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**Constructing Normativity:
A Historiographical Essay on the Codification and Regulation of Gender and
Sexuality in Franco's Spain**

Ian Winchester

Introduction

The codification and regulation of gender and sexual norms comprise important sites of knowledge and power where modern states attempt to mold the national character of their citizens and subjects. This undertaking allows states to impose systems of comportment and morality, as well as ensure legitimization and longevity. The regime of Francisco Franco in Spain (1939–1975) provides such an example. Coming to power after the bloody and vindictive Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the Franco regime sought to impose its own vision of Spanish national character in accordance with conservative, traditional, and Catholic values, including gender and sexual normativity. Scholars of modern Spain have investigated the themes of gender and sexuality during the Franco regime, demonstrating the importance they held in the discourse and legitimization of, and resistance to, the dictatorship.

The largest percentage of this scholarship deals with gender normativity for women. To a lesser extent scholars have examined normative masculinity. In both cases, investigations of marriage customs and normative sexuality have proved profitable in gaining insight. Hispanist scholars have utilized theoretical conceptions of the technologies of power the regime utilized to impose gender and sexual norms, with sites of resistance and contestation playing important roles in understandings of the dictatorship. Studies of homosexuality and prostitution have furthered comprehension of sexual deviance in the practices of the regime and Spanish society.

This article hopes to provide a historiographical review of that literature as well as present a narrative of gender and sexuality under Francoism. In pursuing both tasks, the article's sources include works of scholarship, as well as other works that although lacking in scholarly rigor furnish a sense of historical narrative and in so doing have helped shape collective memory (namely: Juan Eslava Galán, *Coitus interruptus: la represión sexual y sus heroicos alivios en la España franquista* and Juan José Ruiz-Rico. *El sexo de sus señorías*).¹ Keeping those parameters of the field in mind, this article begins with a delineation of gender normality to provide readers with the requisite historical background and historiographical context. Working from that foundation, the following section provides an analysis of the ways in which scholars have applied theories of power and resistance to analyze gender and sexuality during the Franco regime. The third section explores the role of sexual deviance in the form of prostitution and homosexuality, and the conclusion looks at ways to expand theoretical models and examines potential avenues of further study.

¹ Juan Eslava Galán, *Coitus interruptus: la represión sexual y sus heroicos alivios en la España franquista* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1997); and Juan José Ruiz-Rico. *El sexo de sus señorías* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 1991).

Gender Normativity

The Francoist state expended great effort to make Spanish women correspond to the ideal type of the mother-wife-housekeeper, which corresponded to “true Catholic motherhood” as Aurora Morcillo demonstrates in her book by the same name.² In her other key monograph on women during Francoism, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, Morcillo focuses on women's bodies and argues that Francoism was a neo-baroque political and ideological regime in which the female body served as a somatic metaphor for the organic body politic as well as signified normative gender and sexuality.³ She locates the roots of Francoist discourse in the baroque period of the Counter-Reformation when conservative Catholic values reigned supreme and an organic association existed in which the state and its subjects shared a corporeal connection. This corporeality manifested in the Spanish Church’s interest in controlling the female body.

Through the *Sección Femenina* (the women’s section of Spain's fascist party, the *Falange*) in particular, and its control over women’s education and leisure activities through mandatory social service for women, the Franco regime attempted to instill and inculcate true Spanish womanhood.⁴ Scholarship on the *Sección Femenina* is rich enough for its own historiographical essay and this article limits itself to a brief synopsis of salient historiographical opinions.

Some scholars interpret the *Sección Femenina* as an oppressive institution.⁵ Other scholars do not necessarily disagree with that standpoint, but argue that although the *Sección Femenina* imposed rigid patriarchal control over women in the services of the Franco regime, it also successfully advocated for women's rights in certain regards and provided spaces for women's agency.⁶ By historicizing and problematizing the *Sección*

² Aurora G. Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000). For another important monograph on women during Francoism see Mary Nash, *Represión, resistencias, memoria: las mujeres bajo la dictadura franquista* (Granada: Comares, 2013).

³ Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010).

⁴ For a comprehensive history of the *Sección Femenina* see Jessica Davidson, “Politics, Policy, and Propaganda of the *Sección Femenina* in Francoist Spain, 1934–1977” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2005); and Rosario Sanchez Lopez, *Mujer española, una sombra de destino en lo universal: Trayectoria histórica de Sección Femenina de Falange (1934–1977)* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1990).

⁵ See for example, María Teresa Gallego Méndez, *Mujer, falange y franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1983); Carmen Martín Gaité, *Courtship Customs in Postwar Spain (Usos amorosos de la postguerra española)*, trans. Margaret E.W. Jones (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004); María del Carmen Muñoz Ruiz, “Las revistas para mujeres durante el franquismo: Difusión de modelos de comportamiento femenino,” in *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: Sociedad, economía, política, cultura*, ed. Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2003), 95–114.

⁶ See for example: Victoria Lorée Enders, “Problematic Portraits: The Ambiguous Historical Role of the *Sección Femenina*,” in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, eds. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), 375–397; Mary Vincent, “Spain,” in *Women, Gender, and Fascism in Europe, 1919–45*, ed. Kevin Passmore (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 189–213; Jessica Davidson, op. cit. Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: op. cit.*; Hudson-Richards, Julia. “‘Women Want to Work’: Shifting Ideologies of Women’s Work in Franco’s Spain, 1939–1962,” *Journal of Women’s History* 27, no. 2 (2015): 87–109;

Femenina, works like those of Victoria Lorée Enders, Pamela Radcliff, Mary Vincent, Jessica Davidson, and Julia Hudson-Richardson have expanded the organization's historical legacy from that of strict oppression to one of complexity and contradiction.

Feminist theories have played an important role in this reconceptualizing of the *Sección Femenina*.⁷ In their edited volume, *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, Enders and Radcliff argue that “many women incorporated autonomy, work, politics, and agency into their traditional identities as mothers and wives.”⁸ Women's experience was not necessarily in direct opposition to the norms of the regime, but neither did all women conform to normative femininity. Developing viewpoints on women's agency and problematizing binary categories such as public/private, work/home, and feminist/anti-feminist, this type of scholarship reveals the complexity of women's lives in Spain wherein avenues of agency existed for some women. As Enders and Radcliff argue, such a historiography speaks to feminist debates on the nature of identities, demonstrating the ways in which identity formation is historically and culturally relative. The theoretical discussions in the Introduction and Conclusion to *Constructing Spanish Womanhood* provide a methodological basis and point of departure for studies into gender during the Franco regime.

Although not as comprehensive as that on normative femininity, some scholarship exists on the subjects of men and masculinity during the Franco regime. Stanley Brandes and David D. Gilmore offer two important monograph-length anthropological studies on Andalusia in the 1970s.⁹ These works shed light on social norms of masculinity at the end of the Franco dictatorship. Studying rural towns in Andalusia, both scholars argue for the pervasiveness of *machismo* and the social norm of the womanizing Don Juan.

Scholarship on normative Francoist masculinity often conceives of it in the paradigm of the “half monk half soldier”, wherein ideal Spanish men are warriors engaged in or dying for a religious crusade. Mary Nash provides a summation of this understanding in her piece, “Towards a New Moral Order: National-Catholicism, Culture and Gender:”

In the post-war years male gender models were those of outstanding soldiers and fighters, exceptional figures that transcended daily life. The image of the warrior-monk shaped around a combination of *conquistador* and the founder of the Jesuits, Saint Ignatius de Loyola, and combining courage, virility, religiosity, and military values, became the prototype of role models for young Spanish males.¹⁰

and Inbal Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue: The Making of a Female Political Elite in Franco's Spain* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2009).

⁷ See esp. *Constructing Spanish Womanhood*.

⁸ Enders and Radcliff, *Ibid.*, 401.

⁹ Stanley Brandes, *Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980); and David D. Gilmore, *Aggression and Community: Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

¹⁰ Mary Nash, “Towards a New Moral Order: National-Catholicism, Culture and Gender,” in *Spanish History since 1808*, eds. José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 295.

As Nash demonstrates, such an image played an important role in Francoist normative masculinity.

Mary Vincent investigates the concept further, contributing two insightful articles on such a masculinity as it coalesced during the Spanish Civil War and the initial years of the dictatorship.¹¹ In her article “The Martyrs and the Saints” she understands the ideal Francoist man to be a crusading martyr, arguing that Francoists militarized masculinity, linking it conceptions of the Spanish Civil War as a crusade. Connecting various strands of rightist thought, Vincent posits that Catholics, Falangists, and Carlists embedded masculinity and morality in their ideology such that:

The moral fervour embodied in these images [of masculinity], which tapped into the enthusiasm and dedication of a generation of right-wing boys, played a crucial role in turning a rather grubby military coup, dependent for survival on foreign aid, into a glorious, Spanish, Catholic, military, and masculine crusade.¹²

Focusing on Catholic sources, Vincent delineates the links between rightist and religious notions of masculinity and the crusading spirit of martyrdom.

Vincent’s other important work on the topic, “La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista,” investigates Falangist masculinity before and during the Spanish Civil War, contending that its violent and vitriolic aspects posed a threat to post-war bourgeois masculinity.¹³ After the conflict, she argues that the regime relied on Carlist notions of paternal masculinity.¹⁴ Vincent’s two articles provide the ideological background and historical context for competing rightist notions of masculinity before and at the birth of the Franco regime.

Brian Bunk’s monograph on the commemorations of the October 1934 miners’ revolt in Asturias contributes another treatment of pre-Francoist norms of manhood.¹⁵ Bunk analyzes the foundational notions of masculinity that informed both sides in the Spanish Civil War. Tracing notions of martyrdom to before 1926, he argues that men’s “heroic sacrifice became an integral part of Nationalist symbolism during the Civil War and on into the Franco regime,”¹⁶ and describes how in the 1930s the Spanish right construed virility, strength, and power as the exemplary qualities of a man.¹⁷ Bunk demonstrates that the Spanish left relied on working-class notions of what he labels

¹¹ Mary Vincent, “The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade,” *History Workshop*, no. 47 (Spring 1999): 68–98; and Mary Vincent, “La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista,” *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, no. 28 (2006): 131–151.

¹² Vincent, “The Martyrs and the Saints,” 71.

¹³ Vincent, “La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista,” 131–151.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁵ Brian D. Bunk, *Ghosts of Passion: Martyrdom, Gender, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). See esp. Chapter 4 “Grandsons of the Cid: Masculinity, Sexual Violence, and the Destruction of the Family.”

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 89, 91.

“protective masculinity,” or the ability to protect women and children and provide for a family.¹⁸ As with Vincent’s studies, Bunk’s work contributes important scholarship to pre-1939 notions of masculinity in Spain influenced by Catholicism. Both scholars also speak to newer versions of masculinity constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Spanish fascists and the working class.

Juan José Ruiz-Rico, in his study of Spanish jurisprudence during the twentieth century, finds that the legal system codified men as being *macho* such that normative men could be good fathers and husbands while also being aggressive, violent, and unfaithful.¹⁹ Using legal verdicts as primary sources and providing evidence for how jurisprudence worked to regulate sexuality during the Franco regime, Ruiz-Rico indicates that the law codified certain types of normative men and women: the macho man (*el varón-macho*), the good family man and father, and the faithful wife. In terms of men, these legal codifications allude to a juridical mirroring of the social norms of *machismo* and *donjuanismo* depicted by Brandes and Gilmore. More recent scholarship on masculinity in twentieth-century Spain has begun to explore the importance of counter-narratives to the macho Don Juan in constructions of normative masculinity.²⁰

While the notion of the mother-wife-housekeeper has been defined in detail, problematized, and deconstructed, the image of the normative Spanish man has received comparably little coverage. Theoretical models similar to those used by Enders, Radcliff, and Morcillo should also be applied to the men. Utilizing those types of theories would contribute to more in depth understandings of masculinity during the Franco regime. The same types of sources employed to investigate normative femininity are likewise important in studies of masculinity.

Power and Resistance

Building on Michel Foucault’s theorizations of power and integrating feminist theories, Hispanist scholars have examined the multifarious technologies of power the institutions of the Franco regime used to codify, normalize, and regulate gender and sexuality. The *Sección Femenina*, institutionalized homophobia, and the government’s regulation of prostitution provide examples of such technologies of power. The Francoist state worked in collusion with the legal and medical professions in processes of social regulation, and also utilized culture through its control over press and propaganda to instill gendered Catholic and Francoist ideals in Spaniards.

Along with persecuting homosexuals (discussed in greater detail below), the Franco regime fashioned Spain’s legal system and laws to make men and women correspond to normative discourses. In her work on Spanish women during Francoism,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 89–90.

¹⁹ Ruiz-Rico. *El sexo de sus señorías*.

²⁰ See José Javier Díaz Freire, “El Don Juan de Unamuno como crítica de la masculinidad en el primer tercio del siglo xx,” in *¿La España Invertebrada? Masculinidad y nación a comienzos del siglo xx*, eds. Nerea Aresti, Karin Peters, and Julia Brühne (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2016), 13–28; and Mary Nash, “Mass Tourism and New Representations of Gender in Late Francoist Spain: The Sueca and Don Juan in the 1960s,” *Cultural History* 4, no. 2 (September 2015): 136–161.

Rosario Ruiz Franco contends that the state employed three main tools to control women, what she calls a, “politics of feminization”: education marked by Catholic doctrine, the power of the *Sección Femenina*, and a juridical order guaranteeing men’s control over women.²¹ Marriage laws passed in 1938 gave husbands legal authority over their wives, laws that Ruiz Franco argues made women dependent on their husbands, restricting their economic independence and legal agency. As Spain evolved politically, socially, and economically, Ruiz Franco demonstrates that slight changes began to occur in women’s legal situation such as divorce laws passed in 1958 that gave women more rights over their children and communal property. She intervenes in historiographical discussions over the *la Ley de Derechos Políticos, Profesionales, y de Trabajo de la Mujer* (the Law of Political, Professional, and Labor Rights for Women) of 1961, arguing that while improving women’s ability to join the workforce it left intact a husband’s right to refuse to allow his wife to leave the home and work. Ruiz Franco interprets the progression of laws applicable to women and the advancement of women’s rights under the regime as having laid the groundwork for more feminist legislation at the onset of democracy in Spain after Franco's death. Her analysis bridges the gap between arguments that the law provided women agency on the one hand or re-inscribed patriarchy on the other hand, and indicates how the *Sección Femenina* and its leader Pilar Primo de Rivera could have maintained their ideological purity while also advocating for women making further inroads in the job market and public sphere.

Medicine provides another technology of power through which to inscribe gender and sexuality. Pathologizing certain norms, modern societies and states codify normative behavior. Marie-Aline Barrachina argues along these lines, contending that under the Franco regime medical authority complemented and legitimized political authority’s attempt to define the contours of normative masculinity and femininity.²² Her work demonstrates that Francoism drew on eugenic notions of an ontological difference between the sexes that theorized the female body as occupying a strictly reproductive role, leaving women in a state of dependence on men. Utilizing this conception of women, the Francoist state colluded with the medical establishment in a propagandistic attempt to “militate in favor of a generic model orientated towards maternity, and to put scientific prestige at the service of the business of manipulation organized by the regime.”²³ Doctors taught women to care for their maternal bodies through physical discipline, making submission to their procreative function vital to the nation.²⁴ Barrachina's work dovetails with that of Morcillo, indicating how the Franco regime sought to control women's bodies for specific ends.

²¹ Rosario Ruiz Franco, *¿Eternas menores? Las mujeres en el franquismo* (Madrid: Bibliotecta Nueva, 2007).

²² Marie-Aline Barrachina, “Discurso médico y modelos de género: Pequeña historia de una vuelta atrás,” in *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: Sociedad, economía, política, cultura*, ed. Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2003), 67–94.

²³ *Ibid.*, 79.

²⁴ For another work on science and gender during the Franco regime see: Rosa María Medina Doménech, *Ciencia y sabiduría del amor: Una historia cultural del franquismo (1940–1960)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2013).

For both men and women, marriage and correct sexual comportment constituted fundamental loci in the Francoist state's attempt to codify and regulate gender and sexuality. Morcillo argues that matrimony became a political responsibility under the regime because only through marriage could women be recognized as subjects. Within this context she is interested in the political and symbolic significance and subordination of the wife's maternal body, arguing that the dictatorship controlled bodies in part through its sway over medical and moral prescriptive literature.²⁵

Further submitting women's bodies to reproductive sexuality, the Franco regime made birth control illegal in Spain. The penal code strictly prohibited the use, manufacture, or sale of contraceptives with imprisonment and fines as punishments. Providing information about contraceptive methods was also forbidden and the Church, according to Juan Eslava Galán, actively disseminated information about the negative moral, social, and medical aspects of the birth control pill.²⁶

The Catholic Church in Spain was intent on codifying and regulating behavior in accordance with traditional values. For example, the Catholic Church used physical education in schools to mold and control women's bodies. Morcillo investigates this theme through religious discourse concerning the training of girl's bodies and the 1961 law of physical education, demonstrating that the guiding principal behind physical education was the Catholic doctrine of women being physically fit for motherhood while at the same time docile in their domesticity.²⁷

Scholars have examined how the regime employed both censorship and a concerted propaganda effort to instill normative values in Spaniards and shelter them from supposedly insidious ideas and influences. The Franco regime, writes María Zubíaurre, was deeply threatened by "sexual freedom and erotic desire—with their implicit rejection of non-normative sexual orientations and traditional gender roles..."²⁸ This fear was especially prominent with women and the Francoist state sought to discursively construct female identity through the popular press.

Carmen Martín Gaité and María del Carmen Muñoz Ruiz both investigate how the Francoist-controlled press instilled notions of proper femininity through magazines targeted at women.²⁹ Martín Gaité explores cultural conceptions prevalent in Spanish society of normative womanhood, arguing that the press inculcated in society the idea that all young women should actively aspire to marriage, pathologizing those who did not have such aspirations. Gaité shows that the wedding sections of women's magazines

²⁵ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 132–222.

²⁶ Eslava Galán, *Coitus interruptus*, 318.

²⁷ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 189–196. For a monograph on this topic see Juan Carlos Manrique Arribas, *La mujer y la educación física durante el Franquismo* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2008).

²⁸ Maite Zubíaurre, *Cultures of the Erotic in Spain, 1898–1939* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 335–336.

²⁹ Carmen Martín Gaité, *Courtship Customs in Postwar Spain* and Muñoz Ruiz, "Las revistas para mujeres durante el franquismo," 101.

were especially prominent, with the bridal gown representing the pinnacle of respectability.³⁰

Similarly, Muñoz Ruiz's work reveals that magazines under the Franco regime valorized the model of the mother-wife-housekeeper.³¹ Employing a hermeneutical reading, Muñoz Ruiz argues that in practice such valorization implied subordination to the husband and limited women's horizons beyond the home. Women's magazines ignored the possibility that women could aspire to other types of lives than those of marriage and motherhood.³² She further contends that although the explicit protagonists of women's magazines were women, men played an implicit role because the majority of articles attempted to make women conform to a hypothetical man. Advice sections of women's magazines typically advised women to submit, sacrifice, and resign themselves to men. Reflecting shifts in Spanish society beginning in the 1960s, magazines started to present women outside the home, but with the emphasis on how such activity could improve women's mission inside the home. Muñoz Ruiz interprets this situation as demonstrative of women breaking the bonds of Francoist discourse and establishing themselves in the public sphere where their presence made them protagonists in the social changes in Spain that began in the 1960s. This work contributes to conversations about how women exerted agency under Francoism, revealing increased avenues of agency but with the pitfall of re-inscription of patriarchal domesticity.

The regime's propaganda apparatus used other cultural mediums like movies to codify and regulate normative femininity, as Morcillo has demonstrated. She examines the regime's control over movies, arguing that under the so-called "New Spanish Cinema," operating under draconian censorship, women's cinematic bodies served as symbols of both political doctrine and contention. Here, the regime consciously sought to dichotomize virtue and sin, distorting women's bodies in an effort to regulate and manipulate sexual mores and desire.³³

Examining the regime's technologies of power have provided conceptualizations of change within Spanish society wherein individual and collective acts, seen as comprising forms of resistance against Francoism, ran contrary to the intentions and goals of the regime. Discussions of women's agency fall under this category, wherein scholars conceptualize how women's expanding agency might have ran counter to Francoist patriarchy and paternalism. Homosexual men and women engaging in subjective acts of sexuality, for example, also resisted the Franco regime's discourse of heteronormativity. Non-normative marriages, women's infidelity, masturbation, birth control, abortion, fashion, and a growing amount of sexual freedom formed other key sites of resistance and moments of contestation to the normative sexuality propounded by Francoists. Feminism also existed under the regime, as did counter-images to the normative woman as mother-wife-housekeeper.³⁴

³⁰ Martín Gaité, *Courtship Customs in Postwar Spain*.

³¹ Muñoz Ruiz, "Las revistas para mujeres durante el franquismo," 101.

³² *Ibid.*, 105.

³³ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 223–260.

³⁴ Eslava Galán, *Coitus interruptus*, 84.

Jordi Roca i Girona offers an example of contestation and resistance to Francoist gender norms.³⁵ His ethnographic study discusses common instances of negotiation among Spanish married couples in which equality was more normal than patriarchy. Roca i Girona cites instances of reversal, where in some cases wives usurped their husband's supposed male prerogative.

According to Eslava Galán, masturbation was another widespread phenomenon in contrast to regime norms and Church prohibitions. He argues that onanism was a natural outlet for a society in which casual sex with another person was difficult to consummate. He goes into detail about the prevalence of masturbation as well as the methods and objects men and women would use to pleasure themselves sexually.³⁶

Although the state and Church prohibited birth control methods, Spaniards nevertheless sought ways to have sex while avoiding pregnancy. The most well-known method, according to Eslava Galán, was *coitus interruptus*.³⁷ Birth control pills became available in Spain in 1963; women could only officially get them, however, as a medication for "gynecological maladies."³⁸ Roca i Girona argues that through practicing methods of birth control, couples resisted the regime's attempts to make women's bodies strictly serve a reproductive function. He takes this idea further, contending that the dictatorship's ideal of large families did not reflect social reality.³⁹

Despite the regime's patriarchal aspirations, feminism influenced Franco's Spain. Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal explores the impact of Simone de Beauvoir's book, *The Second Sex*, on Spanish feminists as well as feminist publications and organizations in Spain.⁴⁰ She discusses the *Asociación Española de Mujeres Universitarias* (Association of Spanish Women University Students), which imparted conceptions of Second-Wave Feminism through classroom work and publications of selected texts. Linda Gould Levine and Gloria Feiman Waldman make a similar argument based on their interviews of Spanish feminists conducted in 1974 and 1976.⁴¹ Their oral history project reveals that feminism operated in Spain under the Franco dictatorship, giving it a solid foundation so that within a year of Franco's death Spanish feminism was thriving.

Muñoz Ruiz utilizes magazines to trace the changes in the normative femininity that occurred under the Franco regime. Like Morcillo, she argues for a discursive adjustment of the Franco regime to the onset of a mass consumer society in Spain. She

³⁵ Jordi Roca i Girona, "Esposa y madre a la vez: Construcción y negaciación del modelo ideal de mujer bajo el (primer) franquismo," in *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: Sociedad, economía, política, cultura*, ed. Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2003), 45–65.

³⁶ Eslava Galán, *Coitus interruptus*, 116–118.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 212–213.

³⁸ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 172.

³⁹ Roca i Girona, "Esposa y madre a la vez".

⁴⁰ Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal, "El debate feminista durante el franquismo," in *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: Sociedad, economía, política, cultura*, ed. Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2003), 269–297.

⁴¹ Linda Gould Levine and Gloria Feiman Waldman, *Feminismo ante el franquismo: Entrevistas con feministas de España* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1979).

views this situation as demonstrative of women attempting to break the bonds of Francoist discourse and establishing themselves in the public sphere, arguing that women were major protagonists of the social changes in Spain that began in the 1960s.⁴²

Fashion was another area where Spanish women resisted the regime's gender and sexual normativity. The miniskirt and bikini in particular formed sites of contestation about women's fashion norms in Spain. Eslava Galán contends that while the bikini was favorably received by the population, the regime sought to prevent women from wearing it. However, as the years went by the authorities gradually stopped preventing its use, and women wore more revealing clothing without worrying about society's judgment or state punishment.⁴³

Some women further challenged Francoist sexual normativity by engaging in the sexual freedom of the 1960s and 1970s. Eslava Galán argues that "Women rejected the passive role that they had traditionally been assigned. They questioned the sexual supremacy of the penis, they discovered the clitoris [as] the site of the female orgasm in the works of sexologists that began to see the light of day and were avidly read by the population."⁴⁴ He writes further that women began engaging in public displays of affection with their boyfriends and contends that a woman's virginity became less of a concern and that premarital sex was tolerated, although premarital pregnancies were still considered detrimental to feminine virtue. Eslava Galán does point out that these changes were slow and depended on region and socio-economic level.⁴⁵ These types of transformations in Spanish society happened as shifts in acceptable behavior, but other means of resistance occurred outside of normativity in the form of sexual deviance.

Sexual Deviance: Homosexuality and Prostitution

The most pernicious form of non-normative sexual behavior according to Francoist discourse was homosexuality. In accordance with definitions of heteronormative masculinity and its importance to a healthy body politic, Francoism codified male homosexuality as dangerous and insidious and the state persecuted homosexual men. Javier Ugarte Pérez contributes an edited volume on the topic, entitled *Una discriminación universal: La homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la transición*.⁴⁶ Ugarte Pérez's chapters in that volume establish theoretical and methodological points of departure for studies of homosexuality during Francoism. He also examines the ideological roots of repression. Two in-depth monographs of homosexuality during the Franco regime are Arturo Arnalte Barrera's *Rededa de violetas: La represión de los homosexuales durante el franquismo* and Alberto Mira Nouselles's *De Sodoma a Chueca: Una Historia cultural de la homosexualidad en España en el siglo XX*.⁴⁷ Using

⁴² Muñoz Ruiz, "Las revistas para mujeres durante el franquismo".

⁴³ Eslava Galán, *Coitus interruptus*, 294–332.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Javier Ugarte Pérez, ed., *Una discriminación universal: La homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la transición* (Barcelona: Egales, 2008).

⁴⁷ Arturo Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas: La represión de los homosexuales durante el franquismo* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2003); Alberto Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca: Una Historia*

predominantly oral history and legal and medical sources, Arnalte Barrera provides a detailed study of the Franco regime's mechanisms of repression, especially through persecution of homosexuals in the army, the medical profession, and the judicial and prison systems. He emphasizes that only a minority of homosexual men and women were imprisoned, forced to undergo "aversive therapy," and were known to the police. He is also interested in how the majority of homosexuals existed under the Franco regime and they created spaces and social networks of identification, freedom, and resistance.

Mira Nouselles takes a similar path and investigates the repression of homosexual men as well as how homosexuality expressed itself positively through culture. He employs a Foucauldian analysis that seeks out the prohibition of non-normative sexuality, implying a strong social and political discourse about sex. He cites Carmen Martín Gaité, Rafael Torres, and Eslava Galán as also subscribing to this view that Spain, in opposition to official regime discourse, was a country obsessed with sex and sexual pleasure.⁴⁸ Within this vociferous sexual discourse, homosexuals could be doubly stigmatized because of the perception of them as both pursuers of sex and as sexually perverse.

The Code of Military Justice prohibited sexual contact between men. Arnalte Barrera examines half a dozen cases of courts-martial for "crimes against honor." Looking at three of these cases, he argues that like regular courts, punishment in the military varied. Mira Nouselles perceives possibilities of resistance within the military because the homoerotic ambiguity between masculine camaraderie and homosexuality created spaces in which homosexual men could express their sexuality and desires.

In examining laws of public decency, which could also be used against homosexuals, Arnalte Barrera contends that a certain legal ambiguity existed because of difficulty in determining when sexual conduct went from something private to that which was "publicly scandalous" and "transcendent."⁴⁹ However, as both Arnalte Barrera and Mira Nouselles demonstrate, Francoist magistrates consistently found ways to punish homosexual behavior, even if such actions had taken place in private. Not all judges were strictly intolerant of homosexuality, and citing examples of leniency, Arnalte Barrera concludes that the justice system could be something of a lottery for homosexuals.

Ruiz-Rico finds that legal verdicts contained three major themes: the disproportionately high sexual capacity of a homosexual; no distinguishing between the sexually active or passive members of a relationship; and the idea that once a man embarked on the path of homosexuality he could never return to heterosexuality.⁵⁰ Ruiz-Rico, like Arnalte Barrera and Mira Nouselles, demonstrates that courts held that homosexuality was a contagion. Distinguishing between types of homosexuals under the law, he argues that in cases involving transgendered or transsexual people the courts had

cultural de la homosexualidad en España en el siglo XX (Barcelona: Egales, 2004). See also Albert Ferrarons Font, *Rosa sobre negro: Breve historia de la homosexualidad en la España del siglo XX* (Barcelona: Egales, 2010).

⁴⁸ Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca*, 292.

⁴⁹ Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas*, 120.

⁵⁰ Ruiz-Rico. *El sexo de sus señorías*, 98.

trouble if the human body did not fall neatly into the opposite and supposedly impermeable categories of male and female.⁵¹

Investigations of the Francoist judicial system and homosexuality would benefit from taking such categorizations further and analyzing whether homosexual acts constituted a homosexual identity in legal verdicts. If acts did equate to identity, what consequences did such a categorization have in punishments? If not, what implications can be drawn from juridical practice not labelling men who engaged in sexual acts with other men as having a homosexual identity?

Both Arnalte Barrera and Mira Nouselles examine how homosexual men resisted the repression of homosexuality. Arnalte Barrera argues that gay men found spaces within which they could formulate their identity, come into contact with other homosexual men, and begin to form a culture. Mira Nouselles utilizes the concept of sublimation to understand the ways by which men strategically substituted homosexual desire for other real and symbolic representations. He investigates how this sublimation manifested culturally through literature and falangist homoeroticism in the cultural mediums of magazines and the cinema, arguing that homosexual men reappropriated magazines displaying semi-nude athletes or publications meant for improving masculine health, using them as a type of homosexual pornography.

The medical profession under Francoism, often mirroring the legal system, also sought to define and solve the supposed problem of homosexuality. Mira Nouselles specifically focuses on psychiatry as adding to the symbolic violence against homosexuals, contending that its virulent attitude towards homosexuality created an a-scientific terrain that reflected and legitimized societal homophobic stereotypes.⁵² He posits the Catholic Church as another regulatory and disciplinary apparatus that repressed homosexuals because it formulated stereotypes and justified hatred. Ruiz-Rico writes that legal attitudes towards homosexuality were not invented in the courts but could rather be traced back to the Catholic Kings and the burning of homosexuals during and after the *Reconquista*.⁵³ Antoni Adam Donat and Álar Martínez Vidal explore the roots of the medicalization of homosexuality before and during Francoism, revealing that the field of psychiatry viewed it as a contagious sickness, a perversion of the sexual instinct, and a sexual deviation.⁵⁴ This medical discourse led to criminalization and made Francoism homophobic.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Ibid., 104. For other works on the law and homosexuality see: Víctor Mora Gaspar, *Al margen de la naturaleza: la persecución de la homosexualidad durante el franquismo: leyes, terapias y condenas* (Madrid: Debate, 2016); Jordi Terrasa Mateu, “La legislación represiva,” in *Una discriminación universal: La homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la transición*, ed. Javier Ugarte Pérez (Barcelona: Egales, 2008), 79–107.

⁵² Mira Nouselles, *De Sodoma a Chueca*, 38–62.

⁵³ Ruiz-Rico. *El sexo de sus señorías*, 89.

⁵⁴ Antoni Adam Donat and Álar Martínez Vidal, “‘Infanticidas, violadores, homosexuales y pervertidos de todas las categorías.’ La homosexualidad en la psiquiatría del franquismo,” in *Una discriminación universal: La homosexualidad bajo el franquismo y la transición*, ed. Javier Ugarte Pérez (Barcelona: Egales, 2008), 109–138.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 134–135.

Spanish law ignored homosexuality among women such that homosexual women occupied a legal nonexistence under Francoism. Arnalte Barrera and Ruiz-Rico argue that lesbians during Francoism were invisible: both society and the state had the impression that female homosexuality did not exist and society perceived as intimate friends those women who lived together or showed physical affection towards one another. Ruiz-Rico contends that homosexual women represented less of a threat to society because their sexuality, unlike male homosexuality, was not seen as contagious and harmful.⁵⁶ In Arnalte Barrera's analysis this situation presented certain advantages to homosexual women because they were in effect sheltered from the law and permitted a social space to live their sexuality, although incognito. However, societal and filial pressures exerted themselves on lesbians with negative consequences for individual women.⁵⁷

Prostitution provides another means for modern states to regulate sexuality for the ends of normativity. At first tolerated under the Franco regime and perceived as a necessary sexual outlet for men and their virile sexuality, the government controlled prostitution until 1956, after which time the practice was declared illegal and the state began to emphasize surveillance and rehabilitation. Before 1956, prostitutes had to register in a public brothel and submit their bodies to regular medical exams. Mirta Nuñez Díaz-Balart focuses on women imprisoned for clandestine prostitution and sexually transmitted infections primarily in the 1939 to 1956 period.⁵⁸ Morcillo demonstrates that after 1956 Francoism pathologized the prostitute as a social deviant in need of moral rehabilitation and in this manner fused criminality and morality.⁵⁹ Regardless of the state's legislation, prostitution continued to flourish clandestinely, with added impetus from the influx of American sailors and foreign tourists especially in the 1960s and 1970s.

Although state-regulated prostitution was in effect in Spain, by 1941 special prisons had been established for the rehabilitation of clandestine prostitutes who worked outside the jurisdiction of the regime. Whether allowed to ply their trade in a state-regulated brothel or serving time in jail, Morcillo argues that prostitutes' bodies belonged to the state. In contrast to the virginal body of the bride and wife, the prostitute threatened the body politic because she contaminated masculine morality, spread disease, and presented the specter of a fallen woman. Morcillo traces Francoism's attitude towards the prostitute to the Baroque period.⁶⁰ Nuñez Díaz-Balart also finds evidence of the influence of traditional Catholic ideology and argues further that fascist ideology influenced Francoist discourse.⁶¹ Both scholars link the Church and state in intricate webs of regulation, punishment, and rehabilitation towards women labelled as "fallen."

⁵⁶ Ruiz-Rico. *El sexo de sus señorías*, 108.

⁵⁷ For example, Arnalte Barrera cites cases of young women being forcibly interned in psychiatric institutes by their families for showing signs of lesbianism or for having no desire for a boyfriend or husband. Arnalte Barrera, *Rededa de violetas*, 216.

⁵⁸ Mirta Nuñez Díaz-Balart, *Mujeres caídas: Prostitutas legales y clandestinas en el franquismo*. (Madrid: Oberon, 2003).

⁵⁹ Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 90–131.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Nuñez Díaz-Balart, *Mujeres caídas*.

Not only prostitutes officially fell under the category of “fallen women,” but so too did single mothers; women who displayed non-normative morality (e.g., public displays of affection); and women who could potentially descend into immorality and prostitution such as domestic servants, young women working in factories, the non-religious, women from broken homes, and materialistic women.⁶² In order to control these women the state engaged itself, and solicited broader society's help, in acts of surveillance and regulation.⁶³

Scholars of the Franco regime have demonstrated that despite state regulation and prohibition a culture of prostitution existed in which segments of Francoism and society viewed normative male sexuality as needing the sexual outlet of the prostitute. Regardless of the regime's efforts to protect and rehabilitate “fallen women” through imprisonment women continued to ply the trade. Although the regime eventually attempted to stop the profession, spaces existed within societal mores where it was acceptable and normal for men to use the non-subjective body of the prostitute for their sexual desires, further objectifying women's bodies in patriarchal social structures.

Acts that opposed the goals and intentions of the Franco regime—in the forms of non-normative behaviors, persistent social norms of *machismo* and *donjuanismo*, and sexual deviance—can be compared and contrasted to other forms of change, resistance, and deviance in Spain during the Franco regime. Economic modernization, liberalization within the Spanish Church coming from Vatican II, contact with tourists, loosening of censorship, the cultural influence of the United States and Western Europe, regionalism, possibilities of political awareness and agency, and a culture of *apertura* are all polyvalent factors that shaped, and were shaped by, changes in gender and sexuality during Francoism, especially during the last fifteen years of the dictatorship. In order to draw broader conclusions about Francoism, a key methodological and theoretical imperative is to gauge and analyze the success of the regime's efforts at social control and how Spanish society negotiated that terrain, an exercise that presents its own contradictions but that allows for more complex understandings of how power and resistance function.

Conclusion

Individual and collective actions that ran counter to the desires of the regime reveal a paradox wherein Spanish society underwent liberalizing changes, but in a way that could be perceived as not necessarily threatening to Francoist power. Justin Crumbaugh's monograph about cultural representations of tourism during the Franco regime helps understand these paradoxical theorizations. He argues that encounters with tourists, as

⁶² Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain*, 104.

⁶³ For a recent and brief analysis of women's work see Pilar Díaz Sánchez, “Trabajadoras, sindicalistas y amas de casa,” in *Represión, resistencias, memoria: las mujeres bajo la dictadura franquista*, ed. Mary Nash, (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2013), 105–117. Also see Matilde Peinado Rodríguez, *Enseñando a señoritas y sirvientas: formación femenina y clasismo en el Franquismo* (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2012). For a study of the working-class movement and gender see José Babiano, *Del hogar a la huelga: trabajo, género y movimiento obrero durante el franquismo* (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2007).

well as Spaniards' sexualization of foreign women and the homegrown model of the Don Juan, reveal the perversion of Spanish culture and society.⁶⁴ Despite appearances to the contrary, Crumbaugh finds that this situation permitted the dictatorship to wield a perverted type of authority, which entrenched rather than undermined its power. Eschewing "[t]he commonplace association between sex with tourists and opposition to Franco[,]" Crumbaugh argues against "a categorical equivalence between sexual transgression and opposition to dictatorship."⁶⁵ Reinforcing the dictatorship's economic goals and neither running "contrary to the regime's objectives [nor] precipitat[ing] its demise[,]" "the promotion of sexual transgression with tourists became part and parcel of Francoist rule itself, a condition of its articulation."⁶⁶ In Crumbaugh's analysis, Minister of Information and Tourism Manuel Fraga's policy of loosening censorship strengthened the government's power, neutralized dissent, and permitted a social evolution that was itself a prerequisite for further economic development.⁶⁷ Crumbaugh conceptualizes *aperturista*'s and hardliners as two sides of the same coin of Francoist power, complementing rather than opposing one another because whether advocating openness or continuity, members of the government sought to preserve their own power.⁶⁸

On a theoretical level and operating above Crumbaugh's specific arguments, he indicates that "The interrelationships among the representation of tourism, sex, authority, and political economy during the final stages of the Franco dictatorship prove far more complex and deserve further scholarly consideration."⁶⁹ This quote provides a reminder that the irony of the deployment of gender and sexuality lies in "having us believe that our 'liberation' is in the balance."⁷⁰ Theoretical models should include perspectives in which escape from the episteme is always in question at the very moment in which resistance and transformation appear successful. Mary Nash continues along these investigative paths, examining the complexity of contestations and exploring how changes in gender and sexuality brought on by tourism and its intendant iterations of the modern women as represented by the *Sueca* (the sexualized blond tourist) and Spanish manhood in the form of the reimagined Don Juan reinscribed normativity but at the same time contested tradition and undermined patriarchy.⁷¹

Pushing understandings of the dictatorship in those rewarding theoretical directions rests on continuing to explore the centrality of gender and sexuality to Francoism and pursuing new insights into categorizations, practices, and lived realities. As material in juridical archives becomes available to scholars, analyzing domestic violence and the law and legal verdicts on cases involving sexual violence would help

⁶⁴ Justin Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 89.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I, An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 159.

⁷¹ Mary Nash, "Mass Tourism and New Representations of Gender in Late Francoist Spain: The Sueca and Don Juan in the 1960s," *Cultural History* 4, no. 2 (September 2015): 136–161.

expose the effects of *machismo* and *donjuanismo* on women and Spanish society.⁷² Francoist masculinity is an understudied topic. An in-depth study of Falangist conceptions of manhood would be useful. The codification of masculinity through mandatory military service offers another area of study. Conscription as a tool of social control provides an excellent means of exploring normative masculinity and such assessments add to the scholarship on the *Sección Femenina* and compulsory social service for women by investigating its male equivalent.⁷³ Consumerism and masculinity make up another area that is beginning to be investigated and that helps indicate the ways in which economic modernization and consumer society affected the male gender. Like the military, gender in the police forces is an important aspect of this history. Similar to how the subject has been covered in relation to women, gender affected leisure-time activities and sports for men and needs to be researched and analyzed. Inseparable from economics, studies of gender and sexuality would also benefit from following Francoist money and further exploring how normative and non-normative discourses benefitted the coffers of the Franco regime, its members, and those who colluded with it. Oral history focused on gender and sexuality would improve scholarly understandings of the collective memory of the regime. Explorations of discursive continuities with the past need further supplementation by examining ruptures with that past and analyzing the uniqueness of Francoism. Bridging the gap between studying men and women separately is a methodological and theoretical imperative.

Continuing along these paths of nuanced perspectives of cultural, social, economic, and political change during and after the conservative and authoritarian Franco regime helps glean insight into not just Spain, but how those processes work on broader levels. The field of gender and sexuality in Spain has contributed to deeper understandings of gender across national boundaries (especially in Europe and Latin America), expanded feminist theories among academic disciplines, and put Foucauldian and poststructural theories to the rigors of historical scholarship. As this body of work grows and flourishes, scholars of Spain continue to improve conceptualizations of how authoritarian power structures are re-enforced, resisted, and changed.

⁷² Two laws in Spain (*la ley 16/1985, de 25 de Junio, de patrimonio histórico español* and *la ley 15/1999, de 15 de diciembre, de protección de datos de carácter personal*) stipulate that legal records of less than fifty years old are inaccessible to the public or scholars.

⁷³ This subject is that of my own work. Please see: Ian Winchester, “So[u]ldiers for Christ and Men for Spain: The *Apostolado Castrense*’s Role in the Creation and Dissemination of Francoist Martial Masculinity,” *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 4, no. 8 (2015): 143–16 and Ian K. Winchester, “*Hombres Normativos: The Creation and Inculcation of Martial Masculinity during the Franco Regime in Spain (1939–1975)*” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 2016).