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### **Recent Scholarship in Gender and Sexuality in Modern Iberian History: Reinforcing Agency, Locating Cross-Cultural Connections, and Integrating Sexualities**

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## **Recent Scholarship in Gender and Sexuality in Modern Iberian History: Reinforcing Agency, Locating Cross-Cultural Connections, and Integrating Sexualities**

**Jessica Davidson**

Historian Joan Scott defines gender as “a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes and...a primary way of signifying relationships of power.”<sup>1</sup> Reflecting these foundational concepts, new publications in Women’s and Gender History in Modern Spain employ gender analysis in a variety of ways all of which emphasize a movement towards inclusive scholarship. In the past few decades, scholars have expanded Gender and Sexuality Studies in Modern Spain across both geographical boundaries and disciplinary lines, as well as across the spectrums of gender and sexuality, with a particular focus on masculinity. These new approaches both expand the discipline and affirm historical agency within marginalized communities. Though the field of Portuguese history continues to grow, this review of scholarly contributions to Gender and Sexuality primarily focuses on the History of Spain.

New publications in the history of Gender and Sexuality place Spain within a transnational and interdisciplinary context. Historians have complemented Gender and Sexuality Studies with Film Studies, Memory Studies, Literature Studies, and Cultural History. These recent approaches discuss gender as interactive within a Spain that is not isolated but interconnected. Both directions reflect larger trends in the field of Gender and Sexuality Studies.

Scholars of Gender and Sexuality in Modern Spain continue to offer research on familiar topics yet have expanded the field by posing new questions and by considering marginalized groups. The field is also growing in the direction of the incorporation of the era of democratic transition of the 1970s and the 1980s. Scholarship has recognized the experiences of political dissidents who persisted in Spain after the defeat of the Republic but the experiences of the gay community during the Franco Regime have only recently been explored by historians. As one of many marginalized groups identified by the regime as anathema to its moral crusade, queer subjects have often been lost in the milieu of victims of the dictatorship. With the advent of democracy, there has been an effort to tell these histories of Gender and Sexuality in Modern Spain. Many such studies have been published in the last twenty years.

### **Foundational Feminist Scholarship**

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<sup>1</sup> Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42.

Before an assessment of publications in the twenty-first century, a recognition of early and seminal works in the History of Women and Gender in Modern Iberia is essential. The origins of this scholarship date to the late 1970s, concurrent with the end of the Franco dictatorship and, outside of Spain, with Second Wave Feminism. Geraldine Scanlon contributed an early study of women and feminism in Spain through her publication of *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea*.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after this, Mónica Threlfall continued the same line of research in her journal article “The Women’s Movement in Spain.”<sup>3</sup> Rosa Capel published *El trabajo y la educación de la mujer en España (1900-1930)*.<sup>4</sup> Her book established women as historical actors in twentieth-century Spain through the creation of the Second Republic.

By the 1980s scholars in Spain had ventured into the difficult years of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime to locate and assess women’s activity. One of the earliest contributions to this field was Lourdes Benería’s, *Mujer, economía y patriarcado durante la España franquista*.<sup>5</sup> Teresa Gallego Mendez wrote *Mujer, falange y franquismo* which considered the entirety of the regime.<sup>6</sup> A regional study by María Immaculada Pastor, *La educación femenina en la postguerra (1939-1945): El caso de Mallorca*, continued the focus on right-wing women.<sup>7</sup> Introducing the role of the female branch of the Falange, Rosario Sánchez López published *Mujer española: una sombra de destino en lo universal (trayectoria histórica de Sección Femenina de Falange, 1934-1977)*.<sup>8</sup> Carme Molinero offered a complementary study “Mujer, franquismo y fascismo. La clausura forzada en un mundo pequeño.”<sup>9</sup>

In tandem with the aforementioned publications in the 1980s and 1990s, historians in the United States and England explored the role of Spanish women as a subject in the public sphere. Temma Kaplan assessed women’s participation in the body politic even before female suffrage was won in Spain. She argued that a unique political consciousness of “collective action” propelled women from the

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<sup>2</sup> Geraldine Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea* (Madrid: Sigloveintiuno editores, 1976).

<sup>3</sup> Mónica Threlfall, “The Women’s Movement in Spain,” *New Left Review*, no. 151 (1985): 44–73.

<sup>4</sup> Rosa Capel, *El trabajo y la educación de la mujer en España (1900-1930)*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, Spain: Instituto de la Mujer, 1986).

<sup>5</sup> Lourdes Benería, *Mujer, economía y patriarcado durante la España franquista* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1977).

<sup>6</sup> María Teresa Gallego Méndez, *Mujer, falange y franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus, 1983).

<sup>7</sup> María Immaculada Pastor, *La educación femenina en la postguerra (1939-1945): El Caso de Mallorca* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Instituto de la Mujer, 1984).

<sup>8</sup> R. Sánchez López, *Mujer española: una sombra de destino en lo universal (trayectoria histórica de Sección Femenina de Falange, 1934-1977)* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1990).

<sup>9</sup> Carme Molinero, “Mujer, franquismo y fascismo. La clausura forzada en un mundo pequeño,” *Historia Social* 30 (1998): 97-117.

sideline to the center of public discourse and action.<sup>10</sup> Mary Nash examined women in the workplace as well as in the political sphere in her early work, *Mujer, familia y trabajo en España (1875-1936)*. Nash also discussed women's contributions to the left-wing military effort during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>11</sup> Martha Ackelsberg continued a focus on women in left-wing politics in her book, *Free Women of Spain; Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* in which she introduced the history of the *Mujeres Libres*.<sup>12</sup>

These themes resonate in Pamela Radcliff and Victoria Enders' co-edited publication, *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*.<sup>13</sup> This collection of essays both emphasized the importance of women's political and labor roles and reaffirmed the equally important field of gender studies. Essays covered the history of working women in Spain as well as female political participation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Chapters by veteran historians including Mary Nash and Temma Kaplan, and new authors at the time like Aurora Morcillo, provided histories that featured gender as a central question.

Aurora Morcillo continued with a deep dive into the history of gender in Modern Iberia through her publication, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*.<sup>14</sup> Here Morcillo uncovered the ideological framework for women's experience during the dictatorship and the creation of a reactionary gendered order. Intimately linked to Catholic rhetoric, the state based its official recommendations for women in domesticity and piety. Through Morcillo's work it became clear that Spanish women's bodies and sexuality often indicated the direction of social change.

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<sup>10</sup> Temma Kaplan, "Female Consciousness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona, 1910-1918," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7, no. 3 (1982): 545-66.

<sup>11</sup> Mary Nash, *Mujer, familia y trabajo en España (1875-1936)* (Barcelona: Anthropos, Editorial del Hombre, 1983) and Mary Nash, "Milicianas' and Homefront Heroines: Images of Women in Revolutionary Spain (1936-1939)," *History of European Ideas* 11 (1989): 235-244. Nash established women as significant agents of change in the creation of a feminist movement in Spain. She was also at the forefront of discussion of women's sexuality in Modern Spain. Mary Nash, "Experiencia y Aprendizaje: La Formación Histórica de los Feminismos en España," *Historia Social* (Valencia, Spain), 20 (1994): 151-172 and Nash, "Un/Contested Identifies: Motherhood, Sex Reform and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain," in Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 25-49.

<sup>12</sup> Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain; Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> Aurora G. Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).

### **New Directions in Gender and Sexuality in Modern Iberian History: Interdisciplinary Studies**

The history of gender and sexuality is by nature an interdisciplinary field of investigation. In *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, an edited volume of essays, Spanish and American scholars explore the essential role of gender in the growing field of Cultural History and Memory Studies in Spain.<sup>15</sup> Instead of presenting it as a peculiarity within the history of the Spanish Civil War, Aurora Morcillo's co-edited publication recognizes the centrality of gender and sexuality studies.

Morcillo's edited volume blends gender studies within the larger framework of the history of memory and the Spanish Civil War. Impressively, the collection of essays neither isolates women's and gender studies artificially separating it from other approaches to history. Nor does the publication integrate women's and gender studies to an extent that the peculiarities of the field are lost. Instead of presenting the topic in a cursory way, the majority of the edited volume includes essays that explicitly focus on gender as a subject. Part one of the volume discusses the "institutional realms of memory." Parts two through five focus on gender and women's studies including in a transnational context.

Within the edited volume, chapters from Sofia Rodríguez López and Deirdre Finnerty present the history of the Spanish Civil War through the gendered interactions of Republicanism and National Catholicism. These authors make gender a central component of experience in studies of sexual violence during wartime in the 1930s a topic which will be discussed later in this review, and politicized motherhood in the Nationalist seizure of power. In her chapter "*Corpus Delicti: Social Imaginaries of Gendered Violence*," Rodríguez López identifies the primacy of gender in stabilizing or destabilizing society during wartime. Further, she argues that Nationalist soldiers terrorized women, particularly Republican women through rape or the threat of sexual violence as a mechanism of consolidating power.<sup>16</sup> Integrating the study of literature, Deirdre Finnerty examines the history of left-wing mothers and their symbolic threat to the Franco Regime's gendered order. As improper mothers, left-wing "dissident" women jeopardized the nation-building progress of the right-wing dictatorship.<sup>17</sup>

New publications in the field join the history of gender and sexuality in Spain with film studies. The question of masculinities and childhood in film

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<sup>15</sup> Aurora Morcillo, ed., *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of Oblivion*, vol. 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>16</sup> Sofia Rodríguez López, "Corpus Delicti: social imaginaries of gendered violence," in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of Oblivion*, ed. Morcillo, 359-400.

<sup>17</sup> Deirdre Finnerty, "The Republican Mother in Post-transition Novels of Historical Memory: A Re-inscription into Spanish Cultural Memory?" in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of Oblivion*, ed. Morcillo, 213-245.

during the Franco Regime is assessed in my own work, “Lost Boys of the Franco Regime: Masculinity, Memory, and Childhood in Recent Spanish Film.”<sup>18</sup> Cinematic representations both reiterate traditional masculinity of the Franco Regime and National Catholicism and point to a gray area that questions gender and sexual identity. Sexual anxiety, femininity, and masculinity are the subject of Mónica García-Fernández’s interdisciplinary article, “La frígida y el donjuán: sexualidad, género y nación en el cine y la cultura popular del tardofranquismo.” García-Fernández assesses Spanish film “como elemento de gran influencia, reivindicando su utilidad para los estudios históricos” in which messages of gender and sexuality were projected.<sup>19</sup> Also analyzing marriage and sexual intimacy during the Franco regime through film is Aintzane Rincón Díez’s “Del Génesis a Christian Dior. Tensiones y cambios en el matrimonio franquista a través del cine (1958-1963).”<sup>20</sup> Her article, like many new contributions to the History of Gender and Sexuality in Modern Iberia, is an example of the cross-disciplinary intersection of gender and sexuality studies with film studies. Bridging the same disciplines, is *Representaciones de género en el cine español (1939-1982): figuras y fisuras*, also by Aintzane Rincón Díez.<sup>21</sup>

### **History of Gender and Sexuality of Modern Iberia in a Transnational Context**

New contributions to the field assess gender and sexuality in Modern Spain within a global, cross-cultural, and connective context.<sup>22</sup> This approach reflects a movement towards transnational history in which the history of gender in Modern Iberia is considered as part of a larger series of world events. As Joshua Goode argues in his chapter on Race in Modern Spain, Spain is no longer an outlier in the course of history. Nor is it an isolated case. Scholarship places its study of Gender and Sexuality in Spain alongside other nations and regions of the world. Moreover, gender and sexuality, like race, are no longer marginalized but integrated into a comprehensive history of Modern Spain.

*The Modern Spain Sourcebook: A Cultural History from 1600 to the Present*, a co-edited collection of translated primary documents, places Spanish

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<sup>18</sup> Jessica Davidson, “Lost Boys of the Franco Regime: Masculinity, Memory, and Childhood in Recent Spanish Film,” in *The Child in World Cinema*, Debbie Olson, ed. (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2018), 195-214.

<sup>19</sup> Mónica García-Fernández, “La frígida y el donjuán: sexualidad, género y nación en el cine y la cultura popular del tardofranquismo,” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 98, no. 3 (2021): 411-436.

<sup>20</sup> Aintzane Rincón Díez, “Del Génesis a Christian Dior. Tensiones y cambios en el matrimonio franquista a través del cine (1958-1963),” *Arenal* (Granada, España) 27, no. 2 (2020): 383-409.

<sup>21</sup> Aintzane Rincón Díez, *Representaciones de género en el cine español (1939-1982): figuras y fisuras* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2014).

<sup>22</sup> An example of this approach is Adrian Shubert’s “Women Warriors and National Heroes: Agustina de Aragón and Her Indian Sisters,” *Journal of World History* 23, no. 2 (2012): 279-313.

gender in the framework of global history.<sup>23</sup> Aurora Morcillo and a team of four editors offer new and useful material to the study, and teaching of, women, gender, and sexuality in Modern Spain. The compendium of translated Spanish primary sources ranges in topic from literature and art to religion spanning the seventeenth through twenty-first centuries. The collection includes key documents in the history of gender and sexuality in Modern Iberia from Gregorio Marañón's 1930's "The Evolution of Sex and Intersexual Conditions," to the twenty-first century Spanish law against Gendered Violence, and the monumental legalization of same-sex marriage. Through these seminal documents, the primary sourcebook demonstrates the impressive progression of feminist politics in Modern Iberia, establishing Spain as both a participant and a leader in a larger global history of women and gender.

In a similar way, *A New History of Iberian Feminisms* (2018), examines Women's and Gender History through a holistic coverage of the Iberian Peninsula. This publication is one of few in the field that considers Portugal and Spain in the same context. Silvia Bermúdez and Roberta Johnson define Iberia as "the Basque Provinces, the Castilian-speaking areas, Catalonia, Galicia, and Portugal." With contributions from Spanish and English scholars, the edited volume offers a synthesis of topics in feminism in the history of Iberia since the eighteenth century. Though the study of feminism in Spain is not a new topic, its consideration in a global context is new. Bermúdez and Johnson distinguish their publication as a "comprehensive view of feminist thinking and activity in the Iberian Peninsula." With a focus on regionally and linguistically diverse Iberian writers, the book presents the history of feminism as it intersects and interacts beyond national and regional borders as well as across disciplinary lines.<sup>24</sup>

A valuable contribution of *Iberian Feminisms* is its integration of Karen Offen's ideas of a duality of feminisms in which she identifies two approaches to women's equality, "relational" and "individualist." These interpretations of feminist identity lend themselves not only to a larger European and transnational framework but also to a long *durée* history of women's responses to patriarchy. Like in the rest of Europe, the history of gender in Modern Iberia, as noted by Bermúdez and Johnson, has reflected the dual concepts of "equality and difference."<sup>25</sup>

Likewise, through a transnational lens, Mary Nash explores gender as a point of global interaction during the 1960s economic boom in Spain in her

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<sup>23</sup> Aurora G. Morcillo, María Asunción Gómez, Paula de la Cruz-Fernández, and Jose María Manuel Morcillo-Gómez, eds., *The Modern Spain Sourcebook: A Cultural History from 1600 to the Present* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018). The publication also increases the accessibility of Spanish women's history to English speakers.

<sup>24</sup>Silvia Bermúdez and Roberta Johnson, eds., *A New History of Iberian Feminisms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 3-4.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

article, “Mass Tourism and New Representations of Gender in Late Francoist Spain: The Sueca and Don Juan in the 1960s.”<sup>26</sup> Nash argues that both Spaniards and vacationers, mostly from Northern Europe, participated in “Orientalized” gendered exchanges in which they perceived each other as foreign and exotic.<sup>27</sup> Most studies of tourism in Modern Spain have neglected to cover cross-cultural gendered aspects. However, Mary Nash’s work begins to fill this void. “The iconic eroticized Sueca” fulfilled fantasies of many Spanish men in large part due to her perceived difference from less sexually available Spanish women. According to Nash, this new model of femininity introduced “cultural and gender otherness” to Spain.<sup>28</sup>

Like Nash’s discussion of the international implications of gender, Paula de la Cruz-Fernández’s study places femininity and the domestic in Spain and Mexico within a larger world of multinational corporations.<sup>29</sup> In her recent book, *Gendered Capitalism: Sewing Machines and Multinational Business in Spain and Mexico, 1850-1940*, Cruz-Fernández identifies gender as a central component of the global history of industry. The author positions her analysis of gender and gendered advertising as a study “as much...about international business as it is about the home.”<sup>30</sup> As it is transnational, the study is interdisciplinary, integrating the History of Business into Gender Studies.

### **Masculinity in Question**

In new contributions to the field, women and their gendered interactions within the public sphere continue to feature as an integral part of the larger matrix of Modern Spanish History. In the past decades, however, scholars of nineteenth and twentieth-century Spain have paid special attention to the experience of masculinity.

Masculinity studies have proliferated in the History of Gender and Sexuality in nineteenth-century Spain. New publications consider gender insecurities both in the context of Spanish Liberalism and within the Catholic Church.<sup>31</sup> Nerea Aresti investigates the crisis of masculinity in the late nineteenth

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<sup>26</sup> 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 (Sep. 2015): 136-161 and Mary Nash, “Turismo, género y neocolonialismo: la sueca y el donjuán y la erosión de arquetipos culturales franquistas en los 60,” *Historia social* (Valencia, Spain), 96, (2020): 41-62.

<sup>27</sup> A similar study of gendered aspects of tourism in Portugal during the Salazar dictatorship is Sofia Sampaio, “Tourism, Gender and Consumer Culture in Late- and Post-Authoritarian Portugal,” *Tourist Studies* 17, no. 2 (2017): 200-217.

<sup>28</sup> Nash, “Mass Tourism,” 137, 142.

<sup>29</sup> Paula de la Cruz-Fernández, *Gendered Capitalism: Sewing Machines and Multinational Business in Spain and Mexico, 1850-1940* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2021).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Xavier Andreu-Miralles, “A Fatherland of Free Men. Virility and ‘Frailty’ in Spanish Liberalism (1808–1814),” *Gender & History* 34 (2021): 42-58 and Raúl Mínguez-Blasco, “Between Virgins

century in her publication “La Hombria perdida en el tiempo. Masculinidad y nación española a finales del siglo XIX.”<sup>32</sup> Jose Diaz Freire, in his article “Miguel de Unamuno: la feminización de la masculinidad moderna,” discusses differing responses from Spanish intellectuals to the crisis of masculinity of nineteenth-century Spain.<sup>33</sup>

Like studies of the nineteenth century, those of twentieth-century Spain have gravitated towards the investigation of gender performance and sexual expectations for men.<sup>34</sup> Historian Nerea Aresti is indicative of this movement. Her work moves beyond the study of gendered expectations for women and features “la otra cara de género.”<sup>35</sup> Her recent journal article considers masculinity and nation-building during Miguel Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship in the 1920s.<sup>36</sup> The author contends that the years of the Primo de Rivera Regime, 1923-1930, saw a weakening of masculinity in Spain. The dictator addressed what he viewed as a crisis of masculinity by encouraging Spanish men to participate in national politics. Aresti claims that Rivera fomented a “patriotic military masculinity” that at once mobilized men and was part of a larger campaign to involve citizens, including women, in the rituals of nationalism.<sup>37</sup>

Nerea Aresti’s chapter in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, “The Battle to Define Spanish Manhood,” offers another essential contribution to the history of gender in which she discusses “national masculinity.”<sup>38</sup> Masculine behavior reflected “an emphasis on authority and hierarchy” that was modeled after war-time discipline. According to the author, Spanish masculinity encouraged both sexual virility and religious “self-control and austerity.”<sup>39</sup> Also co-edited by Nerea Aresti, *¿La España invertebrada?: masculinidad y nación a comienzos del siglo XX*, offers a series of essays that explore masculinity and gender, specifically Spanish “national masculinity” from

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and Priests: The Feminisation of Catholicism and Priestly Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Spain,” *Gender & History* 33, no. 1 (2021): 94-110.

<sup>32</sup> Nerea Aresti, “La Hombria perdida en el tiempo. Masculinidad y nación española a finales del siglo XIX,” in *Hombres en peligro: género, nación e imperio en la España de cambio de siglo (XIX-XX)* 147, (2017): 19-38.

<sup>33</sup> Jose Javier Diaz Freire, “Miguel de Unamuno: la feminización de la masculinidad moderna,” *Cuadernos de historia contemporánea* 39, no. 39 (2017): 39-58.

<sup>34</sup> Brian D. Bunk discusses masculinity in *Ghosts of Passion: Martyrdom, Gender, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

<sup>35</sup> Nerea Aresti, “La historia de las masculinidades, la otra cara de la historia de género,” *Ayer* 117 (2020): 333-347.

<sup>36</sup>Nerea Aresti, “A Fight for Real Men: Gender and Nation-Building During the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship (1923–1930),” *European History Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (2020): 248-65.

<sup>37</sup> Aresti, “A Fight for Real Men,” 248.

<sup>38</sup> Nerea Aresti, “The Battle to Define Spanish Manhood,” in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of Oblivion*, ed. Morcillo, 147-177.

<sup>39</sup> Aresti, “The Battle to Define Spanish Manhood,” 151.

1914-1945.<sup>40</sup> In this collection, scholars including Aurora Morcillo and Zira Box, examine masculinity from the early twentieth century until the 1930s creation of Falangist concepts of virility in Spain.

A similar analysis of military masculinity in the twentieth century is Ian Winchester's article, "So[u]ldiers for Christ and Men for Spain: The Apostolado Castrense's Role in the Creation and Dissemination of Francoist Martial Masculinity." Winchester argues that National Catholic masculinity identified closely with the military concept of soldier/warrior.<sup>41</sup> He contends in his article that expectations of manliness for the Spanish military during the dictatorship contained a mix of martial identity and a devotion to Catholicism. Winchester claims that "the Franco regime institutionalized in the armed forces a militarized masculinity that it intended to normalize in Spanish men through obligatory service." Ultimately, he finds that this attempt to create "warriors for God and men for Spain" was incompatible with modernity in the later Franco regime.<sup>42</sup>

New studies of masculinity examine masculinity in the context of the Catholic church during the Franco Regime. Inmaculada Blasco Herranz turned her attention to masculinity and Catholic identity in "¿Re-masculinización del catolicismo? Género, religión e identidad católica masculina en España a comienzos del siglo XX."<sup>43</sup> Mónica Moreno-Seco writes about these dynamics in her article, "A Man Just Like Other Men? Masculinity and Clergy in Spain During Late Francoism (1960–1975)." In the same issue of the *Journal of Religious History*, Natalia Núñez-Bargueño published "Performing Catholic Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain: The International Eucharistic Congress of Madrid (1911)."<sup>44</sup>

## Spectrums of Sexuality and Queer Studies in Modern Spain

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<sup>40</sup> Nerea Aresti, Karin Peters, and Julia Brühne eds., *¿La España invertebrada? Masculinidad y nación a comienzos del siglo XX* (Granada: Comares historia, 2016).

<sup>41</sup> 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): 143-163.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 145, 163.

<sup>43</sup> Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, "¿Re-masculinización del catolicismo? Género, religión e identidad católica masculina en España a comienzos del siglo XX," in Blasco Herranz, ed., *Mujeres, hombres y catolicismo en la España contemporánea. Nuevas visiones desde la historia*, (Valencia: Tirant humanidades, 2018): 115-136.

<sup>44</sup> Mónica Moreno-Seco, "A Man Just Like Other Men? Masculinity and Clergy in Spain During Late Francoism (1960–1975)," *Journal of Religious History* 45, no. 4 (2021): 603–22; Natalia Núñez-Bargueño, "Performing Catholic Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain: The International Eucharistic Congress of Madrid (1911)," *Journal of Religious History* 45, no. 4 (2021): 559-81.

Women's and Gender History in Modern Spain has broadened its coverage of sexuality to include the stories and experiences of queer and trans individuals. These studies point to the perseverance and survival of marginalized groups despite Church and state oppression particularly during the Franco Regime. Historians based in the U.S. and Europe have considered records, including oral interviews, medical documents, and court proceedings, to interpret the narratives of the LGBTQ community in Spain. Whether through assimilating, using loopholes in the law, or finding allies with power, LGBTQ individuals navigated the minefield of discrimination and dangers of the dictatorship.

New historiography has considered the heterocentric culture of nineteenth and twentieth-century Spain. Richard Cleminson, Pura Fernández, and Francisco Vázquez García investigate the significance of homosexual scandals in the context of nineteenth-century Spain. In their article, they discuss “gendered and sexual transgression in the late nineteenth century in Spain,” while a newly industrialized Spain struggled to implement liberalism.<sup>45</sup> Javier Fernández Galeano in his article, “Is He a ‘Social Danger’? The Franco Regime’s Judicial Prosecution of Homosexuality in Málaga Under the Ley de Vagos y Maleantes,” uses court records from Málaga to determine the significance of verdicts in trials of men accused of homosexuality in the late 1950s and 1960s.<sup>46</sup> He argues that “traditionally hegemonic social sectors and institutions, such as the upper and middle classes, the Catholic Church, and the military” interpreted homosexuality before the law in differing ways.<sup>47</sup>

One of the most exceptional contributions to sexuality and LGBTQ studies in Modern Spain is not the written word but a documentary film, *Bones of Contention* (2017), nominated for an award at the Berlin International Film Festival in the same year.<sup>48</sup> Director Andrea Weiss integrates Memory Studies as she tells the story of the LGBTQ community who survived the Franco Regime in Spain. Weiss, recipient of an Emmy for earlier work on the LGBTQ community in the U.S., connects the contemporary debate over mass graves in Spain to a category of victims not often discussed outside of the case of Federico García

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<sup>45</sup> Richard Cleminson, Pura Fernández, and Francisco Vázquez García, “The Social Significance of Homosexual Scandals in Spain in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 23, no. 3 (2014): 358-82.

<sup>46</sup> Javier Fernández Galeano, “Is He a ‘Social Danger’? The Franco Regime’s Judicial Prosecution of Homosexuality in Málaga Under the Ley de Vagos y Maleantes,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 25, no. 1 (2016): 1-31.

<sup>47</sup> Galeano, “Is He a ‘Social Danger’?,” 29.

<sup>48</sup> *Bones of Contention*, directed by Andrea Weiss, (New York: Icarus Films, 2017). Weiss received an Emmy in 1987 for her work on the documentary, *Before Stonewall* (1984).

Lorca.<sup>49</sup> In painful detail, interviewees recount both their exclusion from the Franco regime and the dictatorship's punitive measures in the name of National Catholicism. As oral histories these stories are invaluable records of a community silenced and victimized.

First-person accounts have also served as the material for Geoffroy Huard, historian of sexuality at the University of Cergy Paris, France. His 2014 publication, *Los antisociales: Historia de la homosexualidad en Barcelona y París, 1945-1975*, uncovers the history of LGBTQ activity during the years of the Franco Regime. With a transnational approach, the study considers both the Catalan capital as well as the French one. Huard's research points to the misrepresentation of gay Spaniards as nonexistent under the Franco dictatorship and argues that long before the 1970s, the LGBTQ community made a place for itself.<sup>50</sup> Huard's most recent publication co-edited with Víctor Mora Gaspar, *40 años después: La despenalización de la homosexualidad en España: Investigación, memoria y experiencia*, sheds light on the "sexual memories" of queer individuals who outlived the dictatorship in Spain yet continued to face oppression until the late 1980s.<sup>51</sup>

Included in this expanded discussion of the history of sexuality is women's experience during the Franco regime. Aurora Morcillo initiated a discussion of female bodies and sexualities in her book, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic*.<sup>52</sup> Several essays in Huard and Mora's study of homosexuality are devoted to the discussion female sexuality.<sup>53</sup> Cecelia Montegut argues in her chapter, "Mujeres y sexualidades bajo el Franquismo," that lesbians faced a unique form of repression that differed from gay men during the regime. Montegut distinguishes between the "represión ideológica" encountered by women from "represión estatal" faced by gay men through incarceration and punitive laws. Through these methods of social control, women learned that heterosexual domesticity and motherhood were the only acceptable routes and gay women learned to hide their sexuality. The Franco regime reinforced women's obligation to motherhood, family, and the Church

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<sup>49</sup> Another excellent recent documentary on the controversy of exhuming mass graves of Francoist victims is *El Silencio de Otros/The Silence of Others*, directed by Almudena Carracedo and Robert Bahar (Spain: Semilla Verde Productions Ltd., 2018).

<sup>50</sup> Geoffroy Huard, *Los antisociales: Historia de la homosexualidad en Barcelona y París, 1945-1975* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2014).

<sup>51</sup> Víctor Mora Gaspar and Geoffroy Huard eds., *40 años después: la despenalización de la homosexualidad en España: investigación, memoria y experiencias* (Barcelona: Egales Editorial, 2019). Also by Víctor Mora Gaspar, *Al margen de la naturaleza: La persecución de la homosexualidad durante el franquismo. Leyes, terapias y condenas* (Barcelona: Debate, 2016).

<sup>52</sup> Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Huard, *40 años después*, includes chapters written by Raquel Osborne, Cecelia Montagut, and Javier Fernandez-Galeano.

through the Sección Femenina and manuals like *La Perfecta Casada*, which taught that sexuality was for reproduction. However, as Montegut argues, despite the attempt to control female sexuality during the dictatorship, “no todo fue represión.” In fact some women were able to “eludir el control social y poder vivir sus sexualidades, con todo y lo complicado que ello resultaba, fuera del alcance franquista.”<sup>54</sup>

Several other publications assess women’s sexual experiences during the misogynistic dictatorship. For example, Mónica García Fernández in her dissertation, “‘Dos en una sola carne’. Matrimonio, amor y sexualidad en el franquismo (1939-1975),” investigates sexuality and intimacy in the context of marriage. Mercedes Arbaiza Vilallonga also discusses women’s intimate experiences in “El malestar de las mujeres en España (1956-1968).”<sup>55</sup> Another direction of scholarship on the history of sexuality in Modern Spain sheds light on sexual violence against women during the twentieth century. The edited publication, *Mujeres, género y violencia en la guerra civil y la dictadura de Franco*, traces the history of rape and sexual abuse during wartime and during the early Franco Regime.<sup>56</sup>

Finally, some scholars of women’s and gender studies in Modern Spain are turning their attention to the history of trans individuals. Marta Vicente, professor at University of Kansas, explores the modern history of medicine and sexuality in her article, “The Medicalization of the Transsexual: Patient-Physician Narratives in the First Half of the Twentieth Century.”<sup>57</sup> She explains that beginning in the 1930s in Europe, individuals began to seek medical guidance in their quest to change their bodies to match their gender. In her assessment of medical cases, including ones in Spain, Vicente points to the narratives of patients and doctors as a way to discuss “the medicalization of the homosexual, the birth of the transsexual, and the physician–patient relationship in transsexual narrative.” At the center of inquiry in another of Vicente’s publications is the history of homosexuality and categories of trans identity in Modern Spain. In this study, she interrogates the classification of “transgender” and its relationship to the

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<sup>54</sup> Cecelia Montagut, “Memoria y sexualidad de las mujeres bajo el franquismo,” in *40 años después La despenalización de la homosexualidad en España. Investigación, memoria y experiencia*, ed. Mora Gaspar, 144, 140.

<sup>55</sup> Mónica García Fernández, “‘Dos en una sola carne’. Matrimonio, amor y sexualidad en el franquismo (1939-1975),” (PhD diss., Universidad de Oviedo, 2019) and Mercedes Arbaiza Vilallonga, “El malestar de las mujeres en España (1956-1968),” *Arenal: Revista de historia de las mujeres* 28, no. 2, (2021): 415-445.

<sup>56</sup> Conxita Mir Curcó, Ángela Cenarro Lagunas eds., *Mujeres, género y violencia en la guerra civil y la dictadura de Franco* (Valencia: Editorial Tirant Humanidades, 2021).

<sup>57</sup> Marta Vicente, “The Medicalization of the Transsexual: Patient-Physician Narratives in the First Half of the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 76, no. 4 (2021): 392-416.

categories of “transsexual” and “transvestite.” Ultimately, this article explores “the multiple and sometimes contradictory relationships between one’s body and its social recognition.”<sup>58</sup>

### **Gender and Politics in the Public Sphere during the Franco Dictatorship and Beyond**

Studies in the history of Modern Spain continue to locate their research in the realm of women and their civic identity. While much of the new scholarship on gender and national identity focuses on the twentieth century, new research also considers the interplay between women and politics in the nineteenth century. In an earlier study of Spain’s Liberal Revolution, Gloria Nielfa placed women and gender in the politics of the nineteenth century.<sup>59</sup> More recently, Mónica Burguera assesses feminism and liberalism in her book, *Las Damas del liberalismo respetable: los imaginarios sociales del feminismo liberal en España 1834–1850* and, in a more recent article, analyzes women’s role as artists during a time of political transformation in mid-1800s Spain.<sup>60</sup> Gender and the construction of national identity since 1898 in Spain is the topic of Inmaculada Blasco Herranz’s chapter in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century* (2017).<sup>61</sup>

A sizable part of the new scholarship on female political consciousness continues to assess the history of the twentieth century. With an emphasis on the left-wing, many of these studies of the Spanish Civil War era and beyond build on the earlier work of Mary Nash and Temma Kaplan.<sup>62</sup> For example, Giuliana di Febo’s publication in Spanish, “Resistencias femeninas al franquismo. Para un

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<sup>58</sup> Marta Vicente, “Transgender: A Useful Category?: Or, How the Historical Study of “Transsexual” and “Transvestite” Can Help Us Rethink “Transgender” as a Category,” *TSQ* 8, no. 4 (1 November 2021): 426–442.

<sup>59</sup> Gloria Nielfa, “La revolución liberal desde la perspectiva del género,” *Ayer* (Madrid, Spain) 17 (1995): 103–20.

<sup>60</sup> Mónica Burguera, “‘¿Cuál será la poetisa más perfecta?’ La reinención política de Carolina Coronado en la Galería de poetisas españolas contemporáneas (La Discusión, 1857),” *Journal of Spanish cultural Studies* 19, no. 3 (2018): 297–317; *Las Damas del liberalismo respetable: los imaginarios sociales del feminismo liberal en España 1834-1850* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2012).

<sup>61</sup> Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, “Gender and the Spanish Nation,” in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Javier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, 1st ed., vol. 1 (New York: Berghahn Books 2017), 105-121.

<sup>62</sup> Temma Kaplan considers gender and social history in Barcelona through the early twentieth century in Kaplan, *Red City, Blue Period: Social Movements in Picasso’s Barcelona* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Mary Nash studies left-wing women during the Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War in Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver, Colo: Arden Press, 1995).

estado de la cuestión” assesses the significance of women’s political activity during the dictatorship.<sup>63</sup>

Essays in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War: Realms of Oblivion* consider gender and political identity both in the public sphere and the private domestic one. Paula A. de la Cruz-Fernández assesses the significance of women’s experience as seamstresses in supporting their chosen side of the armed conflict.<sup>64</sup> Several other chapters renew attention on the political mobilization of Republican-supporting women during the Spanish conflict. An essay by Mary Ann Dellinger explores the duality of the legacy of the communist activist Dolores Ibárruri.<sup>65</sup> Likewise, Miren Llona discusses left-wing women as active participants in the civil war in “From Militia Women to Emakume: Myths Regarding Femininity during the Civil War in the Basque Country.”<sup>66</sup>

Beginning in the 1980s, historians examined the role of right-wing women in twentieth-century Spain including the experience of conservative and Catholic women. Recently, Inmaculada Blasco Herranz analyzes “Catholic feminism” in her article, “Citizenship and Female Catholic Militancy in 1920s Spain.”<sup>67</sup> New publications continue to pay attention to the Sección Femenina during the civil war and dictatorship era and offer more nuanced interpretations.<sup>68</sup> Through oral histories, Victoria Enders addressed the complexity of right-wing women’s experience in the female branch of the reactionary Falange.<sup>69</sup> Enders unravels the layers of her subjects’ contested identities- on the one hand, politicized women on the far right in the 1930s who opposed women’s emancipation, and on the other

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<sup>63</sup> Giuliana Di Febo, “Resistencias femeninas al franquismo. Para un estado de la cuestión,” *Cuadernos de historia contemporánea* 28 (2006): 153-168.

<sup>64</sup> Paula A. de la Cruz-Fernández, “Embroidering the Nation: The Culture of Sewing and Spanish Ideologies of Domesticity,” in *Memory and Cultural History*, ed. Morcillo, 249-283.

<sup>65</sup> Mary Ann Dellinger, “The Mythopoeia of Dolores Ibárruri, *Pasionaria*,” in *Memory and Cultural History*, ed. Morcillo, 285-315.

<sup>66</sup> Miren Llona, “From Militia Women to Emakume: Myths Regarding Femininity during the Civil War in the Basque Country” in *Memory and Cultural History*, ed. Morcillo, 179-213.

<sup>67</sup> Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, “Citizenship and Female Catholic Militancy in 1920s Spain,” *Gender & History* 19, no. 3 (2007): 441-66.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Julia Hudson-Richards, “‘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; Jessica Davidson, “Women, Fascism and Work in Francoist Spain: The Law for Political, Professional and Labour Rights,” *Gender & History* 23, no. 2 (2011): 401–14; Julia Biggane, “The Rewards of Female Fascism in Franco’s New State: The Recompensas Y of the Sección Femenina de la Falange, 1939-1945,” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 90, no. 8 (December 2013): 1313–37; and Ángela Cenarro Lagunas, “La Falange es un modo de ser (mujer): discursos e identidades de género en las publicaciones de la Sección Femenina (1938-1945),” *Historia y política*, no. 37, (2017): 91-120.

<sup>69</sup> Victoria L. Enders, “And We Ate Up the World”: Memories of the Sección Femenina,” in *Right-Wing Women from Conservatives to Extremists Around the World*, eds. P. Bacchetta and Margaret Power (New York: Routledge, 2002), 85-98.

hand female activists in the name of social progress.<sup>70</sup> Her work reminds the reader of the importance of presenting the history of right-wing women in its complex and contradictory whole. Most recently, Angela Flynn in *Falangist and National Catholic Women in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)* considers right-wing women during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>71</sup>

Inbal Ofer, in her many publications including “Mujeres (nacionalistas) del frente: Espacio y género en la guerra civil española,” examines the influence of women on the right-wing.<sup>72</sup> Ofer claims that Pilar Primo de Rivera, the head of the Sección Femenina, encouraged her female followers to create a “Spanish fascist political culture.” Primo de Rivera’s organization took control of “nationalizing” Spanish women and remained active after the civil war in cementing a Falangist vision for Spain. According to Ofer, the female branch of the Falange politically participated in a variety of ways, some which challenged the reactionary gender ideology of fascism. Ofer concludes that the SF mobilized women for the Nationalist cause “así en la retaguardia como en el frente.”<sup>73</sup>

In line with the continued academic trend examining right-wing women’s experience, Sofía Rodríguez López offers new research on pro-Nationalist women during the civil war in her recent article, “Mujeres, agencia política y violencia contrarrevolucionaria en España (1934-1944).” Much like Ofer, Rodríguez López argues that female passivity, the standard interpretation of conservative women in Spain during this timeframe, does not accurately depict the diverse roles played by right-wing women, often in the public sphere. In contrast to the portrayal of traditional women during the 1930s as “meros actores secundarios [y] víctimas pasivas”, her article exposes female participation in pro-Nationalist espionage, sabotage, and boycotts.<sup>74</sup>

Rodríguez López and Antonio Cazorla uncover the complexity of pro-Franco women’s experience in the article “Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–9.” This

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<sup>70</sup> Victoria L. Enders, “Chelo’s War: Late Memories of a Falangist Woman,” in *Memory and Cultural History*, ed. Morcillo, 437-465.

<sup>71</sup> Angela Flynn, *Falangist and National Catholic Women in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020).

<sup>72</sup> Inbal Ofer’s first book on the topic is *Señoritas in Blue: the Making of a Female Political Elite in Franco’s Spain* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2009); Ofer, “Teresa, ¿revista para todas las mujeres?: Género, clase y espacios de la vida cotidiana en el discurso de la Sección Femenina (1960-1970),” *Historia y Política* (2017): 121-146; “Pilar Primo de Rivera,” in *Nueva historia de la España contemporánea: (1808-2018)*, eds. José Álvarez Junco, Adrián Shubert (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2018), 774-784; “Forging an Organic Nation: Physical Education, Gender and Class (Spain 1939-1975),” *Studia Iberica et Americana* 4 (2017): 35-56.

<sup>73</sup> Inbal Ofer, “Mujeres (nacionalistas) del frente: Espacio y género en la guerra civil Española,” *Revista universitaria de historia militar* 7, no. 13 (2018): 159-178; 163-164.

<sup>74</sup> Sofía Rodríguez López, “Mujeres, agencia política y violencia contrarrevolucionaria en España (1934-1944),” *Hispania* 80, no. 265 (2020): 531-561.

significant study is the first of its kind in the English language to assess the belligerence of Falangist women's support of the Nationalists. The authors argue that women actively participated in "more or less formal resistance networks against the Republic." This assessment complicates the dominant interpretation of right-wing women as angels of the hearth who only supported the war effort inside of the home. The authors explain the need to reassess right-wing women in 1930s Spain during wartime since their "memory is still fraught with important omissions and imbalances that fail to accurately represent the political activities of women in the conflict, and more precisely their direct contribution to the war effort."<sup>75</sup> The article points to some scholars who credit the Sección Femenina with "a misguided, and even repugnant, but identifiable feminism." However, bipartisan internalized sexism limited the reach of Nationalist women active in the Auxilio Azul.<sup>76</sup>

Scholars have recently extended their studies of women and political action into the era of Spain's transition to democracy. Pamela Radcliff and Temma Kaplan's work has signaled a movement in women's and gender studies in Modern Iberia towards the 1970s and the years of early democratic Spain. In 2004, Temma Kaplan published *Taking Back the Streets: Women, Youth, and Direct Democracy*.<sup>77</sup> This study, like Pamela Radcliff's 2011 book and earlier article, "Citizens and Housewives: The Problem of Female Citizenship in Spain's Transition to Democracy," directs attention to women's participation in traditional and untraditional political movements.<sup>78</sup> Similarly Inbal Ofer examines the role of *amas de casa* during this timeframe.<sup>79</sup> This trend is also evident in the work of Mónica Threlfall, Christine Cousins, and Celia Valiente Fernández, in their coedited publication *Gendering Spanish Democracy*. The authors explore the "astounding steps towards gender equity taken in recent years by Spanish individuals and institutions."<sup>80</sup> The understated role of women during the Transition is also assessed in *Sirvienta, empleada, trabajadora de hogar: género,*

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<sup>75</sup> Sofía Rodríguez López and Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–9," *Journal of Contemporary History* 53, no. 4 (2018): 692–713, 693.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 696, 708.

<sup>77</sup> Temma Kaplan, *Taking Back the Streets: Women, Youth, and Direct Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>78</sup> Pamela Radcliff, "Citizens and Housewives: The Problem of Female Citizenship in Spain's Transition to Democracy," *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 1 (2002): 77–100; *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain: Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transition, 1960–78*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire [England]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>79</sup> Inbal Ofer, "¿Intelectuales orgánicos? Las asociaciones de *amas de casa* y el debate en torno al papel de las mujeres en su calidad de consumidoras y ciudadanas activas (España 1963–1982)," *Rivista Spagna Contemporanea* 55 (2019): 55–81.

<sup>80</sup> Mónica Threlfall, Christine Cousins, and Celia Valiente Fernández, *Gendering Spanish Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2005), 1.

*clase e identidad en el franquismo y la transición a través del servicio doméstico (1939-1995)* by Eider de Dios Fernández.<sup>81</sup>

Various new publications in the Spanish language consider the history of women and gender in Spain during Second Wave Feminism of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>82</sup> Women's experience during this era in Spain had been interpreted as passive, closed off from the rest of Europe, and relatively insignificant. New scholarship on the history of Spanish feminism recognizes the presence of women's movements even under the dictatorship of Franco.<sup>83</sup> Calling into question the nominal existence of feminism in Spain in the 1970s, new publications are firmly establishing women in Modern Spain as active participants in an integrated and global series of events in the decades of women's liberation.

### **Future Directions- Moving towards Intersectionality**

This review of recent publications shows the breadth of new research in the field of Gender and Sexuality in Modern Iberia. Scholarship has reaffirmed the centrality of gender in the larger history of Modern Iberia, in particular as it informs nation building. In tandem with these trends, historians offer studies of women and gender in the public sphere that seek to internationalize the History of Gender and Sexuality in Modern Iberia. New studies reject the concept of an isolated and exceptional course for Spanish history that distinguishes it from other parts of the world. In addition to placing these subjects in a transnational context, scholars are enriching traditional narratives with a cross-disciplinary lens. Contributions to the field also signal a focus on masculinity and on sexual identity interpreted as fluid and complex categories of historical analysis. Histories have

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<sup>81</sup> Eider de Dios Fernández, *Sirvienta, empleada, trabajadora de hogar: género, clase e identidad en el franquismo y la transición a través del servicio doméstico (1939-1995)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga (UMA), 2018).

<sup>82</sup> Second Wave Feminism as an identifier for an era of activism is contested due to its implication that there was no continuity between movements between the era of suffrage campaigns and the era of women's liberation and due to its history of exclusion of voices of color. The term is used here to clearly signal a discussion of women's movements beginning in the 1970s.

<sup>83</sup> Mercedes Arbaiza Vilallonga, "Dones en transició": el feminismo como acontecimiento emocional," in *Mujeres, dones, mulleres, emakumeak: Estudios sobre la historia de las mujeres y del género*, eds. Teresa María Ortega López, Ana M. Aguado, Elena Hernández Sandoica, (Madrid: Cátedra, 2019), 267-286; David Beorlegui Zarranz "Rememorando el devenir feminista. Memoria y subjetividad política de la segunda ola del feminismo en el País Vasco," *Arenal: Revista de historia de las mujeres* 27, no. 1, (2020): 33-63; David Beorlegui Zarranz, "Detrás de lo que quieren que seamos, está lo que somos, Revolución sexual y políticas sexuales feministas durante las décadas de los setenta y de los ochenta: Una aproximación al caso del País Vasco," *Feminismo/s*, no. 33, (2019): 199-223; Vicenta Verdugo Martí, "Desmontando el patriarcado: prácticas políticas y lemas del movimiento feminista español en la transición democrática," *Feminismo/s*, No. 16, (2010): 259-279; and Sandra Blasco Lisa, "Entre la euforia y el desencanto: El significado de la autonomía en la construcción de subjetividades feministas en Aragón (1977-1985)," *Arenal: Revista de historia de las mujeres*, Vol. 27, No. 1,( 2020): 95-124.

emerged that confirm agency for women, gender, and sexuality in domains that until now have represented disempowerment.

The concept of intersectionality was first recognized and labeled by Kimberlé Crenshaw, professor of Law, in the late 1980s in order to deepen the discussion of experiences of oppression.<sup>84</sup> Increasingly in the twenty-first century, some historians have used this framework as a lens to interpret the history of Gender and Sexuality. Intersectionality calls for an assessment of an individual based on the multi-layers of oppression, or privilege, that they experience thereby deepening historical understanding and connecting Race Studies and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies among other disciplines. It asserts that one can be simultaneously oppressed on many levels including but not limited to sex and race and that in order to have a full understanding of their experience, scholars need to take into consideration each part of an individual's identity.

While scholarship on Gender and Sexuality Studies in Modern Spain is moving towards an intersectional approach through its examination of gender and sexual identity in the nineteenth and twentieth century, there is still room to grow. Race as a core dynamic in the axes of oppression has yet to be fully considered notwithstanding its interplay with gender in the history of Spanish colonization. Andreas Stucki discusses this important connection in his chapter assessing the historiography of Empire and Colonialism in Modern Iberia. While Gender and Sexuality Studies of the United States has adopted an intersectional approach which recognizes race, most historiography of Modern Spain has not. The Franco Regime is perceived as a racially homogenous era, in part due to the dictator's propagandist efforts. Yet hierarchies of race and class informed gendered experiences in the context of migration of rural Spaniards to cities and immigration of North Africans, Latin Americans, and Asians to urban centers in Spain.<sup>85</sup> An expansion of these histories within Gender and Sexuality in Modern Spain would fortify a field that is beginning to implement an intersectional approach.

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<sup>84</sup>Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99. The theory of intersectionality was first applied to violence against women of color and is connected to Critical Race Theory.

<sup>85</sup> For a recent glimpse into these dynamics see *Itinerario: Journal of Imperial and Global Interactions* 44, no. 1 (2020) special issue "Violence, Migration, and Gender in the Portuguese-and Spanish-speaking World: Local Impacts, Global Processes and the Echoes of Empire, 1945-2019," ed. Andreas Stucki.