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Surrogate Histories: (De)Mythifying the *Franco-female* in transitionary Spain

A Dissertation Presented

by

CHRISTINA BEAUBIEN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SEPTEMBER 2020

Hispanic Literatures and Linguistics

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Surrogate Histories: (De)Mythifying the *Franco-female* in transitionary Spain

A Dissertation Presented

By

CHRISTINA BEAUBIEN

Approved as to style and content by:

Barbara Zecchi, Chair

Guillem Molla, Internal Member

Helen Freear-Papio, External Member

Albert Lloret, Unit Director
Spanish and Portuguese Program

Robert Sullivan, Department Chair
Dept. of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures

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ABSTRACT

SURROGATE HISTORIES: (DE)MYTHIFYING THE *FRANCO-FEMALE* IN TRANSITIONARY SPAIN

SEPTEMBER 2020

CHRISTINA BEAUBIEN

B.A., FRAMINGHAM STATE UNIVERSITY

M.A., SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY MADRID

Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Barbara Zecchi

Within the context of Franco Spain, academic scholarship has proven that the regime manipulated collective history via both active remembering and active forgetting in order to construct legitimacy and a national identity. Moreover, much of the regime's mythology was based on predetermined concepts of gender difference that was exacerbated by the influence of the Catholic church. In this way, what it meant *to be female* during the Franco dictatorship was a large part of what came to be the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime, or rather – myths that constructed the *Franco-female*. On the one hand, the regime constructed mythology that actively forget *Red* female heritage through brutal sociological as well as physical repression that was targeted specifically towards women. On the other hand, the regime enacted mythology of active remembering that canonized popular imagery and history in order to reconstruct a type of womanhood that lay between the crossroads of the golden age of the Spanish empire and Catholicism. Although my analysis does not in any way suggest that the female experience is ever singular, it is clear that regardless of whether or not ones actions were inherently in defiance of or in accordance with the myths of femininity

propagated by the regime, it cannot be discounted that the dichotomy between what was acceptable or unacceptable behavior defined female existence, or at the very least the performance of femininity.

Surrogate histories are cultural products, authored by women, that implement narratorial and performative strategies of *surrogacy* in order to define and recognize gender-specific traumas incurred during the Franco dictatorship in Spain. These traumas are constructed via the use of site-specific histories that deal directly with the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the Franco regime. By appropriating and textually deconstructing the same myths that were used during the dictatorship to both define and limit femininity in the service of nationhood, these cultural products succeed in (de)mythifying what I have called the *Franco-female.*Through the (de)mythification process, *surrogate histories* create a path that highlights the ways in which much of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* has outlasted the dictatorship as well as the Transition, and thus problematizes the systemic gender violence that plagues contemporary Spanish society.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The day is September 11th in the year 2019 and Alejandro Hernández, official spokesperson of the extremely nationalist political party VOX in the province of Andalucía, celebrates the approval for recent changes to the upcoming budget – the first change: approval of funding for a new line of service dedicated specifically to *la violencia intrafamiliar*; the second: approval of suggested cuts to government subsidies currently devoted to the law of historical memory.[1] The former cements Vox's longstanding assertion against the current law pertaining to *la violencia de género*[2] (LIVG) while the latter reaffirms many statements made by Santiago Abascal, the party's president, that liken the current law of historical memory[3] to *una ley totalitaria*.[4] Although not necessarily shocking circumstances, especially given what would ultimately be Vox's success in the elections that followed in November of 2019, the fact that Vox has repeatedly attacked both the laws, often simultaneously, is of significance. Although the laws were ratified separately, Vox's unilateral response to both as *medidas provocativas*[5]*,* suggests a distant (or perhaps not so distant) affinity. Indeed, as I hope to suggest, the current problems plaguing Spain in relation to both violence against women as well as the reforms to historical memory are not only inherently connected, but rather intertwined.

In her article "Violent Democracy" (2002), Lidia Falcón explains:

> The Spanish transition to democracy is a period of undefined duration since, although we all agree that it began at the end of 1975 with the dictator's death, scholars and historians disagree with regard to its end date; its duration varies according to the individual scholar's ideological leaning. For those parties which attained political power early on in the process, the Constitution's ratification in 1978 signaled the end of the transition. But, for those social groups whose expectations of change have not been satisfied and for whom the new Constitution's promises have yet to be

> implemented, the transition is by no means over. Women remain among the most disenfranchised classes. (17)

Falcón continues to quote a bevy of statistics that outline the culture of violence pertaining specifically to women, with more concrete examples that apply specifically to the Transition. Falcón's statistics are not limited to physical violence, but rather posit women as an *exploited class* and therefore suggest that the problem is systemic. Moreover, Falcón draws correlations between racially driven violence and violence against women by implying that both are systemic methods of preserving power (24). This analogy is best represented by Amelia Valcárcel in her article "¿A qué llamamos paridad?" (2011). Valcárcel, in an effort to catalogue the varying waves of feminism in Spain, notes that the legislative gains of the 80s were stagnant insofar as they did not take into consideration the lingering cultural barriers that dictate a systemic problem (61). Per Valcárcel, in developing a quota system that grants space to marginalized entities, systems of power can feign equality. The problem of course is that the equality needs to be *granted* and therefore becomes nothing more than an exception within a predetermined system of oppression.

At the "Second Sex Conference" held in New York of September of 1979, Audre Lorde delivered a speech entitled "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House" that would later serve as a foundational essay of her work. In her presentation, as quoted in *Sister Outsider* (1984), Lorde lambasts the organizers and ultimately defines what will eventually come to be known as *white feminism* - a type of feminism propagated by, using Lorde's definition, "women who still define the master's house as their only source of support" (112). Lorde argues that any real attack on patriarchal structures must be done through a solidarity represented by all women. Moreover, it must be a solidarity defined by difference. Per Lorde, "as women, we have been taught either to ignore our differences, or to view them as causes for separation and suspicion rather than as forces for change. Without community there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression" (112). In this way, Lorde proposes a redefinition of difference as a means to obtain long-lasting change. If feminism is truly oriented towards the dismantling of the patriarchy and the erasure of female subjugation, it must take into consideration the varying degrees of difference that seeks to oppress *all women.* In this way, any truly radical feminism would not only concern itself with the dichotomies relevant to men versus women but would also seek to understand the way in which said dichotomies can change when they are also defined by a person's race, class, gender definition, or sexual preference. Essentially, the master's house can never be dismantled using the same tools that served in its construction, and the patriarchy is nothing if not a straight, cis-gendered, white man, who also happens to be a trillion-aire.

Even though I vehemently disagree with Falcón and Valcárcel's current sentiments regarding the future of feminism in Spain[6], I do think that they hold a unique position in the debate surrounding the systemic nature of gender violence in Spain. Partly because they come from the generation of feminists that won many hard-fought, legislative battles of the Transition, and partly because they are living proof that despite those changes, many gender-based issues still plague contemporary Spanish politics. To be clear, Falcón and Valcárcel, among others of their generation, have recently spoken out against trans-identities under the assumption that transgender individuals undermine the assumption that gender is a construct insofar as their 'choice' of gender reasserts a biological component into the discussion of feminism.[7] Unfortunately, what this generation fails to see, is that they are themselves perpetuating a binary by 1) suggesting that trans individuals are making a choice at all and 2) by projecting rigid gender concepts onto the debate. By saying that a trans-woman is, at their core, a man is to assert that gender is natural rather than a construct. In this way, their position fails to take into account both the spectrality of gender as well as the varying degrees of oppression. Much like the white feminist that Lorde so rightly critiqued in the 70s and 80s, this generation of feminists in Spain is only open to change within the confines of a patriarchal binary. Despite their current exclusionary agenda, which is a topic of global concern, I think it is important to still recognize the positions they hold *within* Spain.

Although it may seem that I have wandered slightly from my opening remarks concerning Vox's rise within Spain and Falcón's critique of Spain's Transition to democracy, I see the aforementioned discussions very much intertwined. Just as Falcón and Valcárcel seeks to define violence against women as a systemic and cultural problem akin to that of racially motivated violence, I, in my work in twentieth-century Spain, am inspired by theories that define violence against women and female oppression through a prism of varied difference.[8] Much in the same way that Lorde argues that any academic discussion towards a disassembly of patriarchal values is inherently linked to conditions of racism, classism, and homophobia (because those are the tools that built the master's house), I would argue that any discussion of historical memory in Spain should be inherently linked to the ongoing, directed, and systemic violence against women – because it is that violence that has defined Spanish society for much of the twentieth-century. It is a violence that has built the house in which contemporary studies of Spanish culture resides.

1.1 Preliminary Goals

In the following dissertation, I will argue in favor for a redefinition of politics and arguments concerning historical memory so that they are more inclusive and representative of female-based violence and repression during the dictatorship, the Transition, and the democracy that follows. To my mind, it is not coincidental that Vox's ultra-conservative and nationalistic policies often target the law of historical memory and the law against gender violence simultaneously. Indeed, if Simón Joaquín Robles is true in asserting that "somos herederos de Franco"[9], then Vox's decision to criticize the two laws together in tandem is not surprising, rather it is expected. Insofar as preexisting dichotomies of gender difference served as the basis for many of the Franco regime's policies regarding nation building, and because repression during the dictatorship was indeed gendered, it is my understanding that any approach to historical memory should endeavor to include, if not be built directly around, a more in-depth understanding of the role gender has played in shaping Spanish culture –with specific emphasis towards the violent and systematic subjugation of women.

In order to approach this daunting task, I will be studying a variety of cultural products that can be categorized as, among other things, what I call *surrogate histories* – a narratorial and performative strategy adopted by cultural products as a means to confront a mythologized past. For the purpose of this study, I have broken down my analysis of this strategy into three, easily definable steps: the presence of *surrogacy*, the invention of a *new myth*, and the *textual deconstruction* of both. Through the implementation of these steps, cultural products succeed in *(de)mythifying* their traumatic past. The process to (de)mythify the past is unique insofar as it does not seek to shed light or bear witness to mystical histories, but rather to unmask the series of myths that have been implemented in the service of History and nationhood. In this way, a analysis of *surrogate histories* not only helps to break down the myths of the past but, more importantly, a current analysis demonstrates how those same myths continue to shape the present. Moreover, a continued and devoted study of *surrogate histories* could serve to create pathways towards a more progressively inclusive future via the creation of a shared, feminist heritage.

Therefore, in the context of this dissertation, and in light of my proposed task, I will be studying the implementation of *surrogate histories* with specific regard to films and theatre of transitionary Spain. These products (de)mythify what I define as the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the Franco regime – policies, legislature, and cultural incentives created as a means to build nationhood via myths that depend upon dichotomies of gender difference. The works I have chosen were written/produced by women and are, in turn, a fundamental step towards (de)mythifying specific myths that, as a cohort, define what it meant to be female during the dictatorship – what I call the *Franco-female.* The myths of the *Franco-female* are varied in definition, mainly because *being female* is, in and of itself, varied and constructed. These myths created archetypes that are either to be mimicked or to be avoided, but that always come at some personal cost. Although I do not suggest that all women subscribed to these myths, I will argue that all women were negatively affected by their creation insofar as they have persisted, at least culturally but at times even legislatively, well past the expiration of the dictatorship.

Before and in order to undertake this task, I'll need to define *surrogate histories* more specifically. However, because an accurate definition requires significant theoretical and historical context, I think the best way to approach a preliminary introduction would not be to define *surrogate histories* for what they are or how they function –especially considering those are questions undertaken in the chapters that follow– but rather to provide a detailed account of both what they are not as well as what they do not, or rather cannot do.

1.2 *Surrogate histories*: an un-definition

In his article "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia" (2000), Andreas Huyssen evaluates our collective, Western obsession with the past and how it can be juxtaposed against modernity's gaze towards the future. In doing so, Huyssen explains that "The conservative belief that cultural musealization can provide compensation for the ravages of accelerating modernization in the social world is just too simple and too ideological" (34). What Huyssen touches upon here serves as a starting point for what *surrogate histories* are not. Firstly, *surrogate histories* are not collectivized and could therefore potentially serve to reinforce a privatization of memory – or what Huyssen calls *cultural musealization*. Moreover, their connection to a more 'truthful' collective reality is tenuous insofar as reality is, itself, imaginary. *Surrogate histories* are not representative of all female experience and they do not directly consider questions of race, sexuality, or class. In fact, the very nature of *surrogacy* suggests a privileging of sorts insofar as one must have enough capital to invoke a surrogate to complete their work. *Surrogate* *histories* do not have an agenda outside of their original intent - any and all potential benefits of studying them should be seen as hopeful eventualities. In fact, they are not even the only tools necessary in order to undermine a cultural mythology - not in general, not in twentieth-century Spain, not even during the Transition when I propose that they were created. In essence, *surrogate histories* are not all encompassing and, more importantly, they are not eternal. However, given all of their aforementioned shortcomings, I still think that *surrogate histories* are important tools that will, given time, serve to provide a clearer and more progressive path towards disassembling *the master's house*.

Some of the latter points I have made require a firmer grasp of *surrogate histories* via both theoretical context as well as an analysis of textual evidence, so I will leave a discussion about the purpose or agenda of studying *surrogate histories* as well as an analysis of any discussion as to how their ephemeral nature could be considered positive until my conclusion. However, all of the other potential pitfalls of *surrogate histories* I have outlined are relevant to my introduction insofar as they introduce a bevy of necessary overarching questions. Why am I studying cultural products? Why am I only studying female authorship? Why have I focused on transitionary Spain? Why film and theatre specifically? Although seemingly separate, these questions do, in fact, overlap in a variety of ways and especially in relation to current scholarship within the field of transitionary Spain. In that vein, I will not approach them individually, but rather will take them all in stride at once as the explanation requires.

1.3 *Surrogate histories* vis-à-vis the privatization of memory

In one of the last sections of his most recent book, Sebastiaan Faber (2018) questions the role of scholars and academics who study cultural productions. He questions the role cultural products play in representing or producing culture, and what role we as scholars play in analyzing said work. Are we making the changes we actually hope to be making? These questions echo the work of Luis Moreno-Caballud (2012;2014) as he studies the ways in which more sustainable forms of culture have been produced since the financial crisis of 2008 as well as the anti-austerity movements in Spain (15M). As Moreno-Caballud notes, the ways in which we have analyzed cultural products has been, to-date, from a remarkably privileged and individualist perspective – an opinion also supported by Germán Labrador Méndez (2017). Insofar as an individualistic view of culture only serves to perpetuate the power systems that "control" mythology, Moreno-Caballud suggests that the only "verdadera cultura, la verdaderamente capaz de cambiarnos, se gesta en los medios de masas" (2012, 544). Given this caveat, *surrogate histories*, and more so any project that seeks to study them, not only serves to hinder efforts to deconstruct the lingering effects of *nationalized-gender-mythology* of Franco Spain, but rather could indeed perpetuate the violence of *la Cultura de la Transición* (CT). According to Guillem Martínez (2016), "La CT es la observación de los pentagramas de la cultura española, de sus límites. Unos pentagramas canijos, estrechos, en los que solo es possible escribir determinadas novelas, discursos, artículos, canciones, programas, películas, declaraciones, sin salirse de la página, o ser interpretado como un borrón" (14). So how do we get off of this roller coaster? More importantly, when did we step on?

In focusing considerable efforts towards specific cultural productions in an attempt to, as Faber[10] notes, either reflect and represent social phenomena of a given time or in order to read the work of artists as a change or exception to systemic rules, we are perhaps not able to achieve the considerable task to which we have aspired – foment change. For instance, as Labrador Méndez (2010) argues, "Entender el carácter dinámico de los colectivos que han impulsado actuaciones concretas en el ámbito de la memoria no es necesario si queremos entender la memoria histórica en términos de *movimiento*, y no sólo de discurso" (383). While it is true that within our definition of the public/private, we often naively assume that the public sphere can only be defined by legislature or even privatized forms of culture. However, in reality, the public sphere consists of the everyday interactions within communities, imagined or otherwise. So where do we begin? Can we ever successfully study individual objects of culture as a way to understand and advance culture? Although *surrogate histories* are not collectivized and could therefore potentially serve to reinforce a privatization of memory, and although I agree that the most effective way to study cultural movements would indeed be through an analysis of more quotidian interactions, I also think such a supposition is dependent upon certain mitigating factors that, quite frankly, do not come into play in relation to *surrogate histories* – or rather that we have not reached a point at which they are possible. Let me explain.

Earlier I quoted Audre Lorde from her essay "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House" (1984), and I'd like to revisit her briefly to contextualize my argument. Lorde asks, "What does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy?" and answers: "It means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable" (111). Per Lorde, the negation of differences among women will only lead to base reform: "They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (112). Appropriating Lorde's theory and projecting it onto my current argument regarding the study of cultural products, I propose that we are discussing two separate houses. The first house refers to the necessary changes we must make as scholars of memory politics in Spain, while the second house directly relates to the nuanced and parasitic relationship between gender and nation. We, as scholars, must try to approach our research in ways that reverberate or mimic the collective nature of culture. Contrarily, we must also recognize the limitations that have been imposed upon us through that culture. In this way, I argue that the first house resides *within* the second house.

Although[11] we must indeed redefine the ways in which we study culture to encourage collectivity, we must also acknowledge that there is a considerable deficit when studying the lingering effects of the gendered repression within Spanish culture – or rather *anywhere* in which preexisting dichotomies of gender difference have permeated culture. This deficit makes it remarkably more difficult to hear the female voice within the cacophony of voices that are trying to push us past the labels that define us. Although the ultimate goal is to erase these labels, at some point we must acknowledge that the labels still exist, and that they still define our daily interactions – even in spaces that *should know better*. Because dichotomies of gender difference served to define the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime, and because that same mythology was coopted by transitionary governments as a means to stabilize the new democracy –a sentiment expressed by many scholars of the Transition, my dissertation suggests that we must first dismantle the house that would subjugate us as women before we can begin to dismantle the house that would allow us to enact the change with our scholarship. If we ignore the inherent inter-sectionalities of *being female* and *being of the left* in regard to memory studies, we will only be able to enact the minimal amount of change, regardless of how well-intentioned our methodology may in fact be. If talking about gendered repression still elicits a response of being *cosas de mujeres*, or if suggesting that women have a unique perspective or experience is met with questions deriding their complicity during the dictatorship (i.e. they just made *galletitas en casa* and were therefore not revolutionaries),[12] then a large portion of what needs to be ratified through our studies within History is still being ignored. How can we enter into the debate when our name has not even been put on the ballot?

Less theoretically, this is a deficit of resources. There are both a lack of resources available as well as a lack of research that deals directly with the ways in which women effectually fought against the myths that sought, or more importantly *seek*, to define them. This lack has created a considerable deficit in terms of what can actually be studied. I refer here to the ways in which cultural products have become properties of the state apparatus. The ease of access to these products is directly proportional to the canonization of said product and or their author. Because women have little to no socio-political capital in a patriarchal system, their work is often less canonized, which of course leads to scarcity of product. For instance, the cultural products that I am studying in this dissertation are almost impossible to access outside of Spain, and are absolutely not accessible in any other language.[13] Although there are multiple studies dedicated to the ways in which the myths of the regime have been propagated, appropriated, and generally navigated, a rare few of those studies include the important role that gender has specifically played in constructing said myths. Therefore, before we can analyze more collective and quotidian forms of protest, we must first be able to acknowledge that said protest existed and then be universally granted access to such documentation.

1.4 *Surrogate histories:* a feminist heritage

But still, why only women? Even in agreeing that the Franco regime employed policies in their nation-building that were targeted specifically at inscribing women into predetermined archetypes of femininity, and even if more resources are devoted to this type of targeted investigation, surely anyone can talk about how such policies were implemented. Surely, any meaningful study would ascribe itself towards the de-labeling of society moving forward. Why am I only choosing to study cultural products produced by women? Although this question is partially outlined throughout and via my dissertation, and ignoring the fact that it is rarely a question posed of dissertations or anthologies that only analyze men, I'll provide some theoretical and historical context that will help to explain why and how I have comfortably and consciously made the choice to study *only* women.

In her work *Usos amorosos de la postguerra* (1987), Carmen Martín Gaite follows up the study she undertook concerning courtship in the late nineteenth-century and outlines the complex and nuanced relationship between men and women during the early and later years of the dictatorship. The author notes that her interest in this subject was peaked after completing *El cuarto de atrás* (1978), which is interesting since it is actually the protagonist's memories of her own past that inspired this thesis – with specific regard to her memories pertaining to the idealized perpetuation of Isabel la Católica as the ultimate form of femininity (83-85). Throughout, *Usos amorosos* focuses mainly on forms of cultural propaganda, for example magazine articles and the Servicio Social, but Martín

Gaite makes one specific reference that is significant. While outlining common problems of the *noviazgo*, Martín Gaite uses a metaphor in which women and men are in a battle, with women constantly playing the part of defense. In doing so, the author references what are essentially *dear Abby* columns: *los consultorios sentimentales*. Women would write in and ask questions regarding their boyfriends or their husbands and a common response was to learn to feign interest in what their male counterparts were doing – as opposed to actually having a relationship. However, as Martín Gaite explains, "Pero las jovencitas, atiborradas de tantalizer prédica sobre su propia insignificancia, estaban hartas de fingir comprensión y anhelaban sentirse comprendidas. Por eso escribían tanto a los consultorios sentimentales, cuando no tenían otro destinatario más tangible de quien echar mano" (185). Underlining her argument, Martín Gaite concludes that a main concern during the dictatorship was that men and women simply didn't know each other before marriage, and that often women lacked a space where they felt heard.

In a similar fashion to Martín Gaite, in an overview of female-based resistance during the late dictatorship and in specific reference to *los grupos informales de concienciación y de relaciones personales*, Mary Nash (2013) explains that until the 70s, "las mujeres no disponían de un espacio propio para hablar de su vida personal y de sus insatisfacciones personales. Tampoco podían romper los tabúes sociales con la crítica a la familia y al matrimonio" (149). These groups, per Nash, served as a base upon which further solidarity was formed – a solidarity necessary not only to encourage systemic change via a collective assertion that the private is political, but rather were the basis for more long-term, political change. Nash explains that "las mujeres eran activistas en los movimientos de oposición a la dictadura y protagonizaron la lucha antifranquista desde los distintos partidos políticos, sindicatos y asociaciones de vecinos en la clandestinidad a la vez que impulsaron la resistencia popular, cultura y política" (151). However, despite the various and specific examples provided by Nash, many academic studies,[14] which were also quite rigorous in nature, downplay or negate active female participation in such matters. Moreover, many studies on myth and the dictatorship that have previously been done, have completely ignored, or continue to ignore through omission, the fact that repression was gendered. Of course, the nature of academic scholarship is that it is constantly in evolution, and it is often easier to analyze the past from the vantage-point of the future, but much work has been done on the continued study of historical memory, and more has been undertaken recently on the Transition, but few analyze said problematics through a gendered lens.

Although I do ultimately agree that *gender* is a socio-historical construct, a quandary I will indeed address later, I also believe that an argument can still be made in favor of a gender-specific analysis of the past – and more specifically Spain's past. I am aware that focusing on female authors raises the question of *who is female* and serves to reinforce a binary that could, in fact, perpetuate a mythology of gender difference. Because the ultimate goal of contemporary gender studies is, or at least in my mind should be, to annihilate the perpetuation of binary concepts, my methodology could seem harmful. However, as I hope to prove, the best way to (de)mythify a myth is through the production of a new myth that is more holistic in nature – a process that requires a lived-experience of oppression. Whilst ally-ship is always welcome, the oppressed are the ones that should be able to (de)mythify their own oppression. In order to outline my argument in the context of this dissertation, I'll turn to the questions of authorship.

In his essay *The Death of the Author* (1967), Roland Barthes argues firmly against both the reading of a text in relation to its author, as well as against the trend within criticism to find an inherent truth or meaning via the *deciphering* of a text. According to Barthes, “the reader is the space on which all quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination” (316). If Barthes is correct, the critic has maintained the importance of the author so as to maintain the importance of the critic – ultimately closing off all attempts at readership outside the scope defined *by* the author *for* the critic. This aligns with the socio-political concerns regarding the appropriation of products as defined by Labrador Méndez and Moreno-Caballud in transitionary Spain. Analysis for intertextuality, or as Barthes notes a *deciphering* of the text, perpetuates a privatization of culture in order to empty it of its ability to critique. Culture, concurrently, is transformed it into a tool of stabilization.[15] Given Barthes’ approximation to a text and in the context of this dissertation, one could easily argue that any and all focus on specifically female playwrights and directors only serves to close the text to potential readership and therefore perpetuate a privatization of culture. Although this theory encodes nicely into the debates surrounding the Transition and the need to study culture more collectively, perhaps Barthes’ theory is contextually inaccurate.

Barthes believes that freeing the text from the grip of the author is to free it up for a more holistic analysis. For Barthes, the perpetuation of the author as a necessary entity in order to *decipher* a text meticulously centers the text – producing a singular readership. In ignoring the position of the author, the overall goal then becomes expanded readership. According to Barthes, the reader can interpret any meaning onto the text presented and therefore the text indeed becomes limitless. He contests that the reader is “without history, biography, psychology, he is simply that *someone* who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted” (316). But no reader is free from the systems that define their daily performances. Rather every identity is tainted by their lived experiences. All readers are subject to their socio-political status and, therefore, any given reader can only read as much as the systems that define them allow. Although I agree that there is a kinship between texts that allows them to be read alongside one another, suggesting that all readership be completely devoid of questions pertaining to authorship is to make assumptions that do not take into consideration the relationship between the peripheral and the center, and do not account for marginalized identities.

Similarly to Barthes, Umberto Eco explores the nature of intertextuality in his essay “*Casablanca*: Cult Movies and Intertextual Collage” (1985) and he analyzes how an audience reads a film culturally so that the film is transformed from a mere text to a cultural product that lives on in *cult form*. This transformation from text to cult is, as Eco describes, the ways in which the reading of a text can produce culture. Within his study, Eco inadvertently delineates between what he calls the conscious and unconscious intertextuality of the filmic system. According to Eco, the film *Casablanca* (1942) is transformed into a cult classic because it successfully and, more importantly, unconsciously manipulates *intertextual archetypes* that allow the viewer to both be fascinated by the plot as well as read into the character’s intentions via previous roles and films the spectator has consumed. Eco also explains that the evolution of the Hollywood film system into what has become a culture of the cult is due in large part to *postmodern* films that are consciously intertextual and that require the viewer to be literate not just of film, but of media in general. In this way, conscious intertextuality is produced by and serves to maintain systems of power as it relies on literacy. To be clear, this is not "actual" literacy of course, but rather literacy as defined by one's ability to understand what is being presented as culturally significant –to read a film culturally. Literacy in this sense requires a form of cultural competence which therefore requires social capital – power. In this way, literacy is dependent upon the reader's access to power. So, to produce conscious intertextual links is, essentially, to require a certain level or type of readership.

Per Eco, rather than waste time deconstructing consciously intertextual films, he is specifically interested films that are *disjointed* – the films that *unconsciously* achieve intertextual links due to their lack of authorship. In this way, intertextuality can only be successful if and when readers detach authorship from their reading: "works are created by works, texts are created by texts, and all together they speak to and with one another independently of the intentions of their authors" (4). If a text is free of authorial intentionality, then it is nothing more than a byproduct of culture. Although I agree outwardly with Barthes and Eco's sentiments that an unlimited or open text[16] is dependent upon readership, I question whether or not every consideration for authorship is, in fact, an direct analysis of intentionality. To clarify, if every reader approaches a text differently, can the same not be said of authors? Is there no way to take into account the author's position within a given socio-political system without inherently relegating the analysis to their intentions? Could the author not become another potential reader? Most importantly, what is the relationship between a privileged reader and a marginalized author?

In taking into consideration the fact that no individual is free from the systems that define their quotidian performances or choices, then readers and authors alike are defined by their ability to access power within a given socio-political climate and therefore have varying degrees of literacy. The ways in which an individual would approach a text is defined by their literacy which is, in turn, dependent upon their access to power – which varies given ones degree of oppression or marginalization. For example, the female reader/author is bound by the socio-political archetypes that define her performances. As a marginalized identity, she can only approach the normalized center via the roads open to her – she is defined by the binaries that seek to contain her. In this way, any conscious or unconscious intertextuality that she commands in the reading/writing process is a byproduct of those limitations. She is not *free* to read or write in her own way, but rather is a product of her lived experiences. For her, a window will always be a symbol that serves to confine and separate insofar as, historically, her only option has been to *look out* of the window. [17] Her lived-experiences defines her ability to read and to write a text. More importantly, could the male reader who is not defined by his position in relation to the window, be able to read the female author's experience? If not, does that mean it no longer serves as an important aspect of the text? Does the decision that the marginalized author's position within the text not matter in comparison to the normalized reader not only serve to perpetuate a system that ignores the marginalized reality?

If all texts are only products of other texts, then any potential readership is limited to the hitherto homogenized representations perpetuated by the Western cannon. Because the ability to produce a text is dependent upon one's social capital, a capital often denied to marginalized identities, then the only texts that could produce each other would be ones that perpetuate the normalized agenda of the given socio-political climate in which they are produced. Not only does this assumption negate the very existence of countercultural texts, but rather it ignores the deficit of representation that *still* exist within marginalized communities. If Barthes and Eco are correct in assuming that authorship is merely an inconsequential strategy to readership, then perhaps it is because they themselves are privileged enough to be able to read and write freely – this does not hold true for marginalized identities. However, in considering Eco's limited definition of *unconscious* intertextuality, I believe there is indeed a path towards the un-problematic incorporation of authorship.

According to Eco's analysis of the film *Casablanca*, the *unconscious* intertextual references come directly from a bevy of individual decisions, in all levels of production, that were inspired by past roles and archetypes that these individuals had once encountered. Although Eco takes this to mean that the text has no author, I take it to mean that the text has *multiple* authors – and that each one draws from their own personal form of literacy in order to make intertextual links. The text is then shaped by the literacy of all potential readers and authors including the traditional concepts offered to authorship. To be clear, I believe that any suggestion that the author of a text is irrelevant or that readership should discount the varying degree of social capital that an author could or could not hold, is harmful. I do not necessarily interpret an analysis of authorship as an immediate jump to an analysis of intentionality, but rather as a way to take the author's readership into consideration. This becomes more apparent when dealing with marginalized authors. Flat-out, ignoring the author's lived experience as relevant to their product ignores a possible reading of the text. Furthermore, if and when said author is of a marginalized identity, ignoring that lived experience as relevant is a form of re-marginalization.

To clarify, Barthes and Eco concur that the author's originality is merely an intertextual byproduct of their lived experience and therefore should only be considered as a textual strategy that is not important to the reading of a text. However, because the marginalized author has a lived experience that only exists within the pre-established binaries set for them, their position as author *must* remain important. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argued in her article "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988), the 'normalized' reader disguised as the marginalized *self* could never really read limitlessly, as they have never been oppressed systematically and would therefore miss the intertextualities presented by marginalized authors.[18] To suggest otherwise is to ignore the "contradiction within a position that valorizes the concrete experience of the oppressed, while being so uncritical about the historical role of the intellectual" (275). In order to truly be limitless, the text must be analyzed from all perspectives, which means the reader *must* take into account the author's marginalization.

In no way am I trying to suggest that there are not inherent definitions that also seek to limit the male reader and/or author. If anything, the nuanced ways in which an individual can be inter-sectionally marginalized only serves to disprove Barthes and Eco's supposition that a text could ever be limitless via just readership. Moreover, I will also concede that only taking into consideration the authorship of a text is inherently dangerous insofar as certain texts reach certain audiences regardless of the author's sometimes malintent. However, within the scope and for the purpose of my study, I am focusing on the perpetuation of *gender-mythology* within Spanish institutions of power, and am therefore concerned primarily with the male/female binary – especially because the sis the binary perpetuated by the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of teh regime. More specifically, I am concerned with the perpetuation of sexist rhetoric within the field of memory studies and the continued negation of female histories through both the active discrediting as well as the passive omission of the female voice.

In this way, if I seek to study the ways in which the female identity of the Transition navigated the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the dictatorship, the question is not why all women, but rather, why not? Although *surrogate histories* are not representative of all women, they do serve to analyze the ways in which femininity, as a construct, was manipulated by the regime to serve a socio-political agenda. Through the creation of myths that build archetypes of femininity, the *Franco-female* was targeted specifically in the construction and perpetuation of nationality during the dictatorship. These myths defined the potentiality of women in the social sphere and, in this way, the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime not only permeated everyday exchanges but rather was shaped by them as well – quotidian experiences that are systemic and therefore require a lived-experience. By analyzing the myths that were created specifically through female authorship, the direct goal is to both deconstruct the systemic use of the *Franco-female* as well as to question the daily experiences that continue to be defined by that mythology. Indirectly, by focusing on female histories through a lens of continuity, the more elaborate goal would be to create a feminist heritage. Because as momentous and historical events or movements often focus on male-centered history, women's histories can often be reflected in what *continues* as opposed to what *changes*. In turn, a *surrogate history*'s unique perspective that connects past / present pasts / present / future serves as a means to study continuity. Furthermore, in light of current scholarship pertaining to transitionary Spain, there is perhaps another benefit to an investigation based solely on products of female authorship.

1.5 *Surrogate histories*: a countercultural strategy

I quoted from Falcón earlier who stated that defining the time period known as "the Transition" is difficult insofar as it depends mostly on the ideological perspective of the speaker. Falcón specifically referenced the end of the Transition as problematic, but there is also much debate surrounding when the Transition actually began. Regardless of whatever the specific dates actually are, the decades of the Transition serve as the beam on the balance scale that separates past and present Spain. Although I'll be dealing more closely with the Transition in the following chapter, I'd like to provide some brief context regarding contemporary debates both to begin to explain why *surrogate histories* in Spain are a development specifically of the Transition. I'll also elaborate on why specifically studying female-authored cultural products of this time in Spain's history is relevant.

In her sociological study *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (2002), Paloma Aguilar analyzes how the regime used the traumatic memories of the past, with specific emphasis on the failures of the Second Republic and the traumas of the Civil War, as a means to legitimize its power. In this way, the decisions made during the Transition from dictatorship to democracy were built around lingering fears and traumas of the past, as well as the desire to not repeat the same mistakes. Although some scholars argue that it was a process of *aprendizaje*,[19] the fact remains that the laws and policies that were implemented during the Transition, the very constitution that helped shape the democracy, were all influenced directly by the lived-experiences of the dictatorship. In this way, contemporary discussions of policy or memory often revert back to the laws enacted during the Transition - with the most notable being the Amnesty Law of 1977[20]. Centering my investigation on the myths of the *Franco-female* around female-authorship specifically of the Transition not only seems appropriate but rather necessary. This decision becomes even more apparent when analyzed within the context of scholarship surrounding opposition culture.

In his article "Social and Economic Change in a Climate of Political Immobilism" (1995), Borja de Riquer i Permanyer weighs in on the political and social changes during last two decades of the dictatorship in order to outline a perfect storm of events that lead to sweeping change. As de Riquer illustrates, "this radical economic turnaround and social modernization should not be attributed to any inspired policy on the part of the dictatorship, but rather should be seen as the consequence of pressures and conditions at home and abroad, beyond the control of the Francoist authorities" (259). In terms of the economic development, the dictatorship owes a large part of its growth to the Red Scare of the Cold War. The Stabilization Plan of 1959 ended the stunted policies of the Spanish autarky and laid a path for foreign investment. Per de Riquer, "Backed by the World Bank, the OECD, and the IMF, foreign and domestic trading was liberalized, and a policy aimed at attracting foreign investment was implemented" (260). Essentially, the confluence of international support and recognition helped to provide economic stability and therefore served to legitimate the regime's power. As de Riquer explains, there were still class inequalities that would build the foundations for future economic crisis, however, the radical migrations of Spaniards within Spain lead to the construction of new urban centers throughout the country. The result was the construction of both a new middle class "made up of professionals and technicians with university qualifications, who acted as managers or qualified administrators in the financial and service sectors" as well as a new working class "made up of young people, largely of rural origins, with few professional qualifications and little trade union or political background, living. In the dormitory suburbs of the large metropolitan areas and working in the new industries or the service sector" (264-5). In turn, the economic growth via the end of the Spanish autarky, and the subsequent internationalization of Spain, provided a space for social growth.

With the liberalization of the market and foreign investment came of course more modernization. Throughout the dictatorship, black market propaganda and culture flowed in from outside of Spain, but possession of such materials meant risking severe punishment from the regime. With the rapid expansion of mass culture however, Spaniards became voracious consumers of media and effectively "passed from high levels of functional illiteracy to TV saturation without passing through intermediate states of cultural development" (265). Despite foreign influence, the regime still tried to control a large majority of the media consumed by the population and negotiate the liberalization of the culture with the same rules, however often not succeeding in their attempts. Enter opposition – or perhaps just welcome back to the limelight. It is important to note that although much of this dissertation centers on the successful manipulation of a *nationalized-gender-mythology*, that in no way am I negating the continued presence of opposition throughout much of the dictatorship. Put very simply, if there wasn't a constant stream of opposition, however slight or underground it may have been, there would be little need for constant repression and censorship. It is exactly this point to which many debates refer surrounding the beginning of the Transition – at what point does opposition culture become an official culture of Transition towards democracy?

As Labrador Méndez proposes in his book *Culpables por la literatura* (2017) the process towards democratization was a long and hard-earned battle that began well before the death of a dictator in 1975. In describing the terms and goals of his extensive and impressive undertaking, Labrador Méndez explains: "la materia de este libro son *las formas democráticas de la imaginación política*, es decir, las capacidades de las personas de imaginar un mundo de relaciones humanas cooperativas usando *formas* para ello… [.] Juntas forman una colectividad compleja que se expresaba a través de una vibrante cultura de oposición y cambio donde participaron varias generaciones de jóvenes entre mayo de 1968 y el referéndum de 1986" (14). Although I will not necessarily adopt Labrador Méndez's dates, mainly because the purpose of my study is not to outline the limits of the Transition or its culture, I will adopt his assumptions in regard to opposition. Opposition culture, in principal, pushes forward and has historically been used to reclaim intellectual space in the name of inclusivity. But of course, official discourse(s) always manage to push back. As Labrador Méndez notes in his explanation of *los limites de la libertad*, "el poder soberano de un estado (en este caso, el posfranquista) se basa en el ejercicio punitivo de la violencia a través de sus prisones: el *todos* de los jóvenes vallecanos nos plantea que la democracia consiste en reconocer la existencia de esa dominación para aprender a resistirla" (18). In this way, Labrador Méndez's book outlines collective forms of opposition both in analysis and in practice, and it is successful (de)mythifying any supposed pacts of the Transition, to which I promise we will return. The take-away, at this point, is that there *was* opposition culture, and it was collectively constructed – an important step forward.

In the article "'Todo el año es Carnaval': tradiciones populares y contracultura en la transición" (2014) Moreno-Caballud analyzes a trend in the decades of transitionary Spain that suggests the presence of a countercultural movement reimagining past traditions and cultures via avant-guard and underground youth movements. Per Moreno-Caballud, this trend and/or movement could actually be considered countercultural towards "la generalizada despolitización, mercantilización y espectacularización de La Movida" (102) which is the current official discourse of transitionary Spanish culture that, per Guillem Martínez (2016), has often been coopted by the state as a means to individualize or even privatize culture into products of institutions. Moreno-Caballud explains that:

> La apropiación contracultural de la tradición popular lleva además al extrema esa mutación de las identidades, al convertir el carnval en forma de vida perennial del individual moderno, más allá de lo que era una transgresión ritualizada de comunidades tradicionales que después volvían a su normalidad. La contracultura propone algo tremendamente desestabilizador: 'todo el año es carnaval'. Tan sólo la mercantilización postmoderna, ya hacia mediados de los 80 será capaz de domesticar esa mezcla salvaje de tradición y vanguardia que por unos años creó un importante caldo de cultivo para una cultura popular 'agro-urbano' en el estado español, de la que queda hoy poca memoria. (102)

Much in the same way that Moreno-Caballud suggests that a quotidian and seemingly perpetual meshing of both a *return* to the past as well as an *innovative* present can be a destabilizing, countercultural tool, I argue that *surrogate histories* appropriate more traditionalized representations of womanhood via *surrogacy* and juxtapose them against a *new myth* – a myth that outlines more holistic forms of femininity that track with modernist concerns for present futures. Does that mean we can consider *surrogate histories* a countercultural strategy of the Transition as well?

Moreno-Caballud concludes that through the structuring of *la fiesta popular* and *carnaval* as everyday occurrences, “le permiten al individuo moderno ir modelando su subjetividad de forma autónoma, liberándose de aquellos rasgos de su personalidad que no le gustan y sustituyéndolos por otros” (119). Although it’s true that he mostly cites collectivized and specifically performative representations of culture, I wonder if *surrogate histories* are not also qualified – especially when it comes to liberating women specifically from the myths of the the *Franco-female*. In fact, as Mary Nash (2013) has outlined, because women played a key role in collective forms of opposition, perhaps they are *uniquely* qualified:

> Las mujeres anónimas de los barrios populares periféricos participaban en masa en las protestas sociales. Se movilizaban en relación con su papel tradicional de responsables de la familia, en defensa de los derechos de los suyos y el bienestar de su comunidad. De hecho, la acción reivindicativa vecinal fue impulsada en gran parte por mujeres que vivían las consecuencias directas de la carencia de equipamientos en su vida cotidiana e impulsaban un movimiento de bienestar comunitario. Ocupaban las calles y hacían manifestaciones y peticiones para lograr servicios públicos básicos, calles asaltadas e iluminadas, semáforos y una vivienda digna. Se movilizaban para disponer de plazas, mercados, ambulatorios, escuelas, transportes públicos, y el fin de la especulación urbanística. Frente a la dureza de las condiciones de vida en los barrios periféricos, desde la resistencia vecinal reclamaba la dignidad de su comunidad y protestaban contra la carestía de vida. Asentaron prácticas solidarias de recogida de dinero y recursos para los trabajadores encarcelados de empresas de sus barrios. Fomentaban redes de solidaridad comunitaria y defendían sus derechos a una ciudad habitable. (155)

So, it would seem that studying women, and even only women, via their everyday struggles and opposition could indeed be an applicable form of counterculture. Moreover, because a study of *surrogate histories* is ultimately the analysis of a narratorial and a performative strategy towards (de)mythification, I argue that they are perhaps closer than they appear to the types of culture we *should* be studying – per Moreno-Caballud and

Labrador Méndez's earlier arguments. In fact, given that female authorship within both the fields of film and theatre has been historically an uphill battle, [21] could choosing to analyze cultural products written and/or directed by women during the Transition becomes in and of itself a form of counterculture?

1.6 *Surrogate histories*: center stage/screen

Although the goal of my dissertation is not to elaborate on the ways in which women have been excluded from the film and theatre industries, I do think that said exclusion is an important factor that serves to answer to many of my overarching questions – especially when coupled with the fact that their participation in those industries grew to prominence during the decades of the Transition. Why only women? Because the oppressed should be the ones allowed to speak about their oppression – especially when they continue to be oppressed. Why cultural products? Because there is a deficit of information regarding systemic gender violence. Unfortunately, or not, much of what is left after this deficit are the individual products of the state and there is a backlog of products that could/should be studied. Why the Transition? Because the myths pertaining to the *Franco-female*, myths that should have been overhauled –or at the very least discussed– during the Transition to democracy were capitalized upon in order to at best stabilize a sense of peace and at worst perpetuate a hitherto unbroken line of objectification. Many of these answers were discussed in my introduction, but I will elaborate upon all of them in the chapters that follow.

In the second chapter of this dissertation, my ultimate goal is to define *surrogate histories*, both theoretically and contextually, and to discuss how they serve to (de)mythify the lingering myths of Franco Spain - most notably those pertaining to the *Franco-female*. In order to undertake said task, I face the following problems:

- the myths of the *Franco-female* are directly tied to the concept of *nationhood* within the Franco Spain
- the relationship between *myth*, *nation* and *gender* is both cyclical as well as parasitic and therefore difficult to analyze efficiently
- the historical context of transitionary Spain problematizes any contemporary attempt to (de)mythify the past

All of these aforementioned realties make it inherently difficult to define *surrogate histories*. Therefore, in order to fully comprehend their nature, we must answer the following overarching questions: what is a myth?; how does it interact with nation and gender?; what are the potential dangers of myth-construction?; what are the myths constructed within Franco Spain?; how are said myths gendered?; how are myths deconstructed?; how do the problematics of myth deconstruction overlap with the socio-political context of transitionary Spain?

Before and in order to tackle these research questions, I will first provide context for the various assumptions I have made while defining *surrogate histories* and their importance. In that vein, in much of the second chapter, I will be pulling primarily from canonical behemoths in their respective fields. Obviously there are some overarching research questions that will require a more nuanced, in-depth analysis but, due to the limited nature and scope of my study, some parts of my analysis will only pull from well-known authors and theories as the necessary work to validate and substantiate their research has already been done. From there, I will focus on how the concepts I've presented interact and are contextualized within Spain – first during the dictatorship and then during the Transition.

In the third chapter, I will elaborate one of ways in which female playwrights and directors of the Transition utilized *surrogacy* in order to circumnavigate the problematics of the Transition and construct trauma narratives that helped to conceptualize their past – in essence, one cohort of *surrogate histories*. As means of evidence, I am analyzing the film *La petición* (1976) directed by Pilar Miró as well as four monologues written (but not staged) between 1986 and 1987 by Pilar Pombo. Each section will focus on one step of the (de)mythification process. First, I will outline how the *surrogacy* can be defined in relation to the n*ationalized-gender-mythology* perpetuated by the regime in order to revisit or reference directly medieval Spain via namesakes. Although seemingly shallow in weight as far as a connection to the past is concerned, the intertextuality implemented to tie these characters to a mythologized past is significant. Moving on, I will explain the ways in which the *histories* presented have been adapted to make space for a more radicalized form of femininity and therefore succeed in creating a new myth. This new myth is presented both performatively as well as narratively via the female protagonists' agency. Finally, I will analyze the techniques used in order to juxtapose the two myths against one another and therefore deconstruct the myth-making process. All of these elements combined allows for a means to (de)mythify the limits of the *Franco-female*.

In my conclusion, I will elaborate on some of the *un-definitions* I outlined earlier on in this introduction. I will outline any potential limitations of my dissertation as well as how my dissertation interacts with the current scholarship that pertains to my area of research. Moreover, I will briefly discuss other cohorts of *surrogate histories* that were left out of this dissertation but that will serve as future chapters of evidence. Finally, because the cultural products I am analyzing were written/produced in the past, I will also spend some time in the conclusion addressing any potentially dangerous viewpoints that the products I've chosen seemingly glorify and that could perhaps hinder my overall agenda.

CHAPTER 2

SURROGATE HISTORIES – CONCEPTS, REALITIES, AND PATHWAYS

2.1 Theorizing Concepts

In principle *surrogate histories* are cultural products that were constructed, consciously or unconsciously, as a trauma response to the mythologized past of the *Franco-female*. The myths that they seek to (de)mythify are those constructed by the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the Franco regime and which have perpetuated well into the democracy. Analytically, *surrogate histories* can be defined both by their *surrogacy*, the use of thematic difference with contextual closeness necessitated by the socio-political context of the Transition, as well as by the *histories* appropriated specifically for their direct relation to the myths of the *Franco-female*. The goal of *surrogate histories* is to negotiate with a traumatic past in order to deconstruct and therefore (de)mythify the daily performances constructed by the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the dictatorship that served to define what it meant *to be female*. Although seemingly complex, the process will make more sense once I have analyzed *surrogate histories* more thoroughly.

If we consider them more holistically, the primary goal of *surrogate histories* is to deconstruct myths that seek to demarcate marginalized, female identities, with specific preference given to those myths pertaining to female identities manipulated by systems of power in Spain. Given that caveat, it only seems logical to begin with an overview of the assumptions and theories I have used pertaining to myth-construction. Concurrently, because *surrogate histories* are by-products of female identity construction under an authoritative regime,[22] I also think it wise to target our analysis of myth-making so as to include the intersections said process shares with nation-building and gender-definition. Therefore, we will begin with broad questions pertaining to myths, and then tailor our analysis further in order to detail the ways in which myth-making pertains specifically to nation-building as well as gender definition. From there, we can contextualize the discussion to Spain specifically. Although each step of this process engenders its own sub-genre of questions that on their own provoke a slew of separate yet related quandaries, the overall goal remains the same - deconstructing the myth-making process and carving a path towards defining *surrogate histories*.

2.1.1 Myths

What is a *myth*?[23] How do myths function as tools of nations? Moreover, how are nations composed of myths? In his study *Mythologies*, originally published in French in 1957, Roland Barthes analyzes the myth-making process first semiotically and then in relation to ideology. Barthes describes a myth as a form of speech. Anything can become a myth as it is a type of speech made from material language that already exists and has meaning. In order to clarify this point, Barthes describes myth as a *second order semiological system* within another semiological system; in which the former is staggered in relation to the later. In very basic terms, a semiological system is made up of a sign, a signifier and a signified. As Ferdinand De Saussure (1966) notes, “The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound-image. The latter is not the material sound, a purely physical thing, but the psychological imprint of the sound, the impression that it makes on your senses” (66). Saussure defines these first as concept and sound-image, but later as signified and signifier, respectively (Figure 1).

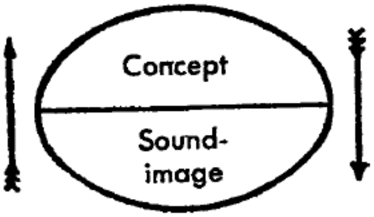

Figure 1: Visualization of the relationship between signified and signifier. (Saussure, 66)

In essence, the sign is the combination of both the signifier (the phonetic sound or in Barthes' model the image it makes on paper), and a signified (the mental concept - what the viewer thinks when they see or hear the signifier). To give an example that fits with Barthes' model, we see an apple on paper, and we imagine what it means – i.e. health, fitness, teacher's pet, computer, temptation. As Saussure explains, "the bond between the signifier and signified is arbitrary" (67) insofar as my definitions of apple, for example, were dependent upon my conditioning. In this way, language is inevitably social and therefore mutable (77). The myth system takes a given sign and empties it of its signified so that all that is left is the signifier or, for Barthes, the image. This leftover imagery then gets a new signified thrust onto it which Barthes calls a *concept*. The new, secondary semiological myth-system is then defined by a new sign entirely - which Barthes calls a *signification*.

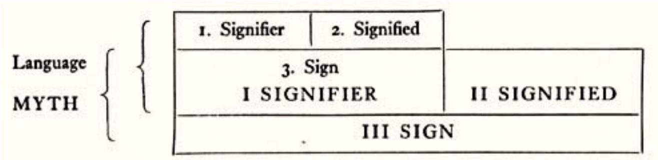

Figure 2: Visualization of Barthes' concept of myth as a semiological system (Barthes, 115)

As we see in the model (Figure 2), the original sign maintains its signifier but has been emptied of its signified. The original sign (now an image without meaning) is then manipulated into becoming the signifier for the myth-system, and a new signified (the concept) can be placed onto it. The first semiological system is at service to the new myth-system.

The most important part of this process, as Barthes notes, is that the original semiological system does not get stripped of its meaning entirely - that is impossible. For instance, we'd still see an apple and think of those social experiences, but we would also associate it with the new concepts created during the myth-making process. The original meaning is diminished, but not wholly forgotten. Moreover, by retaining some semblance of the original meaning from the first semiological system, the myth-system becomes naturalized. We, the myth-consumer, accept the originality of the first semiological system and therefore read the new version as a natural order. We are more likely to accept the myth as a whole because its foundations are true to us - we have a personal experience with them which means we perceive them as true. Furthermore, as the myths evolve or change, the normalization of said original myth is transformed into an integral part of the entire structure. But, to be clear, Barthes assures us that no myth is natural or everlasting, but rather that they are products of history; they are constructs at service to a given task (110). Therefore, to study a *myth* is not to study the object itself but rather the ways in which the object has been manipulated out of its original context. In the context of this study, I am mostly concerned with how nations are both made of myths and therefore imagined, as well as how myths are used as tools of nations to build a sense of shared history. But, because they are products of their given social context, myths in the service of nationhood are often mediated through the prism of other dichotomies, most notably, gender definition – but more on that latter.

2.1.2 Nations

What is a *nation*? [24] How are they formed? I suppose a more useful question would be, how does the term nation differ from other forms of identity construction. Especially given that, when considering nation or even *nationhood*, what we are essentially arguing is identity construction on a collective level. When we think about a given nation and its history, it is easy to contextualize it in relation to other nations, but the idea of statehood is relatively new. Most recently, give or take a century or two (Anderson), the rise of nationhood as a a form of self-definition has only taken hold due to increased attempts to demarcate identity markers on a spectrum of nationalism. The truth of the matter, summarized here by Geoff Andrews and Michael Saward (2013), is that in defining the term nation, it is often done from a contemporary, Western point of view - insofar as there are currently nations that are still in the process of defining themselves. Nations are, in essence, living entities that are constantly being defined and (re)defined both by larger systems of power as well as by individuals themselves. Andrews and Saward objectively define nation as "a group of people which possesses a shared and distinct, historically persistent cultural identity, and which makes up a majority within a given territorial area" (9) as a means to dialogue with the question of whether or not an individual needs to be aware that they form a part of said nation, of said community. But, aren't all communities, ultimately, imagined?

Following Benedict Anderson's theory from *Imagined Communities* (1983), a nation "is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). The danger, according to Anderson, in defining a nation is that it is both constantly in definition as well as completely defined. It has borders, it has sovereign power, and most notably there is a general sense of belonging that defines not only the individual but rather the individual within the context of the whole. Nations are *limited* insofar as no community is expansive and all-encompassing. For instance, members do not know and interact with every other member of said nationhood. Despite said limitations, nations are also *sovereign* inasmuch as they believe themselves to be free by wholly acknowledging and accepting their shared commonalities (6). In this way, nations are constructed and defined - they are not a natural byproduct of humanity. Indeed, in outlining the historical context for the development and sovereignty of nationhood, Anderson thoroughly contextualizes the systems of power that ebbed and flowed to allow for the construction of nationhood. The development of linguistic capital, the rise of absolute secularism, and more recently the creation of a shared history from which modern nations can draw shared human experience. As Anderson explains the evolution of nationhood in a more complex and colonized world, he frequently narrows his focus and highlights the backlog of historical and imperial reference from which contemporary nations draw their commonalities, and upon which they often define their sovereignty. At a time when nations are becoming more and more heterogeneous in terms of linguistic variance and religious freedom, a degree of share commonalities is crucial to nation-building, and there in-lies the task of myth.

2.1.3 Myths & Nations

The symbiotic relationship between *myth* and *nation* has been broadly studied insofar as said relationship is not unique to nations. The construction of an identity is cemented upon the construction and perpetuation of commonalities. As Anderson himself notes, even though a nation is *limited* insofar as members do not know and interact with every other member of a nation, they acknowledge and accept the commonalities between them regardless - with the most basic of those being a shared history. If the construction of a nationhood is inextricably linked to its shared history - how do members collectively access their shared history? Or rather, do members have a shared memory of the past?

Famously studied by Maurice Halbwachs, [25] collective memory was a complex theory developed in order to better understand individual memory in relation to society and community – read, nationhood. Halbwachs study of collective memory is a seminal text insofar as it is the groundwork for many studies pertaining to memory. Halbwachs' primary influences are social and political phenomena in the early twentieth-century concerned with the unification and standardization of both time and space (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, 16). Halbwachs, reading this shift in modernized civilizations, developed a theory of collective memory in which he states that an individual's memory is not individual at all, insofar as it is shaped by the society/community in which the individual resides - by the collectives to which an individual belongs. Halbwachs divides memory into two categories: autobiographical memory which relates to things an individual has lived through or that has shaped their life in some way, as well as historical memory which are events in the past that communities have memorialized in order to define the identity of that community. According to Halbwachs, "The difference between remembrances we evoke at will and remembrances we seem to command no longer is merely a matter of degree of complexity. The former [remembrances at will] are always at hand because they are preserved in groups that we enter at will and collective thoughts to which we remain closely related. The elements of these remembrances and their relationships are all familiar to us. The latter [remembrances we no longer command] are less accessible because the groups that carry them are more remote and intermittent in contact with us" (141). Halbwachs' categorization of remembrances presupposes a public space in which a collectivity has the ability to make sense of its past and ultimately preserve a sense of history through memory. Quoting Olick et al., "Groups provide us the stimulus or opportunity to recall; they also shape the ways in which we do so, and often provide the materials" (19). In essence, memory is a process of construction and it occurs in the present, while you are thinking and interacting with a collective. Because you remember in the moment, memory has nothing to do with actually remembering your past, but rather reconstructing that past in the context of your present. Having this collective memory (otherwise read as a heritage) allows individuals the ability and accessibility to construct their present and future identity from a shared past. The shared past can then be used as a means for nationhood.

Although more contemporary studies pertaining to memory have veered off slightly from the *collective*, the concept of memory construction in response to personal experience and outside stimulus seems to remain a constant. Marianne Hirsch, in her essay "The Generation of Postmemory" (2008), questions both the memory process as well as the nuanced understanding of collective memory and trauma. Hirsch analyzes the generations following the Holocaust whose lives were formed by a traumatic past that they themselves did not live and is preoccupied by the transmission of memory. For Hirsch, "Postmemory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affective lay as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory's connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation" (106-7). It is the emphasis on transmission and materiality that makes Hirsch's work so important as it not only problematizes the inherent lack of transmission between generations that have been affected by trauma, but rather it advocates for constructed memory and purposefully situates memory construction through cultural materiality.

Concurrently, Aleida Assmann (2008) analyzes *cultural memory* on a spectrum of *remembering* and *forgetting* to only divide them even further between *active* and *passive*. Focusing on remembering here, Assmann defines *active remembering* as *canon* and outlines a formula in which religious artifacts, works of art, and narratives are continuously performed so as to create an ongoing sense of collectivity amongst both individuals as well as the public - as seen through their immediate recognition and the reverence often paid to such tokens. At the opposite side of the spectrum, Assmann outlines a generalized definition of the *archive* as *passive remembering* insofar as they are stored texts that are deemed important (and hence not destroyed) but of little importance to the grand scale of cultural memory. The interesting twist is the further demarcation of the *archive* into the *political archive* (that which institutions use as legitimating factors for their own power) and the *historical archive* (relics that are no longer of use to institutions of power and which can/need to be placed into new contexts). Most notably, Assmann notes that "As part of the passive dimension of cultural memory, however, the knowledge that is stored in the archive is inert. It is stored and potentially available, but it is not interpreted. This would exceed the competence of the archivist. It is the task of others such as the academic researcher or the artist to examine the contents of the archive and to reclaim the information by framing it within a new context" (103). Assmann's entire theory is predisposed to the work of previous scholars in terms of *collective memory* and not only acknowledges the outright construction of memory, but rather does so by giving special focus to the distinction between institutional construction and individual participation in said construction. Herein lies the inherent tie between Anderson's understanding of *nationhood*, canonical and contemporary theories pertaining to individuals and their relationship to *collective/cultural memories*, as well as my understanding of that symbiotic process going forward. To be clear, nations are both constructed by as well as employ collective/cultural memory of their shared past – their *nationhood*. As Assmann and Hirsch agree, this construction is a performance that is mostly achieved through the aid of material. Furthermore, Assmann's theory suggests that certain material is more important than other.

In response to a philosophical, western shift towards memory studies, Pierre Nora outlines the fundamental difference between history and memory in his work "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire" (1989). According to Nora, there are *sites of memory* mainly due to the lack of *environments of memory* (7). He differentiates between the two by linking the separation to the growing democratization of nations and notes that it is directly related to collective identity construction through a shared heritage. Nora explains that the *lieux de mémoire* occur at a time of societal unrest, a time when memory disappears. According to Nora, "This period sees, on the one hand, the decisive deepening of historical study and, on the other hand, a heritage consolidated"

(12). In short, the connectivity and availability of media and a written record of the past has *accelerated history* and forced a separation of personal memory from that which is socially perpetuated and constructed by *forgetful nations* (8).[26] Nora argues that societies that are constantly diversifying themselves often create *sites of memory* in order to solidify their own history – their own nationhood. The problem of course is that these *sites of memory* are constructed memories and therefore not necessarily objective or truthful in nature - what Barthes would call, a myth. Furthermore, the construction of these material *sites of memory* invokes a need to produce more and more of them, because everyone must be represented. In this way, the *site of memory* is eroding actual memories and depersonalizing history. Essentially, because elite power systems have created so many *sites of memory* that pertain to very specific national identities, the only way to approximate some sense of equality within these nations and communities is to further commodify memory – or so it would seem. Ignoring the inherent flaw in Nora's assumption that more *spontaneous*, less constructed and therefore inherently true memories exist, the problematic aspects of *sites of memory* as seen through the eyes of Nora are exactly the same types of dangers associated with the relationship between *myth* and *nation*.

At what point does the myth-making process erode actual history/memory? At what point is the myth so utterly naturalized that it seems, dare I say it, *normal*? Let me clarify. Despite the fact that all memories are inherently material constructs in and of themselves, what happens when collective memories have been so thoroughly mythologized that they then are transformed into *official discourse*? Furthermore, what are the consequences of only perpetuating and normalizing myths that specifically pertain to a very limited national identity/history? This can be best understood by revisiting the division Assmann makes between both *active* and *passive, forgetting* and *remembering*.

Assmann argues that *forgetting* is a natural part of any type of social construct and, over time, it is the way in which societies and individuals transform. However, Assmann admits that *active forgetting* can be dangerous when it is thrust upon a minority culture - when the process is not optional and is formatted on an *us*/*them* binary. Contrarily, Assmann divides *remembering* into two distinct but related categories: *active* and *passive* that can best be summarized, as Assmann herself explains, by the museum. Assmann writes, "The museum presents its prestigious objects to the viewer in representative shows which are arranged to catch attention and make a lasting impression. The same museum also houses storerooms stuffed with other paintings and objects in peripheral spaces such as cellars or attics which are not publicly presented" (98). In this way, she distinguishes the *active* memory as *canon* and the *passive* memory as *archive*. In terms of myth-making and its relation to nation-building, there is a tension, or rather a delicate duality, between *active*/*passive forgetting* as well as *active*/*passive remembering*. The decisions as to what material is remembered and what material is forgotten are the founding questions concerning the construction of *nationhood*.

In her work *Precarious Life* (2004) Judith Butler[27] expounds on the nuances of identity and nationalism in a growing and globalized world in order to ultimately question the levels of violence any given nation can knowingly and consciously commit upon another - or rather that one life can impose upon another. In doing so, Butler provides very real examples of myth-making in a contemporary, globalized, capitalist-driven democracy. In questioning the levels of trauma and grief constructed following the attacks of 9/11, Butler touches upon myths that engage in *active* and *passive forgetting*, as well as *active* and *passive remembering*. In essence, as Butler mentions, the decision to grieve a life or not is constructed for us through either the deliberate repetition or censorship of images, rituals, and/or general critique within consumed media.[28] The balance between what is shown and what is not shown is directly related to the ways in which we construct which lives are worth saving versus those that are able to be sacrificed for the good of the nation. Each image selected is a myth in action. The *face of the enemy* is a sign all its own, with its own signifier and signified, but it has been coopted in the service to national identity and emptied of its original meaning so that a new signified, *evil*, can be codified onto the image. In this way it is *active forgetting* insofar as the identity of the face is now associated with *the other*. The soldier's coffin, shrouded in the US flag, surrounded by family and lowered to the sound of gunfire is another image appropriated. It too is a sign with its very own signifier and signified, but it has been coopted in service to national identity, and emptied of its original meaning so that a new signified, *the fallen hero who must be avenged*, can be codified onto the image - a perfect example of *active remembering*. Furthermore, the balance between what was seen/not seen has been divided on a preexisting dichotomy of good versus evil. But the nature of myth supersedes mere imagery.

In reference to the ways in which criticism is received in the public sphere, Butler's study demonstrates that both the censoring of criticism as well as the discrediting of critics all function as myths. As Butler explains, the rise of rationalism concerning the attacks was in direct correlation to a rise in critique of said rationale. The media struck back by branding critics with specific terminology that referenced notorious outliers and traitors within the context of a shared US history (xiii). Henceforth, through the implementation of *passive remembering* (calling on a collectivized archive), all critics were immediately mythologized as traitors and therefore their critique was discredited or, dare I say it, they were branded as perpetuators of *fake news*. Moreover, the branding of their criticism within a preconceived historical dichotomy[29] served to reinforce the legitimacy of the US vengeance insofar as it called upon pre-established myths of the past – stirring up sentiments that were already well-established within the constructs of patriotism. For the nature of myth in the service of nationhood is to evolve parasitically – a process in which new myths feed off of old ones. In this way, some 20 years after 9/11, the US has undergone what Assmann calls *passive forgetting* insofar as all the myths implemented during a time of immense fear are now being portrayed as a normal way of life - a social reset of sorts. What was once deemed as blatant censoring on the part of myth-makers now seems like common happenstance. Indeed, as Butler notes in her recent studies, the myths created in times of war have evolved to shape more nuanced *frames* of culture. Butler argues "that even as the war is framed in certain ways to control and heighten affect in relation to the differential grievability of lives, so war has come to frame ways of thinking multiculturalism and debates on sexual freedom, issues largely considered separate from 'foreign affairs'" (26).

Nations, therefore, employ *myths* both to subvert and admonish identities that threaten sovereignty as well as to construct and praise images and identities that champion more nationalistic ideals – often relying heavily on preexisting dichotomies of difference. Although said myths are quite often based on a sense of shared or collective history, there are cases in which there is not enough historical context in order to create the necessary level of difference. Or rather, that the historical context does not provide enough difference. In such cases, myths must rely on other seemingly inherent dichotomies within a given community as a way to buttress ideology - most notable of said dichotomies is *gender*.

2.1.4 Gender: Myth & Nation

The overt and apparent disconnect between gender and nation is not a new subject and indeed has been studied a lot. As Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) explains, feminist discourse that previously and erroneously categorized the naturalized difference between men and women on the basis of the public/private gave rise to a meaningful separation of women from the nation, insofar as questions of politics and nationhood are public spaces to which women historically have not been granted access. Concurrently, attempts to explain gender difference based on a dichotomy of nature versus culture has also helped to exclude women from politics based on their gender – insofar as nation-building has historically been associated with production, which falls into the masculine category of culture while women have historically been associated with nature.[30]

Regardless of why definitions of nations and nationhood have historically excluded women, or rather *gender* as a means of social difference, Yuval-Davis explains that the two are irrevocably linked. According to Yuval-Davis, "different positionings of men and women, kinship units and various ethnic collectivities (as well as other groupings in civil society) is determined by their differential access to the state" (14). In this way, any analysis of women must include their definition within their given nation and, simultaneously, any analysis of nationhood must include an analysis of the ways in which that nation is constructed by and perpetuates gender. Not only do women participate in the construction of nationhood, most obviously as reproducers of the culture, but rather nationhood is more often than not constructed upon the basis of gender (22-25). The nuances of this relationship become even more hazy when we pause to consider the term *women* and what it means *to be female*. The term gender in and of itself requires a certain level of deconstruction since it too, like nations, has undergone a great deal of myth-making. Given the nature and scope of this investigation, I will not outline the various ways in which *gender* has been constructed, but I do need to iron out some details before I can move forward.

Insofar as this study is concerned, I will spend the next few pages outlining the relationship between the terms *gender* and *nation* and, ultimately, explain how nations often rely on already naturalized *gender-mythology*. Said relationship is both cyclical and parasitic: parasitic inasmuch as the entire process is predicated on new myths feeding off of already established myths, and cyclical insofar as the original *gender-mythology* concerning difference is reasserted and naturalized in the construction of a new *nationalized-gender-mythology*. In order to understand this process, we will first analyze the relationship between *myth* and *gender*.

In *The Second Sex* (1949) Simone de Beauvoir questions the ways in which female alterity has historically been constructed and mediated as *other* in traditional, patriarchal systems of power. De Beauvoir argues that "the myth of woman… is a static myth. It projects into the realm of Platonic ideas a reality that is directly experienced or is conceptualized on a basis of experience; in place of fact, value, significance, knowledge, empirical law, it substitutes a transcendental idea, timeless, unchangeable, necessary" (266). De Beauvoir explains that the *static* nature of this myth is endowed with such permanence that when the lived experience of a woman contradicts the mythology, the latter is merely deemed as not being *feminine*. But what is *feminine*? As Judith Butler (1988) notes, gender itself is indeed a performative act in which bodies are gendered based on their given social and temporal reality. Gendering is a process, preceding that of sex, in order to achieve a preconceived and constructed appearance and therefore gain acceptance both socially as well as individually (520). In this way *being a woman*, or *being female* or *being feminine*, much like belonging to a nation, is a construction and can be broken down into a process of accepting and perpetuating various myths. Moreover, the perpetuation and daily performances that serve to construct *femininity* specifically are varied based on the social, political, and historic reality but are always dependent upon preexisting myths. These myths permeate society because, as De Beauvoir notes, they are often transcribed onto institutions of power (267). This process, like that of every myth, has been naturalized to the point of conscription insofar as women enter into said process either without knowing, or perhaps even of their own volition.

More accurately, as Sandra Lee Bartkey (1988) explains, the process of making one's body female is not a contract into which one enters, but rather a seemingly, invisible practice that is entirely subject to the possible level of discipline within systems of power (457) - or, as Marilyn Frye (1983) would say, the possible level of oppression. As Frye outlines, *oppression* is a construct dependent upon the concept of the *double-bind* - a situation in which there is no feasible or good option as all options expose an individual to some form of judgement (38). In other words, if women do not induct themselves into the myths that seek to define them, they are then disciplined by the structures that seek to contain them. However, if they are inculcated into the mythology, if they submit to the daily performances that define femininity, they are immediately stripped of their agency and become tokens or objects of their environment.[31] The institutions and structures that hold the power and outline the mythology of what passes or not as appropriate behavior/performance are varied in nature which of course makes them harder to define.

In *The Beauty Myth* (1991), Naomi Wolf does an excellent job of historically tracking the objectification of the female body and the ways in which the mythology that defines femininity has transformed and perpetuated itself. Wolf explains that "The modern arsenal of the myth is a dissemination of millions of images of the current ideal; although this barrage is generally seen as a collective time sexual fantasy, there is in fact little that is sexual about it. It is summoned out of political fear on the part of male-dominated institutions threatened by women's freedom, and it exploits female guilt and apprehension about our own liberation –latent fears that we might be going too far. This frantic aggregation of imagery is a collective reactionary hallucination willed into being by both men and women stunned and disoriented by the rapidity with which gender relations have been transformed: a bulwark of reassurance against the flood of change" (18). As Wolf elaborates in her book, the mythology perpetuates and defines the way women interact daily with the various elements of her life. Moreover, Wolf examines the ways in which constructions of femininity in culture through media-defined imagery help to redefine role models for that are readily consumed as ideals (58). In this way, it can seem as if women are subjugating themselves but, of course, it is not that simple.

The idea of self-inflicted objectification is best summarized by Bartky through the context of *having skills*. Barkty notes that the very notion of female subjugations and oppression is built into the options available to her within society. She explains that

"Women, then, like other skilled individuals, have a stake in the perpetuation of their skills, whatever it may have cost to acquire them and quite apart from the question whether, as a gender, they would have been better off had they never had to acquire them in the first place. Hence, feminism, especially a genuinely radical feminism that questions the patriarchal construction of the female body, threatens women into a certain de-skilling, something people normally resist: beyond this, it calls into question that aspect of personal identity that is tied to the development of a sense of competence" (457). To clarify, the *gender-mythology* that seeks to define femininity is ultimately always successful insofar as the limits of oppression are predefined. In Bartky's words, *having skills* means adhering to the myths that define what it means *to be female* and adopting those daily performances that allow women to navigate their life with less resistance.[32] Contrarily, in choosing to *de-skill* oneself, women are choosing to be seen as less competent overall. This is especially true in more capitalistic, consumer-driven societies where a citizen's worth is directly proportional to their ability to produce. In this way, subjugation or oppression can and should be understood as both a passive response to power as well as a subjective desire to wield power[33] that are both always mediated by the varying possibilities of violence(s) – physical or other. [34]

Adhering to the theories discussed, *being female* then, much like nationhood, can be read as a "mode of discourse" (Yuval-Davis, 9) that is predefined in order to distinguish commonalities and join (willingly or not) collectivities. However, unlike nations that are inherently sovereign in and unto themselves, *gender-mythology* can also exist in a state of absolute permanence if and when it is manipulated in the service of other myths. As we saw in Butler's (2004) dissection of nationalized grief and trauma, the balance between what is seen and what is not seen in any given cultural production is dependent upon varying forms of mythological constructs that are used within the confines of nationhood. Signs are taken, emptied of their meaning, and a new meaning is imposed upon them to fit the scope of the new narrative, all while masking the entire production as normative. While most myths can and do transform given the social context, the perpetuation of *gender-mythology* in other modes of discourse creates a loop that signals abject eternality. Let me explain.

Although it is the seemingly permanent dichotomy between *male* and *female* inherent to *gender-mythology* that appeals to myth-makers in the first place, it is actually the reproduction of gender myths that further cements their normalcy and makes them appear as eternal. As Claire Johnston notes in her article “Women’s Cinema as Counter-Cinema” (1973), mainstream cinema’s discourse both reproduces as well as produces culture via myth-construction within the confines of a sexist, capitalist ideology. The ahistoric iconography that has thus far been representative of women in film as passive objects *to be looked at* (Mulvey, 1975), has transformed women on screen into *woman* (25). In this way, any woman on screen functions as a sign that has been emptied of its meaning. To reference De Saussure again, woman [as sign] becomes a signifier with no signified or, to Barthes, an image with no meaning or concept. In this way, her image can be used in order to perpetuate a *gender-mythology* that serves to both define and reinforce specific ideals, as well as to oppress errant forms of femininity –both already existing as predefined concepts within sexist ideology. What was already a gender myth is transformed into a state to permanent difference.

Moreover, because signs only hold meaning based on the context of their production, women on screen can only ever be read within the constructs of the predetermined ideologies that use film as a discourse for mythology consumption. For example, Johnston notes that "art can only be defined as a discourse within a particular conjuncture –for the purpose of woman's cinema, the bourgeois, sexist ideology of male dominated capitalism" (28). Essentially, because film reproduces and produces culture, it creates a feedback loop that traps *gender-mythology* in a state of permanence. On the one hand, it reproduces preconceived notions of difference that are seemingly inherent to dominant, sexist ideologies – like a mirror. On the other hand, it produces a culture that serves to reinforce the mythology. The same can be said of nationhood. Johnston explains that "the sign is always a product" and notes that "what the camera in fact grasps is the 'natural' world of the dominant ideology" (29). The parasitic nature of this process, in which a constructed ideology feeds off of preexisting *gender-mythology* and *gender-mythology* perpetuates the constructed ideology, is cyclical in nature and serves to disguise the myth process. What it means *to be female* as defined by film becomes wholly naturalized – both unto the system of discourse as well as unto the myth-reader.

To be sure, there are varying degrees of oppression to which women are subject via myth-making, just as there are varying degrees of punishment women face if and when they decide to, as Bartky notes, *de-skill* themselves. These degrees are directly dependent upon both the radicality of the myth, the degree of inculcation, as well as the individual's own set of inter-sectioning identities within a given social context. Some women exert mythology onto men and even onto other women. In effect, as Yuval-Davis notes, the relationship between gender and nation is dependent upon many factors that should also take into consideration ethnic and other social discourses of difference. However, regardless of said variation, the woman [as sign] always becomes eternally *othered* through the appropriation and reproduction of *gender-mythology*. Furthermore, as Barthes notes, "myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact" (143). Contextually, the appropriation of the *gender-mythology* perpetuates a continuous cycle of abject eternality. This is especially true when the myth is at the service of nationhood.

According to Yuval-Davis, the ways in which women participate in and are gendered by nations can be categorized in the following ways:

1. as reproducers of national culture insofar as they are reduced to their biological imperative
2. as mythical *symbolic border guards and embodiments* (23) of national culture via the natural and predisposed visions between masculinity and femininity
3. via the regulation of full citizenship, where often women must meet certain standards to be considered a true member of said nation
4. as martyrs and/or idols that perpetuate constructions of masculinity in relation to their service to God and Nation
5. as co-conspirators in resistance efforts

Within the context of Franco Spain, women as sign either engage in or are manipulated into participating in the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime in much of the same ways outlined above. Moreover, given the participation of the Catholic church, the mythology implemented takes on a religious element that only serves to further perpetuate cyclical and parasitic behaviors. However, before we explore the ways in which the regime used *gender-mythology* to define myths concerning the *Franco-female*, we must first analyze the nature of mythology within Franco Spain.

2.2 Contextualizing Theories

Although there often do not exist tangible consequences when one chooses not to adhere to the prescribed myths of their given social context, we must remember: the systemic differences that perpetuate inequalities are what either mask the choice as natural or negate the possibility of choice altogether. Individuals are ultimately driven by their given social imperatives. Given that caveat, there are arguably only a few degrees of difference in terms of choice when analyzing nationhood as a result of either twenty-first century democracies or twentieth-century dictatorships. Within the context of Spain, this will be an important distinction to remember. Although all of the myths I will analyze in this overview are constructs of Franco Spain, the effects of said mythology in relation to gender as well as nationhood have lingered so as to outlast the dictatorship, the Transition, and have even taken hold within the democracy.

2.2.1 Myth(s) & Franco Spain

In the context of this dissertation, myths can be divided into two categories: myths that serve to define femininity in relation to the *Franco-female*, and myths that serve to legitimize and perpetuate the mythology as a whole. This, of course, is not to say that other forms of myth-making are not important, but rather to pull into focus the goals of this dissertation. To facilitate the understanding of the dangers of myth-making in relation to nation-building within the context of Franco Spain, I'd like to divide the next segment according to the duality I outlined earlier regarding *active* versus *passive remembering* and *forgetting*, with obvious breaks to discuss the ways in which the myths created relate specifically to this investigation. To begin, I will analyze the ways in which the regime used myth-making processes to demonize republican identity through *active forgetting* as well as to canonize a new national identity through *active remembering*.

Active Forgetting: The Franco dictatorship did indeed employ a very aggressive policy of *active forgetting* in reference to various forms of censorship, extra-judicial incarcerations/executions as well as an overall purging of the republican defeated, their ideals, and their stake in national identity. Indeed, there is no shortage of scholarly work[35] dedicated to putting print to, following Assmann's terminology, the *active forgetting* campaign of the regime. In this respect, the Franco regime used the euphemism of *purging* –namely, the active forgetting of the republican identity in postwar Spain –most notably because that was the terminology used, top-down, within the regime. In his article "Faces of Terror" (2010), Julián Casanova details some of the more brutal tactics and policies adopted by the regime in order to enact a purification of liberalism (90). Apart from the extrajudicial killings brought on by *kangaroo courts*[36] and the concentration camps both within and outside of Spain, the true violence and terror of the dictatorship was systemic. The culture of fear created by the Law of Political Responsibility (February 1939) subverted any hope for peace after the war insofar as citizens could be punished for having merely contributed to the liberalist uprising that was the democratically elected governments of the Second Republic (93). The language used, as noted in Casanova's article, frames guilt in terms of the state of the nation after the civil war, insofar as victims were not only guilty, but also *guilty by association*. There was a broad array of punishments but, as Martínez López and Gómez Oliver note, they could include physical punishment, confiscation of all property, or even more elaborate and long-term economic repression (112). Indeed, as Susana Narotzky and Gavin Smith (2002) outline, the dangers of "being *politico*" in Spain, although nuanced, was associated with "having ideas" and was deemed "not only bad (and sinful) but also dangerous" (203). But association with who? What type of ideas were sinful?

As many scholars explain, being labeled a *Red* classified you as a second-class citizen, as the enemy of the status quo, as *other*. In terms of myth construction, all of the symbols of the Second Republic were coopted and rebranded as heinous sins that threatened the success of the nation.[37] The myth of what it meant *to be red* was further instilled through the unprecedented, social cooperation of the public denunciations. Moreover, as Casanova (2010) notes, "The citizens of Franco's Spain were told that they should keep a constant lookout, and to be 'relentless' in carrying out the necessary work of good Spaniards of uncovering and denouncing 'any person who might have committed any crime.' To not share knowledge about a possible crime was considered a crime: that of concealment" (102). In this way, the myth of the dangerous *Red* (tied directly to the ostracization of the republican identity) is a very real part of the myths of the Franco-regime. As Butler (2004) remarks on the discrediting of intellectualism was a way to stabilize and center specific identities after 9/11 (xvi), so too does the purging of republican identity play a key role in the construction of Franco Spain. The intersection of being *Red* and *being female* is also an important aspect to the regime's mythology, and because the nature of the *Franco-female* is innately *anti-republican*, I will eventually circle back and further analyze this intersectionality. To continue, I now turn to the ways in which the Franco regime used myth in order to implement *active remembering*.

Active Remembering: The process of *active remembering*, described by Assmann as *canonization*, is the selection of cultural artifacts in the construction of a specific set of ideals through three realms: religion, art and history (100). Most importantly, Assmann mentions that "Nation-states produce narrative versions of their past which are taught, embraced, and referred to as their collective autobiography" (101). As Butler explained, the selection and repetition of imagery and the explicit structuring of specific critique as credible is paramount to the construction of a *national norm* (xx). In the context of Spain, the creation of this norm is best defined by Jo Labanyi (1989) when she explains that the seemingly bipartisan nature of *a return* to what was a more original, or *essential* understanding of nationhood is what spurred on many Nationalist myths - most notable of which is *the crusade* (35). Famously disavowed by historian and journalist Herbert Southworth (1963), the myth of the crusade harkened back to a 'golden age' of Spanish unity and nationhood in which religion played a fundamental role.[38] As good, Catholic Spaniards, citizens were tasked with upholding values that perpetuated the *fatherland* and, as we saw earlier, were encouraged to root out all forms of secularism previously associated with the 'vile' and 'sinful' *Reds*. While it's true that the competing political and social powers within the Nationalist agenda made the creation of a stable and overarching ideology nearly impossible, the varying "mentalities" of Franco Spain were relationally constructed upon Catholic values of the famed empire. Furthermore, the dissemination of these mentalities was both far-reaching as well as quotidian (Morcillo; 2000, 30). Built on a foundation of anti-communism and rooted in historic empire, Michael Richards (2010) notes that "Spain was incarnated as a quasi-person, a unique and permanent being, whose 'organic continuity' reached back to the Catholic *Reconquista* of Spain from the Moors and the Jews culminating in the fifteenth century" (97). In terms of mythical expression, this can best be categorized by the inherent juxtapositions between God and Nation.

In the words of Alicia Alted (1995), "The regime's cultural apparatus was founded on two simple principles: the 're-Spanishification' and the 're-Catholicization' of society" (197). This imperative meant the establishment of a multi-pronged approach to cultural control in which certain images and historical references gained specific favor. The creation of a National-Catholic Spain leaned heavily both on the dichotomy inherently built into the Catholic faith as well as the historical virtues of the Spanish empire, and all of this symbolism rested on the ultimate myth construction of Franco as savior. Through shored up nostalgia for the end of the *reconquista* and the success of the Catholic kings that *united* Spain in 1492, and through the grace of the church, Franco was a self-proclaimed savior sent by God to Spain.[39] As an example of how a definition of *nationhood* relates to myth-making, the exaltation of Franco as a father-figure chosen by God directly correlates to his presence in the regime-sanctioned newsreels known as el NO-DO –acronym of *Noticiarios y Documentale*s[40]. There are countless other forms of symbology that permeate the daily lives of the Spanish citizen, but an exhaustive list is unnecessary given the scope and goals of this study - it would also seem annoyingly repetitive given the resources I've already provided.

An important take away from the evidence I have incurred is the mythical relationships that were developed between Catholicism, the historical grander of the empire, and the regime in order to instill Franco Spain with a sense of identity and purpose. This dependency on Catholicism as well as on the ways in which Catholicism played an important role in Spain's history is, in fact, a gendered position - insofar as gender identity and motherhood plays an important role in the myths of Catholicism. This nuanced understanding of the intersection of gender and duty (to God and Nation) will in fact influence this investigation immensely. As Antonio Cazorla Sánchez (2014) notes, "What made the Francoist historical memory so perverted was its semi-biological-cum-social foundation couched with an externally respectable discourse about God, Order and Nation" (33). Indeed, the juxtaposition of myths that degrade and erode republican identity with myths that construct a glorified and illustrious past, steeped in historical significance and seemingly altruist intent, left a hefty psychological toll on Spanish culture of both the dictatorship and what followed. The turn towards Catholicism and the acceptance granted by the Catholic church[41] worked to imbue Franco with sovereign power and served as the backdrop for the dichotomy between the *victors* and the *traitors*, threatening national unity.

The nuances of said dichotomies were also heavily influenced by the pre-established and demarcated gender roles within both the traditionally patriarchal family as well as the Catholic church. *Femininity* during Franco Spain was articulated and defined through social systems of power that were directly tied to the preexisting *gender-mythology* implemented by the church - creating, in essence, a *nationalized-gender-mythology* that was directly responsible for the construction of the *Franco-female*. Because my investigation is gender specific, I will take some time to contextualize the myths I have already discussed through the prism of gender.

2.2.2 The *Franco-female*

During the dictatorship, what were the *skills* that the Spanish, female citizen needed to have in order to have social capital and therefore maneuver through society without punishment –or rather, less direct punishment? What indirect forms of punishment were implemented when women chose to enter a process of *de-skilling* –of letting go of who they wanted to be in order to become who they were told to be? Although it is unwise to universalize women's experience in Spain, lest the same ahistorical crimes be committed, and despite the nuance of class politics during the regime[42], I argue that *to be female* is mediated through and around the myths that are presented within any given socio-economic context. As Pierre Bourdieu (2004) notes, due the *gendered habitus*, inculcation into mythology in some way is inherent unto the system that propagates the myths, and the perpetuation of some form of domination is evident given the nature of *symbolic violence*.[43] Although my analysis does not in any way suggest that the female experience is ever singular, it is clear that regardless of whether or not ones actions were inherently in defiance of[44] or in accordance with the myths of femininity propagated by the regime, it cannot be discounted that the dichotomy between what was acceptable or unacceptable behavior defined female existence.[45] Moreover, this dichotomy should not just be understood as a binary that seeks to divide women into opposing categories, but also should be considered by the binary that differentiates women versus men in relation to their place in society.

In her study, *Usos amorosos de la postguerra* (1987),[46] Carmen Martín Gaite takes a closer look at life during the dictatorship and explains –although perhaps indirectly– that femininity during the dictatorship was in a constant state of contradiction. Indeed, despite the vast examples of femininity present within Martín Gaite's study, the one clarifying element is that all of the examples were somehow in contradiction to each other. On the one hand, the most honorable thing a young woman could do would be to declare herself a monk and enter into a covenant. On the other hand, young, single women were destined to do their duty to God and country by marrying and starting a family. Women were meant to study and be of service to their country but working outside of the home was ultimately a sin (48). Women were not supposed to become *una mujer de complejos* (41), but rather to smile and placate their future suitors. Yet they were also expected to embolden young men with the encouragement to pursue them: "El primer paso tenía que darlo siempre él, ya lo hemos dicho. A ella le correspondía la delicada misión de incitarle a que lo diera, pero sin que se notara" (184). Women were meant to be available, but at the same time distant and hard to catch. The lack of men and the surplus of available young women after the war meant that men could have anyone, so women were responsible for finding a husband –lest they become a *solterona* (52). This game, in effect, created an environment in which women needed to tempt and attract men, but then were also faced with the responsibility of not going *too far* and letting their honor be tarnished. As Martín Gaite explains, "este ten con ten de la chica decente para mantenerse fiel a los mandatos del pudor sin que el novio perdiera el interés por ella llegaba a convertirse en una estrategia fatigosa y monótona, sobre todo si se tiene en cuenta que la «zona templada» del noviazgo podía durar años y más años" (214). In essence, there was no successful way to navigate femininity as defined by the regime. Instead, the situation should be read as there were certain, specific ways *to be female* that were more amenable to a majority.

Despite the aforementioned vast majority, Martín Gaite cautions against any understanding of femininity during the dictatorship as singular insofar as there did indeed existed *zonas infranqueables* (99). However, even though such spaces would seem to exist outside of the regime's mythology, it actually formed a necessary counter point to the binary. This becomes clearer upon analyzing the contradictions Martín Gaite studies between what is expected of men versus women. Although women were meant to be chaste and pure upon marriage, men were expected to have lived and experienced life (106). In this way, the outer limits of the cities, where a certain anarchy towards to the regime still raged on, were spaces in which young men could experience and learn about their own masculinity. Per Martín Gaite, "los contactos con gente de clase social inferior se consideraban menos evitables y perniciosos en el caso de los niños, cuyo talante aventurero y curioso era tolerado y hasta fomentado con complacencia, como cosa propia de su condición. La mayor libertad de movimientos y de expresión que les estaba permitida había de influir, naturalmente, en su aprendizaje del amor, iniciado casi siempre a trances y barrancas a través de escarceos y de bromas con personas mayores que ellos y más experimentadas, pero sobre todo – y esto es importante – de clase social más modesta" (102). And so, the limits of the binary were drawn. At one end of the spectrum, young women were meant to be modest and pure creatures destined for wife-dom, but they were also necessarily used to bolster young men's claims to virility and therefore their prowess as future husbands.

Although there are various plot points on the binary outlined above, the spectrum of femininity during the dictatorship remained defined by the opposing poles of good/acceptable versus evil/unacceptable. In this way, femininity during the dictatorship should not be understood as an identity born, but rather a performance enacted: "Todas las perplejidades de quien no estuviera dispuesto a comulgar con ruedas de molino derivaban de aquella esquizofrenia entre lo que se decía que pasaba y lo que pasaba de verdad, entre lo que se imponía y lo que se necesitaba. Se imponía, por encima de todo, la definición de un estilo de vida propio y que resultara convincente. Pero ya vamos viendo que aquel atuendo de estilo español para muchos resultaba un disfraz incómodo" (25).[47] It is this contradiction between what was said and what as done, between what was expected and what was accepted that served to define womanhood during the dictatorship and to uphold the dichotomies that persisted well after the death of Franco.

What Martín Gaite has defined as a costume or a disguise, I will define as the myths of the *Franco-female* - those myths that emptied woman of her signified in order to perpetuate a propaganda campaign of epic proportions. Because despite the changing face of the dictatorship, especially in regard to international policy, the regime continuously implemented a series of legislatorial as well as cultural politics upon what Aurora G. Morcillo (2015) defines as the "cuerpo alegórico femenino de la nación" (7). The politics defining this *cuerpo alegórico* helped shape femininity both during and after the dictatorship. In the context of this dissertation, and in order to provide a solid, referential foundation for my textual analysis, this section will focus on the various types of myths that were constructed around both acceptable as well as intolerable forms of femininity.

The *Franco-female* was born out of a combination of efforts on the part of the Franco regime. On the one hand, the regime constructed mythology that *actively forget*, *Red* female heritage through brutal sociological as well as physical repression that was targeted specifically towards women. On the other hand, the regime enacted mythology of *active remembering* that canonized popular imagery and history in order to reconstruct a type of womanhood that lay between the crossroads of the golden age of the empire and Catholicism. As Rosario Ruiz Franco (2007) notes, the regime was built upon a type of politics that wanted to eradicate female emancipation and was defined by:

> …una política natalista, de promoción del hogar y de la maternidad, difusión de un arquetipo femenino basado en identidades de madre, esposa y ama de casa, promulgación de leyes que limitan la participación de las mujeres en la producción, reduciéndola –mayoritariamente – a la economía doméstica, perpetuación de la estructura patriarcal familiar, prohibición de la coeducación, y canalización de la participación pública femenina en organizaciones que movilizaban a grupos de mujeres de clase media para cumplir con los objetivos de género del regimen. (25)

Essentially, what it meant *to be female* became mediated through the regime's preconceived, Catholic ideals of femininity which, in turn, was used to power the nation via the family unit.[48] The social imperative that burned down the *mujer libre* of the Second Republic simultaneously constructed the *Franco-female* - a pilar of Catholic faith and piety, devoted to silently serve both Spain and God. In this way, even though not all women chose to ascribe themselves to the myths that defined them, their participation in the myth systems as a whole was not optional. It is the active contradiction and ongoing tension between the two mythologies, the tension between forgetting and remembering, that we will analyze going forward. [49]

Active Forgetting: As I outlined earlier, the repression enacted by the Franco regime towards both Republicans and their heritage was staggering - a culture in which merely *having ideas* was paramount to a death sentence. However, an important aspect of nation-building via the repression of the regime that I have not yet covered is the fact that the repression was indeed, gendered. While studying the intersections of gender and nation, Yuval-Davis deconstructs the nuances of citizenship and notes that in order to obtain full-citizenship, members often have to meet specific standards. It is the balance between the mediated and unmediated access to said standards which defines ones membership. Furthermore, Yuval-Davis notes that "Women have tended to be differentially regulated to men in nationality, immigration and refugee legislation, often being constructed as dependent on their family men and expected to follow them and live where they do" (24).

Another way that women participate in nationhood, according to Yuval-Davis, is through the biological reproduction of culture. Women serve as incubators of nationhood. Their rights regarding whether or not to have children, the number of children they should have, and who with are all dictated legislatively. The construction of women in relation to both the actions of their husbands and fathers as well as their possible roles as mothers is of paramount importance when understanding the repression of the Franco dictatorship. The women and children left in the wake of the civil war were seen as important pieces of identity construction insofar as they were the perfect symbols of everything *not to be*. Because *being red* was likened to having a disease, these women were *carriers* of those genes and therefore needed to be cleansed. But of course the question remains, how and why was the repression gendered?

As Mónica Moreno notes in her article "La dictadura Franquista y la represión de las mujeres" (2013), "se interpreta la represión femenina como castigo de una transgresión social, que supone la no adecuación al ideal de domesticidad, y al ideal moral" (3). Essentially, in the eyes of the regime, although the "Reds" were guilty of promoting leftist propaganda that ultimately led to the erosion of Spanish society, *la roja* was even more treacherous insofar as she was twice guilty. Not only did she promote leftist propaganda, but rather she was accused of neglecting her position as *mother* - a contemptible offense given the strict dichotomy between public and private space in relation to masculinity and femininity. *La roja* inverted the presupposed binary politics of gender and was therefore directly responsible for the corruption of Spain. In terms of how she was repressed, although men were more often than not incarcerated or killed, women tended to experience more repetitive and violent types of repression including but not limited to: being raped, having their heads shaved, and being forced to ingest castor oil - more than not in public as a spectacle. Gendered repression was either as a means to attack their femininity or also a way to punish their family/male relatives for *their* dishonor - insofar as women were property and objects of men. When women were jailed, they also tended to experience torture and punishment that was more sexual in nature.

Apart from physical violence, women were also subject to systemic and quotidian forms of violence. Per Julian Casanova (2013), for instance, the implementation of the Law of Responsibility disproportionately affected men versus women. Insofar as the "gran parte de los fusilados son hombres y que hay más hombres en las cárceles […] la confiscación económica la solía padecer las mujeres, lo cual les afectaba cotidianamente" (97).[50] Some examples include women being socially ostracized by their communities, not being able to mourn their dead publicly, being forced to attend events that celebrated the *victors* who had killed their loved ones, women previously divorced being forced to return to their husbands, and of course, having to now be the main caretakers and/or breadwinners of the family (Moreno, 4). Other forms of structural or *slow violence*[51] included the varying ways in which the myth of what it meant *to be roja* was directly articulated as *other*. As Moreno notes, "Por ello puede hablarse de un 'lenguaje de

represión', que quiso despojar a las mujeres vencidas de humanidad, que las identificaba con malas mujeres, por medio de la repetición de estereotipos y expresiones cargadas de connotaciones negativas morales: individua, sujeta, extremista, alocada, roja mala, de carácter independiente, altanera, amancebada, infernal, atea, de dudosa moral, andrógina, fea, provocadora o sabihonda" (6).

In regard to the agents of repression, they were institutional in nature and therefore all-encompassing. These stereotypes were perpetuated socially through educational reforms by the Church as well as La Sección Femenina and el Auxilio Social. Politically, women were reduced to objects in relation to their husbands and fathers. As Ruiz Franco outlines in an exhaustive study of the Civil Code, "centrándonos en la situación de la mujer podemos señalar que si bien hay diferencias, advances retrocesos en el reconocimiento de la capacidad jurídica de la mujer, un mismo espíritu guió todos los proyectos del CC, el querer perpetuar un modelo femenino caracterizado por «su extrema fragilidad psicológica e intelectual y su absoluta incapacidad de entender y actuar autónomamente»" (115). Indeed, Moreno notes that "en el Código Civil se implantó el matrimonio canónico e indisoluble –se suprimieron el matrimonio civil y el divorcio– y la desigualdad entre los cónyuges, por la cual la esposa debía obediencia al marido y necesitaba su consentimiento para administrar su salario, comprar o vender bienes, o presentarse a juicio" (9). At the beginning of the dictatorship, women were denied from entering into certain professions given that the ultimate profession would be their duty as wives and mothers to their families and then to the nation. Ultimately, the legislative and social gains that women had made during the Second Republic were mythologized upon in order to define *anti-womanhood* within Franco Spain. In this way, *la roja* as a sign was emptied of its meaning so that it could serve as an *othered* identity within the dichotomy of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* perpetuated by the Franco regime. [52]

Active Remembering: As Simone De Beauvoir notes, *othered* identities do not automatically objectify and define themselves as other. From their own point of view, the *othered* identities are not aware of or complicit in said othering. Instead, alterity is precipitated by the construction of the *self* as both a normative and eternal identity. Indeed, the same institutions of authority that were used to suppress and other *la roja* in a mythological campaign of *active forgetting,* were directly responsible for the ways in which a new (or in this case old and "original") definition of femininity was perpetuated by the regime. Per Roberta Johnson and Maite Zubaiurre (2012), "La dictadura fomentó un ambiente conservador y tradicional para la mujer por medio de leyes antifeminists que devolvieron a la mujer a su estado de «eterna menor de edad»" (303). In this way, what it meant *to be female* became politically, economically, and socially based on preconceived historical ideals. [53]

According to Yuval-Davis' study, woman [as sign] is an active participant in the definition of nationhood. Insofar as national identity is generally defined through specific language and/or religion, definitions are generally based on preexisting dichotomies – with the most notable being gender symbols (23). Moreover, these binary definitions of traditional forms of masculinity and femininity are reinforced when outlining the responsibilities of a nation's citizenry - men are often tasked with dying or killing for their family/nation while women are idolized creatures that are imbued with a sense of duty towards said men. In essence, male citizens must serve to protect the honor of their women and children (24). In the case of Spain, because the success and longevity of the

Franco regime was directly tied to its roots within the Catholic church, woman [as sign] is appropriated and mythologized through the lens of traditional, Catholic values. Given the importance of motherhood within the Catholic doctrine as well as the autarchic goals set forth by the regime, the family became an important social unit for order, and the mythology of *women* as *good, Catholic mothers and daughters* began to take shape[54] In fact, as Johnson and Zubiaurre explain, “la mujer casada no podía trabajar, abrir cuentas bancarias ni viajar sin el permiso de su marido. La mujer soltera, si quería estudiar, viajar o trabajar, estaba obligada a cumplir dos años de Servicio Social administrado por la Sección Femenina de Falange, asistiendo a clases sobre todo tipo de labor doméstica (la cocina, la costura, el cuidado de los niños, y el mimo de los maridos). La meta oficial de toda mujer era la de casarse y tener hijos” (303). Essentially, being a woman meant that legally you were no more than your father’s or your husband’s property.

As Morcillo (2000) outlines, the construction of femininity during the early years of the regime can be defined best through the perpetuation of *true Catholic womanhood*.[55] The regime turned to pre-established, Renaissance ideals of what it meant *to be female* as well as canonically idealized figures in Spanish history in order to construct a mythology that demonstrated that there was national purpose in withdrawal (4). Morcillo uses textual evidence gathered from a bevy of institutions in order to define true Catholic womanhood within the economic and social context of the regime. She notes that although gender definitions within the regime’s institutions were not “monolithic or fixed” in nature, that the varied use of the “same language system” across multiple discourses actually served to codify ideology insofar as it was given meaning in a variety of ways (6). While it is true that not all women ascribed to the perpetuated ideology of the Franco regime, especially given the economic and class disparities affecting women after the war, what we can say with certainty is that the existence of such state-sanctioned mythology perpetuated a binary. Despite the ways in which female solidarity and the haven like qualities of the domestic environment helped many to overcome the scarcity and brutality of the early years of the dictatorship,[56] the family as a construct –regardless of intent– indeed became the very configuration of order propagated by the regime.[57] In fact, women were inculcated into the regime's chosen mythology on so many fronts, that it would be impossible to not have been affected, at least some.[58]

Politically, the creation of the Board for the Protection of Women in 1942 severely criminalized sex-related crimes such as those pertaining to abortion and contraception, whilst the Labor Charter of 1938 prohibited women from working outside of the home if they lived with their husband or father. In accordance with Morcillo's *true Catholic womanhood*, women were objects of the home and therefore were to remain within their realm. In terms of education, the baton was passed to the Catholic Church which espoused doctrines that fore-fronted the National-Catholic agenda while simultaneously wreaking havoc on educational advances gained during the Second Republic.

With the establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1938, education was to be segregated and gender specific. *To be female* was now mediated through historic figures such as the likes of Santa Teresa de Ávila and Isabel la Católica– among others.[59] To be clear, the regime appropriate the lives of historical figures prominent with Spanish history, emptied them of their signified, and used the empty sign as a vessel for their new mythology (Figure 3 & 4).

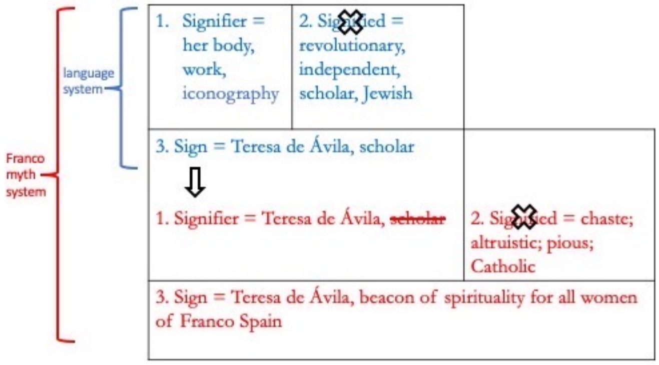
language system
Franco myth system
1. Signifier = her body, work, iconography
2. Signified = revolutionary, independent, scholar, Jewish
3. Sign = Teresa de Ávila, scholar
1. Signifier = Teresa de Ávila, ~~scholar~~
2. Signified = chaste; altruistic; pious; Catholic
3. Sign = Teresa de Ávila, beacon of spirituality for all women of Franco Spain

Figure 3: Diagram demonstrating how the *nationalized-gender-mythology* used myth to appropriate the figure of Teresa de Ávila.

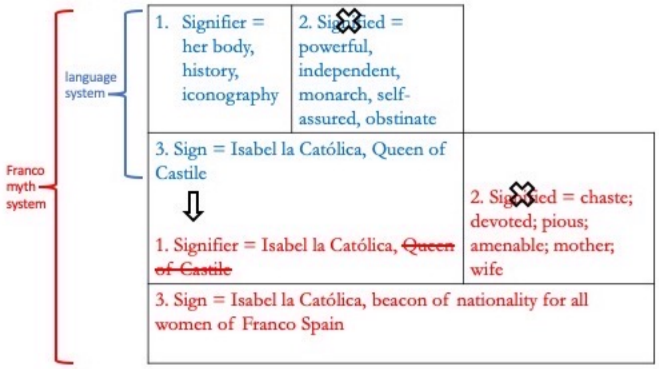
language system
Franco myth system
1. Signifier = her body, history, iconography
2. Signified = powerful, independent, monarch, self-assured, obstinate
3. Sign = Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile
1. Signifier = Isabel la Católica, ~~Queen of Castile~~
2. Signified = chaste; devoted; pious; amenable; mother; wife
3. Sign = Isabel la Católica, beacon of nationality for all women of Franco Spain

Figure 4: Diagram demonstrating how the *nationalized-gender-mythology* used myth to appropriate the figure of Isabel la Católica.

Moreover, as Morcillo notes, the traditions of the Spanish empire gained providence within the regime’s mythology upon the re-publication of Renaissance treaties regarding education, Christianity, and womanhood - with the most notable being the work of Juan Luis Vives (37). Morcillo notes: “Virtue was the product of education. Vives did not deny women’s ability to learn, but he considered the main goal in educating a lady to be separating wisdom from lust. The curriculum should be carefully chosen to train the woman’s character for life in the ‘womanly sphere.’ […] Educated women were believed to be better housewives, more virtuous mothers, and more receptive to their husbands’ authoritative 'reason'" (38). Other notable and deified texts included the works of Fray Luis de León in which the definitions of a *perfect, married lady* included that she be pious, modest, and above all, silent.

Apart from the moralized, Christian values perpetuated by the Church, a woman's education in Franco Spain also depended heavily on her relation to society and the state via la Sección Femenina. According to Johnson and Zubaiurre, "el régimen… ejerció un control férreo sobre la actuación y la expresión femeninas con la ayuda de las publicaciones periodicals (fuertemente censuradas) y la Sección femenina de Falange" (303). Founded as a section of the Falange in 1934, la Sección Femenina supervised women's education and controlled el Servicio Social which became mandatory in November of 1937 - or rather that certain women could not work or travel without having completed the necessary service to the nation. Obviously, women of a certain social class and wealth were free from service insofar as they were already participating in other forms of nationalistic propaganda. El Servicio Social of la Sección Femenina, therefore, could be seen as a way to inculcate the masses that had strayed from the official nationalist discourse.

In terms of doctrine, both the dominant education provided by the Catholic church as well as el Servicio Social was predominantly concerned with training women to become better wives and mothers and therefore adhered mostly to the standardized mythology perpetuated by the nation. Overarching features of the doctrine included: austerity, modesty, selflessness, helpfulness and above all passivity in relation to their male counterparts. [60] In essence, it required complete obedience and subordination to the family, the nation, and God - although not always in that order. As Graham (1995) notes, "The SF offered a new, public role for significant numbers of Spanish women –albeit in a mode conditioned by the prevailing social conservatism and the economic needs of an authoritarian dictatorship" (114). Therefore, even though women *had* to enter the public sector in order to become better wives and mothers, a paradoxical notion given that a woman's place was in the home, such entry was always mediated through the regime's *nationalized-gender-mythology*. In this way, any and all education, even amongst upper class women, was merely a form of adornment.[61]

Another important aspect to consider is how the *nationalized-gender-mythology* transformed throughout the 50s and 60s given the regime's need to address what was, in essence, the economic failings given its status as an autarky. Based on the state of the regime in terms of economic stability, there was a slight turn towards consumerism that was echoed in both the Law of the Fundamental Principles of the State of 1958 as well as the Stabilization Plan of 1959.[62] Playing upon the anti-Communist sentiments of the Cold War, the regime entered into a new phase of global communication which lead directly to the economic prosperity of the 60s. Despite the fact that a dedication to God and Country was still a founding factor in terms of daily interactions between the state and its citizenry, there was a new, consumerist branch of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* that began to take shape. With the advent of a less-regulated market, as well as a general migration towards city-life, advertisements regarding fashion and beauty tested the regime's original model of modesty and austerity.[63] The Franco ideal of virginal womanhood became a parallel discourse to the newly eroticized version of femininity as prescribed by the global media. Moreover, the new economic opportunities allowed women to enter the workforce.[64]

Such challenges to a woman's place within the state prompted a revision of the Código Civil as well as the establishment of the Law of Political, Professional, and Labor Rights of Women in 1961. The state openly acknowledged the need to change their policies and therefore expanded mythology. The original myth defined women as necessary pillars of faith and education within the home, for the nation. The new, consumer-driven mythology perpetuated this dedication to the nation through a woman's patriotic role in the workforce in order to support her husband and family. As such, despite the rapid change, the regime's mythology still starkly defined women in her relation to men. As Morcillo (2000) summarizes, "Spanish women were expected to render their traditional self-denying service either by devoting themselves with love to the family and home or by contributing to the national venture by joining the labor force" (68). In this way, despite the *apertura* which allowed women more access to the public sphere, women were still defined as objects in relation to the services they could provide to their family and the regime. Furthermore, the original myths that were tied to historic figures of the past became intrinsically linked to womanhood through the construction of new myths *by way of* the original mythology. For instance, the social articles of the Sección Femenina that were tasked with transforming the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime were, in fact, often published in their magazines – titled *Y Revista para la mujer* or *Teresa*. With *Y* (Figure 5) standing in representation of Isabel la Católica, and *Teresa* (Figure 6) representing Santa Teresa de Ávila y Jesús. The juxtaposition of imagery serves to further codify the original myth as eternal.

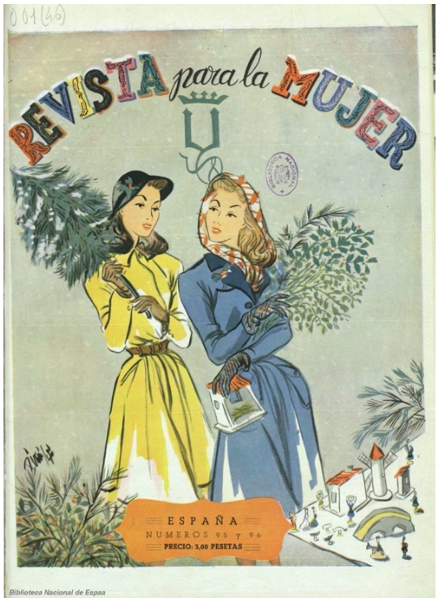
REVISTA para la MUJER
Y
ESPAÑA
NUMEROS 95 y 96
PRECIO: 3,00 PESETAS
Biblioteca Nacional de Espaa

Figure 5: *Y, Revista para la mujer* Nº95 and 96 from 1/12/1945 (http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0027350572&search=&lang=en)

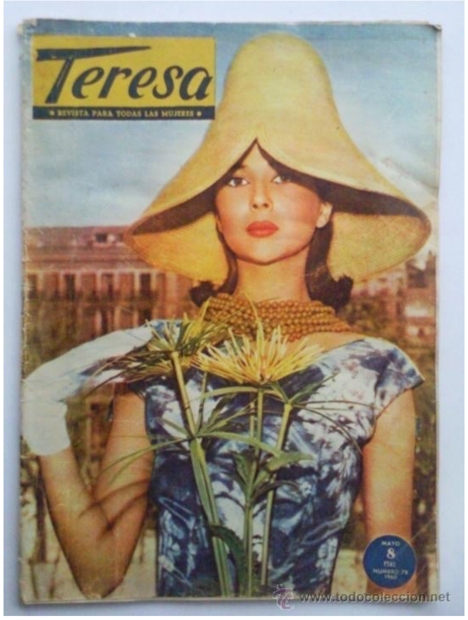
Teresa
REVISTA PARA TODAS LAS MUJERES
MAYO
8
PTAS.
NUMERO 78
1960
www.todocoleccion.net

Figure 6: *Teresa, Revista para Todas las Mujeres* Nº 78 from 1960 (https://en.todocoleccion.net/collectables-magazine-newspapers/teresa-revista-para-todas-mujeres-n-78-1960~x31736721)

In terms of scholarship contextualizing both the open repression as well as the overt identity construction that constitute the *Franco-female,* there has indeed been slow and steady progress. Although there has been a steady stream of articles in prevalent anthologies that decontextualize the relationship between *gender* and *nation* in the context of Franco Spain, the most important works have come about more recently - starting at the turn of the century and increasing henceforth after the creation of the Law of Historical memory. Mostly these works focus on a presentation of evidence surrounding the existence of gendered repression through legislature, as well as the uncovering of the necessary sociological and political counterparts from the *historical archive* to which they had previously been relegated. In this way, I contest that they have successfully demystified the gendered repression exhibited by the *nationalized-gender-mythology* as well as elaborated the tension between the dichotomy of good/evil that oppressed women of Spain. Although a thorough understanding of the repression and oppression is paramount to any dismantling of the mythology, in terms of deconstructing, the task is only partially completed. To better understand the nuances of said myth deconstruction, we should first contextualize the ways in which myths can be, as I contest with *surrogate histories*, (de)mythified.

2.3 Pathways to Progress

2.3.1 (De)mythifying myths

As I outlined earlier, any type of myth-making is inherently naturalized within the construction of the myth. Barthes notes that "Myth hides nothing and flaunts nothing: it distorts; myth is neither a lie nor a confession: it is an inflection" (129). Of course, the reception of the myth is inherent unto one's position within the myth-making system. If, for instance, you are the myth-producer and/or perpetuator, insofar as myths are perpetuated by systems and institutions rather than individuals, then you would read the original signifier as merely as an *example* of your chosen meaning. In Barthes' definition, the myth-production at the outset is a seemingly harmless process. However, if we consider that myths are produced on the basis of previously constructed social dichotomies predicated on a power dynamic, then said production becomes a perpetuation of inequalities and therefore problematic to say the least. If you were the consumer of myths, you would fail to differentiate between the original signifier and the new meaning and therefore read the myth as a whole - which of course propagates the naturalization of the relationship. In terms of the progress of my analysis, I have outlined only these two ways of focusing on myths - as producer or consumer. Of course there is a caveat as to whether or not one *consumes* a myth wholesale or if it is merely the byproduct of cultural memory, but again, the presence of a myth suggests the presence of a binary in which one must be defined in relation to the other - therefore perpetuating the entire cycle regardless of intent.

There is indeed a third option in terms of myth reception in which the reader dissects the original signifier from the imposed meaning and ultimately *deciphers* the myth. Immediately one would think that this third option is the way out of mythology, a backdoor of sorts that lets the myth-consumer escape without inculcation. But, as Barthes explains, "A more attentive reading of the myth will in no way increase its power or its ineffectiveness: a myth is at the same time imperceptible and unquestionable; time or knowledge will not make it better or worse" (130). The *mythologist*, as Barthes calls them, must first read the myth in order to decipher it which ultimately means the myth has achieved its goal. To clarify, we should use Barthes' own example regarding the intertextuality of literature as myth. In this way, we can easily understand that despite *knowing*, for instance, that a rose is merely a rose, the modern reader would ultimately (at some point) connect said rose to that which, by any other name smells as sweet - lest high school English teachers around the western world collectively shudder. In this way, any deconstruction of myth needs to come from within the very constructs of the myth system; creating a third semiological system upon which the secondary myth becomes mythologized via the creation of an *artificial myth* (135). Moreover, this new, *artificial* myth must call attention to the construction process as a whole. In calling attention to its own mythic properties, the third semiological system disconnects the mythologized meaning superimposed onto the original signifier. To be clear, the only way to (de)mythify a myth, is to create another myth. In order to better understand exactly how this can be achieved, we must first analyze the way myths are actually produced.

After exposing the ways in which myths are propagated, Barthes continues on to explain how they are produced as a function of a bourgeoise society or rather, within and given the creation of a capitalistic nation (138). Via Marx, Barthes analyzes how the bourgeoise has become an eternal substructure of reality and notes that much of its seemingly invisibility is achieved through its applications in everyday life. To quote Barthes directly: "the whole of France is steeped in this anonymous ideology: our press, our films, our theatre, our pulp literature, our rituals, our Justice, our diplomacy, our conversations, our remarks about the weather, a murder trial, a touching wedding, the cooking we dream of, the garments we wear, everything, in everyday life, is dependent on the representation which the bourgeoisie *has and makes us have* of the relations between man and the world" (140). Moreover, the reason for their invisibility can be traced to the fact that these stratums of everyday life are not inherently political, or rather that they have been employed through systems of imagination so that they acquire a natural or eternal sense. Through "the press, the news, and literature" (141), Barthes explains that the bourgeois ideology presents itself as attainable to a petite-bourgeoise. A real-world example is the long sought after *American dream* – the idea that if one works hard enough, they can live like the 1% of the US population that owns the media conglomerates. Obviously, it would be impossible to acquire such wealth without massive structural change, but the dream that it is possible lives on in the daily consumption of bourgeois ideology through media. Therefore, any attempt to erode the mythology perpetuated, or to (de)mythify a myth, needs to be disseminated via the same processes – cultural products.

In the context of Spain, because the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime is founded upon the performative nature of gender, *artificial myths* that include some form of performativity would, ostensibly, be more successful in deconstructing the daily performances of the myth system wholesale. In terms of a more concrete example as to what this (de)mythification process actually looks like within a performative, cultural product, I'd like to take a minute and analyze the film apparatus as defined by Claire Johnston (1973).

In terms of methodology, Johnston agrees that the only way out of the *gender-mythology* perpetuated through film is to avoid the urge to assume that women's cinema will ultimately negate the perpetuation of *woman as sign*. Or rather, that it would be impossible to suggest that any film can negate said mythology unless it makes the construction of womanhood apparent within the very construction of the film. Johnston notes that “it is idealist mystification to believe that ‘truth’ can be captured by the camera or that the conditions of a film’s production (e.g. a film made collectively by women) can *of itself* reflect the conditions of its production” (29). Instead, Johnston clarifies that said *truth* must be “constructed/manufactured” via a variety of methods including but not limited to: creating tension within the preconceived binary through character development, breaking the fourth-wall to include the audience in the narrative, distortion of the normative narrative sequence, or even just working outside of the realist genre. Insofar as the film as a system can only be read within the ideological context to which it belongs both socially and politically, the traditional *gender-mythology* perpetuates the female body as an object. In this way, the decentralization of both penetration as well as the male body within the filmic discourse allows the female protagonists to gain agency and be presented as subject rather than object of the film - thus questioning the ways in which women feel pleasure and, in turn, subverting the traditional mythology. As these examples from Zecchi and Johnston demonstrate, the only way to break the mythology is through the creation of another myth that serves to manipulate the myth system as a whole.

As a means to negotiate and (de)mythify the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of their past, women need to appropriate the myth-making process and construct more holistic representations of womanhood, all while making the construction process abundantly obvious. It is not enough, as Johnston noted, to merely produce and represent *othered* realities through cultural products that are by and for women - the myths must be deconstructed from within the mythology system. This, in theory, is what I propose *surrogate histories* succeed in doing. By creating a new myth that negotiates directly with the past, the cultural products I will present attempt to (de)mythify the *nationalized-gender-mythology,* from within, via a more inclusive and necessarily holistic reconstruction of histories. However, *surrogate histories'* ability to succeed is directly proportional to the socio-political context within which they were made - transitionary Spain. Due to the political and social barriers during the transition that impede any direct and overt relation with the past, the cultural products therefore implement a form of *surrogacy*. Rather, instead of directly approaching the trauma of the dictatorship, *surrogate histories* employ *surrogacy* that allows for contextual closeness with thematic difference. In order to better explain this process, we will contextualize the debates and ever-changing realities of the Transition.

2.3.2 The Transition: a debate

The end of the Franco dictatorship and the subsequent Transition to the fledgling Spanish democracy is a topic of considerable debate. Having at one point been lauded as the pinnacle of success, the debates surrounding transitionary Spain have ultimately led to a reevaluation of not only politics of justice and reconciliation globally (Davis, 2005; Kovras, 2014), but also of the ways in which culture itself can be manipulated by hegemonic discourses as a means to perpetuate systems of power (Martínez, 2016; Moreno-Caballud, 2014). Ultimately, any and all contemporary conversation regarding culture and politics in Spain leads back to various myths either reproduced or perpetuated during the Transition. Because *surrogate histories* were created during the Transition, and because our ultimate goal in studying *surrogate histories* is to create a heritage and enact change in a present that is affected by policies of the Transition, I must first untangle the myths that were perpetuated or reproduced. Furthermore, because this investigation lies somewhere between contemporary debates concerning ‘historical memory’ and ’feminism’ in Spain, and because both areas of study are inherently tied to the policies and cultures of the Transition, it would be impossible to carry out my analysis without acknowledging the scholarship as it exists to date. To begin, I will first revisit Aleida Assmann’s theories regarding cultural memory and the ways in which myths that evoke *passive remembering* and/or *forgetting* are manipulated by, and in the construction of, nationhood.

As I mentioned earlier, the types of mythology constructed during the dictatorship falls into two categories. We’ve already analyzed the first set of myths that deal more directly with the construction of *nationhood* via the *nationalized-gender-mythology* responsible for the *Franco-female*. Although we’ve discussed ways in which myths can be (de)mythified, the underlying problem in the case of Spain is the second set of myths that deal with the perpetuation of the regime’s mythology, and therefore precipitate a need for *surrogacy*. In this next segment, I will begin by elaborating the ways in which Franco Spain used myth-making processes to both legitimize power (by repeatedly and intentionally dipping into their *political archive* through *passive remembering*), as well as to transform their national identity through *passive forgetting (*in order to enter into a more globalized economy). Both forms of myth-making ultimately prolonged the success of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* and therefore made the path towards (de)mythification that much more difficult. From there, I will summarize the debates surrounding transitionary politics and culture as well as define how said debates and the trauma of the dictatorship have informed the need for *surrogacy*.

Passive Remembering / Passive Forgetting: When analyzing the efficacy and longevity of the Franco regime in the context of this study, both in the years immediately after the civil war as well the nearly-four decades that follow, I am essentially analyzing the ways in which the regime successfully employed myth-making that precipitated both *passive remembering* and *forgetting*. The following myths are important to my study as they serve as the foundations for the trauma of the Transition which precipitated the narratorial structure of *surrogate histories*. In terms of *passive remembering*, or what Assmann calls the *archive*, memories are stored and used by institutions of power in order to control official discourse as a means to cement the future and past sovereignty of a given power structure (102). Furthermore, Assmann divides the *archive* into two separate but relatable entities: the *political* and the *historical*. The *political archive* contains memories that are used to maintain and legitimize power while the *historical archive* is a repository of heritage (103). Both forms of archival production, despite their seeming passivity, are necessary to maintain a cohesive cultural identity, as Assmann later explains (105). Similarly, it is also imperative that a cultural identity be able to grow and transform through what Assmann describes as *passive forgetting* - when memories and materials are unceremoniously and unintentionally lost and/or or abandoned - with the hope of course that they can always be found (98).

In the context of Franco Spain, this delicate and *passive* balance between *remembering* and *forgetting* played a pivotal role in the long-term and relative success of the regime's policies. Indeed, this has already been described through an elaborate, sociological study conducted by Paloma Aguilar in her book *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (2002).

Although Aguilar's investigation deals mainly with the amnesia during the Transition, her analysis of the dictatorship and its construction of legitimacy is essentially a sociological understanding of the dichotomy between *remembering* and *forgetting*. Aguilar outlines the overarching power structures of the regime by explaining that they were both constantly fluctuating as well as permanently tied to their identity as *victors*. These power structures can also be defined by their deference to Franco as the ultimate leader. As I mentioned earlier, the pluralized allegiance to Franco (and Franco's allegiance to Catholicism) is what supported long-term ideology construction. Aguilar subsequently focuses on the commonality of being *victors* and how that manifests in the construction of nationhood. As Aguilar explains, the dictatorship relied on the construction of a centralized and homogenous discourse of the past as an attempt to legitimize itself but notes that said discourse transformed in order to maintain legitimacy (29-33). In order to do this, Aguilar first breaks down the argument of legitimacy between *origin-based* and *performance-based* (35). To contextualize Aguilar with my current discussion of myth-making, I will outline the different ways in which the regime manipulated legitimacy via the construction of different myths that ultimately perpetuate *passive* forms of *remembering* or *forgetting*.

To begin, or*igin-based legitimacy* is exactly what it sounds like – a governmental power is legitimate insofar as it was granted power legitimately. In the early stages of the dictatorship, the Franco regime noted the *origin-based legitimacy* of the Second Republic but then deemed it inconsequential due to *performance*. Essentially, the "failures" of the

Second Republic lead to the rise of the war which negated its *origin-based legitimacy*. By questioning the legitimacy of the Second Republic, the regime effectually claimed that the civil war was not only necessary, but that the atrocities committed (by the *Reds* of course) were of such a nature that the *victors* had the right, nay the moral imperative, to purge any and all republicanism from Spain (46). As I outlined earlier, anything that was deemed *Red* essentially became the *Anti-Spain*. Given that the legitimacy of the regime's rise to rule was ineffectually based on both the short-comings of the Second Republic as well as the atrocities of the civil war, it then became of paramount importance that the civil war be remembered - but, of course, on the regime's terms. Such terms include the exaltation of the anniversaries of the war as time-markers,[65] as well as the constant reminder of the memory of the war in various NO-DOs.[66] As time progressed, the economic imbalances of the regime's autarkic society ultimately led to a need to shift-gears and enter into a more globalized socioeconomic structure. Luckily, the regime had a long-standing, anti-communist stance that matched global opinion, but there was still that pesky connection to fascism that the regime needed to counteract. Aguilar notes that the regime began to focus more on its *performance-based legitimacy* in terms of economic growth in order to appeal to European sensibilities (42). Although the myth and memory of the civil war was ever present, the shift in perception allowed the regime to transform itself and enact policies of *passive forgetting*. Michael Richards (2002) uses the terms *gradual* or *rationalized forgetting* in order to contextualize this change in mythology (99). As the regime matured, the association with the past and the atrocities of the civil war did not necessarily dissipate, but the narrative did change slightly. The terms *apertura* or *dictablanda* are nods to the systemic changes within the structure of the regime and are indeed myths of their very own. In this way, the war itself became a myth for peace and legitimacy. Both the *passive remembering* and *forgetting* tactics built into the everyday structures of Franco Spain were used continuously to legitimize the regime's power and, in essence, are what manipulated and necessitated political amnesty during the Transition via the Amnesty Law of 1977 – at least, of course, according to some scholars.

The complexities surrounding current debates regarding the Transition are nuanced at best and downright problematic at their worst. The most problematic element of said debate is focused on the elusive *pact of silence* and what exactly said silence means or entails.[67] On the one hand, as Sebastiaan Faber (2018) notes, the *pacto del olvido* has historically served as an easy access point for scholars insofar as it helps to explain the cultural and political distance from the start of the democracy until the turn of the century. However, as Faber elaborates, many scholars contest to the notion of said pact as there did indeed exist a form of opposition culture both at the end of the dictatorship as well as throughout the Transition. In *El aprendizaje de la libertad* (2000), Santos Juliá and José Carlos Mainer argue that scholars reexamine the Spanish Transition and consider it to be, rather than a short period of time in which change flourished, a decades long process of social and economic change that culminated in what can be understood as the shift from dictatorship to democracy. The authors suggest that due to the elimination of revolutionary language, snuffed out of the collective memory and spaces by the harsh repression of the Franco regime, the democracy constructed during what has come to be known as the official transitionary years is reliant upon a much broader understanding of democracy. Moreover, the authors propose that the political elites of the Transition were in no way trying to inherit the traditional democratic sentiments of the Second Republic, but rather that they created their own, new language in terms of what democracy meant (30).

This theory is somewhat supported by Borja de Riquer i Permanyer, in his article “Social and Economic Change in a Climate of Political Immobilism: (1995) where De Riquer weighs in on the political and social changes during the last two decades of the dictatorship in order to outline a perfect storm of events that lead to sweeping change - that were of course not at all the result of effective politics on the part of the regime, but rather a confluence of national and international events that allowed for economic prosperity as well as a cultural change. As De Riquer points out, with the liberalization of the market and foreign investment came of course more modernization. Concurrently, as Elías Díaz makes very clear in his article “The Left and the Legacy of Francoism” (1995), “an equally essential though not exclusive pre-condition of the democratic transition was a *cultural* transition which, understood at in its widest sense, had in fact begun many years before 1975-6. This cultural transition was wholly dependent on the cultural process created by the resistance and opposition currents found in a variety of forms and milieux in Francoist Spain, and on the political demands they subsequently formulated” (284). More recently, Germán Labrador Méndez (2010) notes, that there has indeed existed a form of counter culture within Spain since before the Transition and that the supposed *pact of silence* is nothing more than a perpetuated myth of the Transition which continues to successfully obfuscate the real question surrounding a collective problem to acknowledge the past. In his most recent book, *Culpables por la literatura*

(2017), Labrador Méndez suggests that the persistent counterculture was both institutionalized as well as coopted in order to create a sense of stability.

Problematizing existing scholarship, Labrador Méndez explains that "la tarea política más urgente para mucho no era *aprender la libertad*, sino *des-aprender* la dictadura. La juventud quería liberarse de todo aquello que les había sido enseñado con violencia, *vomitándolo*" (16). This sentiment is shared by Guillem Martinez (2016) who defines the *CT* (Culture of the Transition) as a nuanced form of state control in which "la cultura, sea lo que sea, consiste en su deactivación, es decir, en crear estabilidad política y cohesión social" (15). Although this viewpoint does seemingly problematize current academic understandings of collective memory, as well as what Aguilar has purported as a culture of fear stemming from the mythology of the dictatorship, Labrador Méndez's decision to focus on *los límites de la libertad* would suggest otherwise. In that vein, perhaps there is some common ground.

Aguilar outlines in extraordinary detail the level to which the fear and myth created during the regime in regard to the Second Republic and the Civil War has permeated the very structures of the Transition. In a similar vein as Juliá, but with an obvious difference of intent, Aguilar notes that the collective guilt regarding the failures of the Second Republic as well as the Civil War were what lead to the amnesty law of the Transition. However, as Aguilar explains, said consensus over guilt "was only possible because agreement as to what the war had actually meant and which lessons should be drawn from it had already been reached, somewhat spontaneously, some years earlier" (31). Moreover, Aguilar elaborates on the economic and social changes and notes that a large majority of the population was willing "to maintain economic development and social order (although to an increasingly lesser extent) rather than set up a regime that would ensure them public freedoms; most members of society had become relatively content to limit their expectations to the level of material welfare that the Franco regime had offered" (163-4). In this regard, Aguilar and Juliá seemingly agree on a consensus for a new democratic language - although of course the reasonings for how they got there are quite different. Juliá claims that it was a social imperative driven from the bottom-up, while Aguilar's theory presupposes a structure of top-down propaganda that influenced collective response. Perhaps both are correct, perhaps neither. [68]

In terms of oppression culture, although Aguilar does not necessarily elaborate on the presence of a counterculture, her findings could suggest that said culture exists. In order to establish the culture of reconciliation present both politically and culturally during the Transition, Aguilar outlines the ways in which citizens were manipulated to fear an imminent resurrection of violence akin to that of both the Second Republic as well as the war. From the creation of the Amnesty Law (by the transitionary officials, not an elected government), to the push for a culture of reconciliation (bringing Guernica back to Spain), as well as the overt manipulation of the press, Aguilar outlines a culture of fear that can only be defined by the actual presence of opposition. Essentially, in suggesting that the myth-making ability of the Franco regime was so effective so as to necessitate a culture of reconciliation in the Transition, Aguilar also implies that there was indeed some form of resistance that would counteract or threaten the economic and social gains of the last two decades of the dictatorship. The problem of course is that the opposition is only implied. Per Labrador Méndez, "cuando *Se* nos proponga que la transición fue, ante todo, un proceso de *aprendizaje de la libertad*, diré –desde esta nuestra constelación de memorias– que, para *muchxs*, fue más bien un proceso de *aprendizaje de los límites de dicha libertad*. Al invisibilizar estos límites, *Se* impede hablar de quiénes los fijaron, y de cómo, en contra de quiénes, con cuáles resistencias, a qué precios y a cambio de qué conquistas" (16). If, therefore, the transitionary governments were primarily concerned with a break from the past, any and all opposition would be visually appropriated in order to necessitate a sense of reconciliation. As Labrador Méndez explains, blurring the limits of democratic freedom is successful insofar as it hides the consequences of failure – represented by *presos* and *pobres* – and that many of the Transition indeed closed their eyes to such violence (18). Such a fact does not mean that there was not indeed a counterculture that defined the lives of, per Labrador Méndez, at least two generations of Spaniards.

Ultimately, as Jo Labanyi (2007) argues, a break from the past was preferred by political elites as it both shrouded the fact that they were ultimately working from within the confines of the Franco regime and allowed them to focus on their struggle for modernity/Europeanization. Said break was also seemingly necessary, as Labanyi outlines, in order for Spain to become fully modern which is also why the socialist governments of the Transition[69] were more concerned with rebranding Spain than with the traumas of the past (94). Most importantly, even though this political obsession with modernity sought to erase, silence, or control the past, the cultural response was *not* silence. Rather the political response was paralleled in cultural movements like *la movida* and *el destape*.

Broadly defined by their abhorrent rejection of the censorship implicitly built into the national identity of Franco Spain, these cultural shifts and others like them would seemingly be rife with examples of ways in which to defy the *nationalized-gender-mythology* perpetuated by the regime. In fact, *la movida*, as defined by Héctor Fouce (2009) and Núria Triana Toribio (2000), actually succeeds in questioning the seemingly naturalized constructionism of culture. Stylistically, cultural productions of *la movida* were noted for their amateurism and, in regard to their narratorial structure, they gravitated towards previously taboo subjects like pornography and drug use (Triana Toribio). Moreover, their affinity for upending traditional Francoist mentalities through the blending of nihilistic punk culture with more traditional folkloric elements of Spain is seemingly an excellent use of the national mythology within a new, more structural context (Fouce). However, upon closer inspection, these new countercultural movements were anything but helpful in terms of ways in which to (de)mythify what I have outlined as the *nationalized-gender-mythology*.

In *En cuerpo y alma: ser mujer en tiempos de Franco* (2015), Morcillo argues that upon the end of the dictatorship "la habitual metáfora que se utiliza al hablar del 'destape' conlleva la existencia de un vínculo explícito entre la transición política y las imágenes de los cuerpos de las mujeres, dado que ese 'destape' alude al mismo tiempo al aperturismo político de una época y a la exposición del desnudo femenino" (Morcillo, 463). Concurrently, Barbara Zecchi (2014) elaborates upon the implicit objectification of the female body and clarifies that "Al reaccionar contra los estereotipos reductores que definían lo femenino durante el régimen, el cine posfranquista cae en la paradoja de atrapar a la mujer dentro de modelos que trivializan y naturalizan la violencia sexual y que glorifican los papeles de género más tradicionales que la encasillan en situaciones de sumisión" (73). According to Falcón (2002), the Transition was marked specifically by an uprise in violence against women and served to spark the campaigns against domestic violence. Falcón references an article she wrote from 1976 in which she details the number of *reported* cases of rape and domestic violence and begins to outline the micro-aggressions[70] that permeated daily life; "y todas somos víctimas diariamente de la agresión menor: el piropo obsceno, los comentarios insultantes o despreciativos, el roce furtivo en el metro y en la calle, el enfrentamiento verbal y la humillación constante a nuestra dignidad de personas. Antesala de mayores agresiones, de brutalidades infames, a que nos condena el sexo" (20). Moreover, Falcón notes that this violence went unnoticed or, more aptly ignored, until 1983. In this way, what could have been a shining moment of cultural redefinition has once again fallen into the traditional traps of the dichotomies perpetuated by *gender-mythology*. Women of the Transition are seemingly caught in Frye's *double-bind* - political apathy and violence, or cultural objectification.

Even in acknowledging that the 'pact of silence/oblivion' was not an overarching pact of forgetting and silence that permeated the entirety of Spanish society, whether the political apathy be read as an appropriative strategy or a sense of solidarity or even the vestiges of mythology, the fact remains that there was still a level of political manipulation in terms of true reconciliation regarding past trauma - or as Falcón notes, a continuation of open violence against democracy. Said manipulation/violence, especially when read in juxtaposition with a counterculture predicated upon objectification of the female body – tying into the original *gender-mythology,* only served to perpetuate and stigmatize the Spanish woman of transitionary Spain. In this way, *being female* during the Transition was equivalent to having few options in terms of how to best navigate and (de)mythify the past within a more public sphere. [71] In order to work within the mythological system, she must first be able to interact with her past. In essence, how do the problematics of the Transition affect the process of (de)mythification?

2.3.3 But make it trauma specific

Earlier I outlined via Barthes that any and all attempt to deconstruct myths has to be done via the same myth-making process. As we saw via Johnston, it is important that cultural productions that aim at (de)mythification be constructed within the same language system, but that they, also, openly call attention to the inherently constructive nature of myth. Just as myths are constructed in service to nationhood, Jeffrey C. Alexander (2004) suggests that trauma too undergoes a certain level of construction as well – insofar as whether or not an event is constructed as traumatic has more to do with the event's ability to disrupt a collective than its actual harmful nature (12). The *trauma process*, as Alexander calls it, is enacted by *carrier groups* whose function is to create a persuasive history in order to define the wound inflicted, to establish the victim of the trauma, to define the relationship between the public and the victim, and to assign responsibility (13-15). A *trauma process* is complete and successful when there is a persuasive, master narrative that permeates various social structures, including: the religious, the aesthetic, the legal, the scientific, mass media, and the political –to name a few (15-19). As Hayden White (1987) explains, the "value attached to narrativity in the representation of real events arises out of a desire to have real events display the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary" (24). Because traumatic events are ultimately imaginary until socially accepted, narrative is therefore the greatest tool to construct them realistically - namely because it is already a natural function of the human condition and its ability to mimic reality is pre-established through historical narrative. It is the use of said master narrative that is of paramount importance.

Appropriating per Pierre Nora's theory regarding ethnic minorities vis-a-vis *sites of memory*,[72] the marginalized woman of transitionary Spain had a reservoir of memory, but no historic capital with which to create a trauma process worthy of collective recognition. In order to enter into the public sphere and gain more cultural agency, she must deconstruct the myths of her past as well as acknowledge the traumas imposed by the symbolic and physical violence enacted via the mythology. Because, as Alexander explains, traumas must be constructed collectively so that they are felt, the marginalized woman of the Transition must therefore create a master narrative that is persuasive in nature and that attempts to permeate society on various levels. Unfortunately, the problematics of the Transition that have created a *double-bind* and ultimately perpetuated the *gender-mythology* of difference, make the construction of a trauma narrative more difficult. The political apathy and/or violence in the face of justice, the culture of fear capitalizing on public forms of protest, and the cultural imperative to modernize that shirks the responsibility of fully contextualizing the past - they all serve as roadblocks that negate her ability to deal with the traumas of her past. In order to persuade successfully via narrative, another step must be taken. So called *normalized* narratives, the ones that seek continuity, a sense of fullness, and are driven by a sense of morality that serves to further legitimize authority (White), those types of narratives will not be persuasive enough.

In *Memories, Trauma and History; Essays on Living with the Past* (2012), Michael S. Roth deconstructs the parallels outlined in his title and tackles a long standing question:

"What does one do with a painful past that cannot be simply willed to disappear yet is a source of enormous difficulties in the present?" (77). Essentially, Roth examines the best way to foment healing in terms of trauma and oscillates between two options: forgetting the past and recollecting the past. Because the trauma of the past is an acute and deeply problematic element of the present, Roth determines that at some point the past must be contextualized in some way. By focusing on the power of the historical narrative, Roth examines the pros and cons of the genre in its usefulness and ability to contextualize the trauma of the past effectively – without causing more harm by making the trauma seem banal and inconsequential.[73] Although *narrative memory* does indeed *transform* the past in the process of commodifying it for consumption, Roth maintains that it is possible to create a narrative memory that calls attention to the construction process and therefore acknowledges that the past trauma can never actually be told/understood in its entirety – a narrative that is faithful to the memory, but at the same time leaves room for interpretation. This type narrative, of course, has been called many things.

Within the structural confines of a narrative, the goal then becomes to create what David Herzberger (1991) defines as a *novel of memory* – a novel that re-contextualizes the past through a "self-effacing" process of narration. According to Herzberger, "Its teleogenic plotting thus works on two levels: (1) the fragmented composition compels the reader to reconfigure the design of storytelling through the evocation of a past that is not static but dynamic and ever changing; (2) the external referent of the narrative, the history of Spain, is now an internal component of the self and thus open to re-formation as the individual claims authority not over truth but against myth" (38). Another possible definition could include what Sara J. Brenneis calls *genre fusion* which "promotes the consideration of history and fiction as two sides of the same story" (3). The idea being that one weave the historical in with fiction so as to present the traumatic event but at the same time leave some narration to the imagination. This theory has also long been supported by Linda Hutcheon (1989) who uses the term *historiographic metafiction* to define the inherent relationship that both literature and history have in constructing as well as defining reality. In the following part of this dissertation, I will call this process *surrogacy* – narratives defined by thematic difference with contextual closeness.

Because the aforementioned political and social hurdles of the Transition problematize the marginalized woman's ability to connect to a past that deals directly with the traumas of the war and the dictatorship, she must implement a certain level of thematic difference. This is not to say that there were not representations of the war and the dictatorship present in cultural products of the Transition, as many scholars have disproven that lingering myth, but scholars can agree that there were indeed few that dealt with the trauma directly until the mid-1980s, growing in number until the veritable boom of memory in the late 1990s.[74] Furthermore, the first representations that deal more directly with the traumas of the war and dictatorship are almost exclusively products of male authors, directors, and playwrights and they all deal with myth more generally, as opposed to via a gendered lens. Indeed, apart from a handful of works, the female perspective goes almost completely unnoticed.[75] Or rather, the works that do exist are often excluded from the cannon and therefore any *meaningful access*[76] to them is limited. This number is reduced even further if we discount the novel, a literary genre to which women have historically had more access as authors of their own story, and limit the list to Spanish citizens.[77] Despite the scarcity of scholarship, because the *nationalized-gender-*

mythology was based upon idealized historical figures (often female) that pertain directly to the Catholic Spanish Empire, using those same histories as surrogates for the (de)mythification process could serve as a meaningful substitute, insofar as they are contextually close to the construction of the *nationalized-gender-mythology,* but thematically quite different.

Given the hurdles of the Transition and the centralized nature of gender dichotomy to the regime's mythology, I propose that female playwrights and directors of the Transition used *surrogacy* as a means to navigate the politics of the Transition while still dealing semi-directly with the myths that constructed the *Franco-female*. Moreover, perhaps in performative cultural environments where women have struggled to gain agency as the narrators of their own story – such as that of film and theatre – their struggle to be acknowledged coupled with the problematics of the Transition triggered a greater need for *surrogacy*.

CHAPTER 3

SURROGATE HISTORIES – (RE)CLAIMING NAMES

3.1 The Evidence

The *nationalized -gender-mythology* of Franco Spain was predicated upon the construction of myths that perpetuated dichotomies of difference via long-standing *gender-mythology*. In turn, what it meant *to be female* was in service to nationhood and was mediated through the various structures and institutions of the regime. Not only was the repression of the dictatorship gendered, but rather women were only allowed into the public sphere (meaning with less barriers) if and when they prescribed to the myths of the *Franco-female*. Upon the death of Franco in 1975, and the subsequent Transition to democracy, women seeking to redefine themselves in the context of modernity were either greeted with political apathy and/or violence or cultural objectification. As a way to incorporate their traumatic past into their present when the political and cultural problematics of the Transition pushed them towards the future, some female artists turned to *surrogate histories* - cultural products that implement surrogacy in order to define their traumas via site specific histories that deal directly with the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime by reappropriating the very same myths that were originally used. In an attempt to (de)mythify the myths of the *Franco-female,* a new myth is superimposed onto the chosen histories in order to reconstruct womanhood in a more holistic and, at the same time, more radical terms.

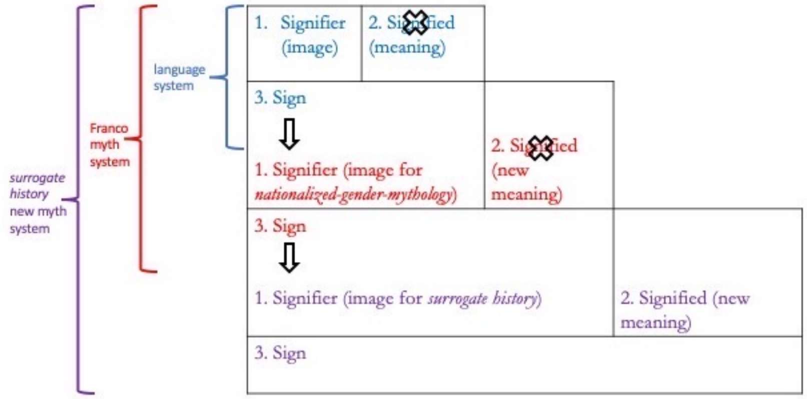
surrogate history new myth system
Franco myth system
language system
1. Signifier (image)
2. Signified (meaning)
3. Sign
1. Signifier (image for nationalized-gender-mythology)
2. Signified (new meaning)
3. Sign
1. Signifier (image for surrogate history)
2. Signified (new meaning)
3. Sign

Figure 7: Diagram of *surrogate histories*

Based specifically on Barthes original figure of how myths appropriate language systems, this diagram (Figure 7) demonstrates the ways in which a *surrogate history* appropriates the myths created via the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. Just as the regime emptied a sign of its signified in order to create its *nationalized-gender-mythology*, *surrogate histories* appropriate the regime's myth for its own purpose. The new myth is, in essence, superimposed onto the old one, thus connecting the past and the present – or rather, the author's present of transitionary Spain. After the appropriation of the regime's mythology, *surrogate histories* then utilize a multitude of strategies to call attention to the constructive nature of both myths and therefore deconstructs the entire myth-making process as a whole. The election of a surrogate, the appropriation of histories that were paramount to the original mythology, the construction of a new, more holistic narrative, and the strategies implemented to call attention to the construction process, all of these choices are steps taken in order to (de)mythify the dichotomies upheld by the regime and perpetuated within transitionary Spain. However, before I begin my analysis, I'd like to provide some brief context for the cultural products I've chosen.

The film *La petición* (1976) is Pilar Miró's first feature-length film and has received much critique due to its erotic yet unsettling nature. Given the seemingly wicked nature of the protagonist as well as Miró's own claims against feminism, the film could easily fall short of itself, especially in a time of such blatant objectification of the female body. However, in actuality, Susan Martin-Márquez (1999) does successfully outline a path towards the film's feminist reception. By tying Teresa's sadomasochistic tendencies to her agency, Martin-Márquez affirms that the protagonist "recognizes no masculine authority, and she alone is capable of transcending the law" (272). Despite Martin-Márquez's analysis of the film, Miró's work has often been critiqued for an inherent lack of feminist discourse. However, as Martin-Márquez explains, Miró "is careful to exclude herself from the category 'woman' through her insistent use of the third-person form of the verb. Rather, she prefers to set herself apart from other women as an extraordinary being, thus playing to –if not playing along with –patriarchy's grudging recognition of the reception who simply prove the rule of female inferiority" (142). Moreover, as Martin-Márquez points out, Miró herself has often waffled between denying and citing as problematic her status as a women in a male-dominated culture and career (144).[78] Regardless, or perhaps in spite of, such critique, I will argue that *La petición* does indeed employ a level of surrogacy that ties the product to a countercultural dialogue pertaining to the historically constructed nature of femininity.

Co-written by Miró and Leo Anchóriz, and based on the short story *Pour une nuit d'amour* by Émile Zola, *La petición* is a film set in late nineteenth-century Spain. Teresa, interpreted by Ana Belén, is a young woman of the upper-class who has an affair with her maid's son Miguel, portrayed by Emilio Gutiérrez Caba. As Zecchi (2014) explains, "su contenido sexual, «agravado» por una inversión en los papeles de género tradicionales" (104) caused problems for the film due to the lingering censorship of the dictatorship but could have also led to the film's relative success. Martin-Márquez (1999) notes that Miró "was obliged to spend nearly two months negotiating with the evaluations board, a prolongation of the old Francoist censorship in effect during the transition period" (264). Regardless, the censorship of this first film was quickly overshadowed by the outrage and charges brought against Miró for her film *Crimen de Cuenca* (1979). [79] Just as Martin-Márquez herself has lauded *La petición* as a noticeable and warranted break from the objectification of the *destape,* I intend to establish the film as an important cultural product within transitionary Spain. Essentially, in questioning the preexisting definitions of femininity, the film serves as a warranted critique to classist values and traditions outlined by the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime.

Turning to the other cultural products I'll be analyzing as evidence, Pilar Pombo was a member of the Association of Women Dramatists, and although she gained some notoriety with the staging of her first play *Una comedia de encargo* (1984), she is best known for her series of monologues. As Patricia O'Connor (1990) notes, Pombo's monologues "illuminate with humor rather than sentimentality the world of such unsung heroines as cleaning women, hairdressers, and the elderly" (577). Originally published through Editorial Pliego between the years 1986 and 1988, [80] none of Pombo's monologues were ever staged[81]. In fact, much of what is known about Pombo comes from her spirited inclusion in the first generation of female dramatists and their attempts to penetrate the male-dominated media. Although many surviving articles and *recortes* published during the Transition reference Pombo's monologues in regards to her potentiality as an up-and-coming female dramatist, [82] her work is often shadowed by the more prominent and successful female playwrights of her generation and the next.

Similar to Miró's *La petición*, Pombo's monologues question the mythologized nature of femininity through a focus on class-related struggles. However, unlike Miró's protagonist, the female leads of Pombo's monologues implement the "unpolished rhetoric of women of modest means and powerless circumstances" (O'Connor, 1990: 577). Focusing specifically on *mujeres españolas de situación humilde* (Pedrero, 57), the protagonists of Pombo's monologues serve as a necessary counterweight to the haughty, upper-class protagonist of Miró's *La petición*. In this way, and perhaps even despite the desires of their authors, the cultural products analyzed within this dissertation serve as a time marker for Spanish-centered feminism in post-Franco Spain. [83]

3.2 Building Surrogacy – *What's in a name?*

Earlier in this dissertation, I looked at the myth-making process and how it related specifically to the semiotic nature of a sign system as defined by Saussure. What do you picture when you read, for instance, the word *apple*? As I noted earlier, from my socio-political and historical point of view, I would imagine an apple (my favorite strand *fuji* to be specific) but I'd also think of the fairytale *Snow White* and then my interpretation would be rounded out by the consumerist-driven giant that has redefined the technological world via the machine on which I write this very dissertation. All of these reference points are defined by my lived experience but also, as Barthes notes, by the ways in which myth infiltrates quotidian experiences. In questioning the ways in which myths have permeated society, Barthes questions the nature of reality and its relation to the political. Barthes concludes that there are "strong myths and weak myths; in the former, the political quantum is immediate, the depoliticization is abrupt; in the latter, the political quality of the object has *faded* like a colour, but the slightest thing can bring back its strength brutally" (144). The way to gauge the strength of a myth, according to Barthes, is to look not at the signification, but at the signifier. To ask, what image has been appropriated by the mythology and for what reason? In the examples I provided concerning the apple, the level of politicization and the strength of the myths are quite low. Or are they? The point here, is that although some myths are seemingly innocent given that they lay dormant, the level of politicization is directly related to the socio-political reality of the myth-consumer as well as the reasons for why the image was appropriated. This of course leads us to another question, also proposed by Barthes, concerning authorship and intentionality.

3.2.1 Intertextual Links

In his essay "The Death of the Author" (1967), Barthes argues that "a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation" (316). In doing so, Barthes frees any given cultural product from the individualist grasps of authorship. More importantly, according to Barthes, any attempt to get at the nature of a text is perilous insofar as all meaning is inherently intertextual. In fact, any attempt on the author's part to *express himself* is fraught insofar as said expression is nothing more than an intertextual reality already formed before the writing has even begun. Barthes argues that "the writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original" (315) and therefore suggests a perpetuation of the same narratives, although admittedly in different forms and amalgamations. In this way, any and all cultural products can be reduced to their inherent intertextuality that is then, per Barthes, *disentangled* by the reader. Because, as I argued in the introduction, female authorship is defined by the marginalization that defines her, the intertextual elements within a cultural product of female authorship is therefore inherently connected to her socio-political limitations.

In this chapter of evidence, I will address a subcategory of *surrogacy* that involves, and is triggered by, the choice of namesakes. In the texts under study, the female protagonists' names evoke historical female characters of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. Whether done deliberately or unconsciously, this form of surrogacy creates intertextual links that resonate with both the authors' as well as Spain's past. In this way, and in the context of my study, every element within the cultural product I have chosen is directly related to the reality of the female creators. The *name* of the protagonist becomes important because it is intertextual within the confines of her socio-political reality. In terms of transitionary Spain, the female reality has been predefined according to the limits of the *nationalized-gender-mythology*. The choice of what to name the protagonist is not a random or innocent choice at all, but rather a perpetuation of reality within a pre-established mythology. Whether or not the author consciously or unconsciously appropriated the name of important historical figures becomes irrelevant – it is not my goal to engage here with the author's intentions and indulge in internationalist criticism. However, I would like to analyze the treatment of what I consider to be appropriated names.

How do the protagonists act? How do the namesakes interact with the mythology? Each of the cultural products chosen for this dissertation implement surrogacy through the creation of a namesake that directly ties the female characters to an important element of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. It is important to note in all of the following examples, all of the protagonists are referred to by their given name, as opposed to their surnames. Now that I've outlined the value of the appropriated images, I can begin to outline their presence within the cultural products I have chosen as well as their narratorial weight within the pre-established mythology.

3.2.2 Teresa de Ávila / Jesús

Teresa, the seductive, upper-class protagonist of Pilar Miró's film *La petición* is represented as wicked and evil even in her childhood. The film opens with a scene of the past. Teresa and Miguel (the maid's son and Teresa's love interest) are playing outside as children. The extra-diegetic tones of dread and the children's battle for power both foreshadow as well as scaffold the children's relationship throughout the film. The scuffle ends in Teresa biting Miguel's ear as the boy cries out in pain and she dryly calls him *imbécil*. His mother, Francisca, rushes over to stop them and what begins as Francisca fussing over Miguel's wound, ends with a scolding of the boy for being too rough. As Francisca frets over any possible harm that could have come to Teresa, the camera zooms in on the young girl's face as she smiles wryly towards an off-screen Miguel – biting her tongue as she bit his ear until the screen fades to black. This first sequence not only sets the tone of the film, but also clearly establishes Teresa as the protagonist of the narrative. But what link does she have to a mythologized past? Although perhaps unapparent at the outset, I'd like to suggest an intertextual link between young-Teresa of *La petición* and Santa Teresa de Ávila / Jesús. [84]

Teresa de Jesús is a well-known, historical figure in Spain and within the culture of Catholicism. As a Carmelite nun, Teresa is known for her mysticism, her work as a reformer of the Catholic faith, as well as for the various books that she authored regarding her life and her reform. Although she is well-known for her scholarship and the renewal of spirituality within the Catholic Church, Teresa's imagery very often has been appropriated and critiqued by both her contemporaries as well as many male scholars throughout history. Insofar as her role as a scholar has often been received as coming directly from God, her gender was easily and happily negated. In fact, as Elena Carrera notes (2005) in the original reception of Teresa's work by Fray Luis de Leon in 1588, "the name Teresa does not evoke a person but an image, and that to understand this image one needs to be familiar with the codes of Christianity, which are not simply linguistic codes or free-floating signifiers, but also codes of behavior, grounded in modes of living" (4). Carrera also explains that much of the critique surrounding Teresa has arisen from her claims that spirituality does not come directly from books, but rather that it is a lived-experienced. Essentially, although spirituality can be augmented by religious scholarship, it comes directly from Christ. Insofar as the Catholic Church is a social construct designed to mediate the path to salvation, Teresa's theology could be considered heretical. It is therefore through her resurrection via the scholarship of her peers, such as Fray Luis de León, that she was resolved of her heresy and therefore available to be later appropriated as a model female figure by the Franco regime.

In her study *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (2008), Aurora G. Morcillo outlines the varying ideological definitions of femininity perpetuated by the regime both culturally as well as politically. Per Morcillo, the regime appropriated various identities in the reconstruction of womanhood, with the most notable being that of Teresa de Ávila:

> The Francoist cult and manipulation of the Teresa de Jesús figure began during the Civil War. […] On 18 February 1937, the daily *ABC* published in Sevilla an article about the occupation of Málaga. It reported that a Nationalist soldier found the uncorrupted left hand of Saint Teresa de Jesús in the suitcase of the Republic Colonel Villalba. Nationalist propaganda argued that the sacred relic constituted proof of divine assistance in the crusade and confirmed the miraculous nature of the war. Franco became the guardian of the saint's hand, which he kept in the chapel of the Pardo palace, his residence, until he died in 1975. Teresa de Jesús was portrayed as 'old Christina', noble, and obedient to the Church dogma against Lutheran threats, and she was later proclaimed 'Saint of the Race.' Although in 1946 the researcher Narciso Alonso Cortés found documents in Valladolid that demonstrated the Jewish origins of Teresa de Jesús, thus destroying the myth of 'Saint of the Race, 'the discovery was conveniently ignored. (37)

Morcillo continues to elaborate not only the ways in which the imagery of Teresa was coopted by the regime, but rather by Francoist culture wholesale. One such example is the creation of the Teresean Institute (TI). Founded in the late nineteenth-century, the TI perpetuated a space for women to be educated via their faith. Although the institute allowed for the women to be educated past primary and secondary education, this education was founded on making women "better mothers, Christian educators, and professionals" within the confines of femininity dictated by the church and the regime. In this way, womanhood was still defined by a normalized ethos of inferiority and the natural tendency towards maternity.

Although Morcillo's investigation of Catholic womanhood does not revolve directly around the figure of Teresa de Ávila / Jesús, it does reference her figure repeatedly in a variety of cultural and social implications. Insofar as her book does not contain a dedicated section to the appropriation of her imagery, but rather, although albeit inadvertently, explores how her figure was coopted in quotidian spaces, Morcillo's study outlines how Teresa de Ávila / Jesús became an empty signifier upon which new meaning could be codified. Another very basic example is evidenced through the popular magazine *Teresa, Revista para Todas las Mujeres* – published by the Sección Femenina from 1954 to 1977. As I outlined earlier, the use of the magazine in the later decades of the dictatorship served as a point of reflection between the early oppression of the regime, and the later decades influenced by tourism and a need for economic growth. Per Morcillo, the magazine "advertised the proper careers for the new Spanish woman of the fifties. For example, several issues explored the idea of studying languages so that women could become teachers, tourist guides, or secretaries" (73). The perpetuation of imagery from the regime's early constructions of femininity served as a guarantee of the perpetuation of the *nationalized-gender-mythology*.

Although there is no overt mention or recognition that Miró's character is representative of Teresa de Ávila / Jesús, the characteristics of young-Teresa, and her role as a dutiful daughter define her according to the myths of the *Franco-female*. Despite the lack of direct reference, there are some examples within the film that could suggest a conscious intertextual link. As a specific example, at one point in the film Teresa does indeed mention her connection to having studied in a convent with nuns. Although made in passing, Teresa will later suggest to Miguel that she had lesbian relationships with some of her friends while at the convent. However, interestingly enough, the importance of her statement is only relevant to the spectator. Much in the same way that canonical scholarship has denied the existence of same-sex attractions between women, Miguel ignores Teresa's statement completely – dismissing her physical cues that clearly tell the spectator that Teresa's confession is important and relevant to her specific narrative. The fact that the connection to the convent was made twice, but only relevant to the spectator suggests that there is an intertextual link to which her peers are not conscious. In this way, regardless of whether it is a conscious or unconscious intertextual link, the cultural connection made is significant. Moreover, the link between young-Teresa and the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime gains more significance when analyzed via her role as the dutiful daughter.

After the first sequence described above, the plot jumps forward to a sequence that serves to foreshadow the climax of the narrative, the neighbor's *request*, and then finally settles into *present day* around the eleventh minute of the film with the beginning of what will be an unbroken storyline. Teresa arrives home from *un colegio de monjas* in France and is presented painting in her study until her maid, Francisca, comes in with *merienda*. This scene is the first example of Teresa as the dutiful daughter of an upper-class family. Teresa inquire about her potential guests and Francisca notes that Miguel, her son, has returned home. Teresa asks if she has a guest, but Francisca says no – Miguel is home. Teresa then asks if her mother will be home soon and when Francisca explains that she'll be gone all afternoon, Teresa decides to *merendar* in the kitchen with Miguel. Francisca's visible disapproval coupled with the necessary absence of Teresa's mother denotes that perhaps that space of the house, the kitchen, is not a dignified space for Teresa to inhabit. This is further suggested when Miguel, a long-time friend and companion to Teresa, addresses her as *usted* until she requests that he treat her *de tú* like when they were children.

Another example of Teresa as the dutiful daughter, waiting to be *la perfecta casada* is evidenced through the dinner sequence that juxtaposes the scenes of the family's elegant and quite dinner with the raucous and lively scenes of the staff and Miguel in the servant's space. Teresa eats quietly with her family, is hushed by her mother and father when she asks questions that are not fit or dignified of a girl her age or class, and is only granted permission to leave the table once the entire family has finished and a prayer has been said. The silence of the family's dinner and the static nature of the camera is starkly contrasted against the continuous dialogue and fluid camera movements of the staff's dinner - in which the camera tracks the path of the server through the staff's dining area, into the kitchen, and then back again. Despite Teresa's best efforts to interact with the server (the representative that moves freely between the two spaces), and push the conversation with her parents along, she is silenced and ignored and therefore clearly defined within the sequence as an young, upper-class woman waiting to be married off. This is further cemented throughout the narrative via her wardrobe, always perfectly dressed and presentable and never without a hat or an umbrella in outdoor scenes, her perfectly coiffed hair, as well as the overall poise with which Belén portrays the character.

Regardless of who Teresa actually is to all of the other characters in the film, she remains the epitome of what Martín Gaite (1987) will come to describe as *la jovencita soltera* – educated in the ways of courtship and motherhood and waiting patiently for her Prince Charming. Moreover, her physical appearance, her seemingly unproblematic betrothal, and her connection to having studied for a large time in a convent all connect her to a mythologized past. Although it is clear to the viewer and to her victims that Teresa is more than what she seems, both her namesake as well as her ability to successfully perform within the confines of the narrative are surrogate ties to the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of Franco Spain.

3.2.3 Isabel la Católica

Moving on in my analysis of surrogacy, I've decided to divide up Pombo's monologues in reference to their level of suggested *surrogacy*. Written in 1987, *Isabel* is a monologue in which the protagonist is a mother *de cuarenta y poco años* that shares space, but not the stage, with her son Andrés. Although Andrés never sets foot on the stage, the parenthetical notes tell us that he is around 15 years of age. Other characters mentioned include another child as well as Isabel's husband –although neither of them are mentioned specifically by name. In keeping with the trend of significantly important historical women within the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime, Isabel then becomes an intertextual link to Isabel la Católica.

Isabel I of Castile is a prominent female figure in history insofar as her reign as a female monarch was an exceptionality of its time. Historically, she is best known for the role she played in some of the following historical events of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: the premodern unification of the Spanish state; the *reconquista* of Christian Spain from Muslim rule –ending in Granada of 1492; for funding Christopher Columbus' exploration (and devastation) of the "New World"; the brutal *Inquisición* of Jews and Muslims as a means to unite the Spanish kingdoms under one religion. Renowned for her unwavering Catholic faith, Nancy Marino (2008) explains that "because Isabel is a cultural icon, her story and image have been used in many ways to serve various purposes and intentions both positive and negative, but seemingly never indifferent" (186). Indeed, even Isabel herself played upon the mythology surrounding her faith and her gender in order to manipulate the chivalric culture of fifteenth-century Spain – a culture that was typified by honorable knights completing holy service for a "fair lady." It is through a combination of that culture, as well as an assumption that Isabel was a savior sent from God, that Isabel was able to rule Castile in her own right. Insofar as her power and prowess was recorded and manipulated in spite of her femininity, so as not to usurp masculine rule, Isabel was Queen of Castile and never a co-regent to her husband.[85] It is also important to note that Isabel I chose her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, and rose to power as Queen of Castile in spite of not directly inheriting the throne.

Per Helen Graham (1995), the regime used reconstructed images of important, female figures paramount to the history of Spain as an empire in order to project medieval values of gender difference innate to Catholicism and therefore to the new mythology – one such figure was Isabel la Católica.[86] Although, as Graham also remarks, the dictatorship's dependency and appropriation of Isabel's image was contingent upon robbing her of much of her hard-won agency. However, given Isabel's dedication to her Catholic faith and her pivotal role in the reconquest of Spain from "Muslim infidels," it is of little surprise that her imagery was coopted by the Franco regime in their own "crusade of purity". As David Herzberger (1995) explains, "the starting point for this vision [of an original or essential Spain], in chronological terms, is the expulsion of the infidels in 1492 and the subsequent divination of Isabel la Católica and the invention of Spain. But 1492 represents not only the birth of Spain, it also stands as the apogee of Spain's moral and historical destiny" (35). Herzerberger continues to connect the second expulsion of infidels to Franco's victory in 1939 –in which Franco now becomes the mythologized figure that saves Spain.

In her article "El mito de Isabel de Castilla como elemento de legitimidad política en el franquismo" (2014), Elena Maza Zorilla elaborates upon the various ways that the figure of Isabel was coopted by both the regime as well as *la Sección Femenina* in order to serve as a state model for both women and the regime. Per Zorilla, if Santa Teresa was the epitome of the Church, Isabel became the model for the State. Although Zorilla's article is rich with examples, I believe her analysis of Pilar Primo de Rivera's appropriation of Isabel is best suited to my argument:

> Pilar Primo de Rivera e Isabel la Católica, pese a los cinco siglos que median entre ambas, comparten complicidades por expreso deseo del régimen. Desde 1939, la «Y» de oro isabelina, monograma al que se atribuye un triple simbolismo alusivo a unidad y servicio (inicial de la reina, conjunción copulativa y letra del yugo), adorna su sobrio vestuario (22) [first pinned on by Franco in 1939]. La concesión, asimismo, de la Gran Orden Imperial del Yugo y las Flechas, creada por el propio Franco, y de la Gran Cruz de Isabel la Católica culminan la unión simbólica entre ambas mujeres, pretendida fusión del pasado y presente de España. Al reconocimiento público que implican estas condecoraciones al máximo nivel, impuestas de manos del Caudillo, se une la intencionalidad política de trazar un hilo conductor indeleble entre la gloriosa España isabelina y el Nuevo Estado franquista. (174)

Another salient example of the indoctrination of the cult of Isabel can again be found via the creation of the magazine *Y. Revista para la mujer* – running via the *Sección Femenina* from 1941-1943. The magazine *Y*, in comparison with other magazines produced during the dictatorship, is specifically defined by the indoctrination of viewers into the cult of femininity defined by they myths I earlier outlined as pertaining to the *Franco-female*. Via an analysis of the magazine's covers, Miguel Soler Gallo (2016) explains "esta publicación [*Y*] estaba más interesada en hacer llegar al público unos determinados valores o símbolos –una sonrisa, una actitud–, que un rostro de mujer real" (52). Of course, in comparison to the actual imagery of Isabel I of Castile, these myths fall short. As Graham mentions, the need to reconstruct the past was of paramount importance given the historical weight of Isabel within the history of Spain as well as her proven abilities as a female monarch.

Indeed, the intertextual link between Pombo's character and the mythical figure of Isabel I of Castile is *shallow* insofar as there are no direct references to queenship. However, upon analyzing Isabel's role as myth within the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime, the connection becomes a bit clearer. For instance, while analyzing the commonalities between Isabel la Católica and Pilar Primo de Rivera, Zorrilla notes the tone in which the *Sección Femenina* was established in defense of and as a means to reiterate the regime's overarching goals: *familia, religion, orden, obedience, moralidad*. More importnatly, Zorrilla traces the traditional education and indoctrination of women to the phrase *reina del hogar* (174). In accepting Zorrilla's definition of Isabel la Católica as the beacon or nationalized model of statehood, then imagery of *la reina del hogar* in reference to *Isabel la Católica* becomes clear. Moreover, given this definition, the intertextual link between Pombo's character begins to take shape – especially given that her character Isabel is the head of the house and only young mother presented within all of her monologues.

Pombo's play is set on *un patio trasero* that is used both as a storage space as well as space to dry laundry. Set during the hot summer month of August, Isabel is at home with Andrés tending to the clothing on the patio and encouraging Andrés to practice the guitar. More specifically, Isabel requests that Andrés play *Romance anónimo* – a song that Isabel's husband used to serenade her with during their courtship. The song stirs Isabel's memories as she begins to monologue about how they had met. The nostalgia of the song forces her to explain why Andrés' father no longer plays and steers her monologue to the ways in which her marriage has changed. It began when her husband proposed marriage outside of her bedroom window and was chased around by her father – she laughs at how much they hated each other given how well they get along now. All of a sudden, Isabel is filled with emotion and remarks, "A mí hay veces que me sacan de mis casillas… Hay veces que los cogería y los estrellaría contra la pared…" (10). As we see in the parenthetical notes, "*Isabel con un gesto que bien podría ser rabia pone una prenda para planchar*" until she is overcome by the heat and collapses for a break on a hammock. From this point onward, Isabel's anger builds slowly throughout the play, mimicking her intolerance to the heat of the summer. It is in these flashes of history and rage that we begin to see the mythology of the regime poke through the play.

To begin, Isabel remarks that she needs to get a wax and notes that her husband has always wanted her to appear *arreglada* but never *pintada* (11). The music lifts Isabel into other memories of all the things her and her husband had planned to do, but then life got in the way. As she recounts the history of her marriage, Isabel makes what the parenthetical notes call *excusas*. For instance, when deciding whether or not to quit her job, Isabel remarks, "pero fue una decisión mía… él se limitó a decir… 'Tú verás lo que haces, eso lo tienes que decidir tú'… (*Y viene la excusa*) ¿Pero cómo le iba a dejar que se fuera solo si prácticamente estábamos recién casados?" (12). Then again, she remarks "Para mí era perfecto… (*Otra excusa*) ¡Cómo no iba a dejar todo para ir detrás de él!… Claro que tú pensarás aunque no es para tanto… pero es que la gente cambia según se van haciendo mayores… la vida que da muchos palos… las responsabilidades… los años… es lógico…" (13). As the music continues and the heat rises, the parenthetical notes remark that Isabel begins to question her marriage.

In remarking on how her husband has changed, Isabel remembers what her husband first said when they were married: "Ya puedes ir aprendiendo a cocinar porque no estoy dispuesto a comer todos los días de latas"… y lo primero que me regaló el día de mi cumpleaños después de casarnos… ya sabes que cumplo años cuatro días después del aniversario de boda… pues me regaló un libro de cocina…" (14). She then tells Andrés that at one point she had enough money saved up to open her own fashion business with a neighbor, but that she couldn't because her duties as a mother and wife made it impossible. Isabel explains, "No iba a dejar a tu padre solo… ¿quién se iba a encargar de la casa? … y eso que tu padre me animaba mucho… 'Sí, mujer, si a mí me parece muy bien que te busques algo que te sirva de distracción comprendo perfectamente que estando todo el día sola en casa te aburras… además los chicos son ya mayores y hacen su vida'… (*Piensa*)" (15). As the play begins to close, Isabel returns to work and the parenthetical notes reveal the ways in which she has constantly sacrificed herself for her family - "(*Los movimientos de Isabel son lentos, pesados, cansinos. Pone una prenda sobre la tabla y plancha con gestos mecánicos nacidos de la costumbre*)" (17). Finally, as she turns on her son in a moment of rage, she reveals that while she has been home all day ironing, her husband has been out enjoying vacation.

Although Isabel's rage ultimately wins out, her memories of her marriage and her constant devotion to her family typifies the ways in which her character lives up to her namesake as defined by the regime's mythology. Isabel is the queen of her household. She has proven to be the constant rock in times of financial hardship and despite her love for her husband, his devotion to the family is contingent upon her tacit acceptance of their life as it currently is – a life in which she tends to the laundry, while he is out of the house enjoying *una partida*. What was once a relationship filled with romance has become nothing more than continued and unending service to the good of the family.

3.2.4 Holier-than-thou

Although Teresa de Ávila and Isabel la Católica serve as key female figures in the construction of femininity under the regime's mythology, the Catholic Church too played a key role in perpetuating typical dichotomies of good versus evil and acceptable versus unacceptable behaviors of the *Franco-female*. In the space that remains of this section, I will outline three other monologues written by Pombo and discuss the ways in which each monologue serves as an intertextual link to the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. Once again, I will be analyzing not only the protagonists' as namesakes, but also some of their actions within the play. In this way, even if these namesakes are perhaps less apparently connected to famous female figures of the regime, their name tied to their actions serves to shore up the intertextual links with the past.

The first monologue written by Pombo, *Amalia* (1986) is about an older (*cincuentona*) woman who was an actress in her youth and is now a part-time maid. The monologue takes place in apartment of a woman she works for, Cristina, and although there is another character with a speaking role, Jaime, Amalia is clearly the protagonist of the monologue. It is her story that matters. In briefly researching the name Amalia within Spanish history, it is true there are not any outstanding figures that were utilized by the regime. The name does have some significance within Habsburg Austria, and therefore one could maintain that the Habsburg dynasty is an important piece of the Spanish empire, but even I agree that an unconscious intertextual link has its limits. Although *Amalia* is not a namesake directly tied to a specific famous female figure within medieval Spanish history, something that we can see in other works in the chapter, the name as well as the protagonist's actions define her importance. The given name *Amalia* is a Latin-based name derived from the masculine, Germanic name *amal* which means 'work' or 'labour'[87]. The etymology of the word is interesting not only given the profession of the character, but also the link between its Latin and Germanic influence – another connection to the Habsburg dynasty as lived by Carlos V. Regardless of whether or not this piece of intertextual evidence was a conscious or unconscious choice on the part of Pombo, Amalia's actions and opinions within the play also tie her strongly to the regime's mythology.

The play opens with Amalia entering the staged living room/kitchen of an apartment only to be unexpectedly greeted by a half-dressed Jaime. Shocked, Amalia immediately phones her employer and the tenant of the apartment, Cristina Santos. [88] Through their phone conversation as well as a note left by Cristina, the public assumes that Jaime is/has been Cristina's sexual partner. Cristina has asked Amalia to make Jaime breakfast and then send him off to work. The nature of Amalia's job could indeed permit the making of breakfast, especially since Amalia has come prepared with food presumably to be left for Cristina, but the phrase "y le mande para el trabajo" (4) denotes a sense of authority or ownership of Jaime's ability. This, coupled with the motherly task of making him breakfast, suggests that Amalia is somehow responsible for Jaime, a grown man. This is further suggested throughout the play as Amalia rushes Jaime off to the shower, cleans and organizes the bedroom where he has slept, collects the laundry he has dirtied, cleans the plates he's eaten on, and rushes him out the door to work on time. Furthermore, all of Amalia and Jaime's interactions are defined by Jaime's silence and Amalia's tone of authority. [89]

In the note left by Cristina, dictated by Amalia, the public learns that Jaime is *afónico* (4) and it is suggested that it is a temporary ailment. Despite Jaime's attempts to speak during breakfast, Amalia quiets him so that he does not become more symptomatic and, in doing so, further outlines her maternal instinct toward Jaime. "(*Jaime se sonríe* *divertido. Amalia le sirve. Jaime va a decir algo*) ¡No, hijo, usted no hable! (*Casi con ternura*) no vaya a ser que usted nos quede mudo y ¡menudo disgusto!, pues no son traicioneras estas afonías…" (12). The same motherly instinct persists when Amalia forces her homemade muffins upon Jaime, noting that he needs to *alimentarse*, as well as when she reveals that she has been the one tending to his laundry – not Cristina. Moreover, when Jaime begins to slurp while drinking his coffee, Amalia scolds him as if he were a child. What is important to note is that despite the suggested tone of their relationship, Amalia still maintains the use of *usted*. I am in no way suggesting that Amalia becomes Jaime's mother in the seventeen short pages of the monologue, rather that Pombo cleverly outlines the ways in which the cultural imperatives of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* have permeated even the most professional of relationships. In this way, Amalia's interactions with Jaime, coupled with the etymology of her name, suggest an intertextuality that connects historically and ideologically to the regime's mythology concerning correct forms of femininity.

Pombo's next monologue, *Remedios* (1986), was written in December of that same year and begins to reference the regime's mythology more directly. The protagonist, Remedios, is a widowed *pensionista* who has been living with her daughter and caring for her grandchildren. The name *Remedios* is a direct link to the Virgin Mary and, more importantly, can be traced back to the work of the Trinitarian Order and the *Reconquista*.[90] The Virgin Mary is obviously an important figure in the Catholic faith and plays an important role in the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of Franco Spain as well. Not only is the early mythology of the regime based on chastity and virginity, but even through its transformation during the consumerism of the 50s and 60s, virginity played an important role of womanhood. As Morcillo (2000) notes, “Men rarely arrived at marriage virgins, whereas virginity for women was a must. The moral double standards was redefined with the urbanization of the country. It was a commonplace in the 1950s to distinguish between the *señorita* (a young lady) who lived in the city and the *fulana* (a hooker) who lived in the outskirts of the metropolitan areas” (64). Even as mothers, a woman’s chastity and modesty was of the upmost importance. In this way, the female protagonist, Remedios can be linked directly to the regime’s mythology and the ideals of the *Franco-female*. As if this intertextual link was not enough, Remedios’ monologue is a telling example of the mythology as well.

The basis of the play is that Remedios has decided to leave her daughter’s house and move in with her lover/partner, Esteban. The play begins on a Saturday afternoon with Remedios receiving a phone call from her daughter, Rosa. The conversation is one sided insofar as the public does not hear what Rosa has said, but from Remedios’ outrage we learn that Rosa and the rest of the family has decided to not return home for lunch that day. Rosa’s insolence provokes Remedios’ monologue. At various times throughout the play Remedios interprets her family members to help her work through the difficult conversation she must have with her daughter about moving out. In these mock dialogues, Remedios’ character makes many intertextual leaps that align with the mythology of Franco Spain. For instance, when describing why she wants to live with Esteban, Remedios notes, “Me hace ilusión pensar que voy a tener a alguien a quién cuidar… hacerle las comidas… plancharle las camisas… salir con él, del brazo, a la hora que nos dé la gana… y el Esteban es bueno, cariñoso, paciente…” (13). Remedios later corrects herself, but her first instinct in defending her reasoning is that she wants to be of use to a man. Also, although at times Remedios remarks, “Necesito un hombre que me quiera y ese hombre es Esteban…”, she begins to falter when trying to explain the carnality of her needs until she begins to change the subject: “¿O es que te piensas que un hombre solo se tiene para apagar las ansias de… de…? Mira, mira, no me hagas decir barbaridades… no me hagas decir barbaridades (*Remedios pasea intranquila. Sigue con sus argumentos*) Tu padre fué bueno, trabajador y honrado, pero se me fué demasiado pronto, y han sido muchos años de sentir un vacuo de cuerpo que… no sé cómo explicarte…” (13). In this way, Remedios’ inability to truly explain her desire, but rather be embarrassed by holding space as a mother with sexual needs, perpetuates the goals of chastity inherent to her namesake.

The last of Pombo’s monologues, *Purificación* (1987) once again tackles the commonalities between Catholicism and the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of Franco Spain by intertextually linking the protagonist once more to the Virgen Mary.[91] In the Catholic faith, *la purificación de María* is celebrated in February during Candlemas and references the need for a mother to be cleansed after childbirth – wherein a mother must present her child to a priest and be cleansed of her sin.[92] The protagonist of the play is *una administrativa de treinta y tantos años* and although referenced within the parenthetical notes as *Purificación*, she calls herself *Purita* and is often addressed as *Mari Puri* by others. The chastity referenced by her name is amplified by what the parenthetical notes and the protagonist repeatedly reference as her first and only success - her portrayal of Doña Inés from Jose Zorilla’s play *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844). The duality of these two female saviors cements the intertextual link between the protagonist of the Pombo’s play and the inherently Catholic description of femininity as outlined by the regime’s mythology regarding the *Franco-female*. This link is further solidified when we analyze Purificación's memories and their materialization throughout the play.

The play opens with Purificación alone in her office with a poster of James Dean who, as per the parenthetical notes, is a non-speaking character within the play. Purificación stages the office gossip via a monologued representation of her conversation with a colleague, Mari Juli, which also includes Purificación's commentary. At the very outset of the monologue, Purificación explains, "Claro que yo he reaccionado enseguida y me he dicho: "Purita, esta viene dispuesta a hacerte alguna trastada, porque cuando pone esa cara de morbosa es que ha desenterrado el hacha de guerra. Así que tú, Purita, a disimular toca". (*Histrionica*) ¡Y que no soy yo nadie para esto de la interpretación! ¡Premio Nacional y Extraordinario por Cultura y Ocio! ¡Ahí es nada!" (2). The connection to the award she received, as the public comes to learn, was due to her interpretation of Doña Inés, which leads Purificación to remember her first love, Victor, who interpreted the role of Don Juan opposite her. As Purificación reminisces, the public learns more about not only her relationship, but rather the ways in which she as a woman saw herself in relation to others and society.

Upon recounting her emotions after the opening night of the play, Purificación begins to talk about her relationship with Victor and how it became problematic given that she did not have sex with him. She begins, "(*Como disculpándose ante Dean*) Yo comprendo que vosotros tengais vuestras necesidades, pero es que me pareció tan poco romántico en aquel momento" but then clarifies a page later that her decision was influenced by what others would think and say:

> ¿Te puedes imaginar los comentarios?… No sé si hubiera podido soportarlo… y es que como te colgaran el cartel de facilona ya te habías caído con todo el equipo, y tenías que dejar que todos los chicos te tocaran el culo y esas cosas… y yo no estaba por la labor, porque con que me lo tocara Victor, y solo de vez en cuando, ya era más que suficiente, y eso para tenerle contento… cuando le notaba yo así como enfurruñado pues le dejaba que se explayara un poco y siempre sin traspasar los límites… (*Purificación no sabe ni que límites son esos*). (11)

Later on, as Purificación recounts the time that Victor asked her to spend a weekend with him via a monologued representation of a dialogue between her and her mother, the public begins to learn more about her reasoning.

> Luego vino aquel fin de semana en que tú [speaking to James Dean as if he were Victor] me propusiste pasarlo juntos, compartiendo amanecer y cama, y yo te solté aquella burrada de que entre una cosa y otra había una vicaría por medio… y es que ¿sabes?… (*Casi avergonzada*) estaba aterrorizada… me subió un miedo horrendo por la espalda… miedo a mí misma… miedo al que dirán las vecinas… miedo a ver tu cuerpo desnudo, (*Casi con rabia*) porque era, soy y seré una perfecta mogigata [*mojigata*]… miedo a dejar de ser niña… miedo a convertirme en una mujer como Dios manda… miedo a amar y a ser amada… y sobretodo miedo a mi madre… a su escándalo… a su ira… a que me echara en cara su vida sacrificada… no quería que se sintiera defraudada… hizo que me creyera que tenía una deuda de gratitud hacia ella… por cuidarme… por mimarme… por educarme… por alimentarme…. (15)

In this way, the monologue not only references the nuanced identity of femininity via Purificación's fear of becoming a *mojigata*, but rather the generational burden implied through the perpetuation of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. Women were validated for their virginity and their chastity, and then wasted their own lives upon becoming *una mujer como Dios manda* – a mother. Through Purificación's fears, the public is linked intertextually to the burden of motherhood during the dictatorship as well as the lingering consequences of owning one's sexuality as a female.

The cultural products presented in this chapter reference the *nationalized-gender-mythology* used by Franco Spain to delineate the *Franco-female* via the use of a namesake as a surrogate. These namesakes, their actions, and the memories that are materially conjured via the narrative, serve as intertextual links to important aspects of the pre-existing mythology. In order to fully understand the process of (de)mythification, I'll now turn to how exactly each of the protagonists challenge the mythology via countercultural reference points within the narrative as well as performative elements that define their agency.

3.3 Shaping New Myths - *What light through yonder window breaks?*

As outlined in previous chapters via Barthes and Johnston, a fundamental step in the (de)mythification process of any myth is the creation of a new myth. This new myth serves to contextualize the original mythology via redefinition. Within the context of this study, the new myths created, in all of the cultural products I have analyzed, expand the definitions of femininity beyond the binary representations as defined by the *Franco-female*. As I analyzed in the previous chapter, the cultural products I chose approach *surrogacy* via the individualized perspective of an intertextual link to namesakes. In this section, I will argue that the new mythology created within these products is also successful due to the same individualized perspective. To be clear, the female protagonists that connected the products to the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime via their namesakes are also directly, and solely responsible for the creation of the new myth that seeks to define womanhood more radically insofar as the agency of the protagonists serves as the basis for the new myth. Ultimately, the (de)mythification process requires the creation of a new myth that appropriates the first myth (Figures 8 & 9). In order to facilitate my analysis, I will begin by analyzing the products regarding their narrative agency and then move on to how said agency is accomplished performatively.

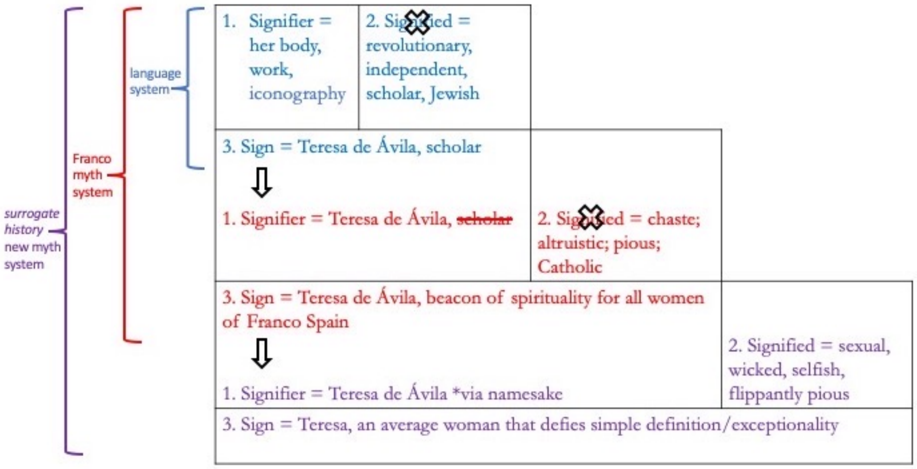
surrogate history new myth system
Franco myth system
language system
1. Signifier = her body, work, iconography
2. Signified = revolutionary, independent, scholar, Jewish
3. Sign = Teresa de Ávila, scholar
1. Signifier = Teresa de Ávila, ~~scholar~~
2. Signified = chaste; altruistic; pious; Catholic
3. Sign = Teresa de Ávila, beacon of spirituality for all women of Franco Spain
1. Signifier = Teresa de Ávila *via namesake
2. Signified = sexual, wicked, selfish, flippantly pious
3. Sign = Teresa, an average woman that defies simple definition/exceptionality

Figure 8: Diagram demonstrating how *surrogate histories* appropriates the *nationalized-gender-mythology* created surrounding Teresa de Ávila in order to create a new myth that connects the author's present (the Transition) to their traumatic past via surrogacy.

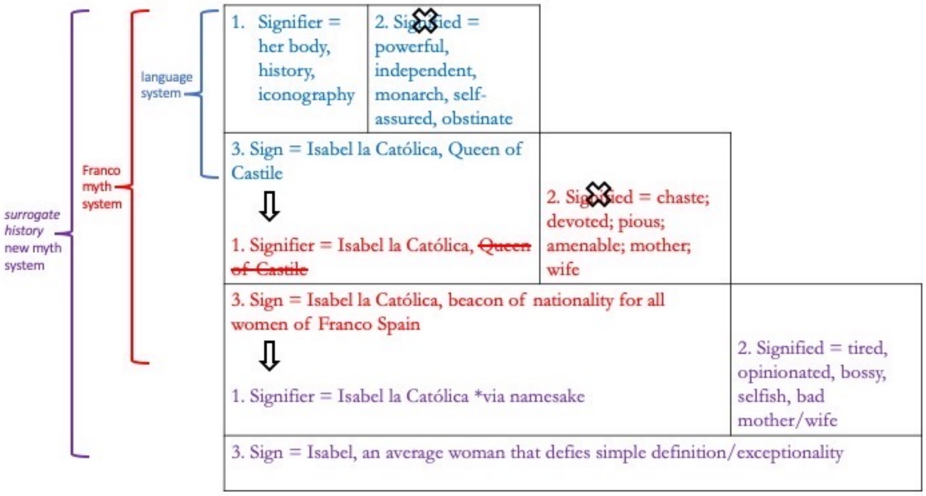
surrogate history new myth system
Franco myth system
language system
1. Signifier = her body, history, iconography
2. Signified = powerful, independent, monarch, self-assured, obstinate
3. Sign = Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile
1. Signifier = Isabel la Católica, ~~Queen of Castile~~
2. Signified = chaste; devoted; pious; amenable; mother; wife
3. Sign = Isabel la Católica, beacon of nationality for all women of Franco Spain
1. Signifier = Isabel la Católica *via namesake
2. Signified = tired, opinionated, bossy, selfish, bad mother/wife
3. Sign = Isabel, an average woman that defies simple definition/exceptionality

Figure 9: Diagram demonstrating how *surrogate histories* appropriates the *nationalized-gender-mythology* created surrounding Isabel la Católica in order to create a new myth that connects the author's present (the Transition) to their traumatic past via surrogacy.

3.3.1 Making Meaning

In her article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), Laura Mulvey outlines the political use of psychoanalysis with special regard to how it works within the film system. Given that film is both a reproduce and a producer of reality, Mulvey questions the role of women within commercial Hollywood cinema. Much like what I've already outlined earlier in this dissertation, women in film —as in any other cultural product— have historically functioned as a signifier emptied of its signified. In this way, as I've explained, women on film is an appropriated image that serves to perpetuate the *gender-mythology* inherent to the capitalistic, patriarchal society in which the film was produced. In this way, as Mulvey notes, "women then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his fantasies and obsessions through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of women still tied to her place as bearer, not maker, of meaning" (35). Mulvey explains that because women in film "are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness,*" (40) they are relegated to a *passive* object that merely serves as an erotic image to drive the male-centered plot forward. Within this dichotomy, the narrative is pushed forward by the male protagonists insofar as they are the *meaning-makers* of the film and therefore are "free to command the stage, a stage of spatial illusion in which he articulates the look and creates the action" (41). Because the various gazes within the cinematic experience – the director, the spectator, and the characters within the narrative – are all forcibly codified as masculine, the woman always serves as an icon of *other* and therefore has no story of her own; but the gaze needn't be inherently masculine.

The cultural products that I analyzed in the first part of this chapter all implement surrogacy via the protagonists and their intertextual links to the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. Although their names connect them to their past, the protagonists' actions, decisions, and struggles within the narrative suggest a level of agency that overrides the patriarchal male gaze as defined by Mulvey. Not only does the weight of the narrative depend upon their words and actions, but the women themselves often exist free from the constructs of the patriarchal gaze; they do not exist as mere objects concerned with their *to-be-looked-at-ness*. Within the film *La petición*, Miró's protagonist Teresa fights for agency throughout most of the film but, once achieved, succeeds in manipulating both the spectator as well as the other male protagonists. Within the narrative, her struggle for/success in gaining agency is represented through her relationship with Miguel. In the monologues written by Pombo, female agency is supported in the narrative not only through the open and projected rage and sexuality displayed by each of the characters, but also by the fact that they, almost exclusively, speak for and of themselves – emulating a first-person narrative of their lived-experiences. Through their actions and their narratives, the new myth is constructed. Women are no longer silent, passive objects that serve their male counterparts. Women are no longer concerned with questions of purity, modesty, or abnegation. They are angry, and selfish, and sexual subjects of their own stories. Women are no longer only mothers that put the needs of their families first. Most importantly, women are the *meaning-makers* of their own narratives and fight for/hold agency.

3.3.1.1 A New Teresa

As I outlined earlier, Teresa in *La petición* is shown to be devious and seemingly wicked from the very first sequence. This first fight with Miguel is representative of her fight against a man for agency throughout the film. As a means to foreshadow her victory, Teresa succeeds in mounting Miguel and biting his ear and therefore beats him at his own game, but it is merely a battle and the war for agency remains. In order to best understand Teresa's power as a *meaning-maker* within the confines of the narrative, I will analyze her continued struggle for power against Miguel. The next time we see the couple, they are adults and are walking through the gardens. Teresa asks Miguel if he would carry her again like they were children. He obliges but she laughs and says that she just wanted to be sure. Later, while in a rowboat, Teresa commands that Miguel grab a stick from the tree, hoping he will fall. When she sees that he will succeed, and somewhat in defiance, she throws an oar into the water and commands him to grab it. The camera fades to the next scene, and the spectator is left assuming that Miguel, and similarly the camera, has obliged Teresa's will.

As the next sequence opens, Teresa and Miguel return to where she first jumped on his back when they were children. Teresa once again jumps on Miguel's back, although this time more aggressively, and she begins to kick and scream at him to go faster. At first the camera adopts a wide angle shot of the pair as they run through the countryside, Teresa urging him to go faster and Miguel laughing. As the ominous tones of the extra-diegetic music rise, the camera begins to focus on Teresa's feet, kicking Miguel, and then alternates close ups of Miguel's strained and choked face, and Teresa's wicked smile. Despite her prowess, Miguel eventually begins to go too fast for her. The camera continues to alternate shots of each of their faces, successfully cutting out the other, and therefore representative of the battle for agency to the spectator. Teresa becomes incensed, scratching Miguel's face and screaming for him to stop, as he laughs at her mockingly. The screen fades and Miguel has won.

The next scene opens with the two walking through a stable house as Teresa begins to talk more about her life at the convent. The couple meanders down to the other end of the stable house. The camera stops following the dialogue and adopts a stationary position that sees the two approach the place that will be the site of their first sexual encounter. Eventually Miguel and Teresa begin to kiss, and the camera once again presents their battle of agency by alternating closeups of each of their faces. Miguel begins to undo Teresa's underskirt and the camera obliges his will. It is important to note that while the camera indeed focuses on Teresa's thigh, the spectator never sees Miguel or Teresa undo *his* pants. In this way, Teresa's body is objectified by both Miguel and the spectator. As Miguel enters her, the camera closes in on Teresa's face and the extra-diegetic music of an opera singer is laid over the ominous tones from their previous battles. As Miguel finishes, the camera pans out and Teresa begins to laugh. [93]

As the narrative continues, Teresa begins to argue with her parents at dinner that she is older and more mature and therefore capable of talking about her uncle's scandalous affair. Her mother is shocked at her insolence and when she asks to leave the table, she is quieted by her father. As Teresa dines with her family on fine china in the main dining room, Miguel is relegated to the kitchen where he dines alone. Teresa makes her way up to her bedroom where Miguel is waiting for her, and the two share another interlude. Miguel abruptly slaps her, only for her to remind him that she cannot scream, for fear of someone hearing. The two begin to kiss and the camera pans down as Miguel first caresses, then harshly pinches Teresa's breast. Miguel kisses her so to muffle her scream and the scene ends with Teresa sharply biting Miguel's ear. Their battle continues the next day in Teresa's bedroom. As Miguel begins to undress, Teresa threatens to scream and

Miguel counters that his mother would come and that nothing would happen. Clearly upset by his lack of response, Teresa pours hot wax on Miguel's skin, but still he does nothing - seeming to enjoy the sensation. The camera struggles to forefront each of them equally until finally Teresa begins to slap Miguel repeatedly - the camera obliging her command.

The struggle for Teresa's agency rages on but the battle climaxes when she and Miguel have sex, seemingly for a second time, in her bedroom. The two rolls around naked on her bed, each trying to mount the other, until finally, in a fit of rage personified through Teresa's exasperated sigh, Teresa throws Miguel off of her. As he flies across the bed, his head crashes into the intricate, iron bed frame. The ominous tones of extra-diegetic music that signals a battle between the two sounds off, alerting the spectator that Miguel is dead. Teresa, having finally won, mounts him and spends the next minute and a half orgasming. Teresa's inability to recognize Miguel's death immediately forefronts her sexuality within the narrative and forcefully challenges the normalized gender roles defined by the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. As she begins to realize that Miguel is dead, the music fades and the camera captures Teresa's attempt to not scream. She dismounts Miguel and is topless in front of the camera. She puts on a skirt but remains topless as the camera captures her run around her room locking doors. As there is no male counterpart watching her, Teresa's naked body is not objectified like before. Her body is in no way sexualized as she frantically runs around her room; she finally owns the rights to her own body. As she approaches her window, the diegesis has now come full circle as the camera fades to black and the audience realizes the favor Teresa will ask of her neighbor – her body as an object in exchange for his help in removing Miguel's dead corpse from her room, unnoticed.

Teresa's ability to reveal in and feel pleasure from rage is in stark contrast from the pleasant and silent demeanor she has thus far shown. As Martin-Márquez remarks, "Teresa seems less a passive victim of heredity and environment than an active agent, who consciously –and ruthlessly– rejects her assigned place in patriarchal society" (279). Certainly, Teresa's ability to find power in her pleasure sets her apart from the myths propagated by the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. Moreover, given her the specific ties of her *surrogacy* through Santa Teresaa, some of her actions within the narrative take on new meaning –namely her suggested homosexuality and her sadomasochism.

While walking through the stable house, Teresa tells Miguel about having spent a significant amount of time with a female friend while in the convent. Miguel remarks that they were both women so the monks must have left them alone. Teresa smiles sardonically, takes a bite of the apple, and the two continue down and through the stable house –the scene culminating in their first on-screen sexual encounter. Although outwardly this scene is important in the development of Teresa and Miguel's relationship, the casual implication towards Teresa's lesbian encounters while away at school is by far more interesting. In her book *Lesbians in Early Modern Spain* (2011), Sherry Velasco studies the nuanced, sexual relationship between nuns dating back to as early as the fifth century. In the chapter dedicated to *special friendships*, Velasco analyzes the specific language used in church doctrines and constitutions and categorizes sexual relationships as either *special* or *particular* forms of friendship. More interestingly, Velasco quotes

Santa Teresa in her attempts to reform the Carmelite Order, and notes that Teresa is very explicit in her objection to these forms of friendships. Per Velasco, "While most rules clearly prohibit private affections, Teresa allows certain controlled communication among the nuns, recognizing its role in creating solidarity. However, she also specifies under the section on serious infractions that 'a grave fault is committed if any nun carries on immodest conversation with any other' or 'if at the hour of rest, or at any other time, any nun enters another's cell without leave or without evident necessity'" (93). Velasco later underscores that Teresa's repeated cautions against intimate relationships (both homosexual and otherwise) were not necessarily out of some sense of morality, since she admitted that it was a common affliction, but rather that a focus on those partnerships left little room for God. In this way, young-Teresa's sardonic admission of potential lesbian encounters is starkly in contrast to Santa Teresa's doctrines – a clear departure from the pious and chaste Saint. Moreover, it is Teresa's sadomasochistic tendencies and the pleasure she derives from her sexual encounters that ultimately serves to further challenge, and perhaps even corrupt, the gender-myths of chastity and purity embraced by the Catholic Church –especially in relation to the vows of mortification.

In *Teresa of Avila's Autobiography: Authority, Power and the Self in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Spain* (2005) Elena Carrera examines many aspects of the saint's life as seen through her autobiography. One such aspect includes mortification as a means to repent one's sins. As Carrera explains, "besides its disciplining function, mortification also had a redemptive value when it was prescribed as penance by confessors, because it made the sinner feel that he was paying for his sins" (126). In this way, mortification was an *active* way to seek forgiveness for sin. The corollary between a young Teresa seeking pleasure and power through sadomasochism and Santa Teresa seeking redemption through mortification is an interesting overlapping of imagery –especially in considering that seeking sexual pleasure to be a sin for which one would seek penance. Martin-Márquez, via Jane Gaines, suggests that Teresa gains power within the definitions outlined by patriarchal constructs specifically through the perversion of heterosexuality via her sadomasochistic tendencies. Conceding to this logic, and because at one point Santa Teresa espouses that subjection to programs of increased mortification was a means to subjugate her authority (Carrera, 130), then Teresa's use of sadomasochism to gain power could potentially be read as an indirect challenging of female sexuality as sin –at least in terms of *La petición* as a *surrogate history*.

To conclude my analysis of the film's narrative or plot, although the struggle with Miguel for agency within the narrative ends with his death, Teresa must now turn her attention to the battle for agency with her other male counterpart, her neighbor. As he is mute, that battle for agency is won not through the progression of the narrative, but rather through performative strategies which I will analyze later in this section.

3.3.1.2 Emotions Reframed

Turning to Pombo's monologues, each forefronts a female character who not only is the protagonist with which the public connects, but who is the author of her own story. As Helen Freear-Papio notes in her article "Mito, género y emociones: Medea, Clitemnestra y Casandra en la obra de dramática de Diana M. De Paco Serrano" (2017), the use of the female voice in the dramaturgy of Diana de Paco serves to counteract "viejos esteretipos femeninos" insofar as the women protagonizing said plays are the orators of their own stories. Just as Freear-Papio points to the restructuring of past verdicts in mythology via a shift away from misogynistic stereotypes of hysterical women, the agency provided via the first-person narratives of Pombo's protagonists restructures their history based on their personal lived-experience.[94] To be sure, with the exception of *Amalia*, the other monologues only call for one body on stage. Furthermore, even when there is a dialogue between the female characters and their male counterparts within their memories or proposed arguments, it is either an imagined dialogue as seen through the eyes of the female lead – a dialogue that the females can stop and start at their own will – or a dialogue in which the female lead can command the male voice.

Through a visual and textual analysis, because none of the plays have been staged, there is no physical description of the protagonists and therefore the reader is unconcerned with how they look. In imagining how the plays would be produced, again with the exception of *Amalia*, the singular on-stage entity of the female protagonist negates the male gaze insofar as there is no gaze between a male and female actor within the diegesis of the play. Because the protagonists are not subject to a male gaze within the confines of the play, they are therefore free of what could be a patriarchal public's gaze. Even in *Amalia*, although Jaime is a body on stage and within the narrative, his character essentially takes orders from Amalia. He is either forced off-stage into the bathroom, or he is quieted by her when he attempts to speak. At one point, when Jaime begins to take her picture, the parenthetical notes show that Amalia first takes control of her image. She then immediately stops him so that she can finish her work and rushes him out the door. Within the rest of the plays, there is no other physical body on stage to compete with the protagonist of the monologue. In this way, their command of the stage and of the ways in which the public perceive the male counterparts in their memories proves their agency within the narrative.

Pombo's female leads are positively driven by their emotions. The rage felt by Remedios and Purificación are not only constant emotions that structure their memories and the reason for their monologues, but those emotions are the ways in which the public is introduced to the characters. Even in the parenthetical notes that describe each character, Remedios is characterized not as *gruñona* but rather as *harta* and Pombo explains from the outset that Purificación is noted to have *algún detalle coquetuleo*. In fact, Isabel becomes so enraged by the end of her monologue, that she enters the house and destroys Andrés only way to interact with the public. As per the stage notes, "*La guitarra calla bruscamente, como si hubiera sido arrebatada de las manos, e inmediatamente escuchamos un par de sonoras bofetadas y con ellas cae el telón*" (17). That same rage that drives Remedios and Purificación culminates in both plays with each lead reveling in their sexuality. Both monologues end with a phone call between the women and their prospective lovers in which the women assert their desires. Remedios partly because the public is not privy to Esteban's words and partly because she calls him *un viejo verde* and then notes, "¡Que alegría tengo en el cuerpo…" (16). Although, with Purificación the public has access to Victor's voice through the phone, the parenthetical notes do not name him, rather it is at the end of the conversation that Purificación acknowledges him by name – "A la orden, don Victor" (17). Moreover, through their conversation, the public learns that this is not the first time that the two have slept together, but rather that Purificación *esta vez* will tell her mother she is at mass. Amalia too, although in not as graphically, recounts of how much she yearned for Matías to act upon mutual, sexual emotions. The levels of rage and sexual agency displayed by the protagonists of these cultural products serve not only to reject the *passive object* defined by Mulvey insofar as their emotions are purely their own, but also as a means of reconstructing their femininity outside of the binaries of the *Franco-female*.

Another defining aspect of the monologues is how Pombo's characters uniquely problematize motherhood either by rejecting it outright or by the centering of their own identity within the narrative. Remedios and Isabel are both mothers that, although in different ways, resent their children and the ties of their family. Remedios' entire monologue is filled with scathing comments about not only having to live with her daughter Rosa and her son-in-law Enrique, but rather about their relationship wholesale. Remedios' rage is based on the daily interactions where she is subjugated by her daughter as well as the ways in which Enrique has constantly taken advantage of her as a possible caretaker of their children. At one point, Remedios even mocks Rosa: "Entonces, la Rosa, se echará a llorar… porque hay que ver lo que puede llorar esta chica… ya desde que era un renacuajo así, no hacía más que llorar por cualquier cosa" (11). During the imagined dialogue with Rosa, the parenthetical notes remark at Remedios' *rebeldía* in regard to her strength in telling off her family. This rebellious nature, her shunning of motherhood, culminates when she exclaims to Esteban over the phone, "¿A mis hijos? Que se vaya a freír espárragos…" (16). The same dismissal of familial obligations can be read into Isabel's character. Although the monologue begins with Isabel speaking to Andrés *más maternal* (3), Isabel begins to resent her family and the ways they have held her back as the plot progresses. Although the parenthetical notes begin to describe her as envious (7) and furious (13), the notes always waffle back to tranquility, until, finally, Isabel begins to feel stifled by her chores (15) and burns a shirt she is ironing (17). As I noted above, Isabel's monologue ends with her lashing out against her son as she storms off-stage, *llorosa*, and destroys Andrés' guitar. What is important to note, is that the shift in Isabel's emotions is directly tied to the realization that she is is a second class citizen in her own home: "(*Bajito*) Nunca he tenido tiempo para m[í]… para leer… para pensar… para… para… ser yo…" (17). The rage from both Remedios and Isabel turns them away from their families and makes the public question how their families have perhaps held them back.

Although not as outwardly dismissive of motherhood, both Amalia and Purificación have actively chosen single-dom. Amalia is a woman in her fifties that, through the context of her monologue, has constantly chosen to advocate for herself. She is described through the parenthetical notes as having been *una artista* in her younger days who, despite some of her acquaintances, has constantly fended for herself. At the beginning of the play, Amalia nearly assaults Jaime with a broom when he surprised her (3) and we later learn that she recently got in an argument with a nosy-neighbor: "…y me hace un gesto así como muy despectivo, yo voy y le hago un corte de mangas… (*Lo hace*) ¡Toma ya!" (7). Later on, Amalia describes how she fought back against a man sexually assaulting her (10) and how she even took on a group of young actresses that repeatedly denigrated her relationship with Matías (13). Although Amalia is a motherly figure within the context of the play, thus adding to her intertextual link to the *nationlized-gender-mythology*, she does often mock her clients (5,12). Similarly, the independent Purificación spends most of her monologue languishing over the failed relationship with Victor while simultaneously espousing the opinions of her mother. Despite appreciating the love and support of her mother (12), the parenthetical notes demonstrate how Purificación begins to resent the ways in which her mother held her back from Victor and from life – describing her as speaking *casi con rabia* (15). When she was reunited with Victor, the juxtaposition between reverence and rage becomes clearer:

> Llamaste a mi puerta… no sabía qué hacer [que] decir… ¡qué confusión de sentimientos entre lo que quieres y lo que debes hacer!… solo escuchaba la voz de mamá, repitiéndome una y otra vez…. "Un tarambana como tu padre. Se ha cansado de la otra y ahora quiere volver contigo. Pero tú, Purita hija, resiste. No debes servir de segundo plato"… (*De Purificación brota una rebeldia que tal vez andaba agazapada por dentro durante mucho tiempo y en un grito casi desesperado…)* ¡Y de postre si es necesario! (16)

In the end, the public learns that Purificación has been lying to her mother all this time and seeing Victor behind her back. Moreover, it is possible that she and Victor are having an extramarital affair since it is never explained whether or not he divorced his first wife Laura, and their meetings are secretive. In this way, both Purificación and Amalia define themselves by their choices as seemingly single women who reject motherhood and the burdens therein.

In defining their female protagonists through their own words, and in negating or contesting the male gaze inside the diegesis of the narrative, both Miró and Pombo construct cultural products that produce women with agency. The female protagonists are defined by their presence as well as their ability to exhibit extreme rage and sexuality, both of which seek to contest the myths that had previously constructed passive forms of femininity. Unlike the misogynistic variance of emotions that are historically stereotyped as hysteria within the confines of patriarchal norms, as outlined by Freear-Papio (2017), these women conquer their environments and use their emotions as tools to enforce their will.[95] Furthermore, the rejection of motherhood in the monologues, and in *La petición* although it is not as evident, serves as a stark contrast to the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime and rounds out the narrative representation of the new myth. Although it is true that all of the protagonists perpetuate a sense of heteronormativity that inherently links them to their male counterparts, it is clear that said relationships serve merely as backdrops to describe the ways in which each woman has changed. Furthermore, not only is the narrative weight of the female's story more important than that of their male counterparts, but the performative strategies that are implemented within the cultural products only serves to amplify their agency.

3.3.2 Drawing Outside the Lines

In *La pantalla sexuada* (2014), Barbara Zecchi explains the ways in which the female body has historically been coopted as an empty signifier in cinema, and outlines some of the ways in which Spanish, female directors have confronted the difference between *la Mujer* and *las mujeres* (80). Zecchi analyzes the uses of the *fuera de campo* to combat the universalization of the woman on screen. Zecchi clarifies that, "en el dispositivo fílmico, el *off-screen* es un espacio que queda fuera de lo visible, cuya existencia se insinúa tanto por elementos presentes en la misma pantalla, por su relación paradigmática con lo que se encuentra dentro del campo, como por las connotaciones sintagmáticas con otras tomas anteriores o posteriores". As Zecchi suggests, the *fuera de campo* therefore becomes an excellent metaphor for the feminist plight insofar as it is a space "donde las construccciones de género no hegemónicas se producen sin que se reconozcan como representaciones" (81). In this way, understanding that both theatre as well as cinema consist of staged spaces, I would like to adopt Zecchi's analogy and suggest that the manipulation of the *fuera de campo* both in *La petición* as well as Pombo's monologues allows for a performative analysis of the agency presented by the female protagonists. Not only do the female leads command the *fuera de campo* in a way that neither the public nor their male counterparts could ever do, but rather the narratives themselves are driven by what happens in that *other* space. Obviously, I'll need to amend some of the analytical touchpoints to fit the performative nature of a staged play, which of course means it will be easier to begin with an analysis of Miró's *La petición*.

3.3.2.1 Cropped Bodies

In the construction of her analogy of the *fuera de campo*, Zecchi utilizes both Teresa de Lauretis' understanding of a feminist *other space* as well as Noël Burch's analysis of the off-screen spaces within a film. As de Lauretis (1987) explains "most of the available theories of reading, writing, sexuality, ideology, or any other cultural production are built on male narratives of gender" and "bound by heterosexual contract". In this vein, feminist scholars must look elsewhere.[96] Per de Lauretis, "that 'elsewhere' is not some mythic distant past or some utopian future history: it is the elsewhere of discourse here and now, the blind spots, or the space-off, of its representations" (25). From here, Zecchi explains that *fuera de campo* spaces "son lugares epistemológicos abstractos, puesto que no se puede concebir un discurso completamente fuera de las estructuras dominantes, pero a la vez espacios concretos de la representación de las mujeres (en plural, con minúscula), frente a la Mujer eterna: espacios de la experiencia femenina y de la lucha feminista" (81). To further explain her theory, Zecchi turns to Noël Burch's definition of the six potential off-screen spaces within film. According to Burch, the first four are the continuation of the borders of the cinematic frame, the fifth is the space behind-the-camera, and the sixth is the space behind the set (17). Grasping the six spaces requires the viewer to imagine the first four as horizontal or vertical continuations of the frame, whereas the fifth and sixth must be imagined in terms of depth. For the fifth *behind-the-camera* space, imagine the action leaping off the screen into the viewer's reality - much like when there is rain on the camera or a character walks into the camera. This sixth space is probably the most difficult to grasp insofar as it projects inward. It is when characters enter deeper into the screen - a space that the audience cannot see unless the camera follows. In order to best implement Zecchi's analogy, I will address these spaces within *La petición*.

In my earlier analysis, I posited that Teresa's ongoing struggle with Miguel throughout the first half of the film is indicative of her battle for agency within the narrative. As her war with Miguel immediately comes to a close upon his death, the performative struggle for agency takes shape. If the first sequence of the film is a means to question male-centered agency as *meaning-makers* within the narrative, the second sequence serves to outline Teresa's struggle against the objectification of her body via another man, her neighbor. Just as she triumphantly conquers Miguel in the opening sequence, her command of the off-screen spaces in the second sequence foreshadow her performative agency against her neighbor.

The second sequence opens with her neighbor alone in his room playing the flute. As a depart from Zola's short story, Teresa's neighbor is mute and will come to be represented by the sound of his flute throughout the film. The noise of pebbles on his glass breaks his music, and he approaches his window to see that Teresa is perched in her window opposite the square. She pleads with him to come over, signaling to the open square where he must go. Performatively, the camera is watching Teresa's neighbor as he plays the flute and it is Teresa throwing rocks at his window that interrupts his voice. As he gazes towards her, he alludes to her presence in the horizontal, left, off-screen space. When she calls to him, she commands his gaze to another off-screen space, the open and empty square. Teresa's power and agency lies in her ability to command both his gaze as well as the camera's gaze to these spaces. More importantly, the fact that her neighbor, and the spectator, must *asomarse a la ventana* in order to access Teresa is a significant decision.

In the article "Contradicciones del discurso femenino franquista (El Ventanal)" (2002), Barbara Zecchi outlines the various intersections of female agency and female censorship within Franco Spain as seen through the publication of the magazine *El Ventanal* by *la Sección Femenina.* In her opening statements, Zecchi points to the ways in which, historically and socially, the window has often existed as a barrier. As Zecchi notes, "reconocer la presencia de una ventana –de una frontera– es reconocer los límites de exclusión. La ventana se convierte, así, en un medio de separación y, por lo tanto, de represión" (195). More specifically, as Zecchi goes on to explain, the window has been a barrier for women, both in literature as well as in politics. Quoting Carmen Martín Gaite, Zecchi explains that in terms of literary representation, women have historically been thought to use a window in order to either scandalize or eroticize men, but that they couldn't possibly be doing it so as to interact with the outside world. As established in the *nationalized-gender-mythology*, women must be concerned with the private space. Indeed, *la roja* was doubly punished for her subversion of a pre-established demarcation of gender roles – in which the political is inherently public and therefore not a woman's domain. In this way, Teresa's decision to call to her neighbor through his window is a direct challenge of the division of spaces within both the pre-existing mythology as well as the diegesis of the film. The neighbor, and as a by-product the camera, oblige her commands.

The second sequence unravels, and the neighbor leaves his home and walks through the spaces referenced earlier by Teresa. He approaches the door to her house, and it opens slowly of its own accord. The camera zooms in on the handle of the door as it opens, and a disembodied hand reaches out from behind the sixth off-screen space, the space within the narrative, to take his hand and lead him inside. Importantly, this is Teresa's hand. As the camera lingers on the closing door, it is clear that Teresa is the master of this off-screen space and that it is *her* that grants both her neighbor and the spectator permission to enter. The interior of the house is dark, and the camera focuses first on Teresa's bare feet as she guides her neighbor through the space, and then on their clasped hands as she guides him up the stairs to her room. The darkness combined with the closeups of Teresa's body suggest to the spectator that only she knows the path through this foreign space. Here I adopt Zecchi's analogy of the *subjective off-screen* (84) insofar as the screen is literally dominated by Teresa's will. Essentially, if her neighbor owned the camera's gaze, therefore performatively suggesting agency, it would not capture Teresa's feet nor her hands from the angles presented.

As Teresa leads her neighbor into her bedroom, or rather into a sixth off-screen space, the camera lingers on the interior side of her door as she opens it and enters. The space is significantly brighter, and the camera presents a medium angle shot of the two facing each other in front of the curtain that leads to her bed. As later explained, this curtain divides the action from an off-screen space that houses the body of Miguel. It is important to remember that Teresa, and only Teresa, knows this throughout their discussion. The camera adopts a shot-reverse-shot of the two faces and therefore suggests the beginning of a dialogue. However, because her neighbor is mute and has left his voice (the flute) at home, Teresa dominates the conversation with declarative statements – at one point declaring, "No, no te esfuerces. Basta que diga sí o no con la cabeza" (9:19-9:24). As Teresa smiles, the camera focuses in on her hand and tracks her movement as she reaches out to her neighbor's hand and places it on her breast. The closeup cuts her body out of the screen, consigning it the horizontal-right off-screen space. As the camera tracks the movement of her hand from left to right, the neighbor's hand and the spectator's gaze is ostensible lead to an off-screen space. Because she is the one that places his hand on her breast, Teresa is the director of the gaze and therefore maintains agency over what is on and off screen. Upon offering him her body, her neighbor finally consents to do whatever Teresa requests. The camera takes up a medium angle shot, and Teresa throws open her bed screen and gazes into the off-screen, but neither the camera nor the neighbor's gaze follows. Only she knows what awaits.

Despite Teresa's agency of the off-screen space in this second sequence, her battle with her neighbor to own the gaze and reject her objectification is a hard-won battle. This becomes clear as the diegesis flashes back in the third sequence of the film to what is essentially the beginning of the film's current events. From this third sequence forward, Teresa is often relegated to an object by her neighbor and also by the spectator. To begin, Teresa arrives home from school, tucked away in carriages by her servants while the same neighbor watches her soft and subtle movements. The extra-diegetic music and the rain seemingly mimics the longing glances of the neighbor and romanticizes what is ostensibly their first encounter. Teresa is shuffled from one carriage to the other, both off-screen spaces in their own right, but is tracked by her neighbor's gaze. As the carriage rolls away, we see one last glimpse of her behind the window of the carriage and her neighbor is left alone in the empty square, standing in the rain. Although Teresa lives in the off-screen spaces in this scene, she does not dominate them, rather they are used to shield her from the rest of the world. Her vestment and demeanor typify her as an object *to-be-looked-at* and the camera obeys the neighbor's desires.

The battle for performative agency with the neighbor continues with a montage of sorts in which the entire town is out in public interacting together. The diegetic music provided by a small band rages on in the background as the camera cuts from small children playing, to young women chattering, and to men staring suggestively. Teresa's image, dressed formally walking through the crowd, is interspersed with the neighbor who, although meeting with another woman, cannot keep his eyes off of Teresa. As Teresa meanders aimlessly through the crowds, the camera jumps from couple to couple, enacting mini-scenes within the larger timeline of events, but always settling back on Teresa, as if she were being stalked by the camera and the many male suitors surrounding her - her neighbor included. Fireworks are released and horses begin to stir. The diegetic music of the band is muffled as the camera intersperses closeups of the various moving parts to capture the action as barrels give way into the street. Teresa is about to be crushed when her neighbor swoops in to rescue her. The music picks up again, but it is softer and more reminiscent of the romantic tones previously representative of the neighbor's gaze. The scene ends with a medium shot of the neighbor holding Teresa as she continues to be startled by the commotion around her, but then quickly fades to her lying in her bedroom.

The next scene opens with Teresa lying in bed. From an unknown off-screen space, the sounds of her neighbor's flute cut the image as she sighs and notes how "monótono" (43:43) the flute has become. Miguel enters the screen from the horizontal-left off-screen space as Teresa gets off of the bed, her nipples showing through her shift. The camera follows her as she gazes out of her window towards the sounds of the flute. The flute stops and Teresa turns back to Miguel who is now seen through the lace fabric that divides her bed from the rest of the room. Teresa begins to contest Miguel for agency, the camera struggling to oblige each of them as she pours wax on him and they kiss, until finally Teresa is victorious. She slaps Miguel repeatedly and pushes him onto the bed, calling him *estúpido* with each blow. As she mounts him, her breast falls out of her shift and she collapses onto Miguel's body. However, before she is able to assert herself sexually, the camera fades to capture the conversation between her neighbor and his love interest, portrayed by Carmen Maura. Although Teresa dominates the gaze of the camera within her bedroom and in the context of her position to Miguel, it is not until the flute chiming from the off-screen stops that she is granted such agency again. Teresa is bothered by the flute in the same way that she is bothered by her neighbor's command of the off-screen. The penetration of the neighbor's *voice* into her bedroom, where her body is somewhat on display, and the performative negation of her sexuality suggests her objectivity in relation to her neighbor. His off-screen space is given more narratorial weight than her sexuality.

It is at this point in the film that the diegesis circles back onto itself. After killing Miguel, Teresa wanders around her room until she once again hears the flute from the horizontal-left off-screen space. The camera juxtaposes the two of them in their respective windows until fading to the body of Miguel – as seen through the iron bed frame. Harkening back to the second sequence of the film, Teresa has just pulled back the curtain to an off-screen space to which previously only she gazed. Now the spectator and the neighbor are privy to the contents of that space: Miguel's body. Teresa's sexual advances towards her neighbor are now framed in a medium angle shot. Where before she commanded the gaze of the camera, and therefore *what* was on/off-screen, now it is presented unbiasedly. As Teresa explains what happened and makes *the request*, the camera adopts a medium angle, shot-reverse-shot of the dialogue. Each gaze off-screen is contested by the other, as if they two were dueling for agency. However, as the spectator has already seen from the foreshadowing of the second sequence, Teresa will ultimately win this battle as well. Slowly but surely, for the remainder of the film, she begins to assert her command of the off-screen.

As the two discuss what will happen, Teresa orders her neighbor to come closer and outstretches her hands to where he is on the horizontal-left off-screen. He begins to move closer to her and ultimately forfeits his control of his private off-screen space – Teresa has literally pulled him onto her screen, with his arm now inhabiting her space in the remainder of the dialogue. As the camera captures his face, the spectator knows that Teresa is ever present in the horizontal-right off-screen space, holding his arm. Once he agrees to her proposal, Teresa smiles wryly, tells him to hide "allí detrás" (55:50) and asserts that "pase lo que pase, no salgas de esta habitación" (56:00). Her neighbor walks over to the corner she indicated and begins to watch her as she puts on her stockings, but the camera does not accommodate his intended objectification. Unlike the normalized male gaze, the camera does not close in on Teresa's leg or cut her body in any way. In fact, her image is reflected in the mirror behind her, multiplying her body so that her figure weighs down the shot. Furthermore, Teresa has commanded where he should stand and what he must do. In this way, when the camera alternates between her image and his, he exists in an off-screen of her choosing. Any off-screen space that her neighbor gazes upon is from a viewpoint of her making. Further solidified by her neighbor's gaze towards Miguel's body – as if warning him of the potential consequences.

When Francisca knocks on Teresa's bedroom door, coming to help her get ready for the party, Teresa runs to her neighbor and advises him not to move. She closes the curtain and essentially creates an off-screen space for him to hide in; a space that mimics the one in which Miguel hides. For the remainder of the scene, when the camera shows the two bodies (one alive, one dead), those spaces are physically darker compared to the main space where Teresa gets ready with Francisca. Teresa is the protagonist of her bedroom and the calm yet assertive manner in which she commands Francisca on and off-screen demonstrates her growing agency within the diegesis. The gaze coming from her neighbor is cut by the fabrics Teresa has used to close off those spaces, with the intricate, lace design of the fabric tarnishing her neighbor's face. Teresa tells Francisca to blow out the candles and the two leave the room, and the bodies, in almost complete darkness. The next sequence alternates between scenes with Teresa dominating the brightly lit spaces of the party in the parlor, and her darkened bedroom where her victims remain. Miguel cannot move from the space to which Teresa has relegated his body, and her neighbor does not move. Rather her neighbor sits uncomfortably in the space Teresa has created for him as the music from Teresa's off-screen plays on, penetrating his silence.

The final struggle for agency, and Teresa's ultimate triumph, plays out in the last few sequences of the film. Teresa commands her neighbor to dress Miguel in total darkness and as the three enter the street, the ominous extra-diegetic music that has historically signaled Teresa's rage and sexuality slowly begins to sound off. Teresa leads the way as the pair maneuvers through the darkened streets, often leaving her neighbor behind in off-screen spaces, both horizontally as well as behind the camera, so that she can later call him towards her. It is important to note that the camera does not leave Teresa, he must enter into the screen at her command. More importantly, when this happens, the camera does not adopt her neighbor's point of view. This analysis once again adopts Zecchi's understanding of a *subjective off-screen*. In negating the normalized male gaze, as evidenced through the lack of closeups that would protagonize the neighbor's point of view, the camera asserts Teresa's agency of the off-screen in these scenes.

The three bodies approach the river and Teresa's struggle for agency comes to a close. The ominous extra-diegetic music picks up once more as her neighbor lowers Miguel's body into a boat and the two set off into the water, only this time it is accompanied by the operatic tones that represented Teresa's first on-screen orgasm with Miguel. The music is accompanied by the sound of the oars digging into the water and defining the vertical-bottom, off screen space. As the music becomes more prominent, the camera adopts a shot-reverse-shot of Teresa and her neighbor, though neither speaks. Teresa begins to look around at the various off-screen spaces and breathes heavily, biting her lips and gazing longingly. Mirroring the performative choices of Teresa's first on-screen sex scene, it is abundantly clear to the spectator that Teresa is deriving sexual pleasure from the anxiety she is causing her neighbor. Her neighbor lowers Miguel into the water as Teresa picks up one of the oars. The camera alternates between the two spaces until Teresa begins to beat her neighbor over the head with the oar. Staring at her through a bloodied face, the use of shot-reverse-shot suggests that he is being punished for trying to gain a separate space from hers. Teresa composes herself as her victims sink down to a vertical-bottom, off-screen grave. The battles are over and Teresa returns to her party where she is betrothed to another man, Mauricio. [97]

In many ways, Teresa has proven herself to not only be a *meaning-maker* within the narrative of the film, but rather has asserted her agency over the numerous spaces *fuera de campo*. Although it could be suggested that Teresa's status in society negates the power-struggles between Miguel and her mute neighbor, it is important to remember both men are represented as powerful within the film. Miguel, taking delight and sexual pleasure in Teresa's sadomasochistic tendencies, does try to subvert her power multiple times in the film[98]. Moreover, his naïve dismissal of Teresa's past sexual experiences serves as a heteronormative micro-aggression which further suggests his own phallic-centered vision of society and therefore the latent power dynamics of gender. Similarly, Teresa's neighbor, although seemingly docile insofar as he does not have a voice and because he emphatically dotes on Teresa, is characterized in the film by his use of the flute. A glaringly phallic object, the flute reminds the spectator that despite his nature – which is consequently starkly in contrast to that of Miguel's– he should still be understood to have power. As Susan Martin-Márquez notes, "although power and heterosexual pleasure have traditionally been considered incompatible goals for women, in *La petición* they are shown to be, potentially, as much so for men" (276). In essence, Teresa has triumphed over two men. Teresa is not an object *to-be-looked-at,* and therefore defies the myths of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* that seek to define her in that way.

3.3.2.2 In the Mind's Eye

For clarity, before analyzing the *fuera del campo* as implemented by Pombo, I'd like to adapt Burch's paradigm of the *off-screen* space to the staged performance.[99] In analyzing the ways in which the *off-screen* space is manipulated technologically through camera work, Burch analyzes the film *Nana* (1926) by Jean Renoir mainly because "the film consists almost entirely of shots during which the camera does not move" (18). By the same token, a staged play can be imagined as having a fixed camera and therefore most of the determinations regarding the *off-screen* will seemingly adapt nicely as *off-stage* or *the backstage* space. However, in considering Burch's analysis, the successful use of the *off-screen* is dependent upon framing and sequencing within the narrative. In that context, even if the first four spaces outlined by Burch, the horizontal and vertical borders of the screen, could be classified as the same respective *off-stage* spaces, I would argue that they are used minimally – insofar as the staging of the play often remains the same and the acts of a play often are usually longer than frames within a film. The fifth space Burch defines, behind-the-camera, is problematized by both the lack of camera as well as the un-manipulated gaze of the public. As an audience member, I am free to look at any portion of the stage at any given time. However, given the static nature of the staging this fifth space could be defined as a direct inclusion of the public into the play (those works that address the audience directly and include them in the narrative). The sixth and final space is probably the most important as it exists behind the stage – as if entering deeper into the scene to spaces that the audience cannot follow.

To accompany Burch's six filmic spaces, I would also like to propose a seventh space that is purely imaginative and exists within the mind of the actor. In film, the imaginative elements of the narrative would be filmed so as not to break with the diegetic flow. However, in theatre, such things must be imagined. Burch notes that characters in films will often gaze into the *off-screen* which requires the viewer to imagine another space that has the potential to therefore be "as important as, if not more important than, the person who is visible in frame and the actual screen-space" (20). This also often happens within the play. If the character is mentioned or present in the parenthetical notes, the actor's gaze can be determined as a reference to one of the spaces previously outlined by Burch. If, however, the character is not a part of the play then it denotes another imagined space that exists first in the mind of the actor and then in the mind of the audience. In order to define this space, I will use what Tom Cornford, via Michael Chekhov, defines as the *invisible body.* Cornford notes that the *invisible body*, the spirit an actor manifests through performance, is directly tied to understanding the intangible - that which exists outside of the performance (179). As Cornford notes, "the concept [of *invisible body*] enables an actor to create impressions which seem to go beyond the real of the purely physical and visible and thereby communicate, through the performing body, what Chekhov described as the spirit of a character or play" (180). Essentially, the public's ability to experience the essence of a play is directly proportional to the actor's ability to manipulate the intangible or invisible space. This *invisible body* will be a seventh space I've defined as an *off-stage* specific to theatre. [100]

In the context of the plays I will analyze in this chapter, I will be referring to the horizontal (left and right) off-stage spaces, the sixth space that exists inside the narrative and can performatively understood as that which exists within the staged set, and finally the seventh space – the *invisible body* that exists within the actor's mind and shapes the audience's understanding of the narrative. As I've mentioned, none of these plays were performed and therefore my analysis is based on the potentiality of their performance. Because not all of the monologues use all of the off-stage spaces referenced, I will divide my analysis according to the spaces rather than the plays.

Due to the fact that all of Pombo's monologues are essentially one-act plays, the use of the horizontal off-stage spaces is very often limited to the female leads entering and existing the stage. In fact, this only occurs in both *Purificación* and *Amalia*. In *Isabel*, the protagonist is seen to have emerged from within the set (the sixth space) and in *Remedios*, Remedios is presented as is on stage when the curtain rises. Moreover, the agency of the female protagonist is only tied to the ways in which the horizontal off-stage spaces are manipulated within *Amalia.* As per the parenthetical notes, the play is set in an apartment; the living room and kitchen are included as well as three doors that give way to a bedroom, a bathroom, and the street, as well as window looking out onto a communal patio. Because of the construction of the stage, although the bedroom and bathroom should be interpreted as the sixth space, both the door to the street as well as the window to the communal patio can be read as the horizontal, off-stage extensions of what is visible. Both of those spaces are commanded by Amalia. To begin, the entire stage is "*a oscuras y en silencio*" (1). The stage curtains are drawn as the audience hears keys off-stage and Amalia immediately enters onto the set through the street door. She crosses the apartment and opens the curtains to the window, bathing the set in light. Amalia then is, quite literally, the reason the audience can see the stage. Although Amalia pushes Jaime out of the door to the street at the end of the play, thus asserting her dominance of the space, it is her relationship with the window and the off-stage space outside of the window that is most telling of her agency within the performance.

The play begins when Amalia opens the window and the sounds emanating from the off-stage space help to set the tone of the narrative. Although Amalia shuts the window when she finds out that Jaime is sick, she reopens it shortly so she can begin her work and the same sounds of the exterior permeate the stage once again. Note, only Amalia can open and close the window - only she has access to that off-stage space, not Jaime. Moreover, the conversations that Amalia has with characters that exist off-stage, outside of the window, prompts her memories that both push forward as well as close the narrative. Near the beginning of the monologue, Amalia speaks with a neighbor about hanging clothing but notes that "huele a tormenta que echa para atrás" (6). She begins to remember her relationship with Matías and the narrative progresses as such – with the window open as both her singing as well as the off-stage sounds accompany her work and her monologue. Similarly, at the end of the play when Jaime has gone, Amalia begins to sing to herself and hang clothing outside of the window. Amalia begins to cry as she remembers Matías and sniffs only to again say, "huele a tormenta que echa para atrás" (17). In this way, the entire narrative is constructed around Amalia's interactions with the horizontal off-stage. This is a space that the audience cannot see and that Jaime can only access if and when she allows. Furthermore, the fact that said space is defined as a window is of paramount importance. In this way, Amalia's dominance over the horizontal off-stage space represented via the window is significant in establishing her agency within not only the narrative, but also within a larger, intertextual context of the mythology.

Moving on, I'll analyze the sixth off-stage space, the space inside the narrative defined performatively as what exists behind or deeper within the set. Although this is a common occurrence within any play, the weight of the off-stage space within Pombo's monologues is directly tied to the female protagonists' agency within the narrative. This off-stage space is important in both *Amalia* as well as *Isabel*. As I've already outlined the opening sequence and stage direction of *Amalia*, I'll begin there.

As I noted earlier, Amalia's command of the horizontal off-stage is important insofar as it sets and defines the pace of the narrative but also because it is directly connected to the pre-established binaries of femininity outlined by the *nationalized-gender-mythology*. Similarly, Amalia's command of the sixth space can also be seen as not only a defining characteristic of the play but rather a direct manipulation of gender roles. *Amalia* is the only monologue that has another on-stage actor present which, at the outset, could seemingly problematize Amalia's agency as a *meaning-maker* within the narrative. However, through an analysis of her command of this sixth off-stage space, her agency is reinforced. Amalia may not be the only character that maneuvers through the on-stage and off-stage spaces, but she is in complete command of how they are perceived by the audience. Despite having been startled by Jaime, as soon as she realizes he means her no harm, she begins to command him about the stage: "(*Enérgica*) ¡Pero hombre, no se me quedé ahí como un pasmarote! ¡Hala, hala, a la ducha! (*Jaime entra en el dormitorio y sale con un lio de ropa. Amalia prácticamente le empuja dentro del baño*) ¡A ver si se despabila! (*Cierra la puerta. Alto*)" (5). Amalia then begins to run about the setting, jumping on and off stage at will, as she sets about her chores. When Jaime is taking too long in the bathroom, she hurries him along. When he finally enters the kitchen, she commands him to sit and eat. As he is eating, she runs off-stage to clean up his mess in the bathroom and notes aloud, "¡Qué barbaridad! Yo no sé qué ha hecho usted mientras se duchaba, pero ha dejado el baño que parece el Pantano de San Juan…" (12). As the monologue draws to a close, Amalia practically pushes Jaime out of the door that she herself opened and closed. In fact, the only time Jaime moves about the stage of his own volition, the notes make it clear that he does so carefully - *despacio* and *lentamente* (15). Jaime does not command the stage, but rather is commanded off and on it by Amalia. Moreover, the audience can only perceive Jaime's character through Amalia's direct command of the off-stage space.

Much like *Amalia*, the use of the sixth off-stage space is of paramount importance in the development of the narrative and the characters in *Isabel*. Set on the terrace of a summer home, the stage is defined as such: "*A la derecha está cerrado por un alto seto. A la izquierda, la fachada con una puerta, una ventana y un pequeño porche*. *Cuerdas de tender cruzan el escenario de parte a parte*" (1). In this way, the set is not defined by the infinite horizontal off-stage space since the door, window, and porch all lead inward to the home - to the space within the narrative. It is from this space that Isabel emerges while talking to her son, Andrés. Although Andrés appears on the *dramatic personae*, he does not appear physically on stage. He is therefore personified by the music that he plays from inside, the *romancé anónimo*, which is mandated specifically by Isabel. At the beginning of the play, Isabel urges Andrés to practice with motherly intent and then encourages him to keep playing throughout the entire play. In the few times that he stops, Isabel scolds him fiercely: "¡Andrés! ¿Quieres ponerte con la guitarra de una vez?… y no me hagas enfadar que bastante ya tengo con lo que tengo… y no me pongas esa cara, ni refunfuñes que encima te la ganas, eh… y si no, te vienes aquí fuera conmigo y me ayudas a doblar la ropa…" (3). Andrés obliges and we hear his music throughout the play. Although it is Andrés' music that drives Isabel's memories, she often cuts him off by entering into the off-stage space or reaching in to demand his help (5). Furthermore, at the end of the play, when Isabel's rage has boiled over, she not only commands that Andrés stop playing, but rather enters into the off-stage, grabs the guitar from his hands, and smashes it. As the parenthetical notes explain, "*escuchamos un par de sonoras bofetadas y con ellas cae el telón*" (17). In this way, the off-stage space becomes more important than what is staged insofar as the music stops, and the curtain falls. More importantly, Isabel's ability to enter into the off-stage space and stop the music reinforces her agency within the narrative.

The final analysis of the off-stage space concerns the seventh space I've defined using Cornford's analysis of *the invisible body*. In his article, Cornford analyzes the actor and teacher Michael Chekhov and the various definitions of the spiritual realm and the *invisible body.* Cornford explains that "like a ghost or spirit guide, the invisible body therefore both haunts and leads the Chekhovian actor, occupying the liminal space between his tangible, embodied experience and the intangible, spiritual realm of insights into his role and the play" (180). Some of the examples provided in terms of exactly how to achieve that space in performative theatre include the juxtaposition between movement and stasis, the use of bodily gesture, as well as the staged atmosphere. Cornford quotes

Chekhov directly and notes that the performance is built around not just the actor(s) but rather includes such things as staging, the lighting, the music, the juxtaposition of bodies on stage and even the tension built within the dialogue (192). In this way, I propose that the *invisible body* created both by the actor as well as the atmosphere projects a unique off-stage space into the audience's mind. This space, so defined by its imaginary and intangible nature, can be seen in all of Pombo's plays, insofar as the female protagonists manifest memories of their male counterparts, but is of paramount importance in defining female driven agency only in *Remedios* and *Purificación*.

Beginning with *Remedios*, the stage notes only list Remedios on the cast of characters and explain that the action is set in the living room/kitchen of a modern home in a modern neighborhood. As per the notes, there is a table and a sideboard present but that "*como este salón hay un millón más*" (i). At the outset, this anonymity could be interpreted as a way to generalize and speak for the millions of *pensionistas* but, given that this is not Remedios' house, I consider it a commentary on how Remedios does not feel at home in her space since it is indeed, not her home. The curtain opens with Remedios exasperated on the phone. As Remedios' hangs up the phone in anger and starts to clear the table, she begins to imitate her daughter, Rosa, and the conversation they just had. The audience learns that Rosa has again canceled dinner last minute. Through this mock conversation, Remedios' anger begins to boil over and she breaks a plate in distraction. She enters into the kitchen, forgets what she is doing, goes back for the larger pieces of the plate, and then enters the kitchen again to get the broom (4) - all while having mock conversations with her daughter. Remedios then sits down to sew, still imitating her daughter, and her emotions begin to take hold. The stage notes explain that

Remedios "*Guarda la labor en su caja. Se pone en pie y pasea inquieta, triste, soltaria. Su rebeldia salta en un congoja*" (8). In this first half of the monologue, Remedios is all over the stage – her body is incapable of any form of stasis. Furthermore, the mock conversations she is having with her daughter inform the audience that Remedios has moved in to help her daughter and her son-in-law care for their children. Remedios sold her home, sold most of her belongings, and moved into her daughter's home only for them to be take advantage of her good will. As the description for her character states, Remedios *está harta*. Remedios' movement on stage due to her physical discomfort, combined with the mock conversations she has with her daughter, succeed in creating an *invisible body* off-stage in which she can finally feel seen and heard. This becomes more evident as her emotions build in the second half of the monologue.

During the mock conversations with Rosa, Remedios explains that her frustration is mostly due to the fact that she wanted to talk to her family that evening, and that she had indeed informed them of that earlier. As her emotions take hold, the audience finally learns why:

> *(Se aguanta un lento o tal vez un montón de blasfemias. Repara en el jarr[ó]n con los claveles*) Y voy yo y como una… imbécil… hasta me gasto mis buenos euros en comprar unos claveles para adorner la mesa (*Coge el jarr[ó]n y lo pone en el centro de la mesa*) y ponerla bonita, como de Nochebuena, con mi vajilla… porque esta vajilla es Mía, que me la regaló mi difunto, ¡y es mía!… y esto no me lo van a quitar… ¡antes la rompo! ¡por éstas!… (*Decidida*) Pero de hoy no pasa… Remedios, esta noche, sin falta, los reunes y les cuentas que, dentro de poco, te piensas casar… ¡También tengo derecho, ¿no!… para el caso que me hace en esta casa… ¡Sí, señor! que me pienso casar porque me dá la real gana y porque tengo novio… ¡Mejor aún! que me pienso arrejuntar, ¡hala!… A ver que se han creido estos modernos… Ni papeles, ni nada… ¡Hala, que se chinchen! (9)

At this point in the monologue, Remedios will begin to have mock conversations including all of her family members. As the stage notes suggest, "*Remedios situar[á] a* *cada uno de sus parientes en puntos determinados*" (9) as she begins to dialogue with each of them individually - "*Volviéndose hacia el lugar de Enrique*" (10). Performatively, this could be read as the actor not only turning to each of the characters as she speaks but turning back as she responds. This change in dialogue is also emotionally charged as each time she responds as herself. To begin her emotions are described as *pasota*, *descarada*, *acalorada,* but as she begins to remember how she met her lover, Esteban, her emotions soften to *con cierto pudor* and *ruborizándose* (10). The dialogues pick up again and continue on until the end of the monologue when Remedios makes her final decision: "(*Se para a recapacitar con tranquilidad*) Vamos a ver, Remedios, ¿no eres mayor de edad?… ¿no tienes tu pensión… escasa, pero pensión a fin de cuentas?… ¿No quieres a [e]l Esteban?… ¡Pues que les dén morcilla a esta panda de cretinos que tienes por familia!…" (15). Remedios then picks up the phone and has an actual conversation with Esteban about moving out of Rosa's house that very day. The movements required of the mock dialogue, the range of emotions needed to convey both sides of the conversation, even her consistent use of the third person to talk to herself, all can be considered successful interpretations of an *invisible body*. Moreover, through the manifestation of this off-stage space, Remedios is able to find agency in the confluence of both her age and her sexuality.

Much like in *Remedios*, the monologue *Purificación* uses an off-stage *invisible body* manifested through mock conversations and emotions in order to performatively represent the female protagonists' path towards agency. The cast of characters is Purificación as well as James Dean. However, as the notes pertaining to the set design reveal, James Dean is not actually a living person, but rather a life-sized poster of James

Dean. The monologue is set in *un despacio-archivo de aspecto algo siniestro*, and is filled with filing cabinets, shelves, and boxes. The monologue begins with Purificación off-stage as a door to the office opens slightly and the audience hears her finish a conversation with a colleague. Purificación enters through what is seemingly the only exit (as there is no mention of windows), places her coffee on her desk and then gestures and screams wildly at the door. Although Purificación's words are first directed towards the door, and therefore suggestive of the sixth off-stage space that enters further into the narrative, she immediately begins to pace around her office. As the stage note suggest, "*hace un gesto de rabia y pasea de un lado al otro del escenario, presa de una gran indignación*" (1). She then begins to interact with the set as she picks up files and stores them away in filing cabinets, smokes a cigarette, and drinks coffee, all while presenting a mock dialogue between herself and her colleague – Mari Juli. Performatively, Purificación "*imita a Mar Juli caricaturiza su voz poniéndola de pito"* (2). Because her colleague is not on the cast list, because Purificación is moving about the set interpreting the conversation, and because Purificación is described as a prisoner, I consider the dialogues to be representative of an *invisible body* off-stage space. Through the dialogues, the audience learns that Purificación is frustrated by her colleagues, and perhaps lacks intimacy in her life. These emotions set that stage for the rest of the monologue, as Purificación transitions to a second *invisible body*.

As a means to justify herself, Purificación turns to the poster of James Dean and, as the parenthetical notes suggest, "*directa o indirectamente, Purificación le contará sus cuitas a James Dean que impavido sonríe enigmaticamente*" (5). She uses the *tú* which suggests a certain level of familiarity and, concurrently, that she does this often. She returns to her work, moving about the set, all while posing and responding to questions as if to a third-party - James Dean. In this way, James Dean will represent a secondary *invisible body* - another off-stage space that is conjured in the audience's mind. For the rest of the play, Purificación oscillates between these two *invisible bodies* - one representing the conversations she has with actual people in her life (even though they do not appear in the cast list) and the second representing the conversations she has with the life-sized and inanimate poster of James Dean. The creation of these off-stage spaces allows Purificación the space to work through her past and assert agency in her present. Performatively, the parenthetical notes account for her transitions as well as the creation of these *invisible* spaces. Her emotions ebb and flow throughout the process. Although at times she is purposefully hyperbolic and dramatic, her words begins to take shape on their own (14). At this point in her monologue, the parenthetical notes clarify that Purificación "*hablara a James Dean como si fuera Victor*" (14). Here I recognize a third *invisible body* off-stage space in which her love interest, Victor (also not cast in the performance) is personified through the inanimate poster of James Dean. Purificación's emotions take hold, and she loses control of her words completely: "*Purificación desconcertada por todo lo que está expresando en voz alta, mira a su alrededor como buscando al duende que la hace hablar así. Irremediablemente la siguen brotando los pensamnientos que nunca se atrevió a expresarse ante si misma*" (15). As Purificación begins to unravel her emotions and truly learn about herself and accept her desires for intimacy with Victor, she embraces the poster of James Dean until the intercom interrupts her dream. The erratic movements about the stage and the mock conversations with non-casted characters allow for the juxtaposition of three *invisible bodies* as off-stage spaces where Purificación comes to grips with her sexuality. In this way, her agency can be defined through the creation of those spaces.

Even though none of Pombo's plays were staged, the parenthetical notes serve as markers for off-stage spaces. A textual analysis of these spaces helps to shed light on the ways in which the female protagonists gain agency performatively. Through these spaces the protagonists are able to assert their emotions, interact with their memories, and question their realities. Likewise, Miró succeeds in manipulating the off-screen space in *La petición* in order to solidify Teresa's agency and negate her objectification. In this way, the protagonists that are defined by their namesakes as representations of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime, characters that all exist as *meaning-makers* within their respective narratives, also performatively construct a new myth that defines femininity and womanhood in a more holistic and inclusive manner via their varied use of the off-screen/stage. In the next section, I will analyze the ways in which the juxtaposition of these two myths serves to deconstruct the myth process entirely.

3.4 The Deconstruction of Myths - *A plague o' both your houses!*

In the introduction to her book *Alice Doesn't* (1984), Teresa de Lauretis outlines the inherent relation and problematics of feminism, semiotics, and cinema. Much to the testament of other scholars I've presented in this dissertation (such as Mulvey and Johnston), de Lauretis categorizes the relationship between the three fields to be *unholy* (4) insofar as woman has become ahistorical and eternal. In this way, de Laurentis demarcates between the term *Woman* and *women*. The former being the function of woman as a signifier emptied of signified, the latter being, per de Laurentis, "the real historical beings who cannot as yet be defined outside of those discursive formations, but whose material existence is nonetheless certain" (5). The previous two sections of this chapter have attempted to outline both surrogacy as well as the construction of a new myth presented in a bevy of cultural products in order to juxtapose the *Franco-female* (Woman) against a more holistic understanding of femininity (women). Much in the same what that de Lauretis argues that both "strategies of writing *and* of reading are forms of cultural resistance" (7), insofar as they both deconstruct discourse as well as question the seemingly inherent nature of its construction, I too argue that an analytical reading of these *surrogate histories* –in which both the surrogacy as well as the new myths are narratively and performatively pitted against one another– serves to deconstruct not just the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime, but perhaps even the constructive nature of *gender-mythology* upon which the previous is based. In order to best understand the methodologies implemented, and therefore understand how the surrogacy faces off against the new myth, I've turned to postmodern trends that contextualize and problematize identity politics. [101]

As de Lauretis argued above, strategies of writing can indeed be a form of cultural resistance. However, the inherent danger involved in rewriting gender, or rather rewriting History in an attempt to display how it is indeed *engendered*, is the fear of reproducing violence – a *violence of rhetoric*[102]. In her recent work, *The Force of Nonviolence* (2020), Judith Butler builds on her preexisting studies that analyze the *precarity* or *grievability* of life. In her latest edition to the investigation, Butler not only questions the nature of violence, but rather pushes back against some of the more common arguments in favor of violence. In her analysis of counter-violence or self-defense, Butler acknowledges the dichotomy of self and other as a dangerous form of identity politics. Butler asks: "Who is this 'self' defended in the name of self-defense? How is that self-delineated from other selves, from history, land, or other defining relations? Is the one to whom violence is done not also in some sense part of the 'self' who defends itself through an act of violence?" (8). Because any violence done is essentially done to *a self*, the delineation between self and other begins to erode –or at least establish itself clearly as having been *framed*.[103] Butler therefore concludes that "nonviolence, would, then, be a way of acknowledging that social relation, however fraught it may be, and of affirming the normative aspirations that follow from that prior social relatedness" (9). In this way, identity comes to be understood collectively and is negotiable[104], and nonviolence, then, becomes a bulwark against rampant individualism. Within *surrogate histories,* it is not enough that new forms of femininity have been presented to counteract the pre-existing mythology; there must be some form of deconstruction of all myths in order to avoid any consequential re-mythification of femininity. However, *to deconstruct* is a form of violence – via de Lauretis, a potential violence of overly determinant rhetoric. A nonviolent approach, therefore, is paramount to our analysis as it provides a resistance that is not automatically caught up in committing the same crimes in the name of the greater good. But how, if at all, can this be done textually?

Above all, my textual deconstruction of the mythologies needs to be focused both on the instability of the individual as well as the collectivity of the self. How are the female voices pluralized? How do the texts themselves produce a sense of instability? While analyzing postmodernism within feminist theatre, Agnès Surbezy (2005) comments on the feminist trend towards deconstructing *History* in favor of a sense of *histories* via an analysis of the manipulation of time and space. According to Surbezy, "se trata a la vez de dar cuenta de otra visión de estas historias, más íntimas, más detallista, más sensible e inestable, pero también de re/escribir la Historia y los mitos a partir de otra perspectiva, la de los marginados, de los actores de lo cotidiano, de los callados” (170). Similarly, in the chapter “Mitotopías en Casandra de Diana de Paco” (2019), Helen Freear-Papio analyzes the nature of myth and the creative juxtaposition of time and space within Diana de Paco’s play, *Casandra* (2016) as a means to contextualize the ways in which myths continue to permeate societies. Through the adoption of Michail Bakhtin’s work of the *chronotope*, Freear-Papio proposes the creation of *mitotopías* as a dramatic space that concerns itself with “el proceso de abrir un tiempo-espacio, crear una pausa, un lugar metafórico donde se puede atar y desatar versiones creativas de los mitos, donde se puede enlazar y desenlazar los nudos argumentales y hacerlo desde el punto de vista de la mujer” (2). Quoting Carolina Nuñez Puente (2006), Freear-Papio examines the creation of a *mitotopia* as a time-space that exists outside the predetermined, patriarchal order and therefore allows for the retelling of the same myths from the female perspective.[105] More importantly, both Surbezy and Freear-Papio propose textual deconstructions that do not recommit the same violent determinism. Surbezy notes that the manipulation of time and space in feminist dramaturgy has led to a negation of the instantaneity and individualism inherent unto postmodernity, and Freear-Papio demonstrates how the nature of the *mitotopía* to collapse time lends itself to a retelling of mythology based on a sense of collectivity throughout history.

In this vein, I will therefore be using an analysis of time and space within the cultural products I’ve presented as a means to highlight not only the juxtaposition of surrogacy with the new myth but rather a form of textual deconstruction that erodes individualism and presents a collectivity. Through the personification of time within the cultural text[106], the protagonists are, in essence, doubled and therefore collective. Narratively, this doubling serves to juxtapose the surrogacy against the new myth which, in turn, deconstructs the stability of the protagonists as wholly individual. Moreover, the narrative process is exacerbated via the performative negation of space within the cultural text, insofar as the narrative doubling can then be drawn into primary focus – the protagonist's collectivity becomes the main focus. Moreover, the manipulation of the off-stage/screen spaces I analyzed earlier serves as a general demarcation of space itself – thus calling into question the nature of reality as performative, and thus not wholly real. As in the previous sections, I will divide my analysis of the deconstruction process via both the narrative as well as the performative strategies implemented.

3.4.1 Temporal Doubling

On a basic narrative level, the analysis I've already performed in earlier chapters serves to outline the ways in which the surrogacy of the namesakes is juxtaposed against the radicality of their actions, and therefore calls into question the eternal nature of the regime's original mythology. Via a more textual analysis, the deconstruction of individual, stable identity is done through a temporal doubling of sorts. In Miró's *La petición*, this doubling is analyzed via Teresa's physical presence on screen. In Pombo's monologues, the same doubling is achieved via the creation of interlocutors. In terms of how the doubling manifests within the narrative, I turn to the flashback.

Per Surbezy, the postmodern drama is characterized by the use of a present tense that is mediated by "una red de alusiones que sitúan los textos en una temporalidad imprecisa […] una temporalidad múltiple cuya fragmentación refleja la multiplicación de las historias individuales, haciendo del tiempo dramático un tiempo caleidoscópico" (168). The multiplication and fragmentation that Surbezy classifies as a necessary element in the deconstruction of chronological time can best be understood through the use of the flashback. Defined by Maureen Turim in *Flashbacks in Film: Memory & History* (1989), a flashback "is a privileged moment in unfolding that juxtaposes different modes of temporal reference. A juncture is wrought between present and past and two concepts are implied in this juncture: memory and history" (1). Because the flashback inherently juxtaposes two temporalities against one another within a text, it immediately lends itself to both fragmentation as well as multiplication of reality. Even as Turim considers the subjectivity of a flashback, insofar as it is prioritizes a *subjective memory* and therefore suggests that history is a *subjective experience*, [107] the very nature of representation – in which a collectivity of spectators or readers identity with the protagonist via the *ego-ideal* – suggests a necessary plurality. However, while providing an overview of the flashback via its etymology as well as its presence within literary theory, Turim suggests that the flashback as a device is often invisible within a text due to the nature of storytelling. She even notes that "after cinema makes the flashback a common and distinctive narrative trait, audiences and critics were more likely to recognize flashbacks as crucial elements of narrative structure in other narrative forms" (7). Moreover, as Turim outlines theories pertaining to the flashback via Gérard Genette and Roland Barthes, she explains that the effect of the flashback to juxtapose temporalities is only possible given the pre-established, chronological, and linear nature storytelling[108] and that once "made aware of the past, the spectator is freed to forget it once again" (12). If, then, flashbacks are inherent unto narrative, and therefore invisible within the readership, how do they serve as modes of deconstruction? How do Pombo's monologues and Miró's film combat the invisibility of the flashback? Put simply, they do not. Let me explain.

In "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), Laura Mulvey appropriates psychoanalysis as a tool of the patriarchy in order to deconstruct narrative cinema in the same regard –as a tool. Apart from her many accomplishments in the article, Mulvey suggests that the relationship between the image on screen and the star system reinforces "the long love affair/despair between image and self-image" and serves in the production of an *ego-ideal* with which the spectator identities. For Mulvey, the codification of the spectator onto a male protagonist reinforces the male-gaze within cinema[109] and, quite unfortunately, naturalizes objectification of the female-body. However, in regard to *surrogate histories*, the production of the ego-ideal and the invisibility of the flashback as naturalized processes are key strategies in any successful attempt to inscribe the new mythology onto the text. By presenting the flashbacks first as *invisible*, and with the inscription of the aforementioned ego ideal, Miró and Pombo succeed in developing a sense of spectatorial complacency that is necessary to introduce and inculcate viewers/readers into the new mythology. Quite luckily, the protagonists of *surrogate histories* are female and, as I outlined earlier, the male gaze is nullified via the protagonists' agency. Moreover, as I will analyze below, the flashbacks at the outset of the narrative begin as invisible structures but then develop and become increasingly more visible as the narrative progresses. The invisibility of the flashback allows the surrogacy and the new myth to progress separately within the narrative, but when the flashback is made apparent, the surrogacy and the new myth are ultimately juxtaposed against one another at the same time. Therefore, what I have suggested to be the *delayed visibility* of the flashback is crucial to the inculcation of the new mythology and therefore an important part of the entire process. Now, I will analyze the presence of the flashback textually in all of the cultural products.

3.4.1.1 The Two Teresas

The opening two sequences of *La petición*,[110] as outlined earlier, are of great significance in order to understand Teresa and the struggles she will eventually face in obtaining agency. In these opening sequences, the spectator –and indeed only the spectator– can see two versions of Teresa that will unfold and develop against each other throughout the film. The first is a well-mannered, young-lady of the house that is an object *to-be-looked-at*, while the second is a sadomasochistic, murderous woman who expresses rage, enjoys sex, and selfishly uses others to get what she wants. The former can be understood as her surrogacy, while the latter is representative of the new myth being presented. Most importantly, apart from these first two sequences, these two versions of Teresa will not again be simultaneously presented on screen until *after* the plot has circled back to incorporate the flashback of the second sequence. In this way, the flashback of the second sequence not only breaks up the linear diegesis of the film, but rather mediates the spectator's consumption of the two Teresas. To be clear, because the second sequence is not presented as a flashback, insofar as there is no cinematographic or narratorial strategy implemented to suggest a diversion in plotting, at the outset it can be read as invisible. It is not until later, after Miguel's death, that the spectator realizes that this second sequence was actually a flashback in the diegesis. Indeed, it is the delayed invisibility of the flashback that helps to suggest Teresa's duality throughout the film.

This evolution is best characterized through Teresa's physicality and therefore my analysis will begin there.

As the opening sequence of the film explains, Teresa is both the quiet victim of Miguel's supposed brutality, as spoken by Francisca, but then also the devious girl who smiles knowingly at her victim. Here she is characterized by both her long hair that is presented down as well as her white dress - a dress that remains pristine regardless of having rolled around in the dirt and grass. These two Teresas will present themselves in such a manner. The reserved and silent Teresa representing the *nationalized-gender-mythology* will be well dressed and often smiling, with her hair gathered up. Contrarily, the wrathful Teresa that takes ownership of her sexuality will be presented either with her hair down or with other parts of her body exposed and/or in her undergarments. Teresa as an object is quiet and reserved, with minimal facial expressions or movements. Teresa as subject is expressive and has not only a voice, but an opinion. Moving on to the second sequence, the plot opens with Teresa in her window, dressed in white with her hair down and pleading with her neighbor for help. When he eventually gets to her door and she asks for his help in her room, Teresa's appearance has changed. Not completely covered up, and her hair has been partially pulled up. Throughout the film, these two Teresas will constantly be battling against one another. Although the juxtaposition is presented slowly at first, evolving throughout the unfolding of the plot, it comes to a head when the flashback is reincorporated back into the diegesis.

After *the request* of the second sequence, Teresa is presented as a well-groomed, young lady. She gets into her carriage, silently smiling at her neighbor, and is then at once in her parlor painting. She takes tea with Miguel, answering his questions demurely.

When the flute of her neighbor sounds from off-screen, Teresa merely gazes off-screen and smiles. In considering that the invisibility of the flashback has conditioned the spectator to associate the flute with Teresa's neighbor, and that her request of him was seemingly sexual in nature, her glance off-screen and her knowing smile is interpreted by the spectator as a reference to her hidden sexual nature. This could not be achieved without the invisibility of the flashback. Importantly, the camera does not follow her gaze to her neighbor but, instead, remains with her and Miguel as they move to the garden and then to a boat. Although Teresa is serene and pleasant, as noted earlier, she eventually asks Miguel to jump into the water and retrieve her oar that she has thrown out of the boat maliciously. What is important is that before the spectator sees Miguel acquiesce to her request, the camera fades to the next sequence. Her duality is hinted at, but her physical presence remains singular. In the next sequence, Teresa's singularity begins to break down.

The sequence opens and Teresa is presented with her hair down, dressed in white, as she jumps on Miguel's back. Her rage and sexuality are on display as Miguel races through the woods. The closeups of her face reveal Teresa to be anything but demure as her hair flies through the wind and she begins to claw at Miguel's face. Immediately, the screen fades into the next sequence and for a brief second, two Teresa's are presented on screen simultaneously; the raging Teresa on Miguel's back, and a demurer Teresa walking into a stable house with her hair tied up and a shawl covering herself. It is important to note that the transition between scenes is not mediated by a black screen, but rather by a faded screen that allows for both Teresas to be present. This is the point in the film where

Teresa expresses that she has engaged in a lesbian act with her classmates at the covenant.

Martin-Márquez (1999) notes that Miguel's dismissal of Teresa's confession combined with Teresa's knowing smile informs the viewer of Miguel's naivety (268). However, I would also add that, given the intertextual link between young-Teresa and Santa Teresa de Ávila / Jesús, this confession is telling juxtaposition of both Teresa's within the narrative of the film. As Sherry Velasco remarks in *Lesbians in Early Modern Spain* (2011), the debates surrounding the difference between lesbian *acts* versus lesbian *identity* is, perhaps, "an indication of how behaviors, personal characteristics, preferences, choices, and emotions, when considered in tandem, create a profile for women who stand outside the margins of conventional social and erotic expectations for the female sex" (2). Insofar as heteronormative definitions of female sexuality are defined in relation to a female's attraction/attractiveness for the male gaze, the thought that a young woman could have participated in a lesbian relationship/sexual act is taboo if it is not performed within the view and for the spectatorship of the male figure. Therefore the fact that only the (bright) spectator catches Teresa's implied secret confirms the duality of character. [111]

When Miguel and Teresa finally have sex on screen, Teresa's body is hidden by Miguel and only the pleasure on her face and her well-kept hair are presented. Even when Miguel finishes and falls away, she is fully dressed. The juxtaposition between her pleasure, her laughter, and her appearance is a contextual battle of the two Teresas. This is further suggested as the plot moves directly to Teresa quietly sitting with her mother and father as they eat dinner silently, and then moves again to Teresa and Miguel kissing passionately in her room. Teresa remains fully clothed and her hair is tied back, but her expressions and her rage slowly begin to shine through. However, just before the second Teresa is fully on screen, the plot transitions to Teresa and her mother praying in church, and then to her as a victim in public that needs to be saved by her neighbor. At this point, the demure Teresa takes her leave of the screen and the more sexual Teresa takes full control. Teresa is presented in her bedroom with Miguel, her hair down and her body barely visible under her shift, and then ultimately the plot dissolves into Miguel's murder and Teresa's climax. It is here that times begins to invert and collapse onto itself as the spectator infers the meaning of the second sequence. It is precisely at this moment that the two Teresas take to the screen simultaneously as the physicality of her two identities converge in the final sequences before the party.

As Teresa gets dressed in her bedroom, hiding her two victims from Francisca, she goes from a somewhat disheveled girl who just killed one lover and snuck another man into her room, to a shining example of femininity so defined by her status as *una joven soltera*. Her hair is pulled up and she dons a white dress on the night that she will be betrothed to her future husband. She attends the party, knowingly spilling wine on her white dress, and then sneaks through the house and out to the streets with her neighbor and Miguel's body. The darkness of the house and the outdoor spaces where she will dump the bodies of her victims is illuminated quite intentionally by her white gown. But it is the murder of her neighbor that truly juxtaposes her personalities against one another.

As her neighbor places Miguel into his watery grave, Teresa picks up an oar and begins to beat him over the head repeatedly. While at the beginning she is draped in a shawl, the process of repeatedly hitting her neighbor forces the shawl to the bottom of the boat and her white dress and white pearls are all that the camera can see juxtaposed against her intense rage. Her neighbor sinks into the water, finally dead, and Teresa is presented in a medium shot. Her hair remains up, although messy, and she stands in the middle of the dark night illuminated by the whiteness of her dress, her pearls, and her skin. Having just murdered her neighbor, standing over his grave, the surrogacy that marks her status as a proper, young lady is compared against her rage and the haunting products of her sexual desire. As she returns to the party, she changes into another white gown, very similar to the first, and dances with her suitor. The camera focuses in closer to capture Teresa's smile. The action freezes and the credits roll over the frozen image of her smiling and dancing. Her suitors back is to the camera and therefore she is the focus of the shot. What were once two separate identities converge through Teresa's physical presence and wardrobe and the diegesis circles back to the suggestions of the opening sequence in which young Teresa is perfectly wicked.

Importantly, Teresa's duality until this point was suggested but rarely filmed simultaneously. Apart from the off-screen suggestions and the glimpses of to two Teresas on screen, required by slowing down the speed and pausing the film, the two Teresas have been quite separate. Indeed, it is not until the second sequence is unmasked as a flashback that the two Teresas begins to inhabit the same screen. Upon understanding that the second sequence was a flashback, the linear narrative of the plot shatters and the spectator begins to question any preconceived truths that had been established. By delaying the visibility of the flashback as such, Teresa's two identities allowed the necessary subjectivity to take shape and the spectator is coaxed into accepting both as real, but separate. When the chronology of time is shattered, and the identities are compared against each other, the stability of both identities erodes. As Turim herself notes, "by suddenly presenting the past, flashbacks can abruptly offer new meanings connected to any person, place, or object" (12). It is the flashback specifically that allows for time to be manipulated and for the two Teresas to present themselves individually and then simultaneously, thus questioning the nature of individualized, fixed identities and their representation within a given text – most notably film. Considering the unique way in which film mimics reality, the deconstruction of a fixed, female identity within a film is of significance.

3.4.1.2 Creating Interlocutors

In Pombo's monologues, all of the protagonists are seen to evolve within the span of the play from being surrogates under the control of their male counterparts to *new* women that are sexual, angry, and indignant at their situation. This evolution is presented specifically through flashbacks within their given history but is a slow process due to the delayed visibility of the flashbacks. Moreover, taking into account that these monologues are written to be performed, the flashbacks insist upon the use of interlocutors. Mainly imaginary in nature, the interlocutors double the voice of the protagonist insofar as they begin to speak not just for themselves, but in the service of others, and the identities double or at times multiply within the narrative. As Biruté Ciplijauskaité (1988) notes in their analysis of approaches to history in the female novel, "el enfoque irónico a través del desdoblamiento […] permite auto-observación crítica y posibilita el constante juego entre la fachada oficial y el ser íntimo" (129). This is most evident in *Remedios* and *Purificación* through the creation of interlocutors via the *invisible body* off-stage space but is also successful in *Amalia* and *Isabel* as they recount their past to what are essentially muted characters. Indeed, the use of muted or imagined interlocutor suggests an approximation to first person narratives and, as per Ciplijauskaité, allows for a "investigación constante, sirviéndose de la asociación libre y de epifanías" (129). In this way, the use or creation of an imagined interlocutor that is forced through the flashbacks, allows all of the female leads to come to terms with the shortcomings of their past relationships and, concurrently, the failings of the mythology that raised them.

Personified by her opening lines, Amalia is presented as cheerful and exuberant at the beginning of her monologue. As she bursts onto the stage, Amalia exclaims: "¡Puaff! ¡Qué pestazo a tobacco!" and "¡Me cago en la leche!" (1). She opens the window, thrusts light onto the stage, and begins to exchange pleasantries with the neighbor Marisa. Although not necessarily a serene entrance, Amalia's up-beat energy and pleasantness typify her as a positive character whose only concern is the pair of stockings the wind has taken from her. However, as the monologue progresses, and as she begins remembering her relationship with Matías, Amalia is forced to confront the extreme sorrow that has plagued her life. Matías is introduced slowly into the narrative through a flashback that was principally tied to Amalia's reaction to Jaime's presence. Moreover, because the interlocutors (Jaime and at times Marisa) are at this point off-stage and sufficiently muted, the first flashback is not even presented in a way that would allow the audience/reader enough context to extrapolate the duration or context of the flashback. Both the use of ellipses to fill in the blanks in Amalia's thought process, as well as the way she jumps from topic to topic make the flashback difficult to detect and seemingly an invisible part of her routine.

The invisibility of the flashbacks, and therefore of her nostalgia for Matías, continue to present themselves throughout the monologue but are interspersed enough with her present tense "dialogue" with Jaime that they go unnoticed Physically, it is not until Jaime and Amalia are seated in the same room that Amalia's flashbacks begin to take on more narratorial weight. Because Amalia has hitherto spent the monologue rushing around the stage, and commanding Jaime about, her stillness at once alerts the audience to a change in tone. It is at this point that Jaime, although still muted, is able to move about the stage of his own accord in search of his camera. As Amalia's monologue draws to a close, she is stuck in the past with Matías and begins to wax nostalgic about their tearful goodbye. In essence, a woman who was seemingly careless, if not somewhat brazen, at the beginning of the monologue, becomes tearful and nostalgic until she visibly chokes up at the end of the play. The immediate onslaught of her emotions at the end of the monologue juxtaposes itself against her exuberant entrance, and begs the question if Amalia is not constantly more than what she seems. If her emotions are not constantly, unstable.

Interestingly enough, the contrast between serene and quiet surrogacy and emotional eruption is more prominent in *Isabel*. The play opens in the heat of August and the parenthetical notes maintain that "*cualquier signo de vitalidad queda adormecido y aflora una dejadez que a Isabel le sienta especialmente bien*" (1). Isabel's tranquility is accompanied by her off-screen, and somewhat muted, interlocutor's serenading guitar and is only haphazardly interrupted by her flashbacks into her past. Her first jump to the past is, like in *Amalia*, accompanied by half-explanations and ellipses with the assumption that her interlocutor understands what is happening. The audience does not have all of the facts and therefore it is difficult to tell what is present and what is past. Moreover, once Isabel begins to truly flashback to her past, she remains there at long periods of time and the present seems to wash away, except for the intermittent reminders that Andrés keep practicing the guitar. Because Isabel stays in the past, it is not evident from the outset that these are indeed, flashbacks. More importantly, at the moment that Andrés begins to play the guitar without fail and without the insistence of Isabel, the monologue remains in the past almost completely.

As the parenthetical notes clarify: "*A partir de este momento, Andrés tocará el 'Romance…' sin interrupción, una vez detrás de otra, machaconamente. Al principio pondrá todo su interés en hacerlo lo mejor posible; pero poco a poco su interpretación se irán degradando, ya no solamente por fastidiar, por aquello de ¿no querías caldo?… sino por el miso cansancio*" (8). At this point, it is only the parenthetical notes that alert the reader to these flashbacks, and the audience would indeed slip into a state of unconscious storytelling during the performance. Isabel begins to fully immerse herself into her memories, taking on the role of all of the characters and voices in the past, she begins to realize that her life has not been so serene. While Isabel's emotions begin to break through, the illusion begins to fade, the flashbacks begin to become more visible insofar as they are abruptly contrasted with her outbursts of anger, and the linear nature of the narrative is eroded. The present interrupts the past more and more until, as I have outlined in other chapters, Isabel's rage boils over. At once, Isabel's rage at the end of the play is juxtaposed against her extreme serenity at the outset and, again, one begins to wonder if such serenity is ever possible or wholly attainable. If dialoguing with the past can haunt and torment one so, was anything ever always peaceful?

The emotional changes in *Remedios* and *Purificación* are less jarring that those presented in *Amalia* and *Isabel*, but mainly because both protagonists take to the stage already enveloped in moments of rage. The flashbacks, instead of promoting rage or sorrow, strip up a resolute confirmation of their sexuality as women. Regardless, of such difference, the flashbacks still invoke interlocutors. Moreover, the completely imaginary nature of the interlocutors provides for an increased doubling of the voices of the protagonists and therefore a heightened sense of instability.

Remedios opens with the surrogate protagonist enraged and storming about the stage. As Remedios recalls the conversation with her daughter Rosa, as the stage notes suggest, she begins to mimic the conversation: "*Imitando exageradamente a su hija*" (1). This continues for quite some time while Remedios puts away the preparations she had made for dinner and is textually presented through both stage notes as well as quotes. Performatively, one can only assume that what essentially come to be dialogues with an imaginary other are carried out via the skill of the actress and perhaps pauses in dialogue on stage. As Remedios continues, there is a narratorial shift from remembering a specific conversation to remembering all of the things that Rosa and her husband have done or said. In this way, all of the *dialogues* are flashbacks. However, given that the monologue has begun as a flashback and continues that way, they are indeed invisible. What can be analyzed textually as a shift in time from what Remedios thinks to what Rosa had said or would say, are invisible to the reader, and more so the audience, due to both Remedios frantic movements about the stage as well as a continuous flow and rhythm: past/present, go/stop, present/past, stop/go.

Half way through the play, the stage notes indicate that Remedios will talk to each one of her family members (invisibly) at the dining table, and the flashbacks immediately start to take on more formal shape: "*A partir de este momento, Remedios situara a cada uno de sus parientes en puntos determinados*" (9). Textually, the switch between what Remedios says and what her family member says (as assumed through her obviously) is still marked by quotations. What had originally been flashbacks interspersed with present commentary, now comes to be a more concrete past. There are still bursts of present tense, but Remedios steady performance gives the flashback a more permanent shape – especially when compared to her frantic movements earlier. Importantly, the ability to distinguish between Remedios and her family members becomes more blurred. The lack of parenthetical stage notes, the increased use of ellipses, and the welling up of emotion all make it seem like Remedios is expressing a plurality of selves rather than the opinions of others. This is confirmed when, finally, Remedios shakes free of the past and begins to explain why, sexually, she would want to be with Esteban. As the stage notes clarify, "*Remedios se esta empezando a liar con sus propios argumentos*" (14). She begins to address herself in the third person and takes ownership of her sexual desire. Remedio's confident sexuality is achieved through the dialogues with imagined interlocutors, based mostly on flashbacks of her experiences with them and with her late husband, which juxtaposes her surrogacy with her innate desire to be more like the new myth presented. The rhythm of the flashbacks and of the dialogue lulls the reader/audience into a specific pace, until finally Remedios wakes up and addresses herself directly – thus confirming to herself and the viewer that she herself is responsible for all of the voices and that said plurality/lived experience is responsible for her confidence.

Quite similarly, *Purificación* begins with the protagonist enraged and, through an exposed plurality of self-presented via flashbacks that warrant interlocutors, her place as a surrogate is thrust against her desires to become more. At the outset, Purificación enters her office and, per the stage notes, "*hace un gesto de rabia y pasea de un lado al otro del escenario, presa de una gran indignación*" (1). She mimics the conversation she was having as the door closed, and the public is immediately thrust into a flashback of sorts in which Purificación plays all of the roles. Although sometimes textually noted via quotation marks, the jump between what Purificación says and what her colleagues say is less visible. In this way, everything seems like the rantings of one woman. Specifically, when Purificación begins to address the poster of James Dean, as if he were a living interlocutor, is when the public begins to see that what is seemingly a monologue of emotions, are various dialogues hiding various flashbacks to differing past tenses. Despite the increased clarity, the jumble of what is and is not Purificación's voice, what is and is not a memory from the past, versus what could or could not be going on with her colleagues is confusing enough to disguise the narratorial shifts both for the reader as well as the audience.

Specificity and clarity come correct when all of the voices and pasts come into one, wholly realized flashback – the night Purificación played Doña Inés opposite Víctor's Don Juan. The shift from varying temporalities and personalities to a clear and concise retelling of what happened that night focuses the narrative as Purificación begins to address the poster of James Dean as if it *were* Víctor (14). At this point, the stage notes explain that Purificación has gone from simply angry to doubting the validity of her own emotions: "*Purificación desconcertada por todo lo que est[á] expresando en voz alta,* *mira a su alrededor como buscando al duende que la hace hablar así*" (15). The specificity of the flashback has caused what was once an imagined interlocutor to take physical form, via the life-sized poster, and makes Purificación (and concurrently the public) more aware of her own instability. As she begins to caress the poster, giving in to her sexuality and desire, the phone rings and all parties involved are jolted out of Purificación's imagined interaction with her flashback. The overlapping nature of the flashbacks that prompted Purificación to take on multiple selves serves to deconstruct reality within the monologue and it is only then that the protagonist can reach out and claim her sexuality via an actual conversation with the real Víctor – whose voice sounds in from off-stage through the phone's speaker.

Evolving through the imagined dialogues that are permitted by the flashbacks, the protagonists of Pombo's monologues give voice to their pain, their anger, and their sexuality. Most importantly, the delayed visibility of the flashback in the monologues, different from what happens *La petición*, hides the new myth from the reader/audience as they are lulled by the serene environment and/or self-assured personality that surrogacy pretends to emit. Slowly, the flashbacks become more and more present within the narrative and the surrogacy beings to be juxtaposed more and more against the emotions tied to the new myth. Essentially, the increasing visibility of the flashback leads to sudden bursts of emotion or sexuality from the protagonists and the reader/audience are immediately exposed to the falsities that have structured the protagonists' identities thus far in the monologue. The doubling of the protagonists' voices and the chaos of their emotions/sexuality leaves both the protagonists as well as the audience left to question the stability of their lives within the context of the monologue. Ultimately, the narratives analyzed overlay past memories with a perceived present. The result is an instability that suggests that the myths presented, surrogacy as well as the more varied forms of femininity, become *artificial* via the doubling of the protagonists.

3.4.2 Construct Spaces

In *Usos amorosos de la postguerra* (1987), Carmen Martín Gaite notes that the training that served to shape young women of Franco Spain was more concerned with the performance of femininity rather than the actual success of such training. Martín Gaite cleverly quips: "se nos instaba, efectivamente, a disfrazarnos de Dulcineas, sin dejar de ser Aldonza Lorenzo. Y durante aquellos ensayos, demasiado largos para lo mal que luego salía la función, ambos disfraces nos pesaban por postizos e irreconciliables. Nos enseñaban, en resumidas cuentas, a representar. No a ser" (66). The performative, remarked by Martín Gaite to be a necessary element of femininity under Franco and by Butler to be a staple of gender, is also a key element in the deconstruction of the surrogate and the new mythology presented collaboratively within *surrogate histories*. Both Pombo's monologues as well as Miró's *La petición* not only favor emptied spaces that draw into focus the narrative doubling of the protagonists, outlined earlier, but rather all cultural products effectively manipulate the off-stage/screen as a way to contextualize the staging or screening of reality itself.

3.4.2.1 Empty Spaces

In her study on the occurrence of time and space in postmodern theatre, Surbezy outlines some of the most common trends in contemporary theatre. According to Surbezy, postmodern spaces in theatre are typified by "espacios cotidianos y familiares, tanto para los personajes como para los lectores/espectadores” (169). However, these spaces are often hollow, and devoid of character. Instead, as Surbezy notes, there is a collective focus on quotidian spaces that favor a more holistic understanding of reality insofar as such focus lends itself to a subjective narrative, defined specifically by the micro experiences of individuals. The emphasis on the short bursts of time, on the in-between moments, robs the narrative of a cohesive chronology and, in turn, shifts the focus onto the characters. Moreover, the use of limited or reduced staging reinforces the focus on the quotidian activities being presented. In this way, “el espacio, sometido a sus subjetividades, pierde su estabilidad y su solidez” (169). Insofar as the sparse and naked spaces become merely a servant of the narrative and because, per Surbezy, postmodern theatre tends to focus on the existencial crisis and uncertainty of the subjective experience, the quotidian space is merely a way to reinforce a sense of anonymity and instability – an echo chamber for the fears and emotions of the protagonist(s).

Insofar as most of *La petición* can be defined by the ornate and baroque trappings of the petit-bourgeoise of late nineteenth-century upper-class Spain, the scenes that serve to juxtapose the two Teresas against one another then become are eerily simplistic. Although contextually it does seem more realistic to remove a dead body from a bustling household under the cover of darkness, it is important to note the totality of said technique. As Teresa and her neighbor sneak through her house and the nearly abandoned streets, the film saturation is so opaque, that Teresa’s white dress is the only illumination. Because Teresa’s white dress is uniquely tied to her chastity, the choice to saturate the background space and illuminate Teresa’s dress becomes a significant spatial construction. This construction becomes increasing more evident, when analyzing the subsequent scene when Teresa finally kills her neighbor.

As the three bodies row out into the lake, the camera alternates between closeups of the three faces, barely illuminated in the darkness, and a wide-angle shot of the boat on the water, surrounded by mist with nearly all of the shot devoted to the pitch black of the night. As they reach their destination, and Teresa begins to kill her neighbor, the camera adopts a shot-reverse-shot closeup of the bleeding neighbor against Teresa's enraged face and pear necklace which, ultimately, serves to highlight the atrocities that are being committed. Due to the daunting imposition of the night, both characters are the only subjects in frame. The boat is on the water, there could have been an image of the moon reflecting off the surface. The boat begins to drift away and there is a lingering shot of the neighbor's body floating in the water, surrounded by darkness. Teresa slowly rows away and, ostensibly adopting the gaze of the dead/dying neighbor, she and the boat are consumed by the black screen. As I outlined earlier, these last scenes serve to juxtapose the narratorial presence of the two Teresas against one another, chaste and good versus sexual and evil. However, without the negation of space via the performative nothingness of the night, I wonder if this juxtaposition would have been achieved – or rather achieved as successfully.

Much like Surbezy has outlined, the on-stage spaces provided in Pombo's plays indeed serve an important reference point that further demarcates the doubling of the protagonists. In her study of forms of female resistance in the late dictatorship, Mary Nash (2013) clarifies that "los aspectos íntimos personales de la vida privada cobraron una dimension central en la identificación de la opresión femenina, y por tanto, en el proyecto de transformación personal y social de las mujeres" (142). In this way, the choice to provide an intimate look into the lives of these women seems fitting in the deconstruction of a the *nationalized-gender-mythology* that sought to invade personal spaces. Insofar as all of the plays are staged intimately in everyday, personalized spaces, the monologues provide an intimate and unique glance into the lives of these women in spaces categorically reserved for them –even if those spaces are not representative of who they want to be. Moreover, as I outlined via Surbezy earlier, the choice to focus on the common spaces is a forced interpretation of the narrative via a micro-lens.

Starting with *Amalia*, the stage notes do not provide much information by way of objects. However, given the content, the reader/audience must assume that there is a full kitchen and a living room with at least a chair. Importantly, the off-stage space is far more developed through the stage notes than the on-stage space: "*Descorre las cortinas dejando entrar la luz de la mañana, por lo tanto, ya podemos ver el decorado. Seguidamente abre la venta de par en par. Del exterior llegan, lejanos, los sonidos característicos del patio: un pajarillo enjaulado que canta alegremente sus miserias, el ris-ras de las cuerdas de tender, alguna voz solicitando un préstamo de sal, azúcar o perejil y una radio*" (1). As evidenced, although the notes describe the audience's ability to see the staging, it makes no reference to what it would be. Other items of importance include sheets and clothing that Amalia brings to the wash, a broom that she first tries to assault Jaime with and then uses to clean the floors, items from the kitchen that she uses to cook with, and food she has brought with her to the apartment. Most important of all, this is not Amalia's house. In this way, the minimal staging of the space is helpful in asserting the importance of Amalia's monologue (which reveals the duality of her identity), but it is the fact that this is another woman's home that truly makes the space anonymous and therefore suggestively part of a collectivity.

Similarly, *Remedios* takes place in a common, modern home and the objects referenced are only important insofar as they give the protagonist something to do while delivering her monologue. Most importantly, it is made very clear from the outset that the stage is "*Decorado absolutamente despersonalizado*" and that, "*Como este salón hay un millón más*" (1). As for the objects present, the stage notes and context include a phone, a large table where Remedios' imagined interlocutors will sit as well as a side-buffet full of dinnerware, and a vase of carnations. As Remedios rages on about the failed lunch and her daughter's brazen selfishness, she interacts with the set and smashes around items. It is indeed the rearranging of the items in the buffet that defines her rage in the opening parts of the monologue. Other objects referenced include her sewing which she picks up and puts down just as aggressively as the vase of carnations and the dinnerware. Eventually, as noted earlier, Remedios begins to address imaginary interlocutors as if they were her family members. Importantly, they are all sitting around the solitary table. The phone, which opens and closes the monologue, and the other items described, further bolsters Remedios' monologue. Moreover, this is not, and will forever cease to be, an intimate space for Remedios - it is not her home. In this way, the staging and the quotidian spaces provided performatively center Remedios' struggle to understand who she is as she grapples with being a mother and being a human.

Although *Isabel* is the only monologue that takes place inside of the protagonists' home, and is very well-staged with a clutter of personalized objects, it is the nature of Isabel's interactions with these objects that helps to vehemently challenge the stability of her identity and what is seemingly an innate resolution towards her life thus far. As noted earlier, opening stage notes explain that the monologue takes place on *un patio trasero*. The patio is described as follows: "*Cuerdas de tender cruzan el escenario de parte a parte. Este patio sirve además de trastero, en donde se van acumulando todas aquellas cosas que se han quedado viejas o ya no sirven. Un par de hamacas desvencijadas, alguna bicicleta oxidada, cajas de botellas; pero sin embargo no nos da la sensación de dejadez*" (1). As the notes suggest, the staged space reflects Isabel's ultimate epiphany. As she has gotten older, she has realized that perhaps she doesn't know who she is, who her husband is, and why she has done anything she has done. Perhaps she is one of the *cosas que ya no sirven*. All of this takes place while Isabel irons her husband's shirts. More importantly, it takes place while her husband is out watching a game, assumed to be accompanied by friends. In this way, the staged space personifies what Isabel is thinking and saying. Moreover, as her rage begins to boil up, she begins to burn holes through her husband's shirts. Ultimately, although she lives and interacts in this space daily, it is questionable whether or not she truly belongs there.

Purificación is the only play that takes place outside of the home environment, although I would argue that because it takes place in *her* office, it is perhaps more intimate than the staging of any other of the monologues. This on its own is an interesting development when analyzing the monologues collectively insofar as the only truly intimate space, in which the protagonist feels comfortable and interacts lovingly with the space and the objects, is in an office –outside of the home and inside the workforce. This assumption is solidified by the opening stage notes that clarify: "*Algún detalle coquetuelo nos indica la personalidad de Purificación*" (1). In terms of the objects present, the filing cabinets, newspaper clippings, and her coffee all serve for a way for Purificación to move about the scene and delineate her emotions. She either slams drawers and forgets her coffee until it is cold, or she folds a treasured newspaper clipping gently. The stark difference between how she treats certain objects in the space as opposed to others helps to define the motives of the monologue and the memories of the protagonist. These memories call into question all of her relationships and, in turn, serve to define the narratorial presence of dueling identities.

Essentially, the pared down or seemingly personalized staging of Pombo's monologues as well as the ending sequences of *La petición* refocuses the attention onto the narratives themselves. In the monologues, all of the protagonists interact with the objects provided but said objects do not draw attention away from the monologue. In fact, because the plays were not staged, the objects reported to be on stage are literally only as important as the content of the monologues, since the only way the reader/audience can glean information about the objects is through the protagonists. In *La petición*, the blackness of the night and the closeups negate the presence of anything other than Teresa's dueling identities. Another important aspect of the staging is of course the election of spaces of historical significance to women per the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. The ornate background representative of Teresa's status as a young woman of the upper-class is contrasted against the obscurity of the lake where she buries her victims. In the monologues, the spaces chosen are intimate and yet void of personality. In this way, all of the performative spaces enhance the narratorial doubling of the protagonists insofar as they serve as anonymous echoes of all women –or certainly many women.

3.4.2.2 Abandoned Places

In addition to emphasizing the narrative doubling of the protagonists, the spaces captured in the cultural products I've analyzed also serve to demarcate space performatively and, in essence, to deconstruct the normalization of the narratives as reality. More specifically, it is the *empty* spaces of the stage/screen that serve as a context for said performative deconstruction. In her interpretation of the *fuera del campo*, Zecchi contests that the off-screen "se presenta a ser interpretado como un «espacio otro», como lugar de la deconstrucción de lo que se ve y que se naturaliza como real" (83). Burch too concludes that the very use of the *off-screen* draws attention to what is happening in those spaces and, ultimately, serves to further delineate what has been placed the on-screen (19). Burch explains that an entrance or exit of a frame, an off-screen gaze, a blocking of the camera lens, and even an empty screen into which someone will soon enter, all call attention to the spaces not being presented. Life does not end or stop in the off-screen/stage. In this way, calling attention to the spaces not presented serves to question the inherently constructive nature of film, or in my study of the narratives being analyzed. By the same token, in reference to the *surrogate histories* analyzed in this dissertation, the use of the off-screen or the off-stage space successfully challenges the surrogacy and the new myths presented. Insofar as all aspects of the narrative are merely part of a chosen performance, none of the identities are stable entities –everything becomes a construct.

In *La petición,* the balance of the on-screen/off-screen is manipulated to build a comparison of the two Teresas into the very diegesis of the film, and this juxtaposition space (empty or otherwise) serves nicely to define both identities as constructions.

Following the plot of the film, the two Teresas are juxtaposed one against the other as the sequences of the plot unfold. If she is first presented as sexual and aggressive, her next on-screen presence will counter the previous and she will be presented as silent and obedient. From the seduction of her bedroom to the civility of the carriages, from the serene and composed dining room to the sadomasochistic behaviors of her bedroom, from the brightly-lit party to the dark servant hallways that lead out of the house – the ping-pong nature of the narrative suggests that the identities are indeed battling with one another throughout the film. This is solidified by the personification of on-screen and off-screen spaces that are representative of the two identities.

In the second sequence in which Teresa calls to her neighbor through her window, the camera lingers on the flute lying on the bed to tie the noise to her neighbor. The diegesis cuts to Teresa painting alone at home and then to the reunion between adult Miguel and Teresa. Miguel asks curiously about her time at school, and Teresa begins to overheat as she recounts how she and all the girls at school became very familiar with the gardener. The sound of the flute (the music now associated with her neighbor) invades their conversation and Teresa smiles wryly as they move outside. More importantly, as Teresa hears the flute, she gazes to the horizontal-right off-screen space. Her gaze calls attention to the off-screen and what the spectator assumes at this time to be a link to Teresas as a sexual being is juxtaposed against her conversation with Miguel –in which Miguel is extremely formal, even broaching to use *usted*. Another example occurs shortly after Teresa's first on-screen sexual encounter with Miguel. As Miguel finishes and Teresa laughs, the camera pans out further to the exterior of the stable house where the two have just had sex. The building remains on screen for five seconds while the music fades and the screen transitions to the next scene. More importantly, the building that remains on-screen, is hiding Teresa and Miguel in the off-screen that enters deeper into the narrative. In both examples, the juxtaposition of what is on-screen versus what is off-screen is what leads to the spectator's understanding of the two Teresas.

To be clear, it is thanks to the lingering on-screen space referenced against the off-screen that facilitates the juxtaposition of her two identities. The on-screen, the time provided to both the neighbor's flute as well as the stable house, is placed opposite the off-screen, Teresa's gaze and the two lovers collapsed on the ground, calls the two Teresas into comparison and questions the validity of both. Teresa's victims and the spectator are witness to her wicked, sexual self, while the rest of the characters in the film are duped by her performance as a well-behaved, young lady of *superior* birth. If Teresa is not what she seems, and there is indeed another reality beneath the surface of her performance, could not all identities, especially ones displayed in film, be performative?

In Pombo's monologues, the validity of the protagonists' identities is similarly questioned through the manipulation of the on/off stage. The first method of manipulation is what Zecchi calls the subjective *fuera del campo*. In Zecchi's example, the spectator hears something happen in the off-screen but the camera, which would normally pan to whatever happened as a means to develop the narrative around the spectator's gaze, remains still. As Zecchi explains that "los márgenes de la pantalla, como apuntaba Burch, son fluctuantes y los campos reversibles, y lo que en un primer momento queda fuera, creando suspense, termina por incluirse, por una necesidad de coherencia narrativa y de pacto silencioso con el público" (84). Essentially, the use of the off-screen coupled with the subsequent negation of the spectator's gaze towards that off-screen amplifies the subjectivity of the protagonist. However, because the off-screen is first used then negated, the subjectivity is forced onto the spectator and therefore breaks away from a more naturalized diegesis – revealing the constructed-ness of the narrative. Similarly, in Pombo's monologues*,* the agency afford to the protagonists in their command of the off-stage spaces could also be read as a type of forced subjectivity. Although the subjective off-stage is invoked to grant the protagonists agency, a byproduct of their agency is that the public becomes acutely aware of the staged-ness of the play.

The best example of this is in *Amalia*, when the protagonist reads a note left by her employer, Cristina, but neither Jaime nor the public are allowed to hear what Cristina has written. When Jaime attempts to read the note, Amalia exclaims, "¡Eh! ¿Qué tiene usted que mirar?… Esto es confidencial. Las notas que nos dejamos la señorita Cristina y yo son confidenciales" (4). Unfortunately, that means they are also kept confidential from the reader and the audience. This is also an important aspect of *Remedios* insofar as the culmination of the protagonists' sexual agency is tied to a conversation to which neither the reader nor the audience are privy. Having decided enough is enough, Remedios goes to the very telephone that opened the monologue and dials up her lover, Esteban. The stage notes suggest the presence of a dial tone and the sound of Remedios tapping her fingers to fill in the void and personify the off-stage call. Although the reader/audience can interpret the conversation through the emotions presented in the parenthetical notes, Esteban's side of the conversation is only represented by questions and ellipses: "Oye, ¿sabes que te digo? que me voy a vivir contigo… s[í], s[í], así por las bravas… ¿A mis hijos? Que se vaya a freír espárragos… " (16). Performatively, especially in comparison to the phone conversation that closes *Purificación* (in which you do hear an off-stage, male voice on the other end of the phone), Pombo's decision to only present one side of the conversation to the reader/audience, while simultaneously referencing the off-stage, is an excellent example of a narrative broken via the protagonist's subjectivity.

Another example, in both *Amalia* and *Isabel*, is that the public is denied the voice and participation of the interlocutors insofar as they are muted by the very protagonists. What would normally serve the narrative and the performance has been constricted to grant the protagonists agency. Neither Jaime nor Andrés are allowed to participate, or rather they are only allowed to participate when Amalia and Isabel deem it necessary to their own evolution. Indeed, both Jaime as well as Andrés inclusion in the monologue is merely a way to introduce the flashbacks of the respective female leads. In *Remedios* and *Purificación*, this forced subjectivity can be evidenced via the perpetual use of the *invisible body* off-stage space outlined in the previous sections. Because the off-stage spaces are referenced and extremely important to the narrative, but access to said spaces is simultaneously negated, the narratives are performatively deconstructed.

Similar to the effects of Zecchi's subjective off-screen, the empty screen (or in this case stage) is effective in unmasking the constructive performativity of the spaces provided. According to Burch, "it is thus principally the *empty frame* that focuses our attention on what is occurring off screen, thereby making us aware of off-screen space, for with the screen empty there is nothing as yet (or nothing any longer) to hold the eye's attention" (19). Just as Burch notes that the empty screen calls attention to the construction of space, so too does the empty stage as the juxtaposition of the two spaces immediately draws the audience's attention to the very question of space.

In *Amalia* this is evidenced first by the empty stage and then by Amalia's movements during the performance. To the reader, the stage notes provide ample context, but an imagined performance would be typified by Amalia's absence. Indeed, as the opening stage notes suggest, "*Por el momento todo est[á] a oscuras y en silencio. El publico también por favor*" (1). Everything, even the audience, is commanded into silence by Amalia's absence. Although admittedly less silent, the closing scene of *Isabel* evokes a similar absence. Analyzed earlier, Isabel storms off stage to silence her son, Andrés, screaming at him while exiting: "(*Con la misma rabia, y en vista que Andrés no calla, recoge la prenda y se dirige hacia la puerta y hace mutis mientras habla. La voz de Isabel se hace llorosa*) ¡Mira lo que me ha pasado por tu culpa!, que se me ha quemado la camisa… Ya verás como se lo diga a tu padre cuando vuelva de la partida…" (17). Importantly, the audience learns that her husband has merely been out with friends while she stays at home ironing shirts, and it is the sound of Isabel smashing Andrés' guitar off-stage that closes the curtains of the play –leaving the audience left to wonder what is happening/will happen.

In a similar fashion, *Remedios* ends with the protagonist exiting the stage enraged. Per the stage notes, "*Remedios engancha el bolso y bien rumbosa se dirge hacia la puerta de la calle y sale dando un portazo*" (17). From there, the lights fall and the play ends. Not only does *Purificación* too begin and end with an empty stage, but rather the opening of the monologue is the off-stage voice of the title character: "(*Se escucha el murmullo de dos personas que están hablando junto a la puerta. Esta se abre un poco y se oye a Purificación que dice:*) Pues nada, mona, si ves a María la das la enhorabuena de mis partes. (*Y dicho esto Purificación entra en escena, cierra la puerta y se queda quieta* *unos instantes*" (1). From here Purificación beings to rant about María's hidden relationship which is of course a foreshadowing of Purificación's own affair with Victor. In all of the aforementioned examples, some of the most important aspects of the narratives are defined by the empty stage. Insofar as the importance of that information is presented to and by an empty stage, the audience is immediately aware of the staged-ness of the play, and therefore left to question the reality of the performance. It is all, in effect, a performance.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 A time for new definitions

In her study of female-centered opposition, Mary Nash (2013) explains that women have often had to invent new terms to suit their needs: "Además, en los grupos informales de autoconciencia las redes establecidas permitieron compartir lecturas feministas, información e inventar un nuevo vocabulario que ponía las palabras a las sensaciones de opresión vividas. De ese modo, las mujeres encontraron un léxico y palabras que identificaban su mundo y creaban las sensación de pertenencia a una comunidad con objetivos propios, reforzando su identidad colectiva" (150). Similarly, in the introduction to the *Posthuman Glossary* (2018), Rosa Braidotti and Maria Hlavajova challenge the notion of *humanism* and suggest that the term *human* is indeed still defined by normative constructs. Their glossary focuses on a path towards defining the *posthuman* – outlining in tandem what is considered "acceptable humanity". To quote directly from the authors:

> In this glossary, we try to make critical distinctions and by 'inhuman' we refer to a double phenomenon, which raises both analytical and normative questions. Analytically, the term refers to the de-humanizing effects of structural injustice and exclusion upon entire sections of the human population who have no enjoyed the privileges of being considered fully human. Gender and sexual difference, race and ethnicity, class and education, health and able-bodiedness are crucial markers and gatekeepers of acceptable 'humanity'. (2)

The goals of the glossary, as per the authors, can be divided into three distinct points. Firstly, to bridge the divide between academic scholarship and the real world. Secondly, the glossary challenges modes of thought insofar as, often, pre-established discourse is dependent upon a sense of hegemony. Lastly, the glossary seeks to connect various generations together via its interdisciplinary nature. *Surrogate histories* share all of these goals, but of course, within the context of contemporary Spain.

Furthermore, Braidotti and Hlavajova contest that need to "overcome binaries" insofar as "the world and humans themselves are not dualistic entities structured according to dialectical principles of internal or external opposition, but rather materially embedded subjects-in-process circulating within webs of relation with forces, entities, and encounters" (8). Insofar as *surrogate histories* seek to analyze the ways in which women were subjected to dichotomies of difference present within the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime, an analysis of these texts serves to elaborate the ways in which women produce and maintain agency within the limits that would seek to confine them – analyzing their varying attempts to become subjects while maneuvering through the persistent webs of the regime and the new webs of the Transition. Just as the *Posthuman Glossary* relies heavily on creativity for the construction of new terminology as a means to "produce adequate representations of our real-life conditions in fast-changing times" (10), this dissertation aims both to evoke current scholarship as well as to create a space that is more representative of the ways in which female subjectivity has been historically and continuously repressed within not just contemporary Spain, but also in academic spaces that *should know better.* The creation of this new terminology is not just for the sake of having new or more inclusive words, but rather is a way of reiterating and challenging a historical deficit in regard to the study of female histories.

Surrogate histories, as outlined and analyzed in the previous chapters, can therefore be defined as a narratorial and performative strategy, implemented by cultural products, as a means to grapple with a traumatic past. Their presence within a given cultural product can be read through the presence of the following elements: a form of *surrogacy* that presents thematic difference with contextual closeness, the presentation of a *new* *myth* that serves to amplify previously constructed mythology, and means for *textual deconstruction* so that none of the myths live to fight another day. These elements combined serve as a means to question a pre-established mythology as well as to challenge use of myths for identity construction. In the context of this dissertation, I've suggested that some female playwrights and directors implemented *surrogate histories* in order to confront the political apathy and the cultural objectification of transitionary Spain.

By first creating *surrogacy* via namesakes that tie the protagonists to markers of the *nationalized-gender-mythology,* the cultural products are connected to their past and therefore can dialogue with the problematic and subjugating nature of the *Franco-female.* The dialogue is achieved by the creation of a *new myth* in which the women on screen/stage are presented in stark contrast to the mythology insofar as they have agency. In terms of performative strategies, the juxtaposition of what is and what is not staged/filmed as well as the protagonists' command of the stage/screen gives them agency within the structure of the texts. Narratively, this agency is displayed through both the female protagonists' ability to exhibit a broad range of emotions as well as their inherent position as *meaning-makers*[112] within their respective plots. Through the juxtaposition of these two myths, the spectator/reader/audience is alerted to the constructive nature of the past mythology. Insofar as each myth outlines the limits of the binary that defined what it meant *to be female*, the juxtaposition of one against the other succeeds to question the very construction of a central, singular female identity. The protagonists' names, memories, and their place in society all act as surrogate connections to a mythologized past, but their present actions radically question that mythology.

Although this can be analyzed within the narratives, the process is amplified by their performativity. The completion of all three elements leads to a successful (de)mythification of the *Franco-female*. In this way, the products I've chosen successfully confront the policies and myths that shaped their past while simultaneously advocating for a more holistic and nuanced approach to their future. However, these cultural products serve as merely one example of how *surrogacy* can be approached.

As outlined earlier, the four monologues from Pilar Pombo as well as *La petición* directed by Pilar Miró approach *surrogacy,* and the subsequent challenging of the *nationalized-gender-mythology*, through the creation of namesakes. The protagonists are connected to historical figures that were used by the dictatorship to construct the myths of the *Franco-female* but, by merely referencing them by their names, these products complete a form of *surrogacy* that I define as *shallow.* Insofar as their connection to the past is thematically very distant, *shallow surrogacy* serves as a first example in which names are merely (re)claimed. Another example of *surrogacy* includes the (re)imagining of times historically significant to the *nationalized-gender-mythology* and is represented by both a handful of episodes directed by Josefina Molina from the series *Paisaje con figuras* and *Cuentos y leyendas,* as well as the play *Humo de beleño* (1985) by Maribel Lázaro. A third example of *surrogacy* is the appropriation of narratives that deal more directly with the *nationalized-gender-mythology* insofar as they directly retell the lives of two important figures: Teresa de Ávila and Isabel la Católica. These appropriations can be referenced in a handful of plays written by Concha Romero as well as a mini-series written by Carmen Martín Gaite and directed by Josefina Molina. In this way, each form of *surrogacy* should therefore be defined by its varying level of thematic difference –

from (re)claiming names, to (re)imaging times, up to a more direct form of narration appropriation. Of course, having explained the varying levels of surrogacy, this does not mean that these cultural products are without fault. I'll now be addressing some of the limitations of both the cultural products I have analyzed, as well as my study more generally via some of the questions I proposed in the introduction to this dissertation.

4.2 Possible Limitations

The process of (de)mythification requires that a *new myth* be presented within the cultural product. These new forms of femininity serve to contrast the pre-existing myths that defined the *Franco-female*. Although both Miró and Pombo's new myths unfortunately perpetuate a heterosexual normative, [113] and do not deal directly with questions of race, they do represent a varying array of economic classes. In this way, the products are not representative of all women, but they do indeed amplify what it means *to be female* and begin to deconstruct some of the preconceived and eternal notions of femininity perpetuated by the regime. Another significant limitation of Miró and Pombo's works includes the visible lack of female camaraderie present within the narratives. As my ultimate goal in studying *surrogate histories* lies in the creation of a feminist heritage, which at its base suggests a form of camaraderie, I was admittedly disappointed by the lack of solidarity present within the narratives. However, upon further reflection, I think perhaps this should be read as a meta-method in the implementation of *surrogacy.*

In *Usos amorosos de la postguerra* (1985), Carmen Martín Gaite outlines the myth of *la santa madre*: an archetype of the *Franco-female* that has been readily portrayed in cultural products that thematize the civil war and/or the dictatorsip[114]. *La santa madre* or *la mater dolorosa* is a woman who, through the death or exile of her husband during the war, is left to “hacer equilibrios entre dos extremes tan difíciles como no perder su dignidad y atender a las exigencias de la economía doméstica” (113). As head of the household and the family’s spiritual leader, not only is she the dominant council of her children’s lives, but rather “proponía a las chicas casaderas su propio camino de perfección para el futuro y establecía para los jóvenes un rígido punto de comparación que aumentaba sus cautelas e indecisiones a la hora de elegir la compañera de su vida” (113). It is not just that this archetype forged a model of perfection that should have been emulated, but rather she was a constant comparison to which other forms of femininity were standardized. It is merely one example in which women, under the myths of the *Franco-female* were pitted against one another – whether it be directly or indirectly.

As the needs of the regime changed and given the economic expansion of the 50s and 60s, this competitive environment was bolstered by the advent of capitalism and once again women were set against one another in their fight to be the most stylish or having caught up to the latest trends. Moreover, in considering the nature of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* as well as Martín Gaite’s study holistically, it becomes abundantly clear that any form of female solidarity was not only frowned upon but rather actively discouraged. Regardless of the fact that all women of the dictatorship were exploited in one way or another –whether they were wives, or mothers, or prostitutes, or factory workers, or nuns, or even widows– there were very few forms of femininity that were socially acceptable but it was expected that all women strive to meet those outrageously, impossible standards. Given that there was no way to reconcile the impossibility of that task, women were forced to compete directly with their friends and family. This becomes more apparent upon realizing that female solidarity is exactly what led to their participation in the opposition culture of the Transition.[115] In this way, I posit that the lack of female friendship present in the cultural products I've analyzed, whether it be multi-generational or not, could be directly related to the real-life experiences perpetuated by the myths of the *Franco-female*.

Overall, what is most notable from my analysis is the fact that *surrogate histories* are not all encompassing or eternal. In an attempt to legitimize its power, the Franco regime resorted to traditional dichotomies already present in the pre-established *gender-mythology*, and by relying on pre-existing, patriarchal biases that were already built into a the foundations of quotidian practice, the *nationalized-gender-mythology* served to further naturalize antecedent binaries. Despite the convenience of said inculcation process, the regime longed to be eternal – to prove that it was fulfilling the destiny of a true, more original Spain. Insofar as any successful (de)mythifying of that mythology requires its representation via the *surrogacy* process, there is always a chance that the cultural products could be read as a glorification of those ideals. Moreover, because a challenging of the mythology requires the perpetuation of a *new myth*, the products could be charged with a re-categorization of femininity that would eventually need to be (de)mythified at another time. However, because *surrogate histories* include within them an element of *textual deconstruction*, they offer a caveat that negates any attempts at an eternal or all-encompassing definition. In this way, *surrogate histories* seek to deconstruct the preconception that any constructions are or could be eternal. Indeed, even in the case of Spain, they themselves are merely one piece of a very complex puzzle.

To be clear, *surrogate histories* are not the only ways in which cultural products serve to undermine mythology. As I outlined earlier, Barthes' terminology suggests that myths be deciphered or, more specifically, *demystified*. To "demystify" something is to make a previously mythologized subject easier to understand. In terms of the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of Franco Spain, I would go so far as to say that it has indeed been significantly demystified through the work of a considerable number of scholars and artists. Although most of the work has been done considering generalized mythology, there have indeed been recent projects that are gender specific. The anthologies and variant articles that deal more directly with gender have specifically been focused on uncovering women's participation in the past. Whether this participation reference how the regime's policy of repression was gendered, or how women were present and participatory in varying forms of opposition, recent scholarship is succeeding in filling in the gaps in History. However, given the ways in which systemic violence against women has continued to be an ongoing issue in Spanish society[116], perhaps there is still work that needs to be done.

When considering that the process to make myths spans multiple generations and requires a level of cultural manipulation in varying strata of society, it then becomes apparent that any process that allows women to emerge from myth inculcation would indeed need to be multi-pronged. If the first step is acknowledging that women experienced History differently, and a possible second step would be to investigate and catalogue the myths and systems that have oppressed women, then perhaps a third step would be to analyze the juxtaposition of steps one and two via the female voice – to ask how exactly women *dealt with* living their own, individual and everyday histories. Because the *gender-mythology* that defined dichotomies of difference served as a jumping point for the Francoist ideology has, in fact, outlasted the regime, I would contest that demystification alone is not a successful way to create lasting change – neither academically nor socially. In this way, the study of *surrogate histories* is not meant to be the only path towards the deconstruction of lingering regime mythology, but rather should be read in-conjunction with the studies that demystify the *Franco-female*.[117] In order to (de)mythify the lingering effects of the *nationalized-gender-mythology*, more steps needs to be taken.

4.3 Hopeful Eventualities

During the Transition the opposition culture spearheaded by the academic community fought through the push for political silence and reconciliation of the past in order to slowly construct a heritage of intellectual thought. Said devotion resulted in a grass-roots movement dedicated to the recuperation of historical memory (*Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*) at the turn of the century, as well as the political legislature in 2007 that officially identified the victims of the dictatorship and the war (commonly known as *la ley de la memoria histórica*). All of these milestones were achieved and maintained through both academic dedication and considerable social effort towards change. Like previous academic studies, [118] the study of *surrogate histories* is an attempt to dedicate research and to push for the creation of a public space as well as a sense of heritage that will deal exclusively with female repression during the dictatorship via the analysis of female thought. In this way, my dissertation is similar in its approach to enact change but uses a different set of tools in order to counterbalance the work already done surrounding male repression and myth.

Although there are in fact many studies that deal directly with the representation of Spain's tumultuous history in cultural products as a means to negotiate with femininity and the overt construction of a feminine identity in Spain[119], the analysis of *surrogate histories* is unique insofar as it establishes a causal link between the *nationalized-gender-mythology* and female-authored forms of counterculture, with specific emphasis on transitionary Spain. Although many scholars have successfully disproved the myth of the *pact of silence* of the Transition, *surrogate histories* help to shed light on the ways in which female-authored products have also managed to circumnavigate the problematics of the Transition as well. Moreover, because the implementation of *surrogate histories* can be referenced in various types of cultural products, an analysis of their presence serves to bolster a collective, feminist presence within transitionary Spain.

Despite my faith that research dedicated specifically to female-authored memories and thought is of paramount importance to the pending success and longevity of the historical memory movement within Spain, the study of *surrogate histories* is not going to implement change on its own. However, given that caveat, I still believe that there are many immediate and long-term benefits of my research. In the immediate, a study akin to my dissertation would amplify the amount of cultural texts available to the academic community as it would open up another branch of investigation that ties together two subjects that are already historically intertwined in Spanish history: feminism and historical memory. Such access to cultural products would translate directly to more diversified representation within the classroom. Thinking more long term, much like previous studies done in order to deconstruct myths of the Franco regime, opening an academic space that is devoted specifically to a female heritage within Spain will create the groundwork for actual change. Furthermore, such a space would foment the creation of a public standard to which one could be held accountable, and perhaps the female experience would cease to be erased. Another possible benefit, although more indirect of course, is the recuperation of feminism more broadly within Spanish society. This of course could lead to more legislature surrounding domestic violence as well as sexual assault. However, all of these are hopeful eventualities of my dissertation as opposed to direct results.

4.4 *Cosas de mujeres*

At the outset of my dissertation I remarked that my overarching goal was to advocate for a reconsideration of the historical memory genre in academia so as to include research more specifically dedicated to female histories. In my second chapter, I have endeavored to prove that the policies of the Franco regime were founded upon pre-existing dichotomies of gender difference, and that said dichotomies served to buttress the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime. Moreover, I have suggested that the mythology was not deconstructed during the Transition to democracy, but rather was used as a means for stability in uncertain times. Although there has been a considerable amount of scholarship dedicated to the myths and histories of the regime, and more recent work done that testifies to the presence of gendered repression and female opposition, there still seem to be a political, cultural, and even academic safeguards in place that make it extremely difficult to discuss topics that are, ultimately, pushed aside as women's issues. Despite my earlier examples from VOX, it should be made clear that there is often even said resistance present in more politically *left* circles and spaces – spaces that *should know better*. This, in turn, makes it exceedingly difficult to gain any ground on the matter. In that vein, and before closing my dissertation, I'd like to address some specific examples.

While outlining the various tactics of female opposition during the end of the dictatorship, Mary Nash (2013) explains that many women found themselves working in communist syndicates and political parties devoted specifically to the plight of the working-class individual. Nash's investigation is important insofar as it outlines the discrimination faced in spaces that were specifically tasked overall liberation. Nash writes:

> Hay que señalar que habitualmente en los medios progresistas de izquierdas, fue incuestionable el ideario de la domesticidad y el reparto de genero del trabajo doméstico. Es indicativo a este respecto el testimonio de la periodista Núria Cornet. En 1974 vivía en una comuna donde la mayoría pertenecía a la extrema izquierda. A pesar de su radicalismo político, los chicos no participaban en los trabajos domésticos. Sólo las chicas fregaban y limpiaban y se ocupaban de la casa. Entonces Cornet inventó una estrategia para que se hiciesen cargo de los trabajos domésticos: «Empecé a escribir máximas que me inventaba y las enganchaba a las baldosas de la cocina diciendo «compartir el trabajo doméstico». Entonces venían los compañeros y decían: «Pero ¿Esto lo dijo Marx de verdad?» y yo decía que sí». Pero tampoco quedaron convencidos de la necesidad de ocuparse de la intendencia domestica. (145)

Similarly, the film *The Good Fight* (1984) details individual accounts from former members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. An underlying question of all of the interviews is why they, US citizens, thought it was necessary to intervene in what was ostensibly a war that had nothing to do with them. Many of the brigadiers expressed a sense of working-class camaraderie that superseded national borders, but the some of the females interviewed often recount the ways in which they were discriminated against in those very same spaces. Evelyn Hutchins, for example, recalls having to actively call out discrimination during her time as a brigadier and remarked at the odd juxtaposition of having to experience *chauvinism* amongst seemingly political (left) spaces. Although these are examples and interviews from during the war and the dictatorship, such commentary still exists in current accounts.

In her study *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War* (2011), Layla Renshaw completes a sociological study of the exhumations of mass graves through the use of oral histories and uncovers a very interesting statstic regarding repression and the female voice. Renshaw notes:

> The most disturbing aspect for me was that on three different occasions, a male informant interrupted a female informant's account of gendered violence. The male informant tried to change the subject back to 'serious things.' In two occasions, gendered violence was described laughingly by men from Republican families as *tonterias* (nonsense) and 'women's things.' I found this dismissive laughter profoundly disturbing and surprising, until I interpreted it as indicative of a level of shame and denial that made a conversation between women about gendered violence unbearable to the men. The male attempts to shut down these conversations were an indicator of acute sensitivity rather than insensitivity. (69)

Renshaw ultimately connects the shame associated with *women's things* to the question of property and honor in relationship to masculinity and femininity in rural Spain and ties the reaction to the state of the historical memory movement at the time. Although these are all isolated cases, they serve as examples of the types of dialogues that even to this day are still had in households, bars, and even, much to my chagrin, in some academic circles.

Philippa Gregory, an esteemed historical novelist, has dedicated her academic career to shedding light on the female histories of the Tudor period. Holding titles in both history and English literature, Gregory has succeeded in showing that sometimes history, and moreover female history, needs to be read through fiction. In the afterword for her book *The Boleyn Inheritance* (2006), Gregory comments the following: "When we fail to record women's histories, we don't just miss the individual accounts, we miss the sense of ensemble - the connections between these women. And so, the women appear as isolated, exceptional women, standing alone. Whereas, in fact, they were part of a community of women, who worked together, lived together and, sometimes fatally, betrayed one another". Although Gregory's comments are perhaps specific to the numerous historical-fiction novels that she has dedicated to women's history, they indeed ring true globally. In the context of transitionary Spain, Gregory's words serve as the very definition of what it meant *to be female* and to be a director or a playwright. Although both Miró and Pombo, along with their few peers, were icons in their own right, a history of their participation –or indeed of female participation in general– in the opposition culture towards the end of the regime and into the democracy has often been read as *exceptions* to the rule. Through a comprehensive study of *surrogate histories*, I hope to challenge the exceptionality of women and establish a heritage that helps to prove their continued existence, struggling and surviving as best they can, under the thumb of patriarchy.

APPENDIX

LIST OF ELECTRONIC NEWS ARTICLES REFERENCED

1. https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/andalucia/2019-09-11/andalucia-tendra-telefono-violencia-intrafamiliar_2221843/
2. https://www.eldiario.es/andalucia/telefono-violencia-intrafamiliar-vox-andalucia_1_1360778.html
3. https://www.elplural.com/autonomias/andalucia/vox-ya-tiene-su-telefono-de-violencia-intrafamiliar_223701102
4. https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20190911/cesion-vox-andalucia-telefono-violencia-intrafamiliar-ademas/428457651_0.html
5. https://www.diariosur.es/andalucia/junta-andalucia-pone-20190911171839-nt.html
6. https://www.lasexta.com/noticias/sociedad/la-junta-de-andalucia-cede-ante-la-reivindicacion-de-vox-de-dejar-de-lado-el-concepto-violencia-de-genero-y-aceptar-el-de-violencia-intrafamiliar-video_201906165d066c9a0cf24fbca992c02d.html
7. https://www.ideal.es/andalucia/vox-acusa-medidas-provocativas-pp-cs-20200701160232-nt.html
8. https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20190916/vox-condenar-franquismo-no-ningun-sentido-herederos/429707488_0.html
9. https://www.abc.es/espana/abci-inmigracion-memoria-historica-violencia-genero-propone-201812050420_video.html?ref=https:%2F%2Fwww.google.com

NOTES

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] Ley Orgánica de Medidas de Protección Integral contra la Violencia de Género, approved December 29th, 2004 (https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2004-21760).

[3] Ley 52/2007, de 26 de diciembre, por la que se reconocen y amplían derechos y se establecen medidas a favor de quienes padecieron persecución o violencia durante la guerra civil y la dictadura (https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/2007/12/26/52/con).

[4] https://www.abc.es/espana/abci-inmigracion-memoria-historica-violencia-genero-propone-201812050420_video.html?ref=https:%2F%2Fwww.google.com

[5] https://www.ideal.es/andalucia/vox-acusa-medidas-provocativas-pp-cs-20200701160232-nt.html

[6] Many of Falcón's statements regarding the comparison to racial violence and gender violence in her article "Violent Democracy" suggest that the correlation to racially inspired violence and systemic racism is an inherently understood and well-defined concept. The recent political and cultural changes inspired by the Black Lives Matter movement would, of course, suggest otherwise. While many, myself included, agree that racially inspired violence is a byproduct of well-entrenched and systemic racism, assuming that such a supposition is *generally understood* is to assume that it is not still an important issue - or rather that it is not something that still needs to be taught/fought over. Of course, it is still a systemic issue that needs to be unpacked because, like Valcárcel's arguments concerning quotas, Systemic racial inequality deserves attention, reparation, and a substantial process of (de)mythification in its own right.

[7] See Falcón's article "Las últimas perversiones del feminismo" (2017).

[8] See Audre Lorde's article "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference" in *Sister Outsider* (1984). This is not in reference to the historical feminist debate of difference in Spain.

[9] https://www.elespanol.com/espana/politica/20190916/vox-condenar-franquismo-no-ningun-sentido-herederos/429707488_0.html

[10] See (2018, Chapter 11).

[11] I begin to use first person pronouns in my analogy because even though I myself am not a citizen of Spain, said structures that bind us are felt and understood globally. Much like the volunteers for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade describe in *The Good Fight*

(1984), the fight against rising forms of fascism and against the perpetuation of sexism within those same counterculture movements, is indeed a global fight.

[12] To be clear, these are all things I have personally heard while researching this dissertation both in and out of Spain and, as I will outline in the conclusion, are still viewpoints shared by many – regardless of their political affiliation.

[13] The film *La petición* by Pilar Miró cannot be readily purchased and the monologues of Pilar Pombo are out of print entirely. The only access to any of these products requires academic vigor and credentials.

[14] See Montero (1995) and Brooksbank Jones (1995).

[15] See Martínez (2016).

[16] Eco outlines the requirements for an *open text* in his work *The Role of the Reader* (1979). Eco reiterates that the onus for textual interpretation falls on the reader and mentions that the author is nothing more than a textual strategy (11).

[17] See *Desde la ventana; Enfoque femenino de la literatura española* (1987) by Carmen Martín Gaite.

[18] Although the female of transitionary Spain is not a subaltern identity, insofar as they do have access to the hegemonic discourse, the females subjected to the myths of the *Franco-female* were often considered as subaltern as they were categorized by the regime as *anti-Spanish*.

[19] See *El Aprendizaje de La Libertad (1973-1986) La Cultura de La Transición* (2000).

[20] Formally known as Ley 46/1977, de 15 de octubre, de Amnistía. (https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1977-24937)

[21] For more information pertaining to women's exclusion from authorship pin the film industry see Zecchi (2014); for theatre see Serrano (2004), O'Connor (1989; 1990; 2006) and Floeck (1995).

[22] For more information regarding Franco Spain and authoritarianism, please refer to the work of Juan J. Linz (1976; 1991; 2000).

[23] See also Levi-Strauss' *Myth and Meaning* (1978) and *Structural Anthropology* (1976).

[24] See also Anthony Smith's *Nationalism in the Twentieth-Century (*1979).

[25] To be clear, Maurice Halbwachs is by no means the only voice in the dialogue of memory studies as it has a long history as well as a veritable boom in the 70s and 80s.

However, his work is the most canonical in terms of *collective memory* and serves as a good base of information. This investigation is not a comprehensive study of *collective memory* and should therefore not be read as such. For further information regarding the complexities of memory, please reference *The Collective Memory Reader* (2011), edited by Jeffery K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy.

[26] "The 'acceleration of history,' then, confronts us with the brutal realization of the difference between real memory –social and unviolated, exemplified in but all retained as the secret of so-called primitive or archaic societies –and history, which is how our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organize the past. On the one hand, we find an integrated, dictatorial memory –unself-conscious, commanding, all-powerful, spontaneously actualizing, a memory with a past that ceaselessly reinvents tradition, likening the history of its ancestors to the undifferentiated time of heroes, origins, and myths –on the other hand, our memory, nothing more in fact that sifted and sorted historical traces. The gulf between the two has deepened in modern times with the growing belief in a right, a capacity, and even a study to change. Today, this distance has been stretched to its convulsive limit" (8).

[27] See Michael Ignatieff (2005)

[28] To be clear, the media is not directly tied to US sovereignty, but it does play an important role in shaping nationhood insofar as it is a system that defines and is used to define said identity. It is at once a constructor as well as a perpetuator of myths. I'd like to table our discussion of this relationship until later when we discuss the intersectionality of myth and gender as it will make more sense then.

[29] Quoting Butler, "Editorials in the *New York Times* criticized 'excuseniks,' exploiting the echoes of 'peaceniks' –understood as naive and nostalgic political actors rooted in the frameworks of the sixties –and 'refuseniks' –those who refused to comply with Soviet forms of censorship and control and often lost employment as a result. If the term was meant to disparage those who cautioned against war, it inadvertently produced the possibility of an identification of war resistors with courageous human rights activists" (xiii).

[30] See Sherry Ortner's *Is female to male as nature is to culture?* (1974)

[31] Monique Deveaux (1994) has noted that Bartkey's use of body politics (as defined by Foucault) suggests that femininity can be defined singularly. Deveaux explains that such a stance, "blocks meaningful discussion of how women feel about their bodies, appearance, and social norms. It obscures the complex ways in which gender is constructed, and the fact that differences among women -age, race, cultural, sexual orientation, and class- translate into myriad variations in responses to ideals of femininity and their attendant practices" (227). However, I have come to understand Bartkey's theory in the context of Butler's understanding of gender as a performative construct of the body. As Butler explains in *Frames of War* (2009), "It is not possible first to define the ontology of the body and then to refer to the social significations the body assumes.

Rather, to be a body is to be exposed to social crafting and form, and that is what makes the oncology of the body a social ontology. In other words, the body is exposed to socially and politically articulated forces as well as to claims of sociality –including language, work, and desire–that make possible the body's persisting and flourishing" (3). The emphasis on a body that *persists,* or *flourishes* is the key to understanding both Butler as well as Bartkey's theories.

[32] Less resistance insofar as there will always be some level of resistance.

[33] Monique Deveaux (1994) undertakes the study of feminist scholarship in relation to Foucault's understanding of power and the body and explains that "Feminists need to look at the *inner* processes that condition women's sense of freedom or choice in addition to external manifestations of power and dominance" (234).

[34] In *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (2009), Judith Butler outlines the possible violence(s) enacted on non-grievable lives: "We might then analyze some of the cultural tributaries of military power during these times as attempting to maximize precariousness for others while minimizing precariousness for the power in question. This differential distribution of precarity is at once a material and a perceptual issue, since those whose lives are not 'regarded' as potentially grievable, and hence valuable, are made to bear the burden of starvation, underemployment, legal disenfranchisement, and differential exposure to violence and death" (25). In this way, the 'other' violence to which I refer is not less important than the potentiality of physical violence. As Butler herself concludes, "to be protected from violence by the nation-state is to be exposed to the violence wielded by the nation-state, so to rely on the nation-state for protection *from* violence is precisely to exchange one potential violence for another. There may, indeed, be few other choices" (26).

[35] The list of scholars is exhaustive but some of the most notable and ones that have influenced my understanding of the topic include the following: Alted (1995), Cassanova (2010; 2013; 2014), Fox (2010), Graham (2005), Linz (1976;1991;2000), Morcillo (2000; 2015), Preston (2010; 2011), Richards (1995; 1998; 2002; 2010; 2013). In the pages that follow, I will be using said scholars, as well as ones that I quote from directly, to elaborate on the ways in which Franco Spain used myth to construct its national norm.

[36] A court that ignores pre-established law and policy, or rather that it establishes its own sovereignty that is separate from systemic legislature.

[37] See previous note for more sources.

[38] The efficacy of this political *return* is described by Morcillo (2015) in her study of appropriative body politics (more accurately the female body) during the dictatorship: "Tras la Victoria de los aliados en la Segunda Guerra Mundial, Franco puso en marcha una nueva fórmula política denominada «democracia orgánica» que legitimaba su ejercicio del poder en el contexto de la Guerra Fría. […] La idea de democracia orgánica no era nueva. Su origen se remonta al discurso político del Siglo de Oro, que sostenía que

el régimen revive en cada nuevo gobernante y se legitima a sí mismo con el ejercicio del poder. La tradición organista española, que hunde sus raíces en las obras de los eruditos barrocos de la contrarreforma, encaja a la perfección con el model autoritario franquista – dado que su principal objetivo consiste en afirmar un orden sancionado por la divinidad en el que cada individuo desempeña un papel tan predestinado como inmutable–" (14). See also Morcillo (2015) p. 23-66.

[39] See Morcillo (2000) p. 30-31 and (2015) p. 13.

[40] See Ellwood (1995) p. 202.

[41] See Linz (1991) and Lannon (1987; 1995).

[42] See Graham (1995) p. 183.

[43] As defined by Bourdieu (2004), *symbolic violence* can best be understood by the relationships of and access to power between the dominant and the dominated. Insofar as woman (the dominated) only have access to *schemes* that define her power (or lack thereof) in relation to man (the dominant), she therefore perpetuates pre-existing power dynamics. To be clear, this is not a matter of *choice*, but rather "the effect of symbolic domination (whether ethnic, gender, cultural, or linguistic, etc.) is exerted not in the pure logic of knowing consciousness but through the schemes of perception, appreciation and action that are constitutive of habitus and which, below the level of decisions of consciousness and the controls of the will, set up a cognitive relationship that is profoundly obscure to itself" (340).

[44] As Roberta Johnson and Maite Zubiaurre (2012) explain, "La realidad de la mujer individual era muy diferente del model ideal proyectado por el regimen y la prensa oficial y popular de la esposa sempiternamente sonriente y complacida en su papel doméstico. Como en todas las épocas, había mujeres inteligentes y creativas que querían hacer estudios universitarios, ejercer profesiones, escribir novelas y poesía y/o fomentar la igualdad de la mujer. Pese a las limitaciones con que la dictadura circumscribía la vida de las mujeres, hubo un importante número de mujeres que cursaron estudios universitarios, y hasta algunas… que no se casaron y que realizaron una carrera. Pero la expresión de ideas abiertamente feministas –la igualdad legal, social y económica para la mujer – en su mayor pate se limitó al reino clandestino (aliado con el partido comunista, prohibido por el régimen franquista, pero activo en secreto), a la conversación privada difícil de recuperar o a las cartas que muy lentamente se van encontrando" (304).

[45] In her chapter *The Violence of Rhetoric* (1987), de Lauretis explains that "the contradictory pressure towards affirmative political action (the 'counterattack') and toward the theoretical negation of patriarchal culture and social relations is glaring, unavoidable, and probably even constitutive of the specificity of feminist thought" (36). Butler (2009) too comes to this same conclusion in reference to the *frames of life* that see a certain life as grievable or not. Butler explains: "we cannot easily recognize life outside the frames in which it is given, and those frames not only structure how we come to know

and identify life but constitute sustaining conditions for those very lives. Conditions have to be sustained, which means that they exist not as static entities, but as reproducible social institutions and relations" (24). Insofar as any choice is ultimately in relation to the *nationalized-gender-mythology,* whether the choice be in favor of or against the definitions of femininity, all responses are therefore defined by the limits created by the mythology.

[46] I recommend reading Aurora Morcillo Gómez's *En cuerpo y alma: Ser mujer en tiempos de Franco* (2015) alongside Martín Gaite's study as it provides necessary legislative context to some of Martín Gaite's observations. It is through this intersectional reading of femininity, based off of legislative as well as cultural codes, that I have come to understand the nature of what I will outline as the myths of the *Franco-female.*

[47] The reference to a disguise or performance permeates Martín Gaite's study and can also be understood by the following quote: "En nuestro paso por las dependencias del Servicio Social se nos instaba, efectivamente, a disfrazarnos de Dulcineas, sin dejar de ser Aldonza Lorenzo. Y durante aquellos ensayos, demasiado largos para lo mal que luego salía la función, ambos disfraces nos pesaban por postizos e irreconciliables (66).

[48] For a more comprehensive overview of the repression and mythology of the Franco-female, please refer to the following anthologies: *Rojas: Las mujeres republicanas en la guerra civil* (Nash, 1999); *Represion, Resistencia, Memoria: Las mujeres bajo la dictadura Franquista* (Nash, 2013); *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista* (Nielfa Cristóbal, 2007); *Constructing Spanish Womanhood* (Lorée Enders and Radcliff, 1999). Other works that have been crucial to my investigation include *True Catholic Womanhood* (Morcillo, 2000); *En cuerpo y alma* (Morcillo, 2015); *¿Eternas menores? Las mujeres en el franquismo* (Ruiz Franco, 2007)

[49] It is important to understand the tensions that arouse from the dichotomy of good/evil forms of femininity because it the same type of tension that makes *surrogate histories* effaceable in the (de)mythification.

[50] Casanova outlines that this systematic violence was ritualized, often by men, around concepts of religious and moral purity. Moreover, he then theorizes that this type of violence against women specifically became the foundations for the *re*education of women. Here it is important to note that Casanova recognizes the different forms of violence. In the next section I will, following Casanova's path, elaborate on ways in which the systematic differences of violence that serves to enact more violence in *active remembering*.

[51] Rob Nixon (2011) defines *slow violence* as "a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all. Violence is customarily perceived as an event or action that is immediate in time, explosive and spectacular in space, and as erupting into instant sensational visibility. We need, I believe, to engage a different kind of violence, a violence that is neither spectacular or instantaneous, but

rather incremental and accretive, its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales" (2).

[52] See Pérez-Moreno and González-Faraco (2014).

[53] It is important to note, as per Morcillo (2015), that "El franquismo no inventó el sexismo, se limitó simplemente a perfeccionarlo para tratar de conferir legitimación a un régimen autoritario que tenía que articularse y legitimarse más allá de las armas en la desolación reinante en la posguerra primero y mantenerse después durante el periodo de la Guerra Fría" (87). Casanova (2013) also notes that "un discurso de inferioridad de la mujer que no lo inventa el fascismo español, es un discurso que está en toda la tradición mística, poética, del llamado Siglo de Oro español, o por lo menos de lo que yo he indagado" (99). In this way, the harkening back to National Catholic values is, if anything, a continuation of traditionalist dialogues surrounding feminism in Spain.

[54] See Graham (1995) 184.

[55] To be clear, and as evidenced by Martín Gaite (1987), the female existence during the dictatorship took on multiple facets. However, in regard to the specific construction of femininity, Morcillo's *true Catholic womanhood* is an excellent example and one which defines one side of the binary within the spectrum.

[56] For a more comprehensive overview of the intersectionalities of class within the context of the mythology of Franco Spain, see Richard Wright's *Pagan Spain* (1957).

[57] See Graham (1995) 189.

[58] As Nash (2013) notes, it was indeed the lived experience of these decades that drove women of the *tardofranquismo* to form coalitions against such patriarchal values (144).

[59] See Appendix B, Figures 6 & 7 for diagrams that better outline the appropriation of these historical figures via Barthes' myth system.

[60] See Moreno 7.

[61] See Nash (2013) 146-147.

[62] See Morcillo (2000) 53.

[63] See Morcillo (2000) 56.

[64] These ideological shifts towards the end of the dictatorship are reflected in the changing doctrines of the Sección Femenina (Pérez-Moreno and González-Faraco, 533).

[65] See Richards (2002) 97.

[66] Most notably being one of the first NO-DOs produced in April of 1943 (the four-anniversary of the end of the war) in which the war and the peace are contextualized as both present and past. The war is presented as still present insofar as no context for the thematic flashback is provided, but Franco's victory is expressed in past tense in order to give his power a sense of history. (https://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-14/1487700/ — section *Ultima hora* @ 13:07)

[67] For a more comprehensive study of this debate, please see " 'Usted, qué sabe?' History, Memory, and the Voice of the Witness" by Sebastiaan Faber (2011).

[68] This sentiment is echoed in the work of Julián Casanova and Carlos Gil Andrés (2014) who elaborated the struggle for democratization as both a top-down as well as a bottom-up push and pull of protest and oppression (297).

[69] For a more comprehensive understanding of the process of modernization and/or europeanization, please reference *El mono del desencanto: una crítica cultural de la transición española (1973-1993)* by Teresa M. Vilarós (1998) or *Twentieth-Century Spain: A History* by Julián Casanova and Carlos Gil Andrés (2014).

[70] The term *micro-aggression* was coined in 1970 by psychiatrist Charles Pierce in relation to the lived experiences of black Americans. For more information, please see "Offensive mechanisms" in *The Black Seventies* (1970).

[71] Here I define *public sphere* as a space that in which a view of the oppressed is not inherently oppressive. I do not mean to negate the public and quotidian conversations had in churches and markets and households throughout Spain, but rather to make a space in the official public discourse.

[72] Per Nora (1989): "Consider, for example, the irrevocable break marked by the disappearance of peasant culture, that quintessential repository of collective memory whose recently vogue as an object of historical study coincided with the apogee of industrial growth. Such a fundamental collapse of memory is but one familiar example of a movement toward democratization and mass culture on a global scale. Among the new nations, independence has swept into history societies newly awakened from their ethnological slumbers by colonial violation. Similarly, a process of interior decolonization has affected ethnic minorities, families, and groups that until now have possessed reserves of memory but little or no historical capital" (7).

[73] In her article "Buried Lives" (2008), Zoë Crossland examines the tenuous line between exhuming bodies for either scientific evidence or in order to reinstate personhood, and she too confirms the possible dangers of memorialization. Crossland suggests that as soon as the exhumed body attains personhood and the family puts them to rest, there is indeed a possibility that the urge to fight will recede (155).

[74] See Labanyi (2007) 95.

[75] The most notable works include the novels of Josefina Aldecoa, Carmen Martín Gaite, and Dulce Chacón. I have chosen to disregard cultural products that relate to the female perspective from a masculine authorship, such as Vicente Aranda's *Libertarias* (1995), because although I agree that writing from a perspective that is not your own does not discredit ones work, I do think that representation from someone with lived-experience is more valuable. Especially when there is such a deficit in terms of actual representation of female voices.

[76] By *meaningful access* I mean a type of access that would allow for the study of the female perspective in a variety of ways. This includes direct and readily accessible materials for scholars in their research, for professors in their classes, and for the average citizen. The type of access that permits the many to read, and reread, to view and review, to study, and restudy said perspectives.

[77] In order to make this statement, I'm pulling from the following sources: *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War* (2007) by Noël Valis, *La guerra civil española en la novela: Bibliografía comentada* (1982) by Maryse Bertrand de Muñoz. I am also making this statement based on my lived experience as a student, professor, and researcher of the topic. The access to works by and about the female perspective during the war and the dictatorship has always been limited to a handful of representations. Although I do not deny that perhaps the work is out there, I question here why access to that work is so limited.

[78] For a more complete analysis of Miró's claims in favor of or in spite of feminism, please reference Susan Martin-Márquez's chapter devoted to the director in her book *Feminist Discourse and Spanish Cinema* (1999, 141-182).

[79]See Zecchi (2014) 96.

[80] All remaining copies that are *readily* available exist via the repositories in either the Biblioteca Nacional or the Centro de Documentación Teatral – both housed in Madrid. *Remedios* (1987) is the only exception as it can be found reprinted in *Dramaturgas de hoy* (1988) by Patricia O'Connor.

[81] Although my analysis of these monologues is based off of the manuscripts, it is important to note how the play *could have been* staged as well as the possible reception of the information presented. In order to do such an analysis, I will rely heavily on the preliminary stage descriptions as well as the parenthetical notes throughout the play. I will often clarify if I am referencing the narrative or the potential performativity of the text within the analysis but, in order to avoid confusion and redundancy, I will often use the term *pubic* in reference to both the reader as well as the potential audience.

[82] See Oliva (1987); Ortiz (1987); O'Connor (1990); Pedrero (1993); Resino (2016).

[83] As Roberta Johnson and Maite Zubiaurre explain, "puesto que el feminismo español postfranquista tuvo sus comienzos durante la última fase de la dictadura como parte de las actividades clandestinas de comunistas y socialistas, muchas feministas de la transición a la democracia (1975-1982) eran militantes dobles que abogaban antes por el mejoramiento de la condición de la mujer como por el de la situación del obrero masculino" (399).

[84] Here I have chosen to define the figure of Santa Teresa by both her existence as an author as well as the name used after she has been sanctified. Insofar as her imagery was appropriated by the regime as a means to bolster the exceptionality of women, she was revered not just for her position as a Saint (de Jesús) but also as the work that she did as a woman, under God (de Ávila). For more information about Teresa, including the epistemology of her name, please see Elena Carrera's work *Teresa of Ávila's Autobiography: Authority, Power and the Self in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Spain* (2005).

[85] However, despite her assumed power, Theresa Earenfight (2008) explains that even Isabel governed, in accordance to and with reverence of male. To be clear, Earenfight analyzes the process through which Isabel and Ferdinand created a new definition of queenship. Earenfight's analysis is important in redefining monarchy in relation to a more historically accurate portrayal of rulership - in which queens, although not often all powerful, did indeed express a certain level of agency.

[86] Graham (184). See also Rosario Ruiz Franco (2007); Aurora G. Morcillo (2000); Elena Maza Zorilla (2014).

[87] See *A Dictionary of First Names* (2016).

[88] I find it interesting here that a character not cast within the play gets a last name, but our protagonist does not.

[89] Although these are indeed common traits among house maids in Spain and given that the overwhelming majority of maids are women, I'd question whether or not that is a telling of the culture of constructed femininity rather than a mere coincidence of describing the nature of a job. Why has this job, specifically completed by women, have these values attached to it?

[90] See *Santa María del Remedio: historia de una advocación mariana, con noticias del mi imágenes y santuarios* (1985) and *Miquel Ferrer i Bauçà: protagonista en la sociedad de Mallorca* (1999).

[91] See *A Dictionary of First Names* (2016).

[92] See Volume 3 of *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1908).

[93] The fact that Teresa not only commands their first sexual encounter by laughing, but rather very clearly enjoys herself is of paramount importance to the deconstruction of

narratives of sin. As Nash (2013) points out in examining female and feminist forms of resistance in the late dictatorship, "Apenas había libertad sexual y los anticonceptivos estaban penalizados. Intercambiar información sobre los métodos anticonceptivos y hablar de las zonas de placer sexual femenino fue un revulsivo para estas jóvenes. Educadas en las creencias del pecado o del peligro de las relaciones sexuales porque la virginidad no debía perderse, el control de natalidad fue para ellas la gran revolución que iniciaron en estos grupos informales: «La posibilidad de controlar tu sexualidad, la sexualidad se puede convertir en un placer, cuando la sexualidad deja de ser un peligro. Esta es la otra gran revolución»" (149). In this way, the narratorial emphasis on Teresa enjoying herself is a key to understanding the nuances of the myths of the *Franco-female* and how they are combatted in the film.

[94] In *Critique of Cynical Reason* (1983), Peter Sloterdijk analyzes the nature of cynicism versus kynicism as modes of opposition to power. Amongst his findings, Sloterdijk examines the kynicism of knowledge as a way to position oneself into a constant state of uncertainty or of "not knowing" as opposed to the assumption that there exists an all-knowing or eternal state of truth (293). According to Sloterdijk, kynicism often reverts to the use of satiric procedure in order to constantly question the established order. Following Sloterdijk's model, if the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime that defined the *Franco-female* as both eternal (insofar as it reaches back into Spain's history) as well as universal (given that all women are expected to aspire to specific standards, regardless of their ability or the economic/social possibilities), then a true satirical inversion of said mythology would be the establishment of a singular, temporary perspective. In this way, the first-person narrative that glimpses mere snippets of one woman's life is indeed the true reversal of the reestablished mythology.

[95] In *Usos Amorosos de la postguerra española* (1987), Martín Gaite comments on the physical need of women to dominate and project a sense of organization. But this organization is not necessarily only physical: "Y organizado era competencia indiscutible de la mujer. Mediante esta prerrogativa, recibía ella las llaves de su reino. Pero lo más curioso […] es que aquella competencia o incompetencia femenina había que demostrarla no solo a través de las capacidades para gobernar el desorden exterior sino también el interior, o sea la doma de los propios humores y descontentos" (123). In this way, breaking free from the organized front of a serene woman and exposing the sexual and rage-filled emotions of these characters is of paramount importance in the construction of a new type of femininity that contrasts the myths of the *Franco-female*.

[96] Zecchi explains that de Lauretis' understanding of the off-screen as a means for feminist dialogue is shared by many feminist scholars: "un lugar fuera del discurso patriarcal participan también, en mayor or menor medida, otras feministas: pensemos por ejemplo en el «espacio lúdico» *(ludic space)* de Laura Mulvey, en la «chora» de Julia Kristeva, en la «zona salvaje» *(wild zone)* de Elaine Showalter o hasta en la «escritura del cuerpo» *(l'ècriture du corps)* de Luce Irigaray y Hélène Cixous" (81).

[97] Martin-Márquez (1999) analyzes this transition, from the death of the neighbor to her betrothal, as a parody of patriarchy: "the scene serves to underline the impotence of

Teresa's father, who unwittingly facilitates his daughter's mockery of the very patriarchal system he seeks to uphold" (272).

[98] Although Martin-Márquez does remark that the few times Miguel tries to usurp power from Teresa are merely a way to provoke her ire and violence, and therefore cement his subjugation (276).

[99] The following analogies are based on classical staging methods of a theatrical play and do not take into consideration the nuances of street performances or collective theatre. As all of the plays I have analyzed within this chapter have not actually been performed, I am left to imagine them as per the instructions of the parenthetical notes. The inherent lack of definition for staging suggests a classical approach.

[100] There is of course a possibility that this *invisible body* could also exist in film, but it would require research and resources that do not fit into the scope of this dissertation.

[101] Insofar as I've analyzed mythology as paramount to the constructions of nationhood and gender, and because both are forms of identity politics, the problematization of identity politics naturally problematizes the constructs that define identities.

[102] Defined by Teresa de Lauretis (1987), the *violence of rhetoric* is the gendered violence produced by rhetorical discourse. Although de Lauretis' argument is more focused on recognizing the inherently gendered nature of both violence and rhetoric, her study also serves as a warning. Because preestablished dichotomies of sexual difference are built into both rhetoric and violence, "violence is engendered in representation" (33). In this way, a deconstruction of any *representation* needs to take into account the preexisting dichotomies present in order to negate the possibility of re-violencing the female subject.

[103] In *Frames of War* (2009) Butler suggests that lives are framed as either grievable or not insofar as certain lives exist within the frames of normatively and others do not. Butler clarifies that "a living figure outside the norms of life not only becomes the problem to be managed by normativity, but seems to be that which normativity is bound to reproduce: it is living, but not a life. It falls outside the frame furnished by the norm, but only as a relentless double whose ontology cannot be secured, but whose living status is open to apprehension" (8). This is, by definition, the *other* – the double of the self that falls outside the norm. In her latest book, *The Force of Nonviolence* (2020), Butler goes a step further in erasing the lines that would separate those frames. Butler argues that the state maintains power by attributing and then enforcing violence onto the opposition. By suggesting that it is the state that deems whether or not something is violent, and then the same state that uses violence to crush the opposition (5), Butler is arguing that the nature of what is or is not violence can be *framed* depending on, as argued above, the definition of self.

[104] This is indeed the undercurrent of Butler's argument in all three of her works dedicated to this topic. If the self is a negotiable subject that can be defined outwardly, then certain selves (or rather others) *can be* killed for the sake of others.

[105] In reference to *surrogate histories*, it is plausible to say that they serve as a stepping stone between Bakhtin's understanding of *chronotopes* via the assimilation of real historical into a literary time-space and Freear-Papio's *mitotopías* – insofar as the *nationalized-gender-mythology* of the regime takes shape within a historical past that was then mythologized.

[106] As Bakhtin (1981) notes, although albeit in reference specifically to literature, "Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history" (84). In this way, both time and space can be seen as personified insofar as they are granted bodily space and visibility within a given text.

[107] See Turim, 2.

[108] See Turim, 11.

[109] Although Mulvey's theory has often been critiqued as reinforcing compulsory heterosexuality, I consider any forced objectification of the female body on screen to be a reinforcement of the dichotomies of sexual difference – in which the female is inherently seen as object. If anything, Mulvey's critique of narrative cinema serves as a critique of the binary nature of gender as well insofar as specific images are coded as male and female and naturalized viewership of narrative cinema is also forced into said codes.

[110] *La petición* is translated in English as either the request or, more commonly, a proposal. Doubly significative, the request is both the one Teresa makes to her victims as well the spectator (to submit to her will) as well as the proposal that she accepts at the end of the film. In this way, at the very outset of the film, indeed in it's very conception, there are (at least) two different identities dialoguing within the film.

[111] In her analysis of the film, Martin-Márquez's implies that Teresa subverts the definitions of heterosexual pleasure via her sadism. I'd also like to suggest that her implied lesbian act is also a testimony to her perversion of the heteronormative, insofar as a lesbian nun is canonically perverse or, as Velasco (2011) notes, the *silent sin*.

[112] See Mulvey (1975).

[113] It is true that Teresa mentions having participated in some form of non-heterosexual activity, but the reference is passing and Miró does not circle back to it at any point in the film. Also relevant, is Susan Martín-Marquez's argument that Teresa succeeds in challenging patriarchal notions via the *perversion* of normative heterosexual interactions.

[114] Many cultural products fall back on the figure of the saintly mother within the civil war genre, despite the fact that it is merely one representation of women and the role they played. Examples include but are not limited to: *El laberinto del fauno* (2006); *La plaça del Diamant* (1962); *La lengua de las mariposas* (1999); *Los girasoles ciegos* (2004;2008); *Pa negre* (2010); *La voz dormida* -film (2011). For a more comprehensive understanding of how limited the female figure is in the civil war genre, see "Cine y documentales sobre las mujeres en el franquismo: transmitiendo la memoria en femenino" by María Cinta Ramblado Minero in *Represión, Resistencias, Memoria: Las mujeres bajo la dictadura franquista* (2013) edited by Mary Nash.

[115] This solidarity has been well documented in the anthology *Represión, Resistencias, Memoria: Las mujeres bajo la dictadura franquista* (2013) edited by Mary Nash. In Nash's own addition to the anthology, she notes the following: "Intercambiar con otras mujeres las propias experiencias vividas y verbalizar las penurias personales, fue un recurso de empoderamiento que facilitó reformular su situación, dotarle de nuevos significados y entender lo personal desde lo colectivo. Los grupos informales de concienciación y de relaciones personales fueron decisivos en generar redes que forjaron una identidad colectiva que luego impulsó el movimiento de liberación de la mujer. […] Estas redes informales fomentation la solidaridad, el intercambio y la confianza de la experiencia compartida. Transformados en espacios de recuperación de la dignidad femenina, como lugares de ayuda mutua, generaron el empoderamiento de las mujeres y proporcionaron la confianza y los recursos para cuestionar las normas sociales discriminatorias" (149).

[116] For more information, reference the protests regarding *La Manada,* the strikes on International Women's day known now as 8M, and the online debates sparked by a bevy of Twitter hashtags (#niunamas, #todossomosellas #yositecreo) – arguably the newest form of opposition culture.

[117] Please reference the studies I summarized and outlined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[118] Apart from the studies I've already outlined, I'd like to call specific attention to two examples. First, Jo Labanyi successfully contextualizes the use of myth in the service of history in her work *Myth and History in the Contemporary Spanish Novel* (2001). Labanyi outlines work that has been done by novelists to deconstruct Francoist ideology via myth, and even goes so far as to analyze the uses of myth in fiction. Labanyi was successful in her approach, but her analysis does not take into consideration the repercussions tied to the fact that repression and ideology of the regime was gendered. Another example, although not specific to myth, includes *La novela femenina contemporánea (1970-1985)* (1994) by Biruté Ciplijauskaité which successfully deals with questions of femininity in terms of identity in the historical novel.

[119] For other works that coincide with or buttress my dissertation include but are not limited to: *Género, identidad y drama histórico en España (1975-2010)* (2013) by Luisa García-Manso; "Chambres de dames y mujeres medievales: Jimena, Urraca, Agnès

Sorel, Juana" (2006) by María Soledad Arredondo; *Mito e identidades en el teatro español contemporáneo* (2005) by María Francisca Vilches de Frutos; *The rewriting of history: The female body, voice and gaze in theater written by women between 1986 and 1996* (2008) by Cristina Casado Presa.

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