

© Nino Kedadze 2009

*All Rights Reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner

The right of Nino Kedadze to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988

First published 2009 by Tamesis, Woodbridge

ISBN 978 1 85566 192 9

Tamesis is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.  
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA  
website: [www.boydellandbrewer.com](http://www.boydellandbrewer.com)

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available  
from the British Library

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Great Britain by  
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

## CONTENTS

Introduction	vii
<b>PART I Towards Female Exemplarity: Setting the Norm</b>	1
1 From Nationalist Victory to New Signifying Practices	3
2 Engendering Exemplary Women	9
3 <i>La perfecta casada</i> : The Catholic Model of an Ideal Wife	21
4 <i>El ángel del hogar</i> and the Bourgeois Ideal of Domesticity	34
5 Female Formation and <i>La nueva mujer</i> of the Falange	45
<b>PART II Reading Romance: Questioning the Norm</b>	69
6 Post-War Conventions of Representing Women: Gender and Genre Constraints	71
7 “La imperfecta casada” or the Making of an Ideal Wife in Luisa-María Linares’ <i>Un marido a precio fijo</i>	93
8 Interpreting ‘Surrender’ in Concha Linares-Becerra’s <i>Como los hombres nos quieren</i>	108
9 Carmen de Icaza’s <i>Soñar la vida</i> or the Imperative to Dream	124
10 Taking Matters into Your Own Hands in María Mercedes Ortoll’s <i>En pos de la ilusión</i>	146
Conclusion	170
Bibliography	173
Index	183

## From Nationalist Victory to New Signifying Practices

The Nationalist victory in the Civil War (1936–39) inaugurated a new order founded on the union of authoritarian politics and reactionary Catholic values. The years preceding the war were marked by significant political and socio-economic changes for Spain, which at the turn of the century was still undergoing the parallel processes of industrialization and urbanization. The rise of anarchist, socialist, and communist currents made evident the increasing fissures in the existing order, laying bare the insufficiencies surrounding the growing sectors of wage laborers and the landless population. The Church's failure to take an active initiative in response to these demands, advocating piety and conformity instead of reforming policies, betrayed its own interests in the swelling class conflict. However, the sources of local tensions were not confined to the national borders, as the effects of the First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the rising Fascist regimes reverberated throughout Europe. Spain's response to the mounting pressures from within and without were two brief and ideologically disparate tenures, represented by the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and a liberal rule of the Second Republic.

After the two-party Restoration system<sup>1</sup> had been replaced by a series of coalition governments, the nation received its first "iron surgeon" as a result of the military coup staged by General Miguel Primo de Rivera. The ensuing dictatorship (1923–30) was an authoritarian response to the preceding period of political instability and the increasing fear of those whose stakes lay in the preservation of the existing order. While intent on protecting the conservative status quo, the regime sought credibility in the Regenerationist discourse of middle-class liberal intellectuals who, in the aftermath of the Disaster of 1898, attempted national revival through a series of modernizing agrarian and educational reforms. One of the most prominent figures of the group, Joaquín

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise known as *turno pacífico*, it gave the two dynastic parties, Conservatives and Liberals, the right to alternate in power. The First Republic (1873–74) was succeeded by the Bourbon heir to the throne, Alfonso XII, inaugurating a Restoration regime that would last nearly fifty years.

Costa, disillusioned by the movement's failure to implement the desired changes, had claimed the need for an "iron surgeon" who could single-handedly change the course of the nation through a revolution from above.<sup>2</sup> In consonance with Regenerationist thought, "[t]he new dictator affirmed that his aims were . . . to purify the political world through the establishment of a temporary authoritarian regime and . . . relieve the nation's ills" (Tusell and Queipo de Llano 208). The subsequent economic and social reforms founded on the state interventionist policies and the system, which had initially enjoyed some support, failed to achieve the necessary consolidation. Although "the link between Costa's ideas and twentieth-century authoritarianism is problematic," it is important to recognize, as does Balfour, that the Regenerationist views regarding "Spain's spiritual mission, the distrust of parliamentary politics, and the belief in an essential, as opposed to plural, Spain whose roots lay in Castile and Catholicism" were recast as sources of cultural and political legitimacy under the dictatorships of Miguel Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco.<sup>3</sup> Both dictatorships relied on the hermeneutics of Spain's history and national identity for political and cultural legitimation. Popular interpretation and representation of the imperial past drew heavily on the ideas of Menéndez y Pelayo, whereby the nation's present "was seen as the tragic culmination of misguided policies and philosophical currents fundamentally alien to Spain's historical identity" (Balfour, *The End* 231). Its true self was defined in teleological and providential terms epitomized by two singular historic events: the Reconquest and the Colonization. Such a genealogy served at once as an explanation and a determinant for the role that Spain was to assume as a spiritual crusader in the ongoing battle against the reviled spread of materialism and moral degeneration of reputed capitalist and communist heresies.<sup>4</sup>

According to Stanley Payne, if a case were to be made for Spain's unique course in history during this time, it would be for the ascendancy, however brief, of a liberal rather than reactionary order. While authoritarianism was on the rise in Europe, the discredited military leadership in Spain had been succeeded by the parliamentary government of the Second Republic (1931–36). The result was a "sweeping reversal of traditions and values" manifest in the separation of Church and state, the institution of civil marriage and divorce, the laicization of education, the implementation of labor and agrarian reforms, and a general secularization of national life (Lannon 181).

<sup>2</sup> For the appropriation of Costa's ostensibly harmless and idealized portrayal of a longed-for national leader and a savior by different political groups, and especially by the authoritarian right, see Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire: 1898–1923* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Sebastian Balfour, "The Loss of Empire, Regenerationism, and the Forging of a Myth of National Identity," *Spanish Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995) 29.

<sup>4</sup> See Balfour, *The End*.

Regardless of whether the revolutionary principles underlying the new constitution ever fully materialized, an understanding of the kind of unprecedented political and cultural shift it advocated is necessary in order to appraise the ensuing nationalist counter-revolution. Among some of the most innovative reforms were the Republic's policies addressing women's social, political, juridical, and cultural status:

In an astonishingly short time, in one of Europe's most backward societies and polities women became the *legal* equals of men. Under the December 1931 Constitution, they could vote and stand for parliament (the legal majority being set at 23 years for both men and women). In addition, a package of progressive social reforms, including one of the most liberal divorce laws in existence (February 1932), significantly enhanced their civil and employment rights. For the first time women could legally act as witnesses and guardians, sign contracts, and administer estates. Employers were no longer formally able to dismiss women merely because they had married. (Graham 101)

Following Payne, the nationalist insurgents began to employ the term "true Catholic Spain" at the start of the war as a way of eliciting and displaying support from conservative and religious groups. For the Church, the military uprising against the lay government provided a singular opportunity to reassert its authority through the resacralization of national life. For the insurgents, the espousal of the Church's cause proved to be a critical move for the forging and consolidation of the nationalist culture.<sup>5</sup> As early as 1936 the bishop of Salamanca, Pla y Daniel, issued a pastoral letter, *The Two Cities*, in which he justified the uprising by calling it a crusade. In its 1939 sequel, *The Triumph of the City of God*, he claimed "that the war was neither a class war nor a conflict over politics, but a confrontation between two civilizations, Catholic Spain on the one hand and foreign, Marxist, anti-Spain on the other" (qtd in Lannon 203). The invocations of "order" against "anarchy," of "hierarchical government" against "dissolvent communism," of "Christian civilization and its bases, religion, fatherland and family, against those without God and against God, and without fatherland" became the litany of the counter-revolutionary right.<sup>6</sup> The representation of the nationalist cause as a struggle of good against evil, and the subsequent division of Spanish society into "the victors" and "the vanquished,"<sup>7</sup> propitiated new

<sup>5</sup> See Stanley Payne, "National Catholicism" in *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987) 171–91.

<sup>6</sup> See Stanley Payne, *The Franco Regime: 1936–1975* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987) 198–9.

<sup>7</sup> See Raymond Carr, and Juan Pablo Fusi Aizpurua, *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981) 18.

historiographic accounts and the rise of “authoritarian fictions” as part of the state pedagogic machinery.<sup>8</sup>

According to Carolyn Boyd, the Nationalist victory in the Civil War was the culmination of a century-long contest between liberalism and Catholic traditionalism over who should have the right to educate. Already in 1936, the insurgents called for the revision of textbooks (in light of Catholic doctrine) and for the suspension of co-education (licensed by the Republic) in favor of traditional gender-segregated learning. As the authors of the ensuing scholastic reform averred:

Contra la tendencia niveladora de los sexos, nosotros postulamos una educación específicamente distinta para cada uno. Pilar esencial de la reforma es la creación de una *Escuela de niñas* que permita llevar a cimas de plenitud el invaluable tesoro de afectividad e intuición que guarda el alma de la mujer española.

(Contrary to the trend toward equalizing the sexes, we propose a specifically differentiated education for each. An essential pillar of our reform is the creation of a *Girl's School* which would allow the invaluable treasure of emotion and intuition that is preserved within the Spanish woman's soul to come to full fruition.) (qtd in Alted 429)

By the end of the war, religious instruction became mandatory in public schools and the new curriculum founded on the prevailing national-Catholic principles of authority, obedience, and discipline—the founding principles of “national spirit” (*el espíritu nacional*)—was well under way (Payne, *Franco* 172, 192).

The country's “spiritual and material reconstruction” was undertaken by Francisco Franco, a man who came to embody the nationalist ethos as a “crusader” for and a “savior” of authentically Spanish values (Payne, *Franco* 171). The supreme commander of the Armed Forces and head of the single political party *el Movimiento* (or, the Movement),<sup>9</sup> his unlimited authority was subject only to God and history.<sup>10</sup> Buttressed by a series of cultural sym-

<sup>8</sup> Susan Suleiman posits that the ideologically polarized climate is particularly propitious for the proliferation of narratives with an “unambiguous, dualistic system of values” in the tradition of *exemplum*. See *Authoritarian Fictions* 56, 69.

<sup>9</sup> The Movement, or *FET y de las JONS* (*Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas Ofensivas Nacional Sindicalista*), represented a mandatory coalition of different right-wing forces among which were the Carlists who sought the restoration of monarchy and the Falangists who modeled themselves after Italian fascism. Its creation obeyed the Francoist objective of neutralization through unification.

<sup>10</sup> See *Doctrina e historia de la revolución nacional española* (Barcelona: Editora Nacional, 1939). Statutes of *FET y de las JONS*, articles 47 and 48 (August 4, 1937). On the role of Falange, see Sheelagh M. Ellwood, *Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era: Falange Española de las Jons, 1936–76* (New York: St Martin's P, 1987) and Stanley Payne, *Fascism in Spain: 1923–1977* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1999).

bolos, among them the famous arm of national saint and mystic Teresa of Avila, which stood for the providential force behind the general's military campaigns,<sup>11</sup> Franco came to enjoy the quasi-mythical status of a divinely ordained leader whose goal was to restore Spain's grandeur through the fulfillment of its imperial purpose as "unidad del destino en lo universal" ("unity of destiny in universal affairs").<sup>12</sup> His ascendance to power was to mark the dawn of a new era, which signified "the end of transformation through the final epiphany of truth," the condensation of past and future into post-apocalyptic present, and hence the suspension of time as a catalyst of change (Herzberger 34, 71).<sup>13</sup>

The consolidation of the new order was thus contingent upon the successful instrumentation of language as a closed system of signification. Prompted by the need for self-preservation and perpetuation, the state called for normalization, or a return to the (conservative) status quo, which aimed at "the elimination of all social and psychological irregularities and the production of useful and docile subjects through a refashioning of minds and bodies" (Best and Kellner 47). At the heart of nationalist counter-revolution was the state monopolization of all signifying practices. The subsequent control over the production of meaning and interpretation of everyday life played a central role in the process of national reconfiguration. These new signifying practices presupposed restoration of the traditional and conservative values upheld by the state and the Church. Their alliance, which came to be known as "national Catholicism," produced, in Payne's words, "the most remarkable traditionalist restoration in religion and culture witnessed in any twentieth-century European country" (*Spanish Catholicism* 171).

The official interpretations of Spain's past, present and future substantiated the view that history was a succession of authentic and inauthentic manifestations of national essence.<sup>14</sup> Perceived as spiritual, chivalrous, and imperial, this essence was at once a by-product of such interpretations, and a starting point for further conjectures. Historical events were judged in accordance with this allegedly ahistorical and atemporal notion that in turn allowed for claims of historical objectivity. National or authentic history mirrored the

<sup>11</sup> See Giuliana Di Febo, *Ritos de Guerra y de Victoria en la España franquista* (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> "A unity of destiny in universal affairs," a term derived from Ortega y Gasset and popularized by José Antonio Primo de Rivera—the son of the former dictator and the founder of the Spanish Falange—echoed the sixteenth-century conception of Spaniards as "the new chosen people of God, charged with a broader world-historical mission." *Franco* 8, 58.

<sup>13</sup> See also Carmen Martín Gaité, *El cuarto de atrás* (1978; Barcelona: Destino, 1994) 133.

<sup>14</sup> On the role of national history, or rather histories, in the founding of different "imagined identities," see the excellent study by Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997).

## INDEX

- agency, 40, 53, 58, 65, 114, 129
- Aldaraca, Bridget, 27, 30, 36 n.4, 40, 46 n.8, 74
- Alted Vigil, Alicia, 6
- Althusser, Louis, 19 n.12
- ángel del hogar*, *see under* models of womanhood
- apprenticeship, 72, 83, 94, 105, 107, 114, 117, 132, 170  
and heroines' transformation, 78 n.11, 83, 84, 90, 95, 105, 114, 117, 154  
*see also* exemplarity
- Aranda, Rosa María, 77
- autarchy, 10, 27
- "authoritarian fictions", vii, vii n.2, 6, 6 n.8, 51, 58 n.20, 106
- authoritarian regime, vii n.2, viii, 3, 4, 19, 49, 66, 82  
*see also* Franco Regime
- authority, 5, 6, 8, 13, 19 n.22, 23, 36, 58, 65, 90, 98, 101, 106, 127, 148, 152, 155  
and patriarchy, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 31, 53, 56, 58, 62, 67, 72, 75 n.8, 76, 91, 93, 95, 99, 101, 102, 105, 109, 111, 118  
and women writers, 41, 43, 44, 66, 74, 149
- Auxilio Social* (Social Aid), 46, 46 n.7, 138
- Ayala, Angel, 146, 157, 158, 168
- Balfour, Sebastian, 4, 9
- Barthes, Roland, 23, 40, 91
- Beaujour, Michel, 82
- Belsey, Catherine, 171
- Bergmann, Emilie, 79
- bildung*, x, 80, 83, 109
- Blanco, Alda, x, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 74
- Bourdieu, Pierre, x, 16, 51, 78 n.10
- bourgeois moral order, 8, 10, 35–7, 39–40, 43, 61, 68, 86, 99  
and doctrine of separate spheres, 19, 19 n.12, 36–7, 39, 43, 44, 66, 74, 143  
*see also* domesticity  
and feminine ideal, *see* *ángel del hogar under* models of womanhood
- Boyd, Carolyn, 6, 7 n.14
- Briones, Espinoza de, 147–9, 169
- Brownlow, Jeanne P., 80
- Burdiel, Isabel, 36
- Butler, Judith, 10 n.1
- Carbonell, Neus, 136 n.15
- Carlston, Erin, viii n.4
- Carr, Raymond, 5
- Castillo, Debra, 80, 81, 85 n.23
- Catholic, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 19, 24, 35, 57, 63, 65, 68, 71, 74 n.4, 97, 170  
feminine ideal, *see* *perfecta casada under* models of womanhood
- Catholic Church, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 23, 71  
and the bourgeoisie, 35–6  
and marriage, 11–2, 29  
and state, 4, 7, 9, 10, 23, 63  
and women, 9, 10, 13, 29, 60, 75  
and *Sección Femenina*, 61 n.22, 71
- Catalina del Amo, Severo, 94
- censorship, vii, 58, 75, 81 n.17, 91, 92 n.32, 120, 121, 153, 171
- Charlo, Ramón, 79, 85
- Civil Code of 1889, 11, 12, 13 n.4, 14, 20, 99
- Civil War, *see* Spanish Civil War
- Colby, Anita, 147
- Como los hombres nos quieren* (novel), *see* Linares-Becerra, Concha
- conduct manuals, *see under* prescriptive texts

- courtship (*noviazgo*), x, 72, 76, 88, 92, 93, 94, 99, 150, 160, 167  
 formative role of, x, 72–3, 83, 94, 97–8
- cuarto de atrás*, *El* (novel), *see* Martín Gaité, Carmen
- De Grazia, Victoria, 57 n.19, 60, 65, 66, 68
- Desde la ventana*, *see* Martín Gaité, Carmen
- Di Febo, Giuliana, ix, 7, 53, 65
- doctrine of separate spheres, *see under* bourgeois moral order
- domestic schools (*escuelas de hogar*), 47 n.10, 58
- domestic economy, 15, 26, 60, 100  
 and spending, 26, 27, 86, 100
- domesticity, 37, 39, 40–2, 44, 54, 57, 74, 143  
*see also* ángel del hogar *under* models of womanhood
- economy, 23, 27, 62  
 autarchy, 10, 27  
 domestic economy, 15, 26, 60, 100
- Ellwood, Sheelagh, 6 n.10, 45 n.2, 49 n.11
- Enciso Viana, Emilio, 71, 72, 84 n.20, 94, 98, 100, 103, 146
- Enders, Victoria L., viii, 47 n.9, 61 n.22, 62
- En pos de la ilusión* (novel), *see* Ortoll, María Mercedes
- estafeta literaria*, *La*, 86, 87, 89, 93, 124
- Esteve Blanes, Francisco, 14 n.5, 146, 147 n.3
- exemplarity  
 definition of, vii, vii n.1  
 as an interpretative convention, x, 81–3, 90, 92, 170  
 as a mode of representation, 10, 43, 44, 52, 81–2, 90, 92, 109  
 socializing role of, 27, 43, 44, 81–2  
 types of, vii, 105, 109, 114, 151  
*see also* apprenticeship
- exemplum*, 6 n.8, 84 n.21
- Falange (*Falange Española Tradicionalista de las JONS*), 6 n.9, 45, 49 n.11, 54–5, 54 n.16, 61, 62–5, 71, 139  
 as a civic religion, 63–4, 65  
 feminine ideal, *see* nueva mujer *under* models of womanhood  
 and “minoría selecta” (“select minority”), 61, 64–5, 138  
 and palingenesis, 45 n.3, 64–5  
 representation of, 99, 126, 129, 132, 135, 137–8  
 as “a way of being”, 52, 64, 127  
 women’s branch of, *see* Sección Femenina  
*see also* Primo de Rivera, José Antonio
- fascism, viii n.4, ix, 6 n.9, 45 n.3, 49, 57 n.19, 74 n.4  
 as a civic religion, 63  
*see also* Falange
- female formation, 9–20, 25, 34, 41–2  
 and education, 6, 14, 15–6, 25, 41–3, 47, 50, 58–9, 61–2, 65–6, 72, 94  
 and religious instruction, 6, 16, 42, 47, 52, 53  
 representation of, 94, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115, 126, 152–3  
 and *Sección Femenina*, 45–66
- Franco, General Francisco, viii, 4, 6–7, 9, 47
- Franco regime, viii, 10, 19, 23, 45, 49, 57, 63, 65, 72, 90, 170
- francoist, vii, 8, 9, 14, 21, 49, 65 n.25, 74 n.4, 76, 96, 99, 108, 171  
 ‘New State’, 9, 14, 49, 57, 66
- gender  
 category of, 10, 10 n.1  
 and genre expectations, 75 n.8, 77–8, 82, 83, 90–1, 117, 134, 140 n.16, 170  
 and post-war conventions, viii–ix, 9, 14, 30, 71, 74 n.4, 77, 86, 98  
 relations, 6, 37, 41, 44, 46, 56, 74, 83, 93, 116, 127, 136, 144, 155, 163–6  
*see also* doctrine of separate spheres *under* bourgeois moral order
- roles, x, 8, 9, 10, 15 n.6, 16, 20, 25, 30, 34, 36, 38, 46, 49, 66, 72, 74, 90–1  
 representation of, 80–1, 82, 86, 90, 95, 101, 105, 107, 109, 116–7, 120, 127, 132, 134, 137, 163–6, 167

- Genette, Gérard, 91  
 Gentile, Emilio, 62–3  
 Graham, Helen, 5, 9, 12, 19, 54, 65, 76, 81, 84, 121, 171  
 Griffin, Roger, 45 n.3, 65
- happy endings, 78 n.11, 82–3, 89, 90–2, 95, 103, 114, 124, 140 n.16, 142, 149, 168, 171  
*see also* narrative resolutions *under* popular romance novels
- Herzberger, David, 7
- Icaza, Carmen de, 62, 68, 85–9, 87 n.27  
*Cristina Guzmán, profesora de idiomas* (novel), 68, 87  
*Soñar la vida* (novel), 87, 124–45
- identity, 4, 8, 10, 11, 74  
*see also under* gender
- Isabel the Catholic, Queen, 53, 54 n.16, 65
- Jago, Catherine, 37, 39, 42, 43  
 Jameson, Fredric, 78, 83, 169
- Kirkpatrick, Susan, 10 n.2, 37, 41, 43
- Labanyi, Jo, 9, 54 n.17, 81, 81 n.17, 84, 86 n.25, 117, 121, 171  
 Lannon, Frances, 4, 5, 29  
 Lanser, Susan, 43, 74 n.5, 75 n.8, 111, 114, 129  
 Labor Charter (*Fuero del trabajo*), 18  
 Laforet, Carmen, 80, 91–2  
*mujer nueva, La* (novel), 91–2  
*Nada* (novel), 80  
 León, Fray Luis de, 37, 39  
*perfecta casada, La* (treatise), 21–33  
*see also* models of womanhood
- Linares, Luisa-María, 75 n.8, 85–9, 86 n.25  
*marido a precio fijo, Un* (novel), 93–107
- Linares-Becerra, Concha, 79, 85–9, 86 n.25  
*Como los hombres nos quieren* (novel), 107, 108–23, 140
- literature, viii, ix, 43, 82, 161  
 didactic purpose of, vii n.2, 43, 44, 78 n.11, 91, 146, 169  
 edifying function of, vii, 53, 61, 82, 99 n.3, 126, 129, 130, 132, 169, 171  
 uses of, vii, 43, 74, 82, 83, 90, 130
- López, Francisca, 80
- love  
 coercive power of, 72, 84, 106, 109, 117  
 and female socialization, 11, 13, 29, 31, 32, 37, 54 n.16, 78 n.10, 81, 84 n.20, 108–9, 147, 158, 169  
 representation of, 97, 104, 105, 115, 126, 131, 134, 140, 142, 145, 149, 150, 159, 160, 163–6, 167  
 and romance, 73, 76, 78 n.11, 84, 88–9, 93, 108, 118, 125, 126, 155  
 and surrender, 72, 84, 109, 110, 117, 118
- Malo Segura, Narciso, 12, 13, 15, 100  
 Mantua, Cecilia, 85 n.22, 147  
 Manzano Badía, Benjamin, 76, 85, 90  
*marido a precio fijo, Un* (novel), *see* Linares, Luisa-María
- marriage  
 and the 1889 Civil Code, 11–22, 99  
 civil, 4, 12, 97  
 and genre conventions, 72–3, 76, 78 n.11, 82, 84, 86, 89–90, 92, 108–9, 136, 146, 148, 150, 155, 166  
 and maternity, 14–5  
 and normative expectations, x, 41, 50, 57, 59, 66, 71, 72, 82, 86, 93, 96, 108–9, 136, 144, 146–7, 150, 159  
 representation of, 75 n.8, 94, 95–9, 101, 105, 109, 115–6, 118, 120, 135–6, 146, 154, 159–60, 165–7, 169  
 and work, 5, 17, 18, 59, 115
- Martín Gaité, Carmen, ix–x, 50, 62, 79, 80–1, 87, 90, 170  
*cuarto de atrás, El* (novel), 7 n.13, 80, 83 n.19  
*Desde la ventana*, 79 n.12, 80 n.16  
*Usos amorosos de la postguerra española*, ix–x, 50, 52, 68, 72, 73, 79 n.12, 81, 82, 95 n.2, 108, 109, 119, 120, 131, 142, 149 n.7, 151 n.9
- Medina, 77, 82, 142
- models of womanhood  
*ángel del hogar*, 13, 20, 33, 34–44, 49, 50, 71, 76, 170

- reina del hogar*, 13, 15, 95  
 representation of, 94, 95, 99, 102, 105  
*see also* domesticity  
*nueva mujer*, 20, 45–66, 71, 170  
*see also* Sección Femenina  
 representation of, 80–1, 126, 133, 136, 145  
*perfecta casada*, 14, 20, 38, 50, 71, 102, 103, 105, 170  
*see also* León, Fray Luis de  
 Morales, María Pilar, 99, 105  
 Morcillo Gómez, Aurora, ix, 10, 17, 47 n.10, 48, 59, 60  
 Mosse, George L., 68  
*mujer nueva*, *La*, *see* Laforet, Carmen
- Nada* (novel), *see* Laforet, Carmen  
 Nash, Mary, x, x n.6, 8, 9, 11, 13 n.4, 14, 18, 19, 49, 99 n.4  
 national-Catholicism, 7  
 national-Catholic, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 19, 30, 49, 50, 51, 58, 61, 76, 81, 170  
 National Movement, 45, 47  
 ‘New State’, 9, 14, 49, 57, 66  
*see also* Franco regime  
*novela blanca*, 85, 87–8, 89, 126  
*novela rosa*, *see* popular romance novel  
*novela mujer*, *see under* models of womanhood
- O’Byrne, Patricia, 75, 81 n.17, 92  
 Ortoll, María Mercedes, 85–9  
*En pos de la ilusión* (novel), 146–69
- Payne, Stanley, 4, 5, 6, 7, 65  
*perfecta casada*, *La*, (treatise), *see* León, Fray Luis de  
*see also* models of womanhood  
 popular romance novel (*novela rosa*), ix, 60, 68, 73, 85 n.23, 89, 93, 108, 137, 166  
 authors of, 79, 79 n.14, 85–90, 132  
 “conformist-contestatory ambivalence” of, 84, 171  
 and escapism, 88, 124–5, 128, 133  
 as foundational fictions, 76  
 and genre expectations, 77–8, 78 n.10, 109, 134  
 and narrative resolutions, x, 83–4, 90–2, 93, 163, 169
- see also* happy endings  
 position and value of, 86–7, 126, 129, 130, 132  
 reading and interpretation of, 78 n.11, 83, 84, 91, 109, 119, 121, 126, 129, 160–1, 165, 170  
*Como los hombres nos quieren*, 108–23  
*En pos de la ilusión*, 146–69  
*Soñar la vida*, 124–45  
*Un marido a precio fijo*, 93–107  
 socializing role of, ix, 75–6, 78 n.10, 83, 90, 108, 132, 147, 160–1, 170  
 position-taking, 83, 87–8, 126  
 prescriptive texts, vii n.3, ix, x, 29, 35, 40, 44, 51, 74, 84, 93, 108, 146  
 beauty guides, 146–9, 160–1, 167–9  
 conduct manuals, vii, ix, 16, 34, 37, 84 n.20, 90, 99, 100, 108, 146, 148 n.4, 150, 156, 169
- Primo de Rivera, José Antonio, 7 n.12, 45, 52, 54–5, 59, 62, 64, 127, 139  
 Joseantonian, 49, 61, 65  
 Primo de Rivera, Miguel, 3–4, 7 n.12  
 Primo de Rivera, Pilar, 14, 17, 19, 45, 47, 48, 51–2, 54, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 126–7, 144  
*see also* Sección Femenina
- Revista ‘Y’*, 142  
 Richmond, Kathleen, 8 n.16, 14, 49, 52, 56, 57, 60, 61, 65  
 Roca i Girona, Jordi, vii n.1, 81  
*roman à thèse*, vii n.2, 82 n.18, 84 n.21
- Sanz Bachiller, Mercedes, 46 n.7  
 Scanlon, Geraldine, 18, 34–5, 46  
 Second Republic, 4–5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 17 n.11, 49, 65–6, 152 n.10  
 Servén Diez, Carmen, 73, 85, 87  
*Sección Femenina* (Women’s Section), ix, 20, 85 n.23, 94, 142  
 activities of, 46–7, 52, 58, 59, 60, 128, 138  
 contradictions within, 46, 49, 57, 65, 66, 143  
 and female formation, 45–66  
 domestic schools (*escuelas de hogar*), 47 n.10, 58  
 Social Service (*Servicio Social*), 46 n.7, 62, 119

- see also nueva mujer under models of womanhood*
- founding of, 45
- and Isabel the Catholic, 53, 65
- leaders of, 45, 48, 49, 57, 65, 126, 143, 151
- “minoría selecta” (“select minority”), 61, 64–5, 138
- Pilar Primo de Rivera, *see under* Primo de Rivera, Pilar
- See also* Icaza, Carmen de
- membership pledge of, 63 n.23
- and relationship with men, 54 n.16, 56, 57, 58, 67, 165
- role of, 15 n.6, 45, 48, 52, 128
- and St Teresa of Avila, 53, 65, 126–8
- statutes of, 56–7
- style of, 68
- Social Aid (*Auxilio Social*), 46, 46 n.7, 138
- Social Service (*Servicio Social*), 46 n.7, 62, 119
- Soñar la vida* (novel), *see* Icaza, Carmen de
- Spanish Civil War, 3, 5–6, 45, 66, 75, 170
- and infractions to moral order, 8, 23, 27, 61, 66, 75
- representation of, 96, 126, 134, 138, 139
- and women, 13, 27, 46–7, 60, 136 n.15
- Spanish fascist party, *see* Falange
- Suleiman, Susan, vii n.2, 6 n.8, 51, 58 n.20, 82 n.18, 83, 84 n.21, 106, 114, 132, 170
- symbolic violence, x
- Tellado, Corín, 79 n.14
- Teresa of Avila, St, 7, 53, 65, 126–9, 161
- Usos amorosos de la postguerra española*, *see* Martín Gaité, Carmen
- Valls, Fernando, vii n.1, 72, 82, 99 n.3
- violence, *see* symbolic violence
- White, Hayden, 8 n.16
- women,
- and career, 17, 41, 57–8, 60–1, 66, 75 n.8, 89, 121 n.6
- representation of, 113, 115, 116, 118–9, 132, 139–41, 143–4
- education of, *see under* female formation
- and home, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 26, 27–8, 48, 49, 94, 100
- moral ascendancy of, 10, 11, 37, 39–44, 48, 67, 74–5, 88–9
- and motherhood, x, 13, 14–5, 20, 41, 57, 66, 71, 93, 136
- as readers and addressees, vii, viii, x, 14, 31 n.7, 43, 53 n.13, 72, 73, 74, 81, 82, 86, 90, 94, 99, 108, 112, 120, 124–5, 126, 128, 129, 146–9, 156, 160–3, 165, 169, 170
- rights of, 5, 11–3, 14, 20, 29–30, 40, 99
- and work, x, 5, 14, 16–8, 19, 27, 38–9, 49–50, 55, 59–61, 62, 66–8, 74 n.6, 75 n.8, 89
- Women’s Section, *see* Sección Femenina
- women writers
- and cultural expectations, x, 41–4, 75–8, 75 n.8, 134
- and didactic purpose, 40, 43–4, 66, 91, 146, 169
- and discursive authority, 41, 43, 66, 74, 74 n.5, 149
- and female representation, 71–92
- and interpretative conventions, vii–x, viii n.4, 78–92, 170–1
- and moral bind, 41–4, 74–8, 78 n.10, 87–9
- womanhood, viii, ix, 9, 14, 71
- representation of, 74, 80, 100, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 119–20, 126, 128, 133
- see also under* models of womanhood
- Y, 142