Yet, against the backdrop of magazines’ continued promotion of anti-materialist messages, the slowly increasing presence of advertising for high-end consumer appliances only augmented the level of discursive dissonance that characterized these publications, providing further opportunities for women to be inspired to dream of spending on an ever-expanding portfolio of luxury items. Whereas advertisements for

²³ The end of rationing went largely unacknowledged in these magazines, though a *Para Nosotras* article published in March 1952 did make reference to the normalization of the supply of key foodstuffs like bread, olive oil, and potatoes (“Nuestros campos: El aceite, el pan y las patatas”).

smaller, less expensive appliances like sewing and stocking-repair machines could already be found in women's magazines published during the 1940s, more substantial, costly appliances such as radios (Iberia, Phillips), washing machines (Bru, Frimotor, Crolls, Otsein), refrigerators (Elycas, Frisice, Westinghouse), and less frequently deep fryers, vacuums, and clothes dryers, were promoted to readers through the eye-catching ads of 1950s magazines.²⁴ Publicity campaigns incited demand and desire for the types of big-ticket items that promised to make a housewife's domestic duties easier – the tagline of an August 1950 ad for an Otsein washing machine promised that the product “eliminará la faena más enojosa de su hogar” – even though they were well out of reach for the majority of families (“Otsein” 2).

As Sueiro Seoane points out using the example of radiators, which were present in only 3% of Spanish homes in 1950 and in just 8% by the end of the decade, “los maravillosos modelos [...] que por entonces se anunciaban eran sólo para las clases privilegiadas” (138). Indeed, José Castillo Castillo has shown that the majority of consumer appliances did not become attainable to those outside an elite economic minority until the second half of the 1960s (68-69). Inability to afford the items in question, however, did not exempt readers from being exposed to advertising's enticing visual messages. Towards the end of the decade, appliances even began to be given

²⁴ Notably, all of the magazines studied in this chapter except for *Para Nosotras* contained significant commercial advertising, though *Senda* did not start publishing such ads until 1951.

away as prizes in magazine-sponsored contests. In February 1957, *Teresa* started awarding a luxury item to one lucky subscriber each month (“Cada mes un regalo” 1).²⁵ In the subsequent months, the section raffled off a wide variety of items, including a blender, a hair dryer, a coffee machine, an iron, an electric fan, a water heater, and a radiator, though other non-appliance gifts such as clothing items were also included. That this section was placed prominently near the beginning of each magazine issue certainly served as an additional enticement to readers who might hope to be the lucky winner one day.²⁶

In addition to advertisements and reader giveaways, we also start to see more and more articles during this period highlighting the most recent technological innovations in home décor and appliances, including several photo reports in *El Hogar y la Moda* that focused on the annual *Salón del Hogar Moderno*, which took place each year at the Coliseum in Barcelona. Pieces like these served a similar function to that of advertisements, making these new, economically unattainable advancements extremely

²⁵ This program was framed as a thank-you gift to readers, but also served to entice them to establish annual subscriptions in order to be eligible for the giveaway. In 1957, an annual subscription to *Teresa* cost 54 pesetas, a 10% discount compared with the per-issue price of 5 pesetas.

²⁶ *Senda* and *Para Nosotras* also ran their own giveaways during this period, though they tended to function as contests that rewarded the reader or group of readers who could solicit the most new subscriptions to the magazines. *Senda*'s prizes ranged from 125 pesetas for anyone who could sign up 50 new subscribers, all the way up to 1,000 pesetas for garnering 200 subscriptions, and anyone providing at least 10 new subscriptions would be gifted a free year's subscription of their own (“Concurso de suscripciones” 32). *Para Nosotras* similarly offered cash prizes to readers, from 15 pesetas to anyone who could recruit 10 new subscribers, up to 300 pesetas for anyone garnering 300 subscriptions or more (“¡Atención! ¡Atención!” 12).

appealing to the magazine's readers.²⁷ We can also find examples of practical tips for setting up or maintaining a modern home. An October 1957 article in *Teresa* suggests that, if readers are going to upgrade their kitchens, they should plan *not* to skimp on costs: "Una vez decidida a hacer el gasto, no quieras ahorrar en detalles nimios, que no suponen nada en un total, pero que, en cambio, pueden estropear el conjunto o dejarte insatisfecha después" (Medina 34). *Marisol* also included pieces providing tips for readers who owned refrigerators, implying that this was a common situation in which they might find themselves, despite the fact that, by the end of the decade, only 16% of Spanish households had one (Sánchez 31).²⁸ In her study on *Teresa*, Ofer has argued that the magazine's emphasis on consumer items made the publication applicable to only a small segment of the population: "Maquillaje, ropa de temporada a medida y motocicletas eran cosas con las que las decenas de miles de mujeres que apenas llegaban a fin de mes en las zonas rurales de España, o aquellas que se desplazaban a los barrios chabolistas autoconstruidos en las afueras de las principales ciudades españolas, solo podían soñar" ("*Teresa*, ¿revista para todas las mujeres?" 130). But while articles such as those mentioned above clearly did not reflect reality for the vast majority of Spaniards, I would argue that we should not be so quick to discount the impact they *did* have: to

²⁷ A piece in *Senda*'s May 1953 issue reviewed that year's Salon des Arts Ménagers, a similar exhibition held annually in Paris ("Exposición para usted..." 12-13).

²⁸ "Los problemas de tu refrigerador" (July 23, 1956); "¿Tienes una nevera? Pues no olvides que..." (August 5, 1957).

create the impression of a level of wellbeing to which readers could—and perhaps even should—aspire.²⁹

If magazines' focus on new home technologies and their promise of convenience gave the false illusion of a burgeoning consumer society in Spain, another key line of discourse can be found in the publications of this decade that undermines such an idealized picture: the repeated discussions of Spain's urban housing crisis. As discussed in this chapter's introduction, one of the key economic phenomena that characterized this decade was a significant increase in interregional migration within Spain. As Spain's formerly agrarian-heavy economy began to see a slow increase in industrialization, the predominant trend was for Spaniards to emigrate from rural areas like the southern province of Andalucía (where work opportunities were primarily in unmechanized agriculture) to more urban or industrial regions (where jobs in industry, as well as the

²⁹ As we saw previously in Chapter 2, the idea of paying in installments had already entered the public consciousness in the 1940s. It is unsurprising, then, that we find even more discourses surrounding this topic in the 1950s, especially given that domestic appliances were one of the primary consumer items for which families would hypothetically need to avail themselves of this controversial payment method. But, interestingly enough, magazines did not universally condemn the practice, as evidenced by one January 1955 *Para Nosotras* article entitled "¿Quién tiene razón?". The piece takes the familiar form of a fictional dialogue between two friends, Juana and María, and begins with the former telling the latter that their mutual friend Julia's daughter has recently gotten married, and has equipped her new home with "todo ese equipo con que yo sueño desde hace mucho tiempo: una cocina de gas y carbón, un calentador de agua para el grifo, unos muebles claros, modernos y ligeros y una máquina de coser" ("Quién tiene razón" 10). Though María is impressed by this news, Juana clarifies that "nada de todo eso fué pagado al contado" and expresses her concern about whether the young couple will be able to keep up with their payments: "quien dice compras a plazos dice letras vencidas a fin de mes" ("Quién tiene razón" 10). But while the piece seems destined to end with the insinuation that the young couple will regret their use of installment plans, the debate actually ends on a surprisingly equivocal note, with Juana wondering aloud if their hesitance to use payment plans has kept them from enjoying comforts that they could have accessed through such means: "a veces me pregunto si no estamos equivocadas en temer tanto las compras a plazos, pues nos han faltado muchas comodidades en nuestras casas" ("Quién tiene razón" 11). Ultimately, the magazine's rejection of the practice of paying in installments is less wholehearted than we might have expected.

service sector, were increasingly more available).³⁰ Cazorla has described this migration phenomenon as a “huge rural exodus” of more than a million people (273). Table 12 shows a breakdown of the key regions that sent and received these migrants over the course of the decade (Torre and Sanz Lafuente 56):

Table 12: Net Internal Migration by Region, 1950-1960³¹

	1950-1955			1955-1960		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Net emigration						
Andalucía	-76,856	-119,182	-196,038	-48,873	-123,524	-172,397
Castilla y León	-31,615	-106,709	-138,324	-34,003	-60,554	-94,557
Galicia	-47,113	-109,225	-156,338	-38,081	-21,352	-59,433
Castilla-La Mancha	-52,464	-79,056	-131,520	-17,509	-66,649	-84,158
Extremadura	-5,298	-52,529	-57,827	-21,184	-26,840	-48,024
Net immigration						
Madrid	151,740	159,779	311,519	45,381	155,240	200,621
Cataluña	95,335	168,409	263,744	74,176	159,938	234,114
País Vasco	11,418	92,025	103,443	32,983	42,897	75,880

As these data show, women represented an important part of this migration phenomenon, with net internal migration greater among women than men across nearly all of the regions listed, most often significantly so. While there are a great many factors that may have contributed to this pattern, one plausible explanation for the

³⁰ The precarious situation of agricultural workers in southern Spain was a longstanding phenomenon, as the cultivable lands of this region were held primarily by a group of powerful, large landowners (*latifundistas*) who collaborated with local law enforcement to keep wages low and workers subservient, and successfully resisted the efforts made during the Second Republic to work towards a more equitable land distribution.

³¹ Data from Alcaide Inchausti (2007), “Cuadro A.1.113: Migraciones internas. Años 1950 a 1955” and “Cuadro A.1.114: Migraciones internas. Años 1955 a 1960” (276-79). Regions correspond to Spain’s present-day Autonomous Communities, which were established following the Constitution of 1978. Regions with net migration of less than 50,000 in both periods are not shown.

disproportionate representation of women among internal migrants in the 1950s is that, in addition to those women who migrated alone or with their families during this period, other women may have been migrating in order to reunite with a male partner who had already relocated previously.³²

While it is difficult to calculate how many industry and service jobs were actually created in the aggregate during the 1950s, localized studies such as Xavier Casademont Falguera and Jordi Feu Gelis's work on Andalusian immigration to the mid-sized Catalan city of Olot suggest that many if not most internal migrants either arrived with a work contract already in hand (often thanks to family or friend connections) or were quickly recruited by employers who visited areas where migrants were known to stay upon arrival in search of the latest batch of new workers (322). In Olot, emigrant men worked primarily in construction and in the production of religious imagery, while emigrant women found jobs either in the textile industry or in domestic service (Casademont Falguera and Feu Gelis 312). As Sarasúa and Molinero argue, despite the fact that the full extent of migrant women's work in domestic service is nearly impossible to calculate based on the deficiency of official data sources, first-hand

³² Xavier Casademont Falguera and Jordi Feu Gelis cite evidence of this family reunification migration pattern in the case of the city of Olot: "Las cifras de población por sexo nos muestran como inicialmente, especialmente en la década de los cuarenta y los cincuenta, la población masculina fue claramente superior a la femenina, cosa que demuestra que la estrategia migratoria consistía en la inicial migración de varones y una posterior reagrupación de otros miembros. Las cifras de 1960 son claramente ilustrativas de esta dinámica, ya que por primera vez las mujeres son más numerosas que los hombres" (311-12).

accounts confirm that the latter option was the most frequent solution to the economic needs of migrant women arriving in Spain's urban centers (336).

But while jobs for these internal migrants may have been available, Spain's urban centers did not have the appropriate infrastructure to accommodate this population influx, and the lack of available housing that had previously plagued Spain's poorest citizens quickly began to affect a wider swath of the population (Cazorla 273). Thus, while the topic of housing shortages, despite being an acute problem, was not featured extensively in the magazines published in the 1940s (with the exception of *Y'*s touting of a few early development projects sponsored by the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda and the Obra Sindical del Hogar), the "crisis de la vivienda" became an increasingly visible issue within these publications during the 1950s.

Many articles published on this topic dealt with the growing number of young, middle-class women who were concerned about having to postpone their weddings due to the lack of affordable apartments. In the July/August 1955 issue of *Para Nosotras*, we find a piece from the recurring section "Cartas a mi amiga Loly" — an epistolary exchange between two fictional friends, Loly and Marisa — in which Marisa explains that she will be skipping her summer vacation in order to save up money for an apartment in Madrid so that she can get married as soon as possible:

[A]penas has dicho que sí a un muchacho, cuando hay que empezar con el calvario del piso, ¡menudo problemita! Ellos, ya se sabe, en seguida le encuentran solución a todo: que si el piso de sus padres es bastante grande, que para los primeros tiempos con una habitación realquilada

podíamos arreglarnos... ¡Con lo que una ha soñado con una casita limpia, clara, llena de sol, con sus buenas macetas en la ventana! (7)

This description of the process of finding a home as a grueling ordeal for young lovebirds is backed up by the results of a survey of soon-to-be-married couples that was published in *Senda* in May 1954. Of the couples interviewed—all recipients of the government's Premio de la Nupcialidad—nearly half (46%) report that they will be living in the home of one spouse's parents after getting married, 43% will be renting a space, 8% will be subletting, 1% living in employer-provided housing, and only 2% will be living in a single-family home that they own (“¿Lo sabia usted?” 6).³³ And yet, despite the obvious difficulties that the housing shortage presented for young couples, a February 1955 piece from *El Hogar y la Moda* encouraged young women who were putting off marriage for financial reasons—“no nos podemos casar porque no hallamos un piso cuyo alquiler esté a nuestro alcance... Porque él no gana lo suficiente... Porque tememos a las privaciones que tendremos que afrontar...” —to get married as soon as possible, rather than waiting until they had achieved the level of financial stability that they thought they needed (“Casaos y sed felices” 11). Pieces like this one minimized the

³³ Moreover, many newlywed couples renting a space found themselves limited to a room inside another family's home, as a satirical piece published in *Marisol's* August 2, 1954 issue revealed. In the piece—entitled “Derecho a cocina” in reference to the kitchen access typically afforded to such renters—author Beny Villanueva captures the uncomfortable nature of such an arrangement by describing the women who rent out such rooms as the worst kind of mother-in-law: “Estas señoras son una especie de suegra de los dos. La suegra de verdad es suegra de uno de los cónyuges, pero madre del otro. Ellas, no. Ellas son suegras por partida doble. Resuegras” (14).

serious housing crisis by assuring readers that true love would make them capable of overcoming any practical obstacles.

But if these relatively lighthearted depictions of the housing crisis as viewed by those most recently affected by it represent one side of the coin, on the other side we find more serious articles on the disastrous living conditions that Spain's poorest classes were still facing. Reports on the "problema de los suburbios" were usually framed as calls to charitable action, as a way to acquaint readers with the suffering of their less-fortunate compatriots. Such pieces, like Josefina de la Maza's November 1955 *Senda* article "Otra vez, y siempre... ..el suburbio", took special care to emphasize the disparity between the experiences of wealthy city dwellers and of those living in shantytowns and cave dwellings on the outskirts of the grand metropolis:

Que esto no es la Castellana, ni la calle de Alcalá, ni la de Serrano o Lista. Estos que nombro son los barrios que pudiéramos llamar "extramuros"; es la ciudad de los pobres, son los "barrios residenciales" de nuestros hermanos los humildes; son, en fin, los "suburbios".

El albañil, la lavandera, la costurera pobre, la asistenta, el "botones", viven en estos ilustres alrededores de Madrid. Podemos y debemos visitarlos. Es buena medicina para el espíritu; es disciplina y gimnasia moral aconsejable, especialmente para los que aún dicen, cómodamente, que el suburbio es "un tópico"... (13)

Pieces like these were clearly intended to inspire empathy and even guilt in the magazines' readers, and to encourage them to make charitable contributions to alleviate the serious problem of insufficient and precarious housing in the suburbs. They also served the function of rhetorically distinguishing the implied reader—identified with

the well-off city dwellers taking field trips to the slums – from members of the most vulnerable strata of Spanish society.

This dichotomy was maintained in a piece published in *Teresa* in September 1956, whose title made a bold claim: “El problema del suburbio quedará resuelto en 1957”. In this interview, the general director of the Instituto Nacional de Vivienda, Luis Valero Bermejo, heaps praise on the regime’s housing development projects, which he describes as an effort to “liquidar esta triste herencia de una España no sólo pobre, sino injusta en su pobreza, y además, sucia y trágica” (“El problema del suburbio” 23).³⁴ Valero Bermejo’s description of the country’s housing problems is especially relevant given that it specifically highlights the difference between the way the crisis was experienced by the middle class and by Spain’s poorest citizens:

Las peticiones urgentes de realquilados, de novios en espera de casa para casarse (esperas de seis años y más), de funcionarios trasladados a la capital, de vecinos de casas en ruinas, todas estas peticiones nos agobiaban de forma obsesionante y reclamaban nuestra atención. Sin embargo, los otros, los que poco a poco perdían la salud del cuerpo y gran parte de la del alma, los que ocultaban su miseria y resignación en cuevas y chabolas, en silencio, ya acostumbrados, no podíamos tampoco olvidarlos. (“El problema del suburbio” 24)

The remainder of the interview focuses on the details of the I.N.V.’s plans for so-called “poblados de absorción”, which were meant to absorb the populations currently living

³⁴ *Senda* included a similar expert interview with architect Mario Gómez-Morán (“Un problema: El de la vivienda”, November 1957). *Para Nosotras* also informed readers about the work of work of the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda and the Obra Sindical del Hogar, though in significantly less detail (“El problema de la vivienda”, October 1952).

in unfit dwellings, and “poblados dirigidos”, where those arriving to the city could buy a plot of land in installments and build their own house within an organized community (Esteban Maluenda 57). But while Valero Bermejo’s description of the I.N.V.’s efforts to not leave suburb-dwellers behind seems admirable on its face, his assertion that “en las Navidades de 1958 Madrid ha[brá] borrado de manera definitiva su *cinturón negro* [...] *limpiaremos* totalmente la *mancha* que nos encontramos” is eerily reminiscent of the language the regime used following the war to describe its hopes of “washing Spain clean” of Republican influence (“El problema del suburbio” 25; my emphasis). Underneath the veneer of charity, we can intuit that official efforts to eliminate the “suburb problem” were based as much in classism and an effort to control Spain’s internal migrant population as they were in any sincere desire to alleviate the plight of the poor.³⁵

Though *El Hogar y la Moda* did not publish the same types of extended reports on the housing crisis that other magazines did during this period, we can find a uniquely intimate window into the experiences of those impacted by the struggle to find housing in the magazine’s “De todos a todos” advice column. For example, the column published several letters from young couples looking for housing in Barcelona. In May 1956, a reader calling herself “Pensamiento Iluso” wrote:

³⁵ It is worth noting that shanty-towns continued to exist on the outskirts of Spain’s urban centers throughout the entirety of the dictatorship period. As Francisco Andrés Burbano Trimiño affirms, “A pesar de su retórica social, el franquismo no pudo resolver esta realidad [el chabolismo] aun en la etapa de desarrollo económico abierta en la década de 1960” (337).

Acudo a vosotros para que me ayudéis a buscar lo que tanto ansío. ¿No sabríais el modo de encontrar piso en vuestra ciudad, los que sois de Barcelona? Como último recurso, aunque fuera en uno que viviera una señora o señor anciano y nos hicieran donación del piso con las condiciones que pusieran; hablando nos entenderíamos. Es que deseamos casarnos y como él vive en pensión y yo soy de fuera de Barcelona nos es imprescindible un piso. Ya tenemos alguno solicitado, pero... ¿Cuándo saldrá? Daremos toda clase de referencias. (“De todos a todos”, May 1956, 3)

In addition to soon-to-be-wed couples, another common profile among the authors of these requests was that of widowed women struggling to earn a living for themselves and their families. In June 1954, a reader who has chosen the tragic pseudonym “Una madre atormentada” explains that she has managed to make ends meet working as a seamstress since her husband’s death 16 years ago, but that “dentro de poco tiempo nos quedaremos sin vivienda por estar ésta declarada en ruina, por lo que nos vemos obligados a abandonar el pueblo donde residimos pues, por ser éste tan pequeño, es muy difícil encontrar otra” (“De todos a todos”, June 1954, 44).³⁶ The desperate mother asks her fellow readers whether they have any leads on a placement as a doorwoman, or would be willing to provide her and her children with housing in exchange for sewing services. The fact that letters like this one could be found on magazine pages in which the miniscule column text was interspersed with consumer ads underscores the fundamental contradiction that characterized magazines’ representations of

³⁶ Given that the letter was published in 1954, 16 years ago would have been 1938, so this individual could very well have been a Republican war widow left without a pension.

consumption during this period: whereas one line of discourse encouraged women to fulfill their new economic role as “modern housewife-consumers”, another made it clear that even having a home to care for at all was an unattainable luxury for many.

As a coda to this discussion of economic inequality in the 1950s, I want to highlight one unexpected and unique way in which the continuing plight of Spain’s poor was evidenced. In May 1956, the “De todos a todos” column published an unusual letter from a reader called “Desengañada”, who identified herself as an older woman and asked her fellow readers for tips on how best to donate her land holdings to the poor after her death, given that she didn’t want to leave them to her family (“De todos a todos”, May 1956, 3). While “Desengañada” did receive several responses suggesting different charitable causes to which she might contribute and praising her for her beneficent intentions, she also began to receive pleas from individuals recounting their own dire financial problems and asking for her help, from poor widows struggling to make ends meet after losing their family’s primary income, to parents hoping to send their children to school or pay for much-needed medication. The column published these letters over a considerable period of time, to the point that many of the contributors had not read the original request, but had rather inferred from the influx of responses that someone called “Desengañada” had offered to help those in need.

In January 1958, a reader calling herself “Desgraciada” wrote to ask “Desengañada” if she could donate 1,900 pesetas to help her buy a sewing machine with which to make a living:

Distinguida señora: No sabe usted la gran obra de caridad que haría si pudiese proporcionarme la cantidad de 1.900 pesetas para una máquina de coser. Estoy enferma del pecho y de este modo, con la máquina, con ayuda de mi madre me podría ganar la vida y no sufrir tanta necesidad, pues vivo de limosnas. El señor rector de mi Parroquia le puede dar informes. Mis señas en la Redacción. (“De todos a todos”, Jan. 1958, 4)

The following month, a reader named “Mercedes” suggested that perhaps she and her fellow readers could chip in and raise the 1,900 pesetas for “Desgraciada” between them—“(¡no son tantas!)” (“De todos a todos”, Feb. 1958, 4). A note from the editor reported that “Mercedes” had indeed sent in 100 pesetas, which had been transferred to the recipient on her behalf. In April of that year, another anonymous reader suggested making these types of donations a permanent institution: “Establecer en estas páginas, con la aprobación del Sr. Director, una sección de socorro y hermandad entre las lectoras para auxiliar a los necesitados. [...] Si todas las lectoras hacen lo mismo, cada una con lo que pueda, pronto se solucionara este y otros casos que han pedido auxilio” (“De todos a todos”, Apr. 1958, 4). Thus, after a years-long interchange involving dozens of readers, the magazine officially began orchestrating a reader-funded system of mutual aid called the “Banco de la Caridad”. Not only does this curious anecdote show that *El Hogar y la Moda*’s readership spanned across the socioeconomic spectrum, but it demonstrates the

types of spontaneous support networks that arose during the Franco dictatorship, in the absence of other social safety nets.

To conclude this chapter, we will take a look at another important discourse that emerged during this period: the conversation surrounding women's evolving legal status in Spain with regard to their relationship with their families and children. The most contentious debates related to women's rights during this period involved the thorny topics of marital separation and child custody. Divorce, of course, was prohibited in Spain during the entirety of the dictatorship, and was therefore portrayed as a foreign practice (despite the fact that Spain *had* legalized divorce during the Second Republic). In his March 1957 editorial in *Para Nosotras*, Emilio Enciso asserted that divorces in other countries were largely the result of young people, especially women, putting material interests above spiritual ones:

Ir al matrimonio sólo a pasarlo bien, a gozar de la vida, sin pensar en el cumplimiento de unos deberes sagrados impuestos por Dios, es un disparate.

Como lo es hacer base de una misión de tan gran envergadura el entusiasmo por la figura, o la simpatía, de un hombre, o su posición social, o su dinero, o su apellido. Todo esto es inconsistente y falla cuando menos se piensa. (Haro 3)

A year later, a *Teresa* editorial entitled "Hablemos de... El divorcio" warned readers that divorce was not a solution to marital problems and only resulted in additional negative consequences, particularly for the couple's children. The piece proceeded to recount the story of a nineteen-year-old boy in the U.S. who had shot and killed his divorced

mother's boyfriend, clearly meant to serve as a dire warning to readers about divorce's potentially devastating effects.

Even marital separation, which was possible in Spain in cases of infidelity, mistreatment, or abandonment, continued to be severely discouraged within these publications' discourses during this decade. Especially in cases of infidelity, women were encouraged to seek reconciliation rather than separation, as represented in the response that one reader received from *Marisol's* "Correo del corazón" column in the magazine's June 25, 1956 issue:

Nunca es tarde para remediar algo cuando hay voluntad y gran deseo, como en tu caso. [...] Merece la pena que intentes recuperar a tu marido. Pon ilusión, alegría y nunca pienses, teniendo hijos, en una separación. Eso, no. En los matrimonios hay temporadas buenas, de amor, y otras de alejamiento, sin que nadie se haya podido explicar las causas. Aguanta estas últimas y espera las primeras. No le hagas reproches ni lo aburras. Y espera que volverá a ti." (21)

A more elaborate version of this same narrative appeared in *Teresa* in October 1954, as part of a section that invited readers to respond to another reader's request for advice in hopes of receiving one of three free annual subscriptions to the magazine. All three of the published replies to the letter from Julia, a woman who had found proof of her husband's infidelity, encouraged her to "sufrir en silencio [s]u pena" and to by no means let her husband know that she was aware of his unfaithfulness, much less attempt to get

a separation: “No acudir a los Tribunales y lograr la separación; Sí tener confianza en Dios y acudir en su ayuda” (“Una lluvia de cartas” 4).³⁷

But while magazines were clearly not in favor of marital separation, they did address the issue of child custody after a separation had occurred. As early as March 1954, *Teresa* published an interview with Mercedes Formica, one of the first Spanish women to practice law, who discussed her efforts to push for a reform of Spain’s Civil Code. As we have discussed, Franco had reverted Spain back to the Civil Code of 1889, which was inspired by the Napoleonic code. Thus, as Formica points out in the interview, married Spanish women in 1957 still found themselves subject to the nineteenth-century law that unjustly considered a family’s home to be the husband’s property, even in cases of separation:

[E]l artículo 1.882 de la Ley de Enjuiciamiento Civil, al regular la forma de llevarse a cabo el depósito de la mujer casada, habla por dos veces de “casa del marido” cuando se refiere al domicilio conyugal. Este domicilio conyugal debe ser considerado como “la casa de la familia” —de los hijos y del cónyuge inocente, sea éste el marido o la mujer—. Aquí, como verás, la reforma se impone. (Mateos 27)³⁸

In a March 1957 *Senda* piece, another lawyer, José María Castán Vázquez, was interviewed with regard to similar issues. The interview focused primarily on the issue of child custody in cases involving paternal abandonment (in which case “puede darse

³⁷ It bears noting here that, until 1963, Spanish husbands were permitted by law to *murder* their wives if they caught them in the act of infidelity.

³⁸ Formica herself had been a victim of this cruel policy during her own parent’s pre-war divorce following her father’s infidelity. Her father forced her, her mother, and her sisters to move to Madrid and interrupted Formica’s studies at the Universidad de Sevilla (Barreira).

el caso de que una familia abandonada por el padre dependa en absoluto de él para todos los actos jurídicos”), and in cases in which a widowed mother got remarried to another man (“en este caso la madre pierde todos los derechos y es necesario nombrar un tutor”) (Salas 10).³⁹

In January 1957, *Teresa* introduced a new section called “Tribuna abierta”, in which “todos los lectores pueden exponer sus opiniones en temas que sean de palpitante actualidad, relacionados con la familia en todos los aspectos, desde la educación de los hijos hasta la economía del hogar” (“Los problemas de los hogares” 45). One of the letters published in the section in August 1957 was from a reader desperate to separate from her abusive, alcoholic husband, but who had been told that if she did so, he would be given custody of her three young children, aged seven to ten. The reader’s letter was answered by lawyer Conchita Sierra Ordoñez, who does not mince words in her reply: “yo aconsejo a esta lectora, sin ninguna duda, que pida inmediatamente la separación conyugal” (“Tribuna abierta” 26). Sierra Ordoñez acknowledges that “hay una ley —la de Enjuiciamiento Civil, artículo 1.887— que dispone esta medida cruel, en el depósito de mujer casada, respecto de los hijos mayores de tres años,” and that this law has recently entered the public consciousness by way of the press. But, she adds, another

³⁹ Celia Valiente Fernández mentions this piece in her analysis of what she identifies as “la protesta feminista en la Iglesia Católica durante el franquismo,” though she identifies A.C.’s criticism of women’s insufficient legal rights as individuals as “una batalla secundaria” that was subordinated under the group’s more pressing concern regarding Spanish women’s religious and moral education and participation in the Catholic Church community (“Luchar por participar” 221).

article of the Civil Code gives judges more room to make an informed decision in each specific case, and she notes that “en la práctica, es muy frecuente el caso de que niños de siete y ocho años queden colocados judicialmente bajo la guarda y protección de la madre, en tanto se siguen los trámites de la separación conyugal” (“Tribuna abierta” 26). Moreover, she advises that even if the woman’s children are placed in the care of her husband during the time it takes for the Tribunal Eclesiástica to finalize the separation and grant her permanent custody as the innocent party, she can appeal to the Tribunal Tutelar de Menores to denounce her husband as an unfit caregiver.

While the supportive tone of this piece and the helpful practical information provided—which stand in stark contrast to the earlier advice from the 1940s that women should suffer in silence—can likely be attributed to the extreme, physical nature of this women’s mistreatment, this piece’s importance lies in the fact that, as the article’s author notes, “el caso de la lectora de TERESA es triste y, peor aún, es muy frecuente” (“Tribuna abierta” 27). The article may very well have resonated with readers who were suffering mistreatment themselves, or who knew someone who was facing a similar dilemma.

When the Civil Code was in the process of being reformed in 1958, *Teresa* made sure to communicate that information to its readers. An article published in January of that year, once again signed by Conchita Sierra, explains that “existe hoy, sometido a las Cortes Españolas, un proyecto de ley sobre modificación de determinados artículos del

Código civil, cuya aprobación habrá de transformar, sustancialmente, el hasta ahora exiguo panorama jurídico de las mujeres españolas” (Sierra 47). Two of the reform’s major provisions addressed problems that had been brought up in previous issues: control over a family’s home, and custody of the children, would now be given to the innocent party, rather than automatically to the husband. In June of that same year, Mercedes Formica was interviewed again regarding these changes, which were largely the fruit of her hard work in publicizing the Civil Code’s numerous injustices against women. In addition to the changes referenced above, she explained that the Civil Code now allowed remarried widows to maintain custody of their children, and imposed “la necesidad del consentimiento de la esposa para que el marido pueda enajenar los bienes gananciales inmuebles y establecimientos mercantiles,” making it harder for men whose wives were seeking a separation to sell off a home or business without their wives’ consent (García-Diego 26). The fact that magazines published in the 1950s began to directly address women’s civil rights and, more importantly, to express opinions in support of those rights, is crucial to keep in mind as we look forward towards the discourses developed in the magazines of the 1960s. As we will see in the next chapter, debates over issues related to women’s civil, labor, and even reproductive rights would only increase in prominence within women’s magazines over the course of the subsequent decade.

This chapter has endeavored to track the evolution of women's magazines' discourses over the course of the 1950s, as these publications not only adapted to shifts in Spanish women's economic circumstances, but also began to position themselves within a broader global framework in terms of the ways they discussed women's economic roles and responsibilities. During this decade, new models of economic womanhood such as the "professional woman", the "modern housewife-consumer", and even the mother informed of her evolving rights over her home and children, emerged and were in large part embraced within women's magazines. And yet, these idealistic portrayals continued to butt up against representations of women's lives that revealed the significant inequalities that persisted within Spanish society during this decade, both in terms of gender and in terms of class. While the messages that 1950s magazines sent to their readers appear to take several steps towards a more progressive, open view of Spanish economic womanhood, such a view was still more theoretical at this time than it was a reflection of what was actually happening in the lives of the majority of Spanish women.

Much like the Spanish economy itself, the continually evolving relationship between Spanish women's economic roles and the representation of Spanish women as economic actors within magazines' discourses found itself at a turning point at the end of this decade. As we will see in Chapter 5, with the implementation of the 1959 Plan de Estabilización liberalizing Spain's economy, kick-starting a period of unprecedented

macroeconomic growth, and ushering in a new decade of apparent prosperity, magazines in the 1960s would once again begin to recalibrate their narratives. As more and more Spanish women began to embrace the new models of womanhood foreshadowed in the magazines of the 1950s, editors responded by reverting back to many of the reactionary discourses with which we became familiar in our analysis of the magazines published during the 1940s.

Chapter 5. “Soplan por el mundo corrientes de renovación”: Progress Rhetoric and Reactionary Backlash in the Magazines of the “Desarrollismo” Era (1959-1968)

The fifth and final chapter of this study addresses how the editors of women’s magazines reacted to a series of important changes that impacted the economic lives of Spaniards, and Spanish women in particular, during the 1960s. I will argue that magazines’ discourses in this decade were indelibly marked by the intense contradictions that characterized this historical moment. While the decade has consistently been described (both at the time by the Franco regime and into the present day by canonical histories) as the era of Spain’s “economic miracle” and of the country’s entrance into consumer society, women’s magazines evidence the fact that the rhetoric surrounding Spain’s economic development was not focused solely on promoting consumption, but in fact retained key elements of the doctrine of austerity that had previously been promoted during Spain’s autarkic period. Moreover, it is clear that long-standing class and gender disparities within Spanish society meant that the experiences of some Spaniards during this period were much different than those of others, and this plurality of experiences continues to be evident in this decade’s publications, just as it was in the magazines of the 1940s and 50s. I will contend that, despite the significant limitations that Spanish women continued to face, and the relative, incremental nature of their gains in terms of economic agency, even this modest

progress prompted a discursive backlash and a renewed emphasis on the traditional ideals and duties associated with Spanish womanhood within these publications. In addition, I will chart what I see as a partial inversion of the roles of explicitly doctrinal and ostensibly commercial magazines within the larger context of the women's press market.

Following the autarky of the 1940s and the gradual aperture of the 1950s, the 1960s in Spain have gone down in history as the decade of economic development. The entrance of the so-called "technocrats" into the Francoist government in 1957, including Minister of Commerce Alberto Ullastres Calvo, Minister of Finance Mariano Navarro Rubio, and Laureano López Rodó (General Technical Secretary to Luis Carrero Blanco), had signaled a changing of the guard in terms of economic ideology and policy. These trained legal and economic experts had the aim of using their technical expertise to help modernize the Spanish economy and bring it closer into line with those of other Western European nations, replacing the autarkic hopes to which Franco himself still clung with a more liberal economic paradigm. Many of the technocrats were also members of Opus Dei, a Catholic organization made up primarily of laypeople and organized around the idea of promoting Christian values through active participation in the secular world, which, in the case of the technocrats, clearly included participation in the so-called free market economy. Just as autarky had been linked to the religious values of austerity and sacrifice, the government's overt embrace of capitalism in the 1960s remained linked to

Catholicism through the technocrats' Opus Dei ties. Between 1959 and 1968, these new economic leaders implemented two primary policy plans: the Plan de Estabilización (1959), and the Primer Plan de Desarrollo (1964-1967).

The Plan de Estabilización of 1959 had two primary goals. The first, more immediate goal was to correct Spain's unsustainable trade deficit through the devaluation of the peseta and the establishment of a fixed exchange rate at 60 pesetas per U.S. dollar. The second was to liberalize the economy by encouraging foreign investments in an effort to continue the industrialization begun in the previous decade and avoid falling into another trade deficit in the future. After a temporary recession immediately following the implementation of the Plan de Estabilización, Spain's industrial growth took off in 1961, and industrial production continued to increase until 1974 at an average annual growth rate of nearly 10% (Barciela et al. 394). While most sectors of industry experienced growth during this period, the most notable sectors were the chemical industry, the manufacturing of metal machinery (including the automobile industry), mineral production, and the rubber and plastic industry (Carreras and Tafunell 283).

While the Plan de Estabilización brought a significant level of liberalization and aperture to the Spanish economy, the Primer Plan de Desarrollo, a four-year endeavor implemented between 1964 and 1967, represented in many ways a return to

interventionism.¹ The Plan involved the creation of designated geographical zones where existing industrialization would be developed (“polos de desarrollo”) or where industrialization would be promoted where it had not been before (“polos de promoción industrial”) (Carreras and Tafunell 290).² In addition to providing privileged intervention in particular areas, the Plan also created a program of “acciones concertadas”, a new type of government contract for specific industrial sectors that ostensibly served to promote development, but actually served as a vehicle to provide political favors to a privileged few: “El modelo intervencionista potenció la figura del empresario «concertado», un tipo de empresario despreocupado de la innovación y del afán por la competitividad, ocupado en conseguir pingües beneficios merced a sus contactos políticos” (Carreras and Tafunell 291).

Nonetheless, in spite of the dubious results of the Plan de Desarrollo, the industrialization process that took place in the wake of the Plan de Estabilización was the motor of what has historically been considered a spectacular and even miraculous period of growth in the Spanish economy. Table 13 tracks the growth of Spain’s real GDP from 1959 to 1968:

¹ As Carreras and Tafunell explain: “La planificación perseguía maximizar el crecimiento y promover el desarrollo regional, lo que supuestamente no podía lograr el mercado por sí mismo. El régimen de Franco se hacía la ilusión de que dirigía y sostenía el proceso de crecimiento económico” (289).

² The “polos de desarrollo” designated as part of the first Plan included Valladolid and Vigo, where the Renault and Citroën factories, respectively, were established, while the “polos de promoción industrial” were Burgos and Huelva. Carreras and Tafunell argue that the latter represented a grave misuse of resources, because the areas designated as “polos de promoción industrial” were not sufficiently prepared for such a sudden attempt at industrialization (290).

Table 13: Real GDP Growth, 1960-1968³

	Index value (1959 = 100)	Annual growth (%)
1960	100.16	0.2%
1961	112.33	12.2%
1962	123.42	9.9%
1963	135.86	10.1%
1964	143.39	5.5%
1965	154.86	8.0%
1966	166.64	7.6%
1967	176.02	5.6%
1968	186.70	6.1%

But, as Table 14 shows, the benefits of this macro-level growth were not shared equally by all Spaniards. Even according to Vilar Rodríguez's most conservative estimates, industrial workers' real wages, which had briefly reached pre-war levels in 1956, would not surpass those levels again until 1963. Following renewed workers' strikes across Spain the previous year, which began with the 1962 Asturian miners' strike (known colloquially as *la huelgona*), the Francoist government implemented a new global minimum wage policy in 1963, setting a minimum daily wage of 60 pesetas for workers across all industries (Ysàs 175; Rujas Lázaro 99).⁴ According to what Vilar Rodríguez considers a more accurate estimate of cost-of-living metrics, wages for unskilled

³ Real GDP data from Carreras and Tafunell ("Apéndice 1," 459-68). Base year adjusted from 1950 to 1959.

⁴ Ysàs notes that, following the 1962 Asturian miners' strike, the pattern of workers' strikes in Spain changed, developing from the concrete waves of strikes seen in the 1950s into a more consistent phenomenon in the 1960s and 70s: "Las expresiones más contundentes de conflictividad obrera, en especial la huelga, dejaron de ser excepcionales y se convirtieron en un fenómeno cada vez más habitual, a pesar del mantenimiento de la legislación represiva" (176). The years following the 1962 strike also saw the creation of the Comisiones Obreras, ostensibly a pluralist trade union organization, though led primarily by members of the clandestine Partido Comunista Español (Ysàs 181).

industrial male workers would just barely reach 1936 levels by 1963, while wages for skilled industrial workers would remain at just 89% of 1936 levels:

**Table 14: Index of Real Daily Income for Male Industrial Workers, 1959-1963⁵
(Base year 1936 = 100)**

	Unskilled workers, Cost of living AEE	Skilled workers, Cost of living AEE	Unskilled workers, Cost of living CSCCIN	Skilled workers, Cost of living CSCCIN
1959	91.4	83.5	64.5	58.9
1960	90.3	82.7	63.4	58.0
1961	90.8	82.7	64.1	58.4
1962	100.2	93.5	71.9	67.1
1963	137.6	122.3	100.1	89.0

Following the establishment of the 60-peseta minimum wage in 1963, the minimum was increased to 84 pesetas in 1966, to 96 pesetas in 1967, and to 102 pesetas in 1968 (Rujas Lázaro 101).⁶ However, while the nominal minimum wage increased by 70% between 1963 and 1968, inflation reduced the impact of this wage increase on workers' purchasing power, meaning that the real minimum wage (calculated using official AEE

⁵ Real daily income data from Vilar Rodríguez, *Los salarios del miedo* (Cuadro III.5, p. 202-3). AEE = Anuarios Estadísticos de España. CSCCIN = Consejo Superior de Cámaras Oficiales de Comercio, Industria y Navegación. While the price indices published in the AEE represent the state's official cost of living metrics, Vilar Rodríguez calculates her own series of price indices based on supplemental data from the CSCCIN, which she considers to more accurately reflect the true cost of living in Spain during this period.

⁶ As Vilar Rodríguez notes, the way salary data were collected and calculated underwent a significant change in 1963, which is why I refer to the figures reported by Vilar Rodríguez for the period between 1959 and 1963, and to those reported by Rujas Lázaro for the period between 1964 and 1968 (Vilar Rodríguez's data series ends in 1963).

price indices) only increased by 27% over this five-year period (Rujas Lázaro 101).⁷ For comparison, as shown in Table 13, Spain's GDP increased by 37% over the same period.⁸

As Barciela et al. point out, the increase in workers' salaries over the course of the 1960s did not match the greater increase in workers' levels of productivity, meaning that their contribution to the growth of the Spanish economy was not proportionally compensated. These authors also argue that what improvement Spaniards did experience in terms of their overall purchasing power was often due more to working increased overtime hours or second jobs, rather than as a result of modest increases in their inflation-adjusted salaries (Barciela et al. 330).

Moreover, the increasing mechanization of the agricultural sector, which had previously relied on older technologies that required more manual labor, resulted in the contraction of the agricultural labor market. While the proportion of Spanish workers employed in the agricultural sectors had already decreased from 50% in 1950 to 42% in

⁷ The real *average* daily wage increased by a similar factor (28%) between 1964 and 1968 (Rujas Lázaro 103). While it is difficult to know to what degree official price indices may have underestimated inflation (and thus overstated real wage increases) during this period, these official figures most likely represent an upper-bound estimate of the increase in Spaniard's purchasing power. For example, Barciela et al., citing Carmen Benito del Pozo (1993), report estimates indicating that the real minimum wage increased by just 16% between 1963 and 1968 (329).

⁸ As Alfonso Fernández Carbajal explains, housing development in the 1960s was another area in which the fruits of industrialization and economic development benefitted some Spaniards more than others, with private housing development outpacing its goals while government-sponsored housing for low-income families lagged behind: "El elevado número de viviendas construidas durante todo este período va a permitir reducir de manera notable el déficit global existente en esta materia desde el punto de vista *cuantitativo*, pero no así desde el *cualitativo*, debido sobre todo al bajo grado de cumplimiento de los objetivos en materia de vivienda de promoción oficial, que contrasta con la amplísima superación de las previsiones en el caso de las viviendas libres. La importancia de este dato radica en que este tipo de viviendas son las que, por sus características, se destinan a las familias con menores ingresos, lo que implica que va a seguir persistiendo un importante déficit en las destinadas a la demanda menos solvente" (648).

1960, by 1975 agricultural workers would account for only 24% of the Spanish workforce (Barciela et al. 248). In absolute terms, Carreras and Tafunell estimate that in 1960 there were still nearly 5 million Spaniards working in agriculture, but that by 1974 only 3 million Spaniards remained employed in the tertiary sector (278). While the domestic industrial workforce grew by 1 million workers (from 2.6 to 3.6 million) during that same period, the fact that industrial technologies were also becoming more efficient meant that, even though the industrial sector was growing, it was not capable of absorbing the entirety of the excess workforce that was no longer needed in agriculture (Carreras and Tafunell 278, 274). These drastic changes thus prompted Spanish workers to emigrate *en masse* to other, more developed European countries in search of employment opportunities that were no longer available to them at home, a journey undertaken by more than a million Spaniards. Carreras and Tafunell point out that emigration represented a sort of double boon for the Spanish economy during the 1960s. For one, the fact that roughly 10% of Spanish workers emigrated abroad was the only reason that Spain was able to achieve minimal unemployment during this decade (274).⁹

⁹ Barciela et al. echo this assertion, arguing that Spain's development process did not result in significant job creation: "[L]a evolución de la economía española ocultó, tras sus espectaculares tasas de crecimiento y la posibilidad de emigrar a Europa, sus importantes limitaciones para crear empleo, debido a que el proceso de desarrollo forzó la necesidad de incrementar la inversión de capital, en detrimento del factor trabajo. Así, una de las contrapartidas más evidentes de la modernización productiva fue la escasa capacidad de creación de puestos de trabajo y, consecuentemente, la emigración, que evitó hasta el inicio de la recesión de 1973 que se incrementase la tasa de paro. La creación de puestos de trabajo entre 1960 y 1973 no alcanzó ni siquiera el 1 por ciento anual acumulativo, existiendo, además, notables asimetrías regionales" (270).

For another, Spaniards working abroad routinely sent significant remittances back to their families, who in turn injected that additional money into the Spanish economy.

At the same time, due in large part to the regime's explicit efforts to market the country as a nearby, inexpensive, and yet exotic travel destination, foreign tourism in Spain increased tremendously during this period. Whereas in 1959, Spain was host to 4.2 million tourists, this number had surged to 14.1 million by 1964, and would more than double to 30.3 million by 1974 (Glaser 29). The profits from the tourist industry had an even more significant impact on reducing Spain's trade deficit during this period than did the remittances sent back by those working abroad. Thus, while the money Spain spent on imports during this period far outpaced the money made from exporting goods, profits from the tourist industry offset more than three quarters of this financial imbalance, with emigrant remittances offsetting the remaining quarter (Carreras and Tafunell 274-275).

Alongside Spain's economic development, this period saw modest developments in terms of women's opportunities as economic actors, particularly within the professional realm. In 1961, the S.F.-backed Law for Political, Professional, and Labor Rights for Women affirmed women's equal right to participate in *almost* all professions, though, as Celia Valiente Fernández has rightly pointed out, this "right" was still hindered by the fact that the law did not negate a husband's right to prevent his wife from working outside the home, should he wish to do so ("La liberalización del régimen

franquista" 48).¹⁰ Though many scholars consider that this law was developed primarily as a strategic bid to improve Spain's international image and demonstrate that the nation was not as far behind in the area of promoting women's rights as many in the international sphere believed, women's labor force participation continued its slow increase over the course of the 1960s. By 1970, 17% of Spanish women *officially* reported being employed, finally surpassing twice the level that had been recorded in 1940 (8%) (Durán 35).

In terms of the distribution of women's employment by job sector, as was noted in Chapter 4, the 1960 census is missing occupational sector information for 12% of working women, making it difficult to compare these data with those of the 1940s and 1950s. However, as shown in Table 15, survey data from the 1966 Encuesta de Población Activa can help us fill in the gap left by the incomplete census data:

¹⁰ The jobs for which women remained ineligible following the 1961 law were as follows: "el 'personal titulado de la Marina Mercante, excepto las funciones sanitarias', las profesiones en los ejércitos (excluyendo algunas), los trabajos que implicasen el uso de las armas y las carreras de magistrado, juez y fiscal, salvo en las jurisdicciones laboral y tutelar de menores" (Valiente Fernández, "La liberalización del régimen franquista," 49). The restriction on women serving as judges was rescinded in 1966.

Table 15: Women’s Employment by Job Sector, 1940, 1950 & 1966¹¹
 (% = Percentage of all women who are employed)

	1940	1950	1966
Tertiary Sector	48.1%	48.4%	42.9%
Commerce	6.4%	6.0%	16.2%
Other Services	41.7%	42.3%	26.7%
Industry	28.4%	26.0%	26.7%
Agriculture	23.5%	24.5%	30.1%
Unknown	—	1.2%	0.3%

As these data show, the division of working women between the primary (agricultural), secondary (industrial), and tertiary (services) sector remained relatively stable during this period. The one major change we can observe is in the distribution of service workers between commerce and other services. Whereas commercial activities accounted for only 12-13% of all service sector activities in 1940 and 1950, according to the 1966 survey, 38% of service sector workers worked in commerce. This trend would appear to reflect a significant shift from more traditional service jobs like domestic service to commercial jobs such as those connected to Spain’s rapidly expanded tourist industry. That said, Spanish women also participated actively in the waves of international emigration, either emigrating alone or accompanying their husbands.¹²

¹¹ 1940 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1946-1947* (“Clasificación de los habitantes por sexo y grupos profesionales,” 209-58). 1950 data from the *Anuario estadístico de España 1954* (“Clasificaciones de la población de Hecho del Censo de 1950, obtenida a base de una muestra aleatoria,” 78-83). 1966 data from the *Encuesta de Población Activa, Segundo trimestre, 1966* (cited in Maravall, “Aspectos del empleo femenino en España,” 108). Methodological differences between the surveys may account for some of the relative differences in the data.

¹² In her book *Españolas en París*, Laura Oso Casas describes the results of her interviews with Spanish women who emigrated to Paris during this period to work in domestic service. Of the 49 interviewees, 30 (61%) were either single, widowed, or separated at the time of emigration, while 9 (18%) migrated together

While women emigrants worked disproportionately in domestic service in countries like France and England, they also participated in other economic sectors (for example, working in industrial factories in Germany).

This chapter on the representation of women's economic roles in the magazines of the 1960s continues to explore the five publications analyzed in the previous chapter: A.C. magazines *Senda* (renamed *Senda y Alba* between 1959 and 1963) and *Para Nosotras*, S.F. magazine *Teresa*, and commercial magazines *El Hogar y la Moda* and *Marisol*.¹³ It also introduces two new semi-monthly commercial publications, *Ama*, *La Revista de las Amas de Casa Españolas* (first published in December 1959) and *Telva* (first published in October 1963). *Ama* was sponsored by the Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, the administrative organization charged with overseeing the provision, transport, and

with a male partner. Just 3 (6%) of the women emigrated alone with the intention of bringing their families with them later, while the remaining 7 (14%) emigrated to reunite with their husbands who had emigrated first (Oso Casas 36). Spanish women emigrants working in domestic service in Paris skewed young and single, and, as Oso Casas notes, whereas the majority of male emigrants can be assumed to have emigrated primarily for economic reasons, the motivations of women emigrants were more varied, and "esta corriente de mujeres solas no estuvo alimentada necesariamente por la población española más necesitada desde el punto de vista económico" (390). Rather, the author explains, "muchas de nuestras informantes salieron de España alegando un proyecto de independencia personal, con respecto al entorno familiar o social, huyendo de un desencanto amoroso, por aventura o por la presencia de un imaginario que asociaba París al *glamour*" (Oso Casas 39). That said, Oso Casas acknowledges that women whose choice to emigrate was primarily motivated by economic factors were also present within the sample (40).

¹³ *Senda's* temporary name change was the result of the publication's "fusion" with another A.C. publication, *Alba de Juventud*, which had been specifically focused towards young women. During this chapter, I will refer to the magazine by the name it was known under when a given piece was published, but will continue to use the primary title *Senda* in any instances not referring to a specific issue or article. Perhaps following the lead of new competitor *Ama*, *El Hogar y la Moda* shifted from its original monthly publication schedule to a semi-monthly publication schedule in April 1959.

quality control of consumer goods in Spain, and also responsible for the creation of the country's first supermarkets. As the publication's subtitle suggests, *Ama* was a magazine directed specifically towards an audience of housewives, and placed a special emphasis on women's function as household consumers and managers of their families' budgets.¹⁴ *Telva*, for its part, was published by the Sociedad Anónima de Revistas, Periódicos y Ediciones (S.A.R.P.E.), a publisher closely affiliated with the lay Catholic group Opus Dei, and promised in its inaugural issue to prepare its readers for the "nuevos horizontes" that were beginning to open up for them (Salcedo, "Cartas" 3). Though these two magazines ostensibly targeted different primary audiences, they often shared characteristics and ideological perspectives with one another, which is unsurprising given that Pilar Salcedo, the director of *Telva*, had also directed *Ama* prior to *Telva*'s release.

As Table 16 shows, both *Ama* and *Telva* quickly presented themselves as strong contenders in the women's magazine marketplace in terms of their monthly print runs:

¹⁴ Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil consider *Ama* to form part of a new subgenre of women's magazine appearing in Spain in the 1960s, the "family magazine". According to the authors, family magazines are those "cuyo objetivo es educar a las mujeres para convertirlas en amas de casa al día y en cómplices de una actividad de consumo cada vez más intensa" ("Tradicionales, rebeldes, precursoras" 209).

Table 16: Monthly Print Runs, 1957, 1962, 1965 & 1970¹⁵

	1957	1962	1965	1970
<i>Ama</i>	n/a	*300,000	—	200,000
<i>El Hogar y la Moda</i>	80,000	120,000	100,000	67,000
<i>Telva</i>	n/a	n/a	55,000	63,000
<i>Marisol</i>	60,000	28,000	n/a	n/a
<i>Teresa</i>	*27,000	—	20,000	—

While *El Hogar y la Moda*'s run was up to 120,000 at the beginning of the decade, compared with its 80,000 number over the course of the 1950s, by the end of the 1960s its run had started to decline, whereas *Telva*'s was on the rise. *Teresa*'s print run remained relatively steady at 20,000, while *Marisol*'s dipped in the lead-up to its disappearance in 1963. No data were available on the print runs of *Senda* or *Para Nosotras* for this decade, but *Para Nosotras* ceased to be published at the end of 1965 and *Senda* (which had regained its original name by 1964) was shuttered not long afterwards in 1966, suggesting that A.C. was struggling to maintain the viability of its publications targeted specifically towards women. While the two A.C. magazines remain an important point of reference for this chapter, given their representation of a unique organizational and ideological perspective, *El Hogar y la Moda* and *Marisol* are featured less prominently in

¹⁵ Data reported in the 1957, 1962, 1965, and 1970 volumes of the *Anuario de la Prensa Española*, unless otherwise indicated. Figures indicated with an asterisk (*) were reported directly by the magazines (“Carta de Teresa a los señores anunciantes”, October 1955, interior cover; “Nuestra portada”, October 15, 1962, 3). While *Marisol*'s print run of 28,000 is listed in the 1965 *Anuario de la Prensa Española*, the magazine appears to have been discontinued in 1963, which is why this data point appears in the 1962 column. No print run data were available for this period for either *Para Nosotras* or *Senda y Alba*.

my analysis of the magazines of this decade, as they found themselves outpaced in the commercial market by the increasingly popular *Ama* and *Telva*.

The nominal prices of the surviving magazines increased significantly over the course of the decade, as Table 17 shows (as in previous chapters, we should keep in mind that at least part of these increases can be accounted for by inflation):

Table 17: Single Issue Prices (pesetas), 1959-1968¹⁶

	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
<i>Telva</i>	—	—	—	—	—	6.00	10.00	10.00	15.00	15.00
<i>Teresa</i>	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	10.00	10.00
<i>Senda (y Alba)</i>	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	9.00	9.00	—	—
<i>El Hogar y la Moda</i>	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	10.00	10.00
<i>Ama</i>	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00
<i>Marisol</i>	3.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	2.00	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Para Nosotras</i>	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	—	—	—

Ama's price more than doubled in its first five years of publication (from 3 pesetas in 1959 to 7 pesetas in 1964), and *Telva*'s did the same over an even shorter period, jumping from 6 pesetas in 1964 to a whopping 15 pesetas in 1967. For reference, the minimum hourly wage was 12 pesetas in 1967, while the average movie ticket price was just above the per-issue price of *Telva* at 15.50 pesetas (Diez 10). Other publications opted for more modest increases: *Senda* increased its per-issue price from 7 to 9 pesetas in 1965, *Teresa* implemented a similar increase from 8 to 10 pesetas in 1967, and *El Hogar y la Moda* slowly increased its price from 6 to 10 pesetas over the course of the decade. *Marisol*

¹⁶ Data reported directly by the magazines. Prices listed represent the maximum single-issue price charged for a given magazine in a given year, excluding special issues (*extraordinarios*). *Marisol* reduced its price from 5 pesetas to 2 pesetas on February 11, 1963.

steadily increased its price from 3 to 5 pesetas between 1959 and 1962, though in its final year the price was briefly reduced back to 2 pesetas (the magazine's 1958 price), as part of a return to the publication's original, smaller format. Even the working-class oriented *Para Nosotras* increased its price by 50% (from 2 to 3 pesetas) in 1964, shortly before its discontinuation.

Scholars working on the magazines of this decade have been quick to point out the evident contradictions present within their discourses, as magazines' editors attempted to maintain (or in the case of new publications, establish) relevance within Spain's changing socioeconomic landscape. Rebollo Espinosa and Núñez Gil (2007) argue that magazines contributed to a process of controlled modification of women's social roles and identities: "su forma de identidad se fue adaptando a los tiempos, de una manera, claro está, «planificada» y controlada en gran medida" (208). But while these authors clearly demonstrate that progress in terms of magazines' representation of women's societal roles was uneven and partial during the 1960s, their analysis leaves the traditional narrative of the 1960s as a time of economic progress and improved living standards in Spain relatively unquestioned.

Ofer, whose comparative work on S.F. magazines *Medina* and *Teresa* I have alluded to previously, does address the issue of social class in *Teresa* in a 2017 article provocatively entitled "*Teresa, ¿revista para todas las mujeres?*" While she argues that the magazine's primary projection of identity was towards "las mujeres jóvenes, urbanas

y de clase media,” and points to examples of “la actitud paternalista de la SF sobre las mujeres de ámbito rural y la clase trabajadora,” her specific focus on analyzing the continued formation and modification of the S.F.’s organizational identity through the examination of one representative magazine prevents her analysis from reflecting many of the broader themes that characterized women’s print culture as a whole during this period (Ofer, “*Teresa, ¿revista para todas las mujeres?*” 127, 140).

María del Carmen Muñoz Ruiz’s 2002 doctoral thesis “*Mujer mítica, mujeres reales: Las revistas femeninas en España, 1955-1970*” comes the closest of any prior study to addressing the full range of economic issues and situations that Spanish women faced during the 1960s. In particular, her analytical approach is rightly attuned to the ways in which certain elements of magazines’ discourses revealed “la miseria que se vivía en España en los años del supuesto ‘desarrollismo’” (Muñoz Ruiz 513). I disagree, however, with her assumption that the “*pequeñas fracturas*” that she finds within the magazines of the late 50s and 60s are a new feature of these magazines relative to their earlier precedents (Muñoz Ruiz 21). Nonetheless, Muñoz Ruiz’s work is an important precedent for mine, and she is the first scholar to address several of the key issues that I will explore in this chapter, including magazines’ discourses surrounding the so-called “*crisis of domestic service*” and the importance of magazines’ appeals to women in their role as consumers within Spain’s burgeoning consumer society.

Over the course of this chapter, my examination of the discourses circulated through Spanish women's magazines during the 1960s will address how both quasi-progressive rhetoric and well-worn doctrine with regard to women's economic roles manifested themselves in the midst of a period of intense economic development that was not necessarily perceivable as such from the everyday perspective of the Spanish masses.¹⁷ As was addressed in the introduction to this chapter, the same process of industrialization and opening to foreign trade and tourism also turned out to require the mass external migration of more than a million Spaniards (which occurred in tandem with the continuing internal migration from the countryside to the city), fundamentally altering the economic lives and prospects of both Spanish men and Spanish women. In addition, while this period has often been cited as the start of Spain's development into a consumer society, the process of stabilizing and transforming Spain's consumer markets was one that often required the same "spirit of sacrifice" that had been preached to housewives during the 1940s as part of the regime's ideology of autarky. Moreover, even as Spain clearly sought to establish its position as part of the developed, Western world—strategic advertising claims that "Spain is different" aside—this desire for inclusion came into conflict with the intractable nature of Spain's traditionally Catholic

¹⁷ As previous chapters have demonstrated, such contradictions already existed within magazines' messages in the 1940s and 50s, and in this sense, I draw on Ofer's claim (with regard to the ideology of the S.F.) that "it was not a case of 'old-fashioned' femininity being replaced over the years by a model of 'modern' femininity, but rather that of coexistence of modernist and conservative elements, which could be found in the organization's rhetoric from the beginning" ("A 'New' Woman for a 'New' Spain" 587).

ideology, which precluded the country's adoption of certain modern social policies, particularly those related to the independence and bodily autonomy of women.

Thus, whereas Muñoz Ruiz sees the passage of the 1961 Law for Political, Professional, and Labor Rights for Women as an inflection point after which magazines' *increased* their focus on providing women with information regarding employment opportunities, I will argue that the codification of women's labor rights in Spain—enacted primarily as an outward-facing gesture to improve Spain's international image—actually served as an inflection point in the opposite direction with regard to magazines' narratives. That is, as women's (albeit still limited) right to work outside the home became law, and as the practice became increasingly more common, we begin to see the rise of a reactionary narrative strain within magazines' discourses, often implementing some of the same rhetorical strategies that we saw in the magazines of the 1940s: the characterization of women's extra-domestic work as abandonment of the family and the home, and speculation that combining home and work life might not actually be possible (or was at least contingent on the ability to exploit the undervalued work of lower-class domestic workers). Similarly, as Spanish families finally began to see a slow increase in their standards of living, magazines returned to the familiar narrative of housewifely thrift and the need for women consumers to make sacrifices in order to buoy up the economy of the entire nation.

We also see the renewal of pro-natalist rhetoric during this period. While, in the 1940s, this doctrine had an evident function in light of the loss of a significant proportion of the working population due to the Civil War and the subsequent repression, in the 1960s we see this rhetoric resurface in the face of the invention of new contraceptive methods. While the issue of family planning was no longer a topic to be hidden or spoken about only euphemistically, its increasing presence in the magazines represents, in my view, a pendulum swing back towards the more extreme rhetoric of the 1940s with regard to women's role as the cornerstone of the traditional family. This time, the backlash is not against the liberal social policies of the Second Republic, but rather against the influx of progressive ideas that accompanied Spain's reentry into global society, fueled in particular by international tourism and the increasing presence of foreign visitors whose behavior was not conscribed by Spain's traditional Catholic values. If women from other countries had become an increasingly frequent topic of interest in women's magazines in the 1950s, by the 1960s these foreign models of womanhood were no longer a faraway, abstract concept, but an everyday presence for those Spanish women who lived or worked in touristic areas, which, as Moritz Glaser has argued, became spaces with the power to challenge and change existing ideas of gender roles.¹⁸

¹⁸ Glaser cites a survey conducted in 1964 in the Costa Brava, in which 50% of respondents "connected tourism to a less rigid code of morality and a decline in the regulation of the relations between men and women" (32). Moreover, according to Glaser, women were less likely to characterize these changes in

Moreover, while we observed in the 1940s that a commercial publication like *El Hogar y la Moda* was particularly susceptible to the introduction of messages that did not align with the hegemonic perspective, in the 1960s, we find that the newer commercial magazines appearing during this period (*Ama* and *Telva*) were often the ones most likely to espouse reactionary ideological messages, whereas publications from the traditionally doctrinal categories occasionally contained instances of comparatively more progressive ideological positions. In the case of the A.C. magazines, it is possible to connect these relatively more progressive stances—particularly with regards to issues affecting the working class—to the organization’s increasing attention to workers’ issues during the 1960s.¹⁹ In the case of *Ama* and *Telva*, both of which were heavily influenced by individuals associated with Opus Dei, we see magazines that were not overtly designated as having ties to religious organizations being used as vehicles for

morality as negative: “[T]he majority of women responded that morality had become freer than in earlier times, and fewer confirmed a negative effect of tourism on morality (54 per cent of men versus only 33 per cent of women). So tourism did indeed have an influence on the concepts of gender and morality in touristic regions, and these changes were for a great percentage of the population more positive than negative. Women, in particular, appreciated the less rigid notions of morality and their impact on gender roles” (33).¹⁹ In her study “¿Católicas con conciencia de clase?”, Sara Martín Gutiérrez argues that not only did A.C.’s working-class women develop class solidarity through the Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica Femenina (HOACF), but that in the late 1950s and early 1960s, even upper-class members of the Catholic women’s organization began to take an interest in forming solidarity relationships with working-class women, rather than treating them paternalistically as they had in the 1940s: “Desde una perspectiva de abajo a arriba, es decir, gracias al contacto con las obreras católicas, el movimiento de Mujeres de la ACE iniciaría un nuevo peregrinar rompiendo con los postulados de caridad y asistencialismo, hecho que implicó una evolución en la orientación de las actividades que realizaron a partir de entonces” (239).

propagating Catholic values, exemplifying Opus Dei's core aim of transforming secular society from within.

In what remains of this chapter, I will analyze the representation of Spanish women as workers, consumers, and housewives/mothers within the publications outlined above. In an effort to mirror the reverse pendulum swing effect described above, I have intentionally reversed the order of the analysis in comparison with Chapters 1-3. Thus, in this chapter, I will begin by exploring the topic of women's extra-domestic work, and will end on a discussion of magazines' depictions of motherhood during this decade.

Much as we saw in the magazines of the 1950s, women's magazines published during the 1960s made frequent reference to women's professional roles and opportunities. The majority of the magazines (all of them except *El Hogar y la Moda*) included at least one multi-issue section or article series related to women's extra-domestic work. This type of content was most frequently found in *Ama*, *Telva*, and *Teresa*, though curiously, *Teresa's* long-running section "Las mujeres quieren trabajar" (which had begun in 1955) trailed off significantly after 1959, appearing infrequently for the remainder of this period. Similarly, in 1964 *Telva* began to include a recurring section entitled "Tú puedes ser," which profiled a series of possible career paths for women, but the section did not manage to become a permanent institution within the publication, lasting only a few months and later echoed by a similarly short-lived effort entitled

“*Telva profesiones*” in 1965. What did become a permanent fixture within *Telva* was an advice column first appearing in 1965 and entitled simply “*Profesiones*”, which answered reader letters largely asking for guidance on how to pursue specific career paths. In what is unlikely to be a coincidence, *Ama* also launched a “*Profesiones*” advice column in 1965, which complemented its recurring “*Ama profesiones*” section, which had been providing women with information regarding the different career paths available to them since 1961.²⁰

What is interesting about the way in which women’s access to labor opportunities is portrayed in the magazines of this decade is the relative banality with which these opportunities begin to be treated. Whereas in the 1950s, women’s entrance into certain professional sectors was portrayed as a novelty, by the 1960s, job-related questions were portrayed as just one area among many in which women readers might have questions that they would need answered (*Telva’s* “*Profesiones consultorio*” appeared alongside numerous others entitled “*Diálogo abierto*”, “*Telva leyes*”, “*Psicología*”, “*Decoración*”, “*Jardinería*”, and “*Telva en tu casa*”). The question in this decade, then, was less about whether certain jobs were “appropriate” for women to perform (the 1961 law had granted them access to all but a select few career paths), and more about how women, and most especially married women, could (or could not)

²⁰ The *consultorio* and the informational column were merged in 1966, with issues alternating between providing information and answering reader questions.

effectively incorporate professional responsibilities and wage earning into their everyday lives.

In the magazines of the 1960s, we begin to see a sharp increase in discussions surrounding how women might balance work and home life. Verbs like “compatibilizar” and “compaginar” were used repeatedly to place emphasis on the fact that women’s newly acquired labor opportunities were not a replacement for, but rather a complement to their primary role as caretakers of the family and the home. As Muñoz Ruiz has explained: “el modelo de esposa-madre-ama de casa no es atacado por la prensa femenina, pero se minan sus bases gracias a la ‘acumulación’ de funciones de las mujeres, la asunción de la doble presencia y de la doble invisibilidad” (9). Thus, on the one hand, we find articles such as one published in *Telva*’s May 15, 1967 issue, entitled “Trabajo y atiende a mi casa: Ideas ‘clave’ para hacer compatibles estas dos tareas.” The article’s author, Eloísa Guijarro, starts out her article by stating that it is becoming more frequent for women to have “*además* de la dirección y el trabajo de su casa una labor profesional” (85; author’s emphasis). Guijarro herself acknowledges that her use of the word “*además*” is very intentional, evidencing the “accumulation of functions” that Muñoz Ruiz proposes. What is more, the author goes on to assert that a woman who works outside her home “debe tener algo así como dos cabezas que funcionan con independencia, yo diría que ignorándose mutuamente” (Guijarro 85). In addition to assigning them the difficult task of maintaining a split brain or identity, Guijarro

suggests that working women must employ excellent time management, and adds that children can also be involved in helping to care for the home.

This new idealized model of woman, who is not only the perfect housewife, but someone who can “do” and “have it all” by making her work compatible with her home life, is also made visible through examples of interviews with particularly successful women, the majority of whom clearly come from economically privileged backgrounds. *Telva's* April 15, 1965 issue published an interview with Dorothy Hodgkin, only the third woman ever to win the Nobel Prize in Chemistry (after Marie Curie and her daughter Irène Joliot-Curie). When asked if it has been difficult to juggle her work as a scientist with her “obligaciones como mujer,” Hodgkin affirms that “siempre se puede encontrar la manera de cumplir las obligaciones en casa y fuera de casa” (Salcedo and O’Shea 14). In February 1966, *Teresa* published an interview with recently graduated doctor Marisa Mostaza, who, when asked whether the medical profession was compatible with marriage, answered: “Desde luego que sí. Una mujer casada puede dedicar dos o tres horas diarias a una consulta médica y buscar también tiempo para estudiar, lo que en Medicina ha de hacerse siempre para estar al día” (Hernando 34). Soon afterwards, *Ama's* June 15, 1966 issue included an interview with Lola Vilar, president of the Asociación Española de Mujeres Médicos, who first argues that making work and home life compatible is simply “un problema de organización,” but later elaborates that she does not spend much time taking care of her home—“porque no

tengo tiempo” —and instead delegates most of her housekeeping tasks to “dos chicas magníficas que la llevan [a la casa] adelante” (Diez Tejerina 65). Interestingly, in the case of a January 1, 1964 *Telva* interview with a group of five sisters who ran a hair salon together—and can thus be assumed to be relatively less economically privileged than the doctors and Nobel prize winners mentioned previously—the tips the interviewees provide for maintaining the family home alongside a career are essentially the same: “Organizándonos bien y teniendo una buena chica de servicio que solucione las faenas domésticas” (Alba 42).

In addition to interviews with working women themselves, magazines during this period often conducted survey-style interviews with broad groups of individuals as a way to gauge public opinion with regard to the idea of married women’s work outside the home. These surveys yielded a wide range of results: in a March 1962 interview with university students published in *Teresa*, law student María del Carmen González stated that “la mujer capacitada intelectualmente para desempeñar un cargo público lo hará como podría hacerlo cualquier hombre [...] pudiendo ser además una perfecta madre de familia; ambas cosas son compatibles,” while a young woman about to enter university responded to a September 1, 1961 *Ama* interview with the opposite opinion: “compaginar las dos cosas, trabajo y casa, lo encuentro casi imposible; desde luego, es mucho más importante la segunda” (Zabala 38; “Desde el mes de julio: Nosotras iguales a ellos” 21). Even *Telva*’s April 15, 1966 interview with working women from a variety of

backgrounds yielded multiple discordant opinions. An unmarried nurse expressed her opinion in favor of married women's work—"No estoy casada pero creo que se puede compaginar una vida de hogar y de trabajo"—while a textile worker (also unmarried), disagreed entirely—"Una mujer no puede estar en dos sitios a la vez. O el trabajo o los críos" (García Picazo and Fontcuberta 18). A married woman working as a theater attendant told the interviewer that she viewed her work as a sacrifice that she was making for her children—"yo trabajo por mis hijos, para que el día de mañana puedan ser algo, lo que yo no he podido ser"—while an unmarried woman with a high-ranking position in a bank laughed and commented on the fact that men were never asked whether marriage or family life might interfere with their jobs (García Picazo and Fontcuberta 17, 19). This opinion survey format—which became popular in women's magazines during the 1960s—allowed the publications to show readers the range of opinions that existed on a given topic, but without necessarily expressing a firm opinion themselves.

Opinion surveys were not the only example of magazines' ambiguous position on married women's work. In Mirufa Zuloaga's editorial in *Ama's* August 15, 1964 issue, entitled "Falsos resplandores", the author warns readers against viewing an increase in women's labor participation as a sign of social progress: "no nos ceguemos con falsos resplandores de superación, de progreso, de alturas sociales. Si ocupar un puesto de oficinista o de ministro supone relajamiento en la responsabilidad de una madre y de

una esposa, nosotros también decimos: ‘¡¡No!’” (9). And yet, in the very next sentence, the author continues: “Si somos capaces de hacer compatible [*sic*] las dos funciones, ¡adelante!, pero sin perder de vista que en la jerarquía de valores el primer puesto lo ocupa el hogar” (Zuloaga 9). This article serves as an excellent example of the revised rhetoric that magazines used to continue painting women’s work outside the home as harmful without condemning it explicitly. The strategy was to say that married women could of course work, as long as they fulfilled a series of conditions that wealth disparity and a lack of sufficient social infrastructure left open to very few.

Similarly, in the very same issue that published the survey of working women regarding married women’s work, *Telva* published an ambiguous editorial piece from director Pilar Salcedo entitled “La encrucijada del trabajo femenino”. The piece starts out by reminding readers that women have the right to work, that there are many workplaces in which they are fit to work, and that working does not make women less feminine. But while Salcedo goes on to say that it is difficult to generalize about the topic of women’s work — “¿Por qué no dejar asunto tan personal a las interesadas?” — she paradoxically makes some very definitive claims: first, that “No cabe en cabeza humana que una mujer abandone su hogar y sus hijos para el trabajo” (though she does note an exception for women who find themselves economically obligated to do so), and second, that men should not be worried about women invading the workplace, because “a las mujeres españolas, ¡nos gusta tan poco trabajar!” (49). As a final example of the

contradictions inherent in the discourse surrounding married women's work, in an interview published in *Telva's* October 15, 1965 issue, Pilar Primo de Rivera touted the 1961 law as one of the S.F.'s greatest contributions to Spanish women, but simultaneously stated in no uncertain terms that "El mejor trabajo de la mujer casada es el hogar, porque atender la casa, el marido y los hijos pequeños no puede ser compatible con el trabajo fuera [...] En realidad, el trabajo de la mujer casada fuera de su casa no es un bien, es un mal" (Jordán 25). These examples make clear that magazines sent women very mixed messages during this period regarding the topic of married women's extra-domestic work.

And yet, women's continued economic need to perform work outside the home, regardless of their marital or parental status, remained evident in the magazines published during this period, particularly in advice column sections such as *El Hogar y la Moda's* "De todos a todos", *Senda's* "Senda dialoga", *Para Nosotras's* "Tu problema, al buzón", and *Ama* and *Telva's* aforementioned "Profesiones" *consultorios*. In addition, in 1965 *Telva* began to publish a recurring section entitled "Bolsa de trabajo de Telva," which served as a resource to match job seekers with potential employers, and was ultimately centered primarily around domestic service work (a topic we will discuss in more detail shortly). Similarly, in 1962, *Ama* began running a section entitled "Dar", which was nominally meant to connect readers in need of small or large acts of charity with others who might be able to lend a hand, but which also printed requests from

readers who were looking for help finding jobs, which were once again often in domestic service or in other domestic-adjacent activities such as sewing and embroidery.²¹ While the content of these sections may not have been the most prominently featured of all of the magazines' components, the fact that similar efforts were being conducted through the three largest commercial magazines published during this period is significant, and provided those readers who were not already acutely aware based on their own personal experience with a constant reminder of the ongoing economic struggles faced by many Spaniards, even in a period so frequently associated with the rhetoric of economic prosperity.

The segment of Spain's population of working-class women whose experiences and labor took on the most prominence in the magazines of the 1960s was undoubtedly that of women working in domestic service. As Muñoz Ruiz has rightly pointed out, the reason that the issue of domestic service was featured so prominently in the magazines of this period was likely related to the fact that domestic workers were "un grupo de trabajadoras que [eran] fundamentales para que estas mujeres de clase media acced[ieran] al mercado laboral" (499). But while domestic service was considered to be a topic of interest primarily for readers from Spain's reemerging middle class who would be serving as employers rather than workers, magazines' discussions

²¹ *Ama's* "Dar" section was similar in many ways to the spontaneous "Banco de la Caridad" that began through "De todos a todos" in 1958 and continued until the column's end in 1965.

surrounding this topic brought Spain's ongoing problem of class inequality into focus. Conversations on this topic became increasingly frequent in women's magazines beginning in 1959, following the creation of the Montepío Nacional del Servicio Doméstico in March of that year. In April, *Teresa* published an article entitled "Ha sido creado el Montepío del Servicio Doméstico", which explained the details of the pension plan for domestic workers and argued that this plan, which required a monthly payment of 30 pesetas by families employing domestic workers and 10 pesetas by the domestic workers themselves, would benefit "por igual a las familias y a las sirvientas" by providing protection for workers in the case of illness, old age, disability, or the decision to quit upon getting married, and would also provide monetary prizes for domestic workers who remained with the same family for more than a certain amount of time, in an attempt to decrease worker turnover (42). Articles and informational pieces about the Montepío and its subsequent modifications (which included the expansion to cover domestic workers who worked for multiple families at once) continued to be published in *Teresa* over the course of the decade, and can also be found in both *Ama* and *Telva*.

But the magazine's discourses surrounding the issue of domestic service went far beyond reminding housewives of their duty to enroll their maids in the pension program. In fact, even the aforementioned informational piece about the Montepío made reference to the so-called "crisis del servicio doméstico". This term was understood to

describe the tendency of women who had formerly worked in domestic service towards abandoning the formerly unregulated sector in favor of jobs in industry and the non-domestic service sector or jobs in domestic service abroad, along with the associated increase in salary expectations for those who remained in domestic service in Spain (“Ha sido creado el Montepío” 42). It is difficult to quantify the extent to which this perceived fear reflected a real sectoral shift among working-class women due to the lack of differentiation in labor statistics among domestic and non-domestic service jobs during this period. That said, the anxiety on the part of wealthy families regarding women’s purported desertion of the domestic service sector in the 1960s is strikingly reminiscent of similar concerns that, as Conxita Mir points out, had existed among the upper classes prior to the Civil War, as a result of the relative improvement of working-class women’s opportunities during the Second Republic, which were making it more difficult to continue exploiting poor, vulnerable young women as underpaid, unregulated domestic workers.²² While Durán, for her part, has rightly argued out that, as in the 1930s, the majority of Spanish households in the 1960s could not afford to employ domestic workers, and that “sólo la perspectiva de clase media que adoptan los escritores les hace percibir la ‘crisis de servicio doméstico’ como un problema de candente actualidad,”

²² Mir explains that “antes del estallido de la guerra, el rechazo de las jóvenes a desempeñar faenas domésticas comenzaba a resultar incómodo para algunas familias pudientes” (167). She uses the example of a conduct manual entitled *El arte de gobernar una casa*, whose author argues that reliable domestic workers have become more difficult to find due both to the availability of better-paid job opportunities, as well as young women’s desire for independence and disdain for manual work.

both *Ama* and *Telva* nonetheless spent significant time addressing how to solve this so-called problem and foster more amicable relationships between housewives and the domestic workers they employed (117).

Between March 1 and July 1, 1962, *Ama* circulated a survey to readers regarding the issue of domestic service, and published responses from both employers and the workers themselves, who answered questions regarding what they expected from the other party and what they believed they were obligated to provide in return. Multiple housewives responded to the survey saying that they were disappointed because their domestic workers did their assigned tasks correctly but did not seem to be putting very much personal interest into their work, with one suggesting that she would like to see “que no hiciesen las cosas como único medio de ganar un salario, sino de buena voluntad” (“*Ama encuestas*”, June 1, 1962, 59). This expectation on the part of housewives that domestic workers should be required to perform additional affective labor compared with what was expected from workers in other jobs demonstrates the liminal status held by this type of work. On the one hand, the Montepío campaign represented an effort to “professionalize” domestic service by providing workers with benefits similar to those offered in other industries. On the other hand, the same publications that publicized these professionalization efforts continued to propagate the idea that domestic workers were in a unique category, somewhere in between

employees and “una prolongación de la familia,” as one November 1959 *Teresa* article put it (“Se ha constituido el Montepío Nacional del servicio doméstico” 10).

Meanwhile, the domestic workers who responded to the *Ama* survey demonstrated their desire to be treated with respect, but remarked that this desire was often not met, with one eye-catching response unabashedly proclaiming that there was no love lost between her and her employers: “Tampoco nos tratan con cariño. En realidad somos unas extrañas en la casa. Yo, por mi parte, tampoco les tengo ningún afecto. El día que encuentre quien me pague más me iré tan contenta” (“Ama encuestas”, April 15, 1962, 67). While the editorial text that concluded the series sought to sugarcoat responses like this one—“El tono de las cartas ha sido casi siempre amable; algunas –peor tratadas por la realidad– eran a veces injustas con la otra parte, pero había también en sus cartas muchas cosas positivas que aprovechar” —this survey ultimately highlighted the disconnect between how wealthy employers and largely underpaid employees viewed the rights and responsibilities of domestic service workers (“Carta al ama de casa” 3).²³

²³ In her analysis of the situation of Spain’s domestic workers during the postwar years, Mir describes the intense vulnerability of the (often very young) women employed in this unregulated sector. In addition to being economically dependent on the families for whom they worked, and thus subject to their every whim with no legal protection, these women were often the victims of sexual violence that went unpunished by authorities, all while they themselves were accused of sexual immorality: “[L]as jóvenes dedicadas al servicio doméstico fueron blanco predilecto de acusaciones de prostitución, vida ligera y prácticas inmorales, que acabaron en no pocas ocasiones relacionándose más con un posible pasado izquierdista de las mismas que con la miseria y desamparo que acostumbraba a acompañar su desembarco en un mercado laboral sin regulación alguna y carente de posibilidades de promoción social. [...] Los expedientes judiciales dan fe de las más variadas situaciones por las que hubieron de transitar muchas chicas de servicio, lo que no

Telva, like *Ama*, showed a keen interest in covering the issue of domestic service, devoting the entire February 15, 1966 issue to the topic. The issue included several purportedly helpful and informative articles, such as Engracia A. Jordán's "El ama de casa y su empleada: Saber poder convivir", which advised housewives on how to work effectively with domestic workers of different temperaments, and Beatriz Briceño-Picón's "Empleadas del hogar: Una escuela para profesionalizar el trabajo de la casa", which interviewed domestic workers who were attending training classes to improve their professional skills. And yet, Pilar Salcedo's editorial "Servicio en equipo" launched a subtly snide attack at domestic workers for being too demanding — "lo malo [...] es exigir un alto salario sin conocimientos, hacer la guerra fría a los niños, dejar a las señoras en la estancada" — and specifically for their reticence to work in homes with numerous children:

Se habla también de otras causas que hacen especialmente molesto el servicio doméstico — ¡hay que aguantar tanto! —, olvidando que hay muchos jefes chinchas aguantados por secretarias pacientísimas, que las vendedoras de los almacenes aguantan con su mejor sonrisa multitud de compradores pesados. Que se sepa, ninguna de ellas ha estipulado no atender más de cinco clientes, siguiendo la tajante discriminación numérica que suele hacerse con los niños. (22)

hace sino corroborar la indefensión en que quedaron algunas jóvenes sacadas de sus hogares apenas entradas la adolescencia. Un desvalimiento que, en materia sexual, llegó a cobijar, a juzgar sólo por los casos que llegaron a la justicia, agresiones ocasionalmente cualificadas en los sumarios como violación, abusos deshonestos o estupro, que a menudo, como acabamos de señalar, quedaban impunes por falta de pruebas aportadas y de voluntad de los jueces por obtenerlas, incluso cuando mediaba de por medio un embarazo" (Mir 166-68).

Salcedo's commentary in this piece clearly connects back to the magazine's insistent arguments against the use of birth control and in favor of large families, which we will explore in more detail in the last section of this chapter, though it is striking how here the blame is put not on women who do not want to have large families of their own, but on domestic workers unwilling to serve as stand-in mothers for the numerous children of other, wealthier women.²⁴ While, on one hand, magazines attempted to establish themselves rhetorically as a bridge between housewives and domestic employees and purported to be working to promote mutually beneficial relationships between members of both groups, the fact that they frequently amplified housewives' complaints about the high cost of domestic service and the lack of sacrificial work ethic among domestic workers meant that magazines' purportedly neutral stance leaned significantly in favor of the more privileged class perspective—that of the editors themselves—as it pertained to this issue.

A related, though less frequently discussed, topic in women's magazines at this time was the issue of childcare services provided *outside* the family home that would allow working-class women to work outside the home as well. Despite the fact that the S.F. had touted its daycare services for working-class women in the 1940s (a social service that doubled as a control and surveillance mechanism and sought to impose

²⁴ Moreover, the comparison of domestic service with other feminized labor such as that performed by secretaries and salesclerks ultimately reflects the fact that the care labor expectations placed on domestic workers also applied, though to a lesser extent, to other groups of working women.

Catholic moral values and rites on the lower class), daycare centers took longer to become established as a conventional practice in Spain than they did in the United States or in other European countries. This delayed implementation is representative of a broader reticence among Spanish society to rethink the traditional distribution of caring work.

Interestingly, *Senda y Alba* was at the forefront of this discussion, dedicating an entire issue to the topic of daycare in March 1961. The issue's introductory text highlighted that "hay pocas instituciones en España dedicadas a esto," and so the issue's pieces, rather than focusing on the country's current situation, were devoted primarily to evaluating the execution of this practice in other countries and to determining whether or not such daycare institutions would be a necessary or advisable addition in Spain ("Niños y guarderías" 3). One piece, an interview with Carmen Cachot de Méndez, the current Vocal de Familia del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres de A. C., provided a particularly positive outlook on daycare as an institution:

No [es] sólo una ayuda, sino una necesidad, en especial para las madres que trabajan y no tienen resuelto el problema del servicio doméstico. Desde hace muchos años existen las guarderías infantiles gratuitas para las madres trabajadoras de ambiente modesto, ahora que la clase media se resiente de la falta de servicio es imprescindible montar guarderías de otra modalidad. [...]

[...] No tiene duda de que los niños pequeñitos están mejor en el hogar, pero cuando no puede asegurarse su cuidado en casa, es imprescindible contar con instituciones que cuiden de ellos. Y esto va a ocurrir cada día más (Salas 30)

Engracia A. Jordán's article in the January 15, 1965 issue of *Telva* took a similarly pragmatic approach to considering the topic of daycare centers, suggesting that providing practical solutions was more important than preaching to women about how they should be in the home: "De nada serviría seguir pensando que la mujer debe estar en casa atendiendo a la familia, cuando la vida misma exige que quien pueda ganar dinero, lo gane. Es preferible buscar una solución mejor para esa situación cada vez más frecuente entre las familias obreras jóvenes" (43). Though she focuses on daycare as a solution primarily for working-class women, Jordán's piece still makes an important contribution towards promoting this childcare alternative. An article in *Ama*'s March 15, 1967 issue made a similar claim: "Hacen falta guarderías, subvenciones por parte de los organismos competentes, que aseguren, garanticen y construyan guarderías donde los pequeños se sientan acogidos y alegres" (Castilla 87). And yet, despite these anecdotal exceptions, the main solutions proposed to the issue of childcare in the magazines of the 1960s continued to be the care of a mother, first and foremost, and of a domestic servant as a second, less preferable option.

In March and April of 1968, a flurry of articles across *Teresa*, *Telva*, and *Ama* focused on a newly proposed plan to solve the issue created by women's need both to earn a wage and to care for children. As an article in *Teresa* explained, Pilar Primo de Rivera and a group of other women who had recently been elected as Procuradoras en

Cortes explained their proposal to implement a government-provided salary to mothers staying home with their young children:²⁵

“... [E]s necesario no olvidar que la mujer desenvuelve con preferencia su actividad a través de la función de “ama de casa”, de la que se ha dicho ya que constituye “uno de los principales capítulos no sólo dentro del trabajo femenino, sino incluso de todo el trabajo en general.” “Es necesario, a este respecto, crear conciencia clara sobre el valor del trabajo en el hogar. Incluso desde el punto de vista económico puede y debe tener importancia, y así lo ha entendido el reciente II Congreso Nacional de la Familia Española al plantear el problema de la remuneración del trabajo de la mujer en la casa...” (“El ama de casa a primer plano” 4)

While this general proposal shares certain apparent commonalities with what would later become the “Wages for Housework” movement in countries like Italy, the U.K., the U.S., and Canada, the plan’s details were notably different, as it was not intended as a system of remuneration for all women who were charged with completing care work within the home, but rather “únicamente como ayuda a la mujer casada que ha de cuidar hijos pequeños, fuera de la edad escolar, porque entendemos que es precisamente entonces cuando los niños necesitan más de su madre, en todos los aspectos” (“El ama de casa a primer plano” 5). Rather than “Wages for Housework”, or the oft-cited misnomer “sueldo al ama de casa”, this plan could more accurately have been described as “Wages for Prolific Motherhood”.

²⁵ The 1967 Ley Orgánica del Estado incorporated a limited number of elected positions into the Francoist Courts, including the Procuradores de Representación Familiar, made up of two representatives per province who were elected through a vote among heads of household and married women (Miranda Rubio 616).

All four issues of *Telva* published between March 1 and April 15 of that year included some sort of coverage of this new proposal. The introductory piece on March 1 began with a familiar appeal to the essential nature of mothers' presence in the home — “Cuando esta mujer necesita trabajar fuera de casa para aportar su sueldo al presupuesto familiar, sus hijos y su marido se ven privados de su presencia afectiva y moral, cada día más necesaria” — but continued by proposing the nonsensical claim that women under this plan would be fairly compensated at just half the current minimum salary rate: “Aunque la jornada que la mujer hace en casa es continua, el esfuerzo total puede considerarse en una media jornada del trabajo habitual de un hombre” (“La madre de familia cobrará un sueldo” 7).²⁶ In her editorial from the same issue, Pilar Salcedo took issue with the transactional nature of the term “sueldo”, and proposed an alternative terminology that she thought might sit better with the public: “Dado que eso de asalariada suena mal, dado que las funciones sublimes de la feminidad hogareña las realizan criaturas de carne y hueso con necesidades y caprichos —a veces necesarios también—, propongo algo que no sea sueldo ni mito, algo que se llame «gratificación»” (Salcedo 17).

In the April 1 issue, *Telva* published the transcription of a recent debate between various notable women whom the magazine had invited to participate in a coffee chat

²⁶ Half of the minimum daily wage in 1968 would have been just 51 pesetas (Rujas Lázaro 101). While women continued to be paid less than their male counterparts during this period, the idea that receiving just half a man's minimum earnings would be enough to keep married women from needing to work outside the home is illogical.

on the subject of the new remuneration plan. While many of the women — two Procuradoras included — spoke out during the conversation in support of the new plan, it is notable that María Laffitte, the Countess of Campo Alange, argued repeatedly that “ese subsidio va a frenar en forma peligrosa la promoción femenina” (“Café con polémica” 49). While the transcription’s ambiguous conclusion that “no está claro cómo se va a resolver” once again demonstrated the magazine’s reluctance to commit to a firm stance on a key issue, when we put this debate into historical perspective, it seems fairly clear that this proposal on the part of Pilar Primo de Rivera and her S.F. counterparts was indeed designed to interrupt the increasing tendency towards extra-domestic work among Spanish women, including those who were married and had children.

If the discourses surrounding women’s work in domestic service represent one of the primary ways in which economic inequality made its way into the pages of magazines in the 1960s, the other would definitely be the discourses surrounding economic emigration. Whereas magazines in the 1950s were concerned primarily with internal migration from the countryside to the city (as evidenced by frequent pieces about the urban housing crisis), in the 1960s this continued pattern of internal economic migration was complemented by the increasing frequency with which Spaniards (both men and women) moved abroad to work, primarily in more developed European countries such as France, Germany, Switzerland, and Great Britain.

In general, women's magazines presented the entire phenomenon of international emigration in a negative light. An editorial in *Teresa's* August 1966 issue described such emigration as "una sangría no sé si irremediable, pero desde luego demasiado dolorosa, demasiado tremenda" ("Carta abierta a... unos españoles que tuvieron que emigrar" 1). A.C.'s magazines demonstrated a particularly consistent interest in this topic, and often took a paternalistic tone in describing the lives of emigrants, as demonstrated in an April 1961 *Senda y Alba* article which compared Spanish emigrants in Germany to defenseless children: "[Los emigrantes] van como niños indefensos: no conocen la moneda, ni las costumbres ni el nombre de la barbería; naturalmente, ni media palabra de alemán" (Santa Eulalia 7). Articles in *Senda y Alba* and *Para Nosotras* tended to emphasize the struggles faced by Spanish workers abroad, including the need to secure and maintain a job contract in order to maintain their legal immigrant worker status (though many Spaniards emigrated outside of the officially sanctioned channels), the need for adequate and affordable housing, as well as resources to help them with cultural and social adaptation ("Muchos trabajadores extranjeros echan raíces en Alemania" 20-21).²⁷ Of course, while workers were encouraged to adapt

²⁷ While this article noted that emigrant workers would need a job contract prior to arriving in the target country, Oso Casas notes that it was not difficult for Spaniards to arrive in France as tourists and remain in the country as unregistered workers: "A pesar de que muchos de ellos [los migrantes] no usaron la vía institucional, basada en los acuerdos firmados entre ambos países, en aquel entonces no había un control férreo en las fronteras para entrar en Francia. De esta manera, los españoles que llegaban como turistas para trabajar en su país vecino no tuvieron que recurrir a terceras personas que se beneficiasen y lucrasen con el tráfico de inmigrantes" (26-27). Juan B. Vilar expands this notion to Spanish emigration to Europe as a whole, citing evidence that total emigration in the 1960s and early 70s may have been double what was

themselves to the basic customs of the countries where they worked, which included different food options and work schedules, magazines expressed serious concern about the negative effects that the comparatively lax moral customs in other countries might have on Spain's emigrant workers.

While these moral concerns regarding emigration were applicable to all emigrants regardless of gender, they were especially exacerbated in the case of emigrant women. In an article in *Ama's* January 15, 1961 issue, entitled "Nueve mil sirvientas españolas en París", then-director Pilar Salcedo used intensely paternalistic (not to mention racist) language to characterize the morally delicate situation that young Spanish women emigrating to work in domestic service supposedly faced:

Las mejores convicciones se esfuman por arte de magia en París ante una libertad y unas costumbres que las chicas no están acostumbradas a barajar. Se requieren sólidos principios morales y religiosos que no siempre se tienen y sin los cuales —suprimido el «qué dirán» del pueblo— se convierte cada persona en un Congo revuelto, ingobernable y salvaje. (21)

reflected by official statistics: "No es fácil precisar el volumen de la misma por cuanto las series estadísticas publicadas por el Instituto Español de Emigración se refieren solamente a la emigración 'asistida', es decir la oficialmente protegida con asesoramiento y subvenciones de acuerdo con programas aprobados por el gobierno y en el marco de acuerdos interestatales. Esta es evaluada para el período 1960-1973 en 1.000.000 de personas (Ródenas, 1997, 142). La emigración real fue bastante superior, si bien los cálculos disponibles dependen de indicios indirectos y datos concretos más o menos traspolables a una realidad más amplia, informaciones en parte aportadas por el propio I.E.E., y objeto de sistematizaciones con criterios diversos. Por ejemplo las de A. Pascual de Sans (1985), R. Puyol Antolín (1988) y C. Ródenas (1997), quienes cifran su número en torno a los 2.000.000 de emigrantes en el período mencionado" (136).

In line with Salcedo's exaggerated view of the dangers young women faced in Paris, Nicanor Carrera, the Spanish priest working in Paris who was interviewed for the piece, suggested that neither single women nor widows under the age of 45 should be emigrating at all, though these were almost undoubtedly the two main demographic categories of women who had the desire and economic need to seek work outside of Spain.²⁸ Similarly, in an interview article published in *Ama's* July 1, 1967 issue, entitled "Emigrantes en la encrucijada", a young worker interviewed expressed her indignation at the lifestyle choices of many of her compatriots—"¿Sabes cuántas chicas perdidas, compatriotas nuestras, me he encontrado? ¡Muchas!, y eso es porque no estaban preparadas"—and the article's author explained that the increasing number of unwed Spanish mothers in London had necessitated the creation of a special center to attend to them (Castilla 34).

Interestingly, we can find a slightly more practical approach to dealing with this topic in the pages of *Para Nosotras*. In a December 1961 article entitled "Chicas en el extranjero", Mary G. Santa Eulalia expresses a familiar pessimistic view of the situation facing young Spanish women emigrating abroad: "Les es hostil el clima; la lengua, desconocida; las costumbres, incomprensibles; la alimentación, extraña... Y, aunque contra esos inconvenientes haya soluciones, no las encontrarán contra la nostalgia" (6).

²⁸ Carrera went on to explain that he also advised against emigration among both married men coming alone and entire families coming together, implicitly arguing that emigration was only suitable for single men.

And yet, in the latter half of her piece, Santa Eulalia offers young women some practical advice regarding ways to make the emigration experience more manageable, including learning the language of the target country, establishing connections with support networks abroad, emigrating as part of a group, preparing job contracts and documentation beforehand, and not falling prey to to-good-to-be-true scams. The author concludes her piece by claiming that “atenerse a estas indicaciones será beneficioso para las españolas que se lancen a la aventura de salir al extranjero” (Santa Eulalia 7). It seems clear that the editors of this magazine specifically directed towards a working-class readership understood the inevitability of young women’s emigration, and opted for providing useful advice rather than relying solely on moralizing and scare tactics.

While women’s magazines clearly employed an extreme, exaggerated rhetoric to describe the moral dangers that both women and, to a lesser degree, men were assumed to face when emigrating to other countries for work, it is true that the phenomenon of mass emigration did have negative effects on Spaniards’ affective and familial relationships. In fact, the *Ama* advice column “Ideas claras” contains numerous letters from readers whose personal lives have been negatively affected in one way or another by international emigration, either their own or that of their partner. A 21-year-old woman whose letter was printed in the September 15, 1960 issue was in a desperate situation, since her husband had left for France to work and had neither returned nor sent her any money to take care of herself and their three-month-old daughter. The

December 1, 1962 issue published two similar letters from young women. The first woman's boyfriend was planning to work abroad in order to save up money for them to get married, but she was worried that he would end up "llevado por necesidad o por la tonta ilusión, [yendo] quizá alguna vez tras cierta clase de mujeres" (Del Cid 80). The second woman had been in love with a young man of modest means who left to work in France, but before he could return, her parents had forced her to marry a wealthier suitor whom she did not love, and now that her former love interest had returned, she found herself regretting her choice and with no possibility of turning back. On the opposite front, a woman whose letter was printed in the December 1, 1963 issue had emigrated to Germany with a work contract that turned out not to be as advantageous as she had thought, but had resisted returning home: "No quería regresar y que me tomaran por una fracasada" (Del Cid 85). To make matters worse, she had ended up marrying a young man who was also working there, but was unhappy in her marriage and was now on vacation in Spain with no desire to return to her husband and her unfulfilling life in Germany.

These stories are important in the context of this analysis because they demonstrate that the creation of economic circumstances that forced over a million Spaniards to emigrate abroad was yet another way in which the supposedly pro-family Francoist regime ended up contributing to the instability of the traditional home and family. The regime continued to proclaim the importance of family unity during this

period, but was unable to provide the necessary economic opportunities to make that happen. Thus, while women's magazines repeatedly encouraged readers to avoid economic emigration at all costs due to its dangerous moral implications, the real responsibility for this increasingly common phenomenon lay, once again, with the regime's inefficient management of the national economy.

Remarkably, in A.C. magazines we do find several more or less concrete references to the regime's responsibility for addressing the economic problems at the root of mass emigration: namely, wealth inequality and unemployment. In a February 1964 *Senda* article remarking on the newly implemented Plan de Desarrollo expressed a surprising level of skepticism regarding the ability of the plan to address economic inequality:

A pesar de que, como hemos dicho, el señor López Rodó destacó que la mejor distribución de la renta era entraña misma del plan, algunos técnicos opinan que según está planeado el Plan no será fácil llegar a esa redistribución, o, lo que es lo mismo, que permanecerán viejas estructuras, muchas de las cuales han venido impidiendo ese desarrollo. (Fernández Pombo 8)

A piece from *Para Nosotras's* July/August 1964 issue addressed emigration more concretely:

La solución al problema está en saber encauzar la emigración: En primer lugar, logrando que salga la menor cantidad posible de personal. [...] Para conseguir esto habrá que mejorar el nivel de vida en los pueblos y, sobre todo, habrá que crear industrias en dependencia estrecha con los productos del campo, que ocupen a esas gentes y eviten que sean desarraigadas de su ambiente. (Pérez Ramírez 5)

But perhaps even more surprising than the fact that these magazines acknowledged the need to address inequality and emigration at a structural level was the fact that similar messages could also be found in more accessible genres such as fictional dialogues.

In *Para Nosotras*'s March 1965 issue, as part of an ongoing series entitled "Diálogos", we find a fictional dialogue between two friends arguing over the advantages and disadvantages of emigrating abroad. After Petra, a fictional young woman, explains to her friend Juana that her cousin Juan has gone to Germany to work, Juana is immediately critical of this choice—"de seguro que ha ido a ver mundo y a ganar mucho dinero, porque hoy día todo el mundo busca esto: dinero y a divertirse"—and suggests that more young Spaniards should put their faith in divine Providence rather than going abroad in search of a better life ("Diálogos" 18). But while prior experience with this subgenre might lead us to believe that Juana is acting as the voice of reason according to the magazine, in this case we find that the opposite is true, with the narrator stating at the end of the story that "a nosotras tampoco nos convence Juana":

Tenemos derecho a buscarla [la nutrición suficiente] donde esté. No; los emigrantes (exceptuando casos) no van a ganar dinero por afán de dinero ni a divertirse. Les cuesta lágrimas arrancar de su tierra. Van porque aquí no pueden vivir. Quizá antes sus antepasados llevaban una vida infrahumana, pero esto no es lo normal. Las personas tenemos que luchar por alcanzar un nivel de vida propio de personas humanas que han de desarrollarse como tales en todos los sentidos. ("Diálogos" 18)

In short, while the most frequent discourse found in women's magazines of this period, as far as the issue of international emigration is concerned, was one that painted

emigration as a dangerous moral risk, we can also find occasional examples of texts that acknowledge the economic inevitability of emigration and even suggest that Spanish authorities should be made responsible for eliminating the need to emigrate in the first place.

In the context of these reflections about the representation of economic emigration in these magazines, it is worth commenting on the issue of Spain's national self-image with respect to other world nations during this decade. Our analysis thus far has shown that the *desarrollo* years must be thought of as a transitional period in terms of Spain's economic circumstances, despite contemporary regime attempts to sell the idea that prosperity had already arrived, and despite the misleading historical notion of the "Spanish economic miracle". But while the waves of emigrants leaving Spain to search for work in the already developed economies of Germany, France, and Switzerland leave no doubt about the fact that Spain continued to be "behind" the rest of Europe in terms of economic progress, the rhetoric women's magazines propagated regarding *global* issues of poverty and hunger evidence a concerted effort to establish Spain as part of the *developed*, rather than the *developing* world. During the 60s we can find countless articles about the global fight against world hunger across A.C., S.F., and commercial magazines, including particularly sensationalist titles like "Campaña mundial contra el hambre: Dos terceras partes de la Humanidad carecen del alimento necesario" (*Teresa,*

March 1961) and “Nadie debe ignorarlo: ¡Miles de niños mueren de hambre!” (*El Hogar y la Moda*, March 15, 1966).

While some articles did acknowledge that hunger existed both at home in Spain and abroad, these types of pieces were typically centered around Global South locations such as India and the African continent. Of course, the extremely paternalistic and exoticizing interest that Spanish women’s magazines took in presenting long photo reports with such titles as “Africa, además de un continente, es un problema” (*Senda y Alba*, February 1961) and “También hay hogares en el mundo negro” (*Ama*, December 15, 1961) was by no means an exclusive feature of Spanish women’s magazines as compared with those from other countries. But, in my view, the inclusion of these types of pieces does take on a special significance in the Spanish context, as they demonstrate an effort to “de-other” Spain’s economic identity by encouraging Spanish housewives to consider themselves comparatively lucky (and attribute their relative good fortune to the work of the regime), turning their charity outwards towards comparatively poorer nations, rather than dwelling on their own country’s development, which was still very much a work in progress.

If the economic circumstances of the 1960s caused a shift in the discourses surrounding women’s extra-domestic work during this period, we can also observe similar updates in the ways that magazines approached the issues of household spending and consumerism. While, as we have observed in Chapters 2 and 4, Spanish

women's designated role as managers of their household finances was already well established during the 1940s and 50s (and in fact connected back to a longstanding precedent established among the middle classes during the 19th century), the specific challenges that Spanish housewives faced in fulfilling this role underwent changes in the 1960s, most prominently as a result of the introduction of the first supermarkets into Spain. In fact, as was mentioned earlier, this shift in basic household consumption patterns was *Ama's* very *raison d'être*, as a magazine directed towards housewives and funded by the Comisaría de Abastos. Many of *Ama's* recurring sections were geared specifically towards educating women about this new, modern method of household shopping, as well as about how to understand the fluctuations in food prices that Spain was experiencing as a result of significant changes in both the supply of and demand for different agricultural products.²⁹

Early sections in *Ama* starting in 1960 included "Los supermercados, a rayos X", which detailed the novel procedures of supermarket shopping, and "¡Oiga, señora!: Con la historieta del día, aprenda usted economía", a series of illustrated introductory economics lessons meant to instruct housewives regarding the laws of supply and

²⁹ Spain's agricultural sector experienced two significant changes simultaneously during this period: first, the substitution of improved capital inputs (e.g., tractors and other machinery) for traditional manual labor, and second, the need to diversify production to meet Spaniards' increasing demand for a wider variety of foodstuffs as a result of a moderate increase in their purchasing power. But regime policies were in many cases slow to adapt to this changing situation; for example, the Servicio Nacional de Trigo maintained its protected status into the 1960s, leading to grain surpluses that were subsidized by the government (Barciela et al. 375). As Barciela et al. explain, "el incremento del nivel de renta y los cambios consiguientes en la dieta alimenticia provocaron un claro desajuste entre la oferta y la demanda de productos alimenticios" (387).

demand in a reader-friendly manner. Additional ongoing sections included “Charla de don Antonio con las amas de casa”, an editorial-style piece written by Antonio Pérez-Ruiz Salcedo, who was the Comisario General de Abastos from 1958 until his untimely death in 1962. Muñoz Ruiz has described these “charlas” as having “la finalidad principal, a mi juicio, de adecuar la oferta y la demanda de alimentos en un momento de transformación de ambos sectores” (303). Her hypothesis that these types of contents were meant not only to benefit housewives themselves, but also to help guide consumer choices in the direction dictated by current production levels, is supported by the existence of other directive elements within the magazine, including a section named, in different moments “Calendario para su despensa”, “Antes de ir a la compra”, and “Así van los precios”, which indicated to readers which grocery items they should purchase based on relative abundance or scarcity and the associated shifts in prices. In some cases, pleas to housewives to purchase certain basic foodstuffs even appeared in the same format as commercial advertisements, as was the case of a 1961 campaign attempting to promote the purchase of rice, complete with an anthropomorphic rice grain mascot, “Don A. Ross”.

Ofer has argued that, in the 1960s, the Franco regime “dejó de equiparar a las amas de casa españolas con la austeridad y comenzó a equipararlas con el consumismo” (“*Teresa, ¿revista para todas las mujeres?*” 130). As I have discussed in previous chapters, particularly Chapter 2, I take issue with this stark chronological division, given that we

can clearly see consumerist messaging begin to cement itself even in the midst of the intense economic penury of the 1940s. However, what I argue in this chapter is precisely the opposite of Ofer's view: that is, that the economic rhetoric geared towards women during the period of economic development that characterized the 1960s was not, in fact, a significant departure from the rhetoric of austerity and sacrifice that had been promoted during the years of autarky. Carmen Romo Parra and María Teresa Vera Balanza have gestured towards this paradox in a study entitled "Modernidad y simulacro: La planificación moral y estética de las mujeres en la España del desarrollo." According to the authors, "frente a la flamante demagogia desarrollista que mostraba *a priori* el triunfo de la planificación, la realidad convivía con el aumento de precios y demás costes del crecimiento, que seguían exigiendo de la población un alto nivel de sacrificio" (Romo Parra and Vera Balanza 156). We can see this continued rhetoric of sacrifice in articles that appeared in women's magazines following the implementation of both the Plan de Estabilización in 1959 and the first Plan de Desarrollo in 1964.

In March of 1960—the year in which the Spanish economy experienced a brief recession leading up to the boom in 1961—*Senda y Alba* published an article entitled "Llamamiento a la solidaridad", which emphasized the need for *all* Spaniards to make personal sacrifices to help make the Plan de Estabilización a success: "1.o La estabilización es un problema que afecta a todo el país y va a poner a prueba el espíritu de solidaridad de los españoles. 2.o Exige austeridad y sobriedad entre todos. Los que

mandan deben suprimir gastos públicos inútiles. Los ricos deben contentarse con ganancias moderadas. [...] Los obreros eviten la tentación de la frivolidad moderna” (7). As this example demonstrates, far from promising that the recently implemented policies would turn around the economy and usher in a period of enhanced prosperity for all, this piece served as a call to continued sacrifice, and even emphasized social and economic inequality by outlining the different levels of sacrifice required from the rich (who were permitted to profit but only to a moderate extent) and from the poor (who were called to a level of austerity that included not falling prey to the allures of modern frivolity, or, if we interpret the piece in more cynical terms, not striving for deserved and needed improvements in their quality of life).

Similar rhetoric can be found in a piece from *Telva*'s November 15, 1965 issue entitled “Nuestro Plan de Desarrollo: ¿Cómo es el plan español?” The piece emphasized the fact that Spain's plan for economic development—in contrast to the obligatory social planning programs being implemented in the U.S.S.R—was a plan that required the active cooperation of all Spaniards in order to ensure its success: “Como vemos no es el ‘Plan’ la llave mágica que todo lo abre y todo lo puede, sino un proceso continuo que supone un esfuerzo colectivo, basado en la libre decisión personal, por cooperar en el bien de todos” (34). This expression of the need for individuals to personally involve themselves within the process of development is, in my view, far more similar to previous rhetoric urging Spaniards to collaborate with postwar efforts to achieve

austerity and self-sufficiency than it is to the triumphal image of the regime raining down material comforts upon its citizens and claiming sole credit for incremental improvements in Spaniards' standard of living.

Moreover, we can identify specific calls for housewives to practice austerity during this period, just as we did in the magazines of the 1940s. In an article in *Telva's* June 15, 1966 issue entitled "Vivir y pensar: Sobriedad, también hoy", Eloísa Guijarro told readers that austerity and prosperity were not conflicting, but rather compatible concepts: "Nadie se salva. La austeridad en la vida personal, familiar, profesional, industrial, comercial y estatal es un imperativo no sólo de orden cristiano, sino también de orden racional" (23). In an article from the December 15, 1967 issue of *Ama*, which was published following the implementation of a price and wage freeze as an anti-inflation measure and was strikingly entitled "Cuentas claras: Austeridad para todos", the author made a renewed plea for austerity in the form of an imagined conversation with a fictional housewife, whom he advised to save luxuries for special occasions and to "no hablar tanto del nivel de vida, porque la experiencia ha demostrado que el tal nivel puede convertirse en inundación que nos ahogue a todos" (71). Rather than seeing incremental improvements in Spaniards' quality of life as a positive economic outcome, this author presents them as an existential threat and a catalyst for spiraling inflation, and charges consumers (especially women) with reining in their excesses in support of the common good. While the context of this argument is obviously different in the 1960s

than it was in the 1940s when women were accused of overspending while most of them struggled to survive and feed their families, it is striking to see the persistence of this narrative across such different circumstances. I would argue that we can interpret such discourses as an instance of reactionary backlash against the renewed air of progress of the development period and against Spaniards' striving for material improvements in their lives.

At the same time, it should be acknowledged that, in comparison with the S.F. magazines of the 1940s, which took every opportunity to blame women for Spain's economic problems rather than holding the regime responsible, *Teresa* actually included a strain of discourse in the 1960s that repeatedly acknowledged the struggles of housewives to make ends meet in the face of rampant inflation. If *Ama's* various sections oriented around grocery shopping can be considered the official voice of the Comisaría de Abastos, we find a countervailing voice that openly criticizes of this branch of the Francoist government in Julio Castilla's recurring *Teresa* section "Al aire del mercado". Much like the various aforementioned sections of *Ama*, this monthly intervention took on the informative function of relaying relevant price information to women readers and predicting future tendencies in terms of which products were likely to become more or less costly in the future. But unlike *Ama's* pieces, which clearly sought to project the idea of a collaboration between government policies and housewives' spending practices, Castilla's column had no qualms about blaming the Comisaría de Abastos for price

fluctuations and demanding more government accountability as it pertained to this issue.³⁰

An excerpt from the November 1964 column makes clear the combative tone with which Castilla treated the officials charged with managing Spain's food markets: "Esperemos que la Comisaría de Abastecimientos dedique todos sus esfuerzos a contener el creciente y fabuloso encarecimiento de los artículos de consumo y se deje de intrascendencias" (39). Castilla frequently called for the creation of independent consumer associations to defend the rights of Spanish consumers, and definitively painted long-suffering housewives as the victims of unstable commercial markets. That said, faced with the renewed devaluation of the peseta in 1967, Castilla finally found himself obligated to join the chorus of voices preaching austerity, as evidenced by this excerpt from the January 1968 column:

¿Qué puede hacer el ama de casa para colaborar en el plan de estabilidad? Desde luego puede adoptar una resolución — aunque ésta no agrade ni poco ni mucho al comercio —, que es la de restringir en todo lo posible sus compras. Por lo visto consumimos demasiado, hay un exceso de demanda, circunstancia que — también por lo visto — nos ha llevado a la devaluación. Por lo tanto, a comprar menos se ha dicho (67).

³⁰ Barciela et al. suggest that the regime's interventionist policies during the *desarrollismo* era — particularly the Planes de Desarrollo — indeed contributed to the rise of inflation in Spain: "El objetivo básico de los planes fue el crecimiento del PNB, mientras que prestaron poca atención a la transformación de las estructuras económicas y en ningún caso se plantearon cambiar el marco institucional de la economía española. Por ello no resultaron equilibradores ni vertebradores. No fueron estabilizadores, por cuanto la inflación fue uno de los elementos característicos de este período y la política desarrollista en ningún momento se planteó atacar sus raíces profundas" (268). The authors make a similar assessment in specific regard to the regime's agrarian policy at this time: "También en la política agraria los impulsos intervencionistas fueron muy fuertes durante la etapa desarrollista. [...] El resultado fue la inflación, los excedentes y el uso ineficiente de los recursos" (Barciela et al. 259).

Though this column demonstrates that a dissenting voice did exist within the panorama of women's magazines—motivated, perhaps, by the discontent of traditional sectors like the S.F. in the face of the technocrat takeover—it is clear that the predominant narrative surrounding women's spending practices in the 1960s continued to be one of austerity and housewifely thrift, even in the face of the country's slow transition towards the status of a consumer society.

Of course, that is not to say that evidence of Spain's increasingly consumer-oriented society cannot be found in the women's magazines of this period. On the contrary, readers continued to be bombarded with advertisements for big-ticket household appliances such as refrigerators and washing machines; the fact that these items could be paid for in installments was often explicitly mentioned in the ads. Complementing these increasingly frequent advertisements attempting to entice housewives with the promise of simplifying their numerous household chores, we find more and more frequent reports on the different domestic appliances available on the market and the advantages provided by each one. The enticing titles of articles in *Ama* and *Telva* emphasized the modern and even futuristic nature of these new advancements—"La mujer de hoy vive ya en el año 2000" (*Ama*, March 15, 1964), "Los 'robots' del ama de casa" (*Ama*, October 15, 1965)—as well as their essential time-saving properties—"Ley del mínimo esfuerzo en el hogar: Noticiero electrodoméstico" (*Telva*, February 15, 1966), "La casa a punto en un tiempo récord: Los electrodomésticos tienen

el secreto" (*Telva*, May 15, 1968). Even *Para Nosotras* included an article informing readers about these new technologies ("Los objetos de uso domésticos", February 1964).

The presence of these discourses leads us to the question of how these types of appliances were actually being consumed among the Spanish population. While data regarding this question is not available on an annual basis, the results of consumer surveys in 1963 and 1973 can shed some light on the increased uptake of these domestic appliances among households during the mid-to-late 1960s and early 1970s:

Table 18: Proportion of Spanish Families in Possession of Select Home Appliances³¹

	Radio	Washing machine ³²	Refrigerator	Television	Vacuum
1963					
Total	84%	33%	9%	8%	5%
Industrialized zone	91%	44%	14%	12%	6%
Rural zone	75%	20%	2%	1%	1%
1973					
Total	86%	31%	82%	85%	14%
Monthly income 30,500-50,000 pesetas	93%	74%	96%	95%	39%
Monthly income 4,500-10,500 pesetas	82%	8%	61%	73%	2%

As Table 18 shows, the only "appliance" that had any sort of broadly generalized household utilization by 1963 was the radio (84% of households owned one). No other appliance had reached even half of households in the most industrialized areas (44% of

³¹ Data for 1963 comes from the "Encuesta E.O.I. 1963," as reported in Castillo Castillo (58-59, 65). Data for 1973 comes from *Estudios sociológicos sobre la situación social de España, 1975*, as reported in Castillo Castillo (103).

³² Results for 1973 refer to automatic washing machines. 40% of low-income families in 1973 owned a non-automatic washing machine.

industrialized zone households had a washing machine in 1963, but only one in five rural households had one, meaning that a total of one in three Spanish households had a washing machine at this time). Even fewer Spaniards had added the luxury of a refrigerator to their homes (less than one in ten households had one), and other appliances such as televisions and vacuum cleaners were even less common.

But just 10 years later, these numbers had changed drastically. Nearly ten times as many households had a refrigerator in 1973 compared with 1962 (82% vs. 9%), and over three-fifths of low income households had been able to acquire one. Similarly, 85% of households surveyed had a television in 1973, compared with just 8% in 1963. While the data available for washing machines is less consistent between the two surveys given the later distinction between automatic and traditional washing machines, 40% of low-income families had acquired the latter by 1973. On one hand, these data demonstrate that the appliances being advertised to readers were still an out-of-reach dream for most Spaniards by the early-to-mid 1960s. On the other hand, the radical change in these numbers over the course of a decade also speaks to the relative success of these advertising campaigns and of the desire and need that families had to incorporate these new, modern machines into their homes and daily lives. While it is difficult to say for certain what percentage of consumers purchased these domestic appliances outright, versus through a series of installment payments, it seems safe to say

that these types of credit schemes played an important role in enabling the drastic uptake of electrical appliances during the mid-to-late 1960s.

And yet, as we saw in the 1950s, magazines in the 1960s repeatedly warned women against the dangers of paying for appliances on credit. Thus, a contradiction was created between the advertising materials that promised affordable monthly payments and the texts themselves, which repeatedly condemned these types of procedures, which, according to an economic primer published in *Teresa's* August 1959 issue, “aumentan el volumen de consumo no ajustado a las posibilidades que se tienen” (Ramos 10). *Telva* took a similar perspective, with an article from January 1, 1964 stating: “Tampoco son aconsejables las compras a plazos. Es un sistema estupendo para poner la casa cómoda, pero resulta caro. Es preferible ir ahorrando lo que se pagaría mensualmente de plazo y comprar las cosas cuando se haya reunido la cantidad suficiente” (“Año nuevo, cuentas viejas” 47). Even an article from November 15, 1963 that did explain in detail how buying in installments was far from endorsing the practice:

Queremos comprar una lavadora, por ejemplo, y para ello tenemos que firmar un montón de estos complicados papeles. Es fácil. Sin embargo, ¡cuidado!, el hecho de firmar una letra que es su «aceptación», representa una obligación o compromiso formal de efectuar el pago o pagos aplazados y precisamente a su vencimiento, es decir, antes de las doce del día siguiente a la fecha de la letra. Si no pagamos las dichas letras, éstas «se protestan». Además de perjudicar muchísimo nuestro crédito para compras futuras, las letras protestadas tienen fuerza ejecutiva, o sea que, sin necesidad de juicio declarativo, pueden embargarnos en muy pocos días. (Alba 44)

It seems clear that this description of paying in installments served less as a helpful how-to guide and more as a warning.

What is curious is that, in comparison with a more commercial magazine like *Telva*, which we might expect to provide a more optimistic view of these new consumer strategies, it is actually in A.C. magazines where we find the most positive outlook on the idea of paying for household appliances via installment plans. In 1964, *Para Nosotras* and *Senda* each published articles discussing this payment mechanism, in which they explained that installment plans were ultimately beneficial to consumers, proclaiming that “está plenamente justificada la compra a plazos cuando se trata de bienes de equipo, es decir, de los que por su duración, necesidad y utilidad podemos incluir en el tercer grupo” (Cañón del Corral 12). While readers were advised against paying on credit for other categories of products such as food or clothing, such an option was portrayed in a positive light in the case of housing and domestic appliances: “Desde el punto de vista económico y social el crédito es una cosa buena. Se puede decir que es una forma de ahorro como otra cualquiera. Solamente es necesario para que sea eficaz entender y aplicar bien este sistema de compra y esto es lo que vamos a tratar de poner en claro” (Cañón del Corral 12). Whereas *Teresa* and *Telva* encouraged readers to avoid “compras a plazos” and portrayed this as a mechanism used by people seeking to live unnecessarily beyond their means, the A.C. magazines recognized that this practice was a necessary reality that could serve to improve the lives of less well-off Spanish families,

and sought instead to provide useful guidelines for how to make use of this tool effectively.

What is perhaps most interesting about the description of installment plans that appeared in *Para Nosotras* is the author's description of consumer credit as "just another form of savings". This comparison highlights the duality inherent in the rise of new financial technologies that became increasingly available to Spaniards during the 1960s. While we tend to think of the 1960s as the initial phase of Spain's entrance into consumer culture, and can therefore associate this period readily with *credit* instruments such as installment plans and personal loans, significant emphasis was also placed during this period on increasing the use of *saving* mechanisms, particularly savings accounts. While, as discussed above, advertisements for high-priced consumer products tended to promote credit schemes with the intention of enticing Spanish women to expand their role as consumers, women's magazines also began to run ads for public savings banks during the second half of the 1960s.

An advertisement sponsored by the Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, which appeared in *Ama*'s January 15, 1965 issue, emphasized the dual nature of these ventures, which aimed not only to benefit individual families by promoting savings—the ad included the tag line "Familia que ahorra, familia feliz"—but also to benefit society as a whole through the beneficent social programs that were funded through these institutions: "Las CAJAS DE AHORROS constituyen, gracias al ahorro

acumulado y a una administración muy cuidada, la base de la tranquilidad individual y de la prosperidad pública. Las CAJAS DE AHORROS no hacen negocios... sino que ocupan un lugar en la sociedad caracterizado por su verdadero y generoso espíritu de servicio" ("Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros" 55). The advertisement appealed to readers' sense of charity by including photographs of children undergoing rehabilitation at a Sanatorio Infantil in Córdoba and eating at the cafeteria of a Guardaría Infantil in Almería. Associations between personal savings and the public good could also be found in other advertisements for similar initiatives; an ad for the Caja Postal de Ahorros in *Ama's* May 1, 1968 issue claimed to offer not only a hassle-free banking system for savings account holders, but also "una importante obra benéfico social que contribuye a la solidaridad entre los españoles" ("La Caja Postal de Ahorros" 18).

However, the claim that these public savings banks served the community rather than conducting business dealings was patently false. As Carreras and Tafunell explain, the government intervened significantly in the financial sector (both public and private) during this period, using this intervention to secure loans for industries and specific companies that were favored by the regime: "los bancos privados y las cajas de ahorros tenían que destinar una parte sustancial de los recursos que manejaban a las inversiones dictadas por las autoridades" (291). Political and personal connections to the regime continued to be the key to building businesses and amassing large fortunes during the

desarrollo years: “En la cúspide, los empresarios y banqueros que podían compartir cacerías con Franco y sus ministros tenían la información necesaria para realizar negocios fabulosos” (Iriarte Goñi 44). Thus, while it is clear that Spaniards’ savings represented a crucial contribution to the process of development—survey results indicate that the proportion of Spaniards with a savings account increased from 26% to 42% from 1960 to 1964—it is not clear that these savings were truly contributing to the public good in the way that government advertisements claimed them to be (Castillo Castillo 56).

And yet, the idea that saving money was both a wise decision at the household level and a crucial act of social solidarity was also promoted within articles published in *Ama* and *Telva*; this is not surprising given the connections that both magazines had (either directly or indirectly) to the technocrats newly installed within Franco’s government. In its October 15, 1964 issue, *Ama* published a report entitled “Hoy previsión, mañana tranquilidad: Las cajas de ahorros son la mayor garantía de la economía doméstica”, while in *Telva*’s November 1, 1967 issue we find an article summarizing a recent press conference by Don Luis Coronel de Palma, the Director General del Instituto de Crédito de las Cajas de Ahorro, subtitled “En las cajas de ahorro pesa mucho el valor humano”. The rhetoric of austerity and thrift with which magazine readers had been bombarded in the 1940s remained alive and well in the 1960s, rebranded through the rhetoric of savings.

Thus far in this chapter, we have observed how magazines included elements that can be categorized as “progress rhetoric” —for example, pieces promoting women’s work opportunities or alluding to the potential benefits of mass-market consumption. We have also observed elements that I would categorize as “reactionary backlash” in the face of these currents of progress—the proposal of a progressive-sounding economic scheme to keep married women confined to the home, or a return to the well-worn rhetoric of thrift and austerity under a new, more modern veneer. But if there is one especially notable recurring theme within magazines’ messages to readers during the 1960s—one specific discursive thread within which rhetoric against women’s work and against materialism melded seamlessly into one—it is the absolute obsession that developed around the issue of birth control, and more specifically the birth control pill, during this period.³³ The fact that new technology was now available that could help

³³ The continued string of articles published on the moral and physical ramifications of hormonal contraceptives between 1964 and 1968 was preceded by a related but separate string of articles following the thalidomide scandal of the late 1960s and early 1960s. The sedative thalidomide, which had been prescribed to pregnant patients without having been clinically tested on pregnant women, was found to cause severe birth defects in the limbs, eyes, and hearts of infants. But while the scandal clearly should have been the fact that these drugs were sold and distributed in a harmful manner to women who had no idea of the dangers that they posed, the scandal that Spanish women’s magazines focused on primarily was the so-called “proceso de Lieja”, a criminal case against a Suzanne Vandeput, a young mother who had poisoned her newborn daughter Corinne after she was born without arms as a result of thalidomide poisoning. The fact that Vandeput was ultimately acquitted horrified the editors of women’s magazines, who published pieces with striking titles including “Proceso al proceso de Lieja: Estos hombres dijeron: ¡Absueltos!” (*Ama*, December 15, 1962). A related but substantially different case, that of Sherri Finkbine, a U.S. children’s television host and mother of four whose attempt to seek an abortion in Arizona after unknowingly taking thalidomide while pregnant was frustrated due to a public scandal (she was ultimately granted an abortion in Sweden) was covered in *Marisol*’s September 17, 1962 issue. The article, entitled “Un triste caso: Sherri Finkbine no ha tenido valor”, harshly condemned Finkbine’s decision and concluded with the striking phrase “Hoy se quiere la vida demasiado cómoda y sin sufrimientos...” (11).

women more easily limit the size of their families prompted these publications to bring their explicit pro-natalist discourses back out in full force.

Despite the fact that contraception and voluntary sterilization remained illegal in Spain until after Franco's death, the hormonal birth control pill ("la píldora") first became available in Spain in 1964, due to its multiple other therapeutic indications; annual sales reached approximately one million units per year by 1966 and more than double that by 1968 (Ortiz-Gómez and Ignaciuk 660). Thus, while the pro-natalist rhetoric of the 1940s condemned birth control in the abstract and discouraged families from using already unreliable forms of family planning such as the rhythm method (except in extreme cases and under clerical advisement), the stakes had changed entirely by the 1960s with the appearance of the birth control pill. The authorities of the Catholic Church proceeded to debate the moral implications of the pill over the course of the 1960s, but no official pronouncement was issued on the matter until Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae vitae* in July 1968, which definitively condemned the use of any artificial birth control methods. This left several years for women's magazines to offer their own perspectives to curious readers who were at the same time attempting to form their own opinions on the matter, though not without the inevitable deference to the Church's forthcoming official guidance, portrayed for several consecutive years as being just on the horizon.

As we recall from the discussion in Chapter 1, magazine discourses on the issue of birth control were not entirely new in this era. But if the elusive mention (and inevitable condemnation) of contraceptive practices in *Senda* in 1945 was couched as part of an intimate conversation between a fictional mother and daughter, a December 1964 *Teresa* article acknowledged that “el problema de la natalidad ha saltado, en poco tiempo, del aislado rincón de las conversaciones privadas al abierto redondel de la polémica, a los públicos renglones de la prensa, al sentir de las diversas ideologías” (“La educación y sus problemas” 41). In the absence of an official papal decision, priest and sociologist Jesús Vázquez took it upon himself to offer *Teresa’s* readers an absurdly bleak summary of the supposed negative consequences that the rise of birth control had caused in other countries, which included, among others, “envejecimiento espiritual,” “aumento de la amoralidad,” “alteración en los vínculos amorosos,” and “más tendencia a la homosexualidad” (“La educación y sus problemas” 41). In case these type of moralistic threats were not enough to dissuade readers, magazines also published pieces warning them about the potential health risks of taking oral contraception, with one particularly alarming headline reading “¿Qué pasa con la píldora?: Embolias y cáncer” (*Telva*, May 15, 1966).

The issue of birth control was also the topic of a number of editorial-style pieces in *Ama* and *Telva* between 1964 and 1968, with similarly eye-catching titles including “Los que no nacen” (*Telva*, February 15, 1964), “¿No será que se nos cuela el egoísmo?”

(*Ama*, December 15, 1964), and “Evasión” (*Ama*, June 1, 1966). The primary message of pieces like these was that women’s use of birth control was the ultimate expression of their selfishness, materialism, and lack of capacity for personal sacrifice. In the December 1964 piece mentioned above, author Mirufa Zuloaga went so far as to accuse families of replacing children with television sets:

Sí, ya sé que todo se nos pone en contra, que las sirvientas huyen de las familias numerosas, que los pisos son insuficientes, que los vecinos se quejan del pataleo de los niños...

Pero también puede pesar en nuestro camino, a la hora de la verdad, esa televisión que no tenemos, y el abrigo que hemos visto en la tienda de la esquina, y la alfombra del cuarto de estar, y..., Nos hemos vuelto tan calculadores que ya antes de nacer pensamos: Este nuevo hijo se me lleva la televisión, y la alfombra, y el abrigo. ¡Pobre criatura! ¡Qué ajeno está él de ese pensamiento monstruoso y egoísta! (27)

The author concluded her piece by instructing readers to close their ears and block out the increasingly prevalent voices in favor of birth control practices, and reminded them that “un hijo es siempre una bendición del cielo, aunque haya diez delante del chiquitín” (Zuloaga 27).

But it is perhaps Pilar Salcedo’s November 15, 1966 *Telva* piece, “La natalidad y otros controles”, that pointed out (if not entirely intentionally) the grand hypocrisy that continued to characterize pro-natalist rhetoric in Spain throughout the entirety of Franco’s regime. After posing the question “¿Es el control de natalidad la única solución para el problema de las familias numerosas?,” Salcedo proceeds to propose a series of

other “controls” that might help to alleviate the economic concerns of numerous families:

¿Por qué no hablar más del control de las tasas escolares? [...] No vendría nada mal una campaña constante para el control en materia de vivienda. [...] Y así podríamos seguir hablando del control en el alza de los precios [...] Y, ¿por qué no controlar los ingresos desproporcionados de algunos funcionarios para que sean más razonables los de otros muchos? (17)

What Salcedo incidentally points out in her attempt to propose alternative solutions to birth control is that, for all the rhetoric of development and economic success that circulated in Spain in the 1960s, the regime continued to promote a family model that was frankly incompatible with the level of economic resources that the majority of Spaniards had available to them.

This chapter has endeavored to demonstrate the ways in which the discourses circulated through the women’s magazines of 1960s Spain combined a jarring mixture of comparatively progressive messages in line with the country’s changing social and economic currents, and of reactionary rhetoric that sought to limit the effects of these changes on women’s traditionally established societal functions. Whereas *a priori* notions about the slow expansion of women’s economic roles and possibilities over the course of Franco’s dictatorship might lead us to expect a similar pattern of progression in terms of magazines’ messages to women, the evidence shown in this chapter has demonstrated that actual developments in women’s economic behaviors were met with a series of discursive backlashes that at times bore more resemblance to the reactionary rhetoric of

the magazines published in the immediate postwar years than they did to the progressively more open discourses that had developed in women's magazines during the 1950s. By providing evidence of this discursive turn, and particularly of the role that new, commercially-oriented magazines like *Ama* and *Telva* had in disguising retrograde values beneath a veneer of modernization, this chapter has sought to show how the relationship between women's lived experiences as economic actors and the mediated depiction of their economic roles defied the expectation of a linear temporal trajectory over the course of the first three decades of Francoism.

Conclusion

In her 1978 novel *El cuarto de atrás*, author Carmen Martín Gaité's quasi-autobiographical protagonist—a middle-aged woman writing in the aftermath of Franco's death—recalls how she reacted to the messages found in the S.F.'s *Y* magazine as a young woman living in 1940s Spain: “Bajo el machaconeo de aquella propaganda ñoña y optimista de los años cuarenta, se perfiló mi desconfianza hacia los seres decididos y seguros, crecieron mis ansias de libertad y se afianzó la alianza con el desorden que había firmado secretamente en el piso tercero del número catorce de la calle Mayor” (87). She remembers resenting the magazine's appeal to women to follow the unwavering feminine example of Isabel la Católica, and being suspicious of advice columnists' presumption that they were capable of solving “de un plumazo, todos los problemas que pudieran hacer presa en el alma de los seres inadaptados o irresolutos” (87). But while Martín Gaité's narrator categorizes the editors of women's magazines among those “seres decididos y seguros” for whom she began to develop a distrust from an early age, this analysis has shown that women's magazines published in Spain over the course of the Franco dictatorship did not in fact produce such unequivocal messages regarding women's economic roles within society as we might have expected in such a restrictive cultural context. Rather, magazines' discourses reflected an ongoing struggle for cultural hegemony in which the official, idealized version of Spanish economic womanhood butted up against real Spanish women's practical circumstances, and in

which differing expectations for women from opposite ends of Spain's stratified economic spectrum often led to the inclusion of conflicting messages.

By combining a data-driven analysis of Spain's economic history during the first 30 years of the dictatorship with a close reading of a representative sample of eight Falangist, Catholic, and commercial women's magazines published during the period, this dissertation has sought to shed new light on the part these popular media texts played in shaping readers' understanding of their economic roles and how the expectations regarding those roles shifted over the course of three decades. In the first three chapters, we focused on the magazines of the first postwar decade, the regime's most brutal period and the most economically devastating chapter in the dictatorship's long history. In Chapter 1, we explored the discursive strategies that magazines' editors used to promote an idealized vision of motherhood and domestic life in the 1940s, against the backdrop of state-sponsored violence and widespread poverty, both of which had devastating effects on Spanish families and made it impossible for many of them to conform to the regime's prescribed nuclear family model (as evidenced frequently in advice column letters). In Chapter 2, we contrasted magazines' depictions of women's duty to manage their households' finances with the impossibility of making ends meet due to postwar food scarcity and plummeting wages. We also observed the contradictory materialist messages that magazines spread through the highly visible presence of consumer advertising. And in Chapter 3, we saw how depictions of

women's extra-domestic work as a danger to society conflicted with evidence of women's economic need to earn a wage during this period, which appeared in doctrinal articles lamenting this need, but also in the more frank and practical discussions that arose through *El Hogar y la Moda's* collaborative *consultorio*.

In Chapter 4, we observed important changes in women's magazines' discourses during the 1950s, as the economic isolation of the 1940s slowly broke down and Spain began its tentative reentry into global society. As editors sought to remain relevant to readers and respond to the entrance of foreign models of feminine behavior into the Spanish consciousness, less restrictive models of womanhood such as the "professional woman" and the "modern housewife-consumer" began to enter magazines' discourses. While these messages could appease readers and stave off the accusation that editors were out-of-date and out-of-touch, they posed no real threat due to the severe economic inequality that continued to prevent most Spanish women from embodying these comparatively more progressive societal roles. Finally, in Chapter 5, we observed another key transformation in magazines' discourses in the 1960s, as Spain experienced significant economic growth and development following the implementation of the Plan de Estabilización. Contrary to what would be expected according to a linear narrative of forward progress, we saw the continued presence of austerity rhetoric in this supposedly consumerist decade, as well as a resurgence of the doctrinal emphasis on domesticity and motherhood that we had previously observed in the magazines of the

1940s. I argue that this resurgence represented a reactionary backlash in the face of the increased availability of employment and consumption opportunities for women during this period, despite the persistence of economic inequality, as evidenced by the mass emigration of working-class Spaniards that accompanied Spain's supposed "economic miracle".

This in-depth, diachronic analysis allows us to draw several key conclusions regarding how women's economic roles were portrayed in the magazines of the Franco dictatorship. First, it is clear that these publications' messages to their readers regarding appropriate feminine behavior often clashed with the economic circumstances that Spanish women faced in their everyday lives, and that this continued to be true throughout the 30-year period studied. As such, magazines' editors needed to employ a wide variety of discursive strategies in an attempt to convince women to conform to an idealized model of womanhood, including minimizing, trivializing, or erasing serious societal problems; displacing the blame for structural issues away from the regime and onto women; and preemptively refuting or rhetorically containing any opposing viewpoints.

Secondly, we have shown that, despite these concerted rhetorical efforts, magazines' editors were unsuccessful in cultivating consistent messages regarding women's economic roles. This was due in part to the need to appeal to an economically stratified readership, which required editors to acknowledge — at least in some

instances—the problems faced by Spain’s most vulnerable women, while simultaneously catering to the whims of the wealthiest. It was also due in part to the fact that didactic elements like fictional dialogues and collaborative components like advice columns enabled provocative queries, and even dissent, to become incorporated into magazines’ discursive exchange.

And thirdly, we have demonstrated that, though magazines’ discourses did evolve over the first three decades of the dictatorship, this evolution was not always a transition from more regressive to more progressive positions on women’s economic roles over time. Rather, the degree to which any representations of economic womanhood that deviated from the domestic ideal espoused by the Franco regime were present within magazines’ discourses depended on the specific economic and political circumstances that characterized Spanish society at a given time. This explains why we found that the magazines of the 1950s often included comparatively more open, positive representations of women’s professional employment and conspicuous material consumption than did those that were published in the 1960s, when these opportunities ceased to be available only to the economic elite.

I would like to conclude by briefly reflecting on several potential lines of future research that might expand upon the work I have undertaken in this dissertation. For example, following Franco’s death in 1975, we see the emergence of new women’s magazines such as *Vindicación Feminista* (1976-1979), which offered readers an openly

feminist perspective that could not have been expressed during the 36 years of Francoist rule. While this magazine's discourses on women's economic roles within Transition-era Spanish society are themselves deserving of a careful analysis, it would also be productive to put these discourses into dialogue with those that circulated in other women's magazines both prior to and during its brief period of publication. As my analysis has shown, *Vindicación Feminista's* discussions on topics such as gender-based labor discrimination, the need for society to value housewives' unpaid domestic labor, and the precarious situation of paid domestic workers clearly have precedents in discourses that were ongoing in women's magazines during the Franco dictatorship years.

Productive connections can also be drawn between the magazines analyzed in this dissertation and more contemporary media genres. In particular, it would be worthwhile to explore the persistence of the advice column format in contemporary digital media such as feminist journalist Irantzu Varela's video call-in show, *Aló, Irantzu*, or the *Radiojaputa* podcast, hosted by the anonymous columnist and Twitter personality Barbijaputa (who has been the subject of significant controversy due to her espousal of trans-exclusionary radical feminist views). It is quite striking to observe that this longstanding form of quasi-epistolary communication continues to live on in new ways in the digital age, and a comparative analysis may be able to shed new light on the significance of *consultorios* as a medium, both historically and today.

Similarly, while economic data are a particularly useful analytical counterpoint in the case of women's magazines, given that these texts so often contain prescriptive messages regarding women's economic behavior, the types of data employed in this study could also be used to deepen analyses of a wide variety of other Franco-era popular media texts. For example, I can imagine a study similar to my own that looks at the more mainstream press and propaganda (newspapers, general audience magazines, the NO-DO, etc.) and compares the messages these texts conveyed to readers with the economic circumstances of the period. A similar approach could be used to address popular novels, films, comic books, and other fictional texts, particularly those that deal either explicitly or more subtly with economic themes or with representations of everyday life circumstances. Moreover, the use of this approach need not be limited to cases where economic data can be used to refute or problematize the representation of economic circumstances in a text. It can also be used as a supplement to enrich the analysis of artistic works that are themselves critical of the economic injustices that characterized the dictatorship period.

In my view, gaining a fuller understanding of the economic dynamics that characterized the context in which a text was produced and circulated can nearly always help us to conduct a more thorough and productive textual analysis of the work in question. My hope is that the unique framework that I have employed over the course of this dissertation can serve as a useful jumping-off point for future interdisciplinary

humanistic work spanning a variety of historical periods, cultural traditions, and textual genres. As contemporary economic, health, and ecological crises continue to inflict disproportionate economic pressures on women today, it is more important than ever that we continue working towards a fuller understanding how women's economic roles are constructed and negotiated within the cultural sphere.

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