

7-2-2012

# Cooking for the Patria: The Seccion Femenina and the Politics of Food and Women during the Franco Years

Suzanne Dunai

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist\\_etds](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds)

---

## Recommended Citation

Dunai, Suzanne. "Cooking for the Patria: The Seccion Femenina and the Politics of Food and Women during the Franco Years." (2012). [https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist\\_etds/25](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds/25)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in History ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [disc@unm.edu](mailto:disc@unm.edu).

Suzanne Dunai  
*Candidate*

History  
*Department*

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

*Approved by the Thesis Committee:*

Dr. Enrique A. Sanabria , Chairperson

Dr. Eliza Ferguson

Dr. Melissa Bokovoy

Dr. Elizabeth Hutchinson

**COOKING FOR THE PATRA: THE SECCION FEMENINA  
AND THE POLITICS OF FOOD AND WOMEN DURING  
THE FRANCO YEARS**

**by**

**SUZANNE DUNAI**

**DUAL B.A., INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, HISTORY  
TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE STATION  
2007**

**THESIS**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts  
History**

The University of New Mexico  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

**May 2012**



**COOKING FOR THE PATRIA: THE SECCION FEMENINA  
AND THE POLITICS OF FOOD AND WOMEN  
DURING THE FRANCO YEARS**

By

Suzanne Dunai

**ABSTRACT**

This study elucidates the importance of cooking manuals and recipe collections published by the Sección Femenina de la Falange (Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1977) during the Franco Dictatorship (1939-1975) in Spain. The organization emphasized its dedication to pursuing women's interests to the political apparatus in its political rhetoric and experienced a substantial amount of autonomy from the Franco regime in communicating feminine ideals and social reform to the Spanish public. Recipes and cooking instruction provided the organization a unique way to access Spanish homes and reform the quotidian habits of Spanish women. The ideology of the Sección Femenina emphasized the importance of revolutionary reform beginning with the individual but desired to have a larger impact through housewives to improve the family and greater society. The Sección Femenina created an ideal for Spanish womanhood yet tried to accommodate its femininity for individual variation of class, regional origin, and age. An investigation of cooking publications provides new insight to how the organization worked within the space prescribed by the Franco regime in hopes of reforming Spanish women, the home, and society. This thesis examines how the Sección Femenina used food ideology to communicate Falange ideology to women.

## Table of Contents

List of Figures	vi
Acknowledgements	viii
Chapter One	
Introduction	1
Chapter Two	
A Recipe for Womanhood	30
Chapter Three	
Lessons in Cooking and Femininity	70
Chapter Four	
Domestic Activism	95
Chapter Five	
Conclusions	134
Bibliography	142

## Illustrations

Figure 2.1 Refrigeration	40
Figure 2.2 Meat and Sin	49
Figure 2.3 Textbook Kitchen	52
Figure 3.1 Nutrition Wheel	79
Figure 3.2 Cheeses of Spain	84
Figure 3.3 Domestic Service	87
Figure 4.1 Baby Food	103
Figure 4.2 Bomb for Dinner	110
Figure 4.3 Cooking without Rations or the Black Market	112
Figure 4.4 Food from all of Spain	127

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the multitude of people and institutions that have encouraged me over the last two years to pursue this project and have helped to make my research possible. I am thankful to Dr. Enrique A. Sanabria for supporting my interest in Spain and for his extensive guidance every semester as my advisor. He has dedicated countless hours reviewing term papers, conference presentations, funding proposals, and thesis chapters. He has continually encouraged me to do my best and use creativity when tackling the challenges of Spanish history. I appreciate the network of support given to me by my committee Dr. Eliza Ferguson, Dr. Melissa Bokovoy, and Dr. Elizabeth Hutchison for their guidance in shaping this project into an obtainable goal. Their unique perspectives have helped me place this project into larger historical themes and have steered me to future research opportunities. I also want to thank Dr. Charlie Steen for listening to my ideas and encouraging my scholarly pursuits almost every day before and after class for two years. He helped me to transform my ideas from idle ramblings to an implementable project. I am extremely grateful to the graduate students, faculty, and staff who have supported my academic pursuits in the history department. I would like to extend a special thank-you to two special graduate students who were with me that one fateful night that put so many of my plans into action and made so many of my dreams obtainable.

I would like to acknowledge the University of New Mexico for the resources it has provided for me financially throughout the Master's program as well as the rich resources available at the Zimmerman library and the Center for Southwest Research. I would also like to thank the Feminist Research Institute and the Graduate and Professional Student Association for their financial assistance to my research trip to Spain. I appreciate the support of numerous members of the Association of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies who helped me once I



was in Madrid and most of all kept me from getting lost in the BNE. I would like to send a special thanks to the staff of the Biblioteca Nacional who went above and beyond to accommodate my needs in getting around the stacks. I appreciate the friendliness and helpfulness for the archivists at the Women's Institute who went above and beyond to ensure that I had a pleasant trip to the archive and stay while I was in Madrid. And most of all, I would like to thank Marisa Mediavilla at the Biblioteca de las Mujeres de Madrid for allowing me into her home to explore the resources of the library after the organization lost funding for archive space. I am deeply indebted to her generosity and her commitment to academic pursuits. She not only opened her home to me and scraped together all of the relevant books that she could find that were not in storage, but she also discussed her views of life for women during the Franco dictatorship and inspired some future research ideas that I look forward to pursuing as I continue my academic career.

And finally I want to extend a thank-you to my friends and family who supported me throughout the years. It was with their encouragement and their friendships that provided me with the support network needed to embark in a career in academia. Their love for me has been the greatest inspiration of all.

## Chapter One: Introduction

“The true career from women is to be the mother of a family. We all agree that this is what every woman should aspire for...” - *Y: Revista para la mujer*<sup>1</sup>

Food—like fashion, music, or interior decoration—contributes to an overall snapshot of the popular culture of a society. Scholars use the term *food culture* to describe the transmitted meaning embodied in meals consumed daily within a society. Food culture refers to the combined use of anthropological theory—the importance of adapting food for human consumption based on material availability—and sociological theory which examines how certain foods carry symbolic significance for a society.<sup>2</sup> The term includes both the availability of resources and technology that shape food consumption by a people group as well as the parameters and hierarchies assigned to specific foods within a society. Food culture is best expressed through collective participation in the ritual of organized mealtime. The ritual of eating a meal is one that emphasizes both commonality and distinction. Meals bring people together to a common eating place such as a dining room or table for a common purpose, but they also reinforce divisions among people by assigning hierarchies to foods that reflect divisions among people.<sup>3</sup>

Food culture provides a window to observe a society’s value system including social divisions of class, religion, geography, gender, age, and sexuality. Food can unite a family, community, or nation on a daily basis with the consumption of certain dishes while classifying foods outside these parameters as “other” or “inedible”. An investigation into food culture can reveal nuances of popular beliefs and practices not easily discovered in other forms of historical investigation. History, when examined

---

<sup>1</sup> “Careers for women,” *Y: revista para la mujer*, September 1941, 19.

<sup>2</sup> William Alex McIntosh. *Sociologies of Food and Nutrition* (New York: Plenum Press, 1996), 57.

<sup>3</sup> Alan Beardsworth and Teresa Keil, *Sociology on the Menu: An invitation to the Study of Food and Society* (London: Routledge, 1997), 79.

through the lens of food culture, provides insight into daily lives of individuals within a society and demonstrates how and why people come together for a meal. Similarly, the investigation of institutional influence on food culture reveals how outside forces attempt to reshape a society's culture.

Societies utilize food ways and food resources available to them to form a consistent *food ideology*, or a society's values and parameters regarding food consumption.<sup>4</sup> Food ideology determines what social parameters define as food and specifies who within a society should eat it. Food ideology assigns social distinctions to different food types and preparation methods to reinforce divisions within a society. Food ideology forms on both large and small scales that blend influences from both individual consumption patterns and social or government regulation on food. Food ideology is created on a small scale in *family ideology*, or beliefs and rituals practiced by a family unit. The food choices and preferences made by the family unit (and usually led by the woman of the family) help to form the food ideology of a society. On a macro scale, political ideology and religious doctrine impose regulations on food ideology by controlling access to food or dictating right and wrong consumption of food.

This thesis will examine the relationship of the state and family through the lens of food ideology. It will examine how political institutions at the national level in Spain during the Franco dictatorship perceived and tried to reshape family ideology through the mechanism of food ideology. I will demonstrate the interplay of ultraconservative political ideologies in Spain during the Franco years and their attempts to monitor and reform Spanish family's mealtime ritual. The Sección Femenina de la Falange (Women's Section of the Falange), the women's auxiliary organization of the Spanish fascist party, blended both religious and political ideologies to shape food ideology at the macro level for Spanish families through communication of recipes and cooking instruction to women. The Franco

---

<sup>4</sup> Nickie Charles and Marion Kerr, *Women, Food and Families* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 4.

dictatorship legitimized itself on divisions within Spain while simultaneously trying to create one Spanish culture. The coexistence of commonality and division is well expressed through the medium of food.

Food played a significant role in the everyday life of Spaniards during the Franco regime (1939-1975). The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) caused overwhelming devastation to Spain that would not be sufficiently remedied for decades. The war brought catastrophic destruction to farmlands; a large segment of the working population was killed, exiled, or imprisoned; and the war indebted Francisco Franco to Germany and Italy for the length of World War II. Spain experienced a slow recovery from the devastation that was retarded by the economic and political system imposed by Francisco Franco. The *Caudillo* restructured Spanish society under an economic system of Autarky, or self-sufficiency. This meant that Spaniards were forced to live off of their own production and that people had to try to survive without everything that Spain was unable to grow, manufacture, or trade for, exasperated by the nation's international ostracism after World War II.

The economic system imposed by the Franco regime also included an extensive rationing system that redistributed food supplies through local municipalities. The Second Republic (1931-1936) had instituted the rationing system during the Spanish Civil War, but out of necessity rationing had to continue until 1952.<sup>5</sup> The rationing system allocated food for families based on their size, but local bureaucrats and municipalities often misappropriated or sold away the local allocations, leaving their community with severe food shortages. Furthermore, Spaniards who were suspected of resisting the Franco regime did not receive rations. The early period of the Franco dictatorship (roughly 1939-1952), with the economic pursuit of autarky, chronic food shortages, and the corrupt rationing system, became known as the Years of Hunger (*Años de Hambre*). Food was the crux of survival for many Spaniards during this time. Spanish women were particularly concerned about their meal preparation and ensuring

---

<sup>5</sup> Rafael Abella, *La vida cotidiana bajo el regimen de Franco* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 1996), 66.

that they could provide enough food for the families.<sup>6</sup> They actively sought ways to address issues of food scarcity as much as possible.

When the Spanish economy began to integrate aspects of capitalism and Five Year Development Plans under the Stabilization Plan of 1959 (*Plan de Estabilización*), food culture once again changed in Spain. Foreign aid helped to make consumer goods available to Spanish households and consumerism increased. Families celebrated the increased food supply by purchasing new cooking utensils, remodeling kitchens, and incorporating better ingredients into the meals that they ate. According to Mediterranean Studies researcher Xavier Medina, everyday Spanish dishes grew in size, incorporated more meat products, and contained a greater variety of ingredients.<sup>7</sup> The increased prevalence of consumer culture in Spain led to state initiatives to maintain national control of foods. The “Spanish Miracle” (*milagro español*, the term used to describe the period of the 1960s through 1975), brought significant modernization to the Spanish economy, political structure, and society.

Many Spanish women bore especially large burdens during the Franco years. They suffered the loss of family members from the Spanish Civil War either through battle, exile, or imprisonment. The war tore families apart and many women found themselves widowed and without access to welfare, employment, or job training. Since family ideology in regard to food is shaped largely by women and what they provide to their families, women carried the brunt of the responsibility of preserving food culture and family values while also struggling to stave off starvation in their homes. The recent work of Encarnación Barranquero Texeria and Lucía Prieto Borrego exposes how women strategized to provide basic needs for their families during the difficult postwar years.<sup>8</sup> The authors rely heavily on oral

---

<sup>6</sup> Anotonio Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 71.

<sup>7</sup> F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), 28.

<sup>8</sup> Encarnación Barranquero Texeira and Lucía Prieto Borrego, *Así sobrevivimos al hambre: estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la postguerra española* (Málaga: Servicio de publicaciones, centro de ediciones de la diputación de Málaga, 2003).

histories from women in Málaga to understand how individual women helped the Spanish family cope with difficulties in rebuilding after the war and surviving the Years of Hunger. Furthermore, the political structure instituted by Francisco Franco sought to confine Spanish women to the domestic sphere and to the role of housewife and mother. The Franco regime limited the opportunities for Spanish women and enacted policy to regulate their movement, careers, and education.<sup>9</sup> As a result, Spanish women were forced to live and work within the Francoist framework created for their gender. This confinement to domesticity augmented women's influence in family ideology through food selection and preparation for their families.

The Franco regime delegated the social and cultural indoctrination of its notions of femininity to Spanish women to the Sección Femenina. Pilar Primo de Rivera founded the Sección Femenina in 1934 to provide auxiliary support to the works of the Falange, the Spanish Fascist party founded by her brother José Antonio Primo de Rivera. The Spanish Civil War propelled the women's organization into militant action to defend their beliefs against the threat of communism, anarchy, and feminism, which were but a few of the competing ideologies at the time. The organization saw these modern phenomena as threats to the traditional values of Church, State, and family which the Sección Femenina sought to save. The organization formed an eighteen point creed that emphasized the importance of obeying orders without hesitation, encouraging men to be good patriots, fulfill the higher purpose of educating children, sacrificing everything for the *patria*, and to be the "wheel of the cart" that permits the one guiding to be in full control.<sup>10</sup> These attributes formed the cornerstone of the Sección Femenina's ideology and garnered the support of like-minded women who wanted to guide Spanish women to follow the creed of the *falangista*.

---

<sup>9</sup> María Teresa Gallego Méndez, *Mujer, Falange y Franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus, 1983).

<sup>10</sup> Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008), 25.

Most of the women who joined the Sección Femenina in the first few years came from bourgeois or elite backgrounds and desired to modify Spanish women's behavior to model their class's set of beliefs and values. They were young adults who wanted the political notoriety of being a part of the fascist movement and assumed a militant feminine rhetoric throughout the Spanish Civil War. The emphasis on regeneration and revolution inspired many women to join the ranks of the organization prior to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. The Sección Femenina consisted of only 2,500 members in July 1936, but this increased to 580,000 by the end of the Civil War.<sup>11</sup>

As membership increased and the Nationalists gained territory during the war, the Sección Femenina established provincial delegations to oversee the distribution of welfare resources, train new recruits, and establish an education network in the region. The structure of the organization was originally based on the German women's Nazi auxiliary the *Reichsfrauenführung*, although the Sección Femenina exceeded its Germany counterpart in membership and departments by 1941.<sup>12</sup>

For the purpose of this thesis, I will address the work of the Press and Propaganda Department (*Prensa y Propaganda*), the City and Countryside (*Hermandad de la ciudad y el campo*), and Social Service (*Servicio social*). The original mission of the Press and Propaganda department was to communicate to every female citizen the projects and goods offered by the Sección Femenina. It also helped to spread the spirit of the Falange through publications that coincided with the organization's ideology.<sup>13</sup> The publications of this department acted as the voice of the Sección Femenina to the Spanish masses. It was influential in communicating messages from the leaders of the Sección Femenina to Spanish women across the peninsula. The City and Countryside department formed with the ambition to restore the Spanish countryside to its previous splendor and productivity. It also aimed to

---

<sup>11</sup> Kathleen Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (Rutledge: London, 2003), 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Clarita Stauffer, *Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS* (Madrid: National Delegation of the Sección Femenina, n.d.), 36.

help women moving from rural areas to towns and cities to adjust to the different environment.<sup>14</sup>

Urbanization during the Franco regime largely transformed food ideology because rural and urban populations practiced different food ideologies. The Sección Femenina, through this department, hoped to preserve the richness of rural Spanish culture while simultaneously educating migrants in proper urban life. Lastly, Social Service formed to serve the purpose of educating Spanish women in proper femininity. Social Service required Spanish women to take classes in religion, Spanish history, and domesticity to in an attempt to standardize womanhood for all of Spain. It was the expression of food ideology through these three departments that the Sección Femenina embarked on a standardization process that presented a uniformed food ideology to Spanish women.

Thus, with Franco's victory in 1939 and the restructuring of Spanish society under Francoism, the Sección Femenina became the dictatorship's official advocates for women's interests to the regime. The legitimacy of the Franco regime relied on the mobilization of men and women in favor of the dictatorship, and the so the regime depended on the activism of the Sección Femenina.<sup>15</sup> The women's group insisted that women's proper place was in the home performing proper domestic duties of wife and mother and launched several campaigns to instruct women in how to raise children, manage a household, and find happiness in domestic activity. The Sección Femenina also provided training for those who were unable to marry and needed work outside of the home in occupations that the organization deemed reinforced femininity or mimicked domesticity.

The Sección Femenina operated along a blurred line between social activism and political involvement as its members campaigned for other women to resign themselves to a life of domesticity. Sometimes the negotiation of this gray area took the form of contradictory ideology and action. For example, the upper echelon of Sección Femenina members were not allowed to marry since their work

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Vincent, "Spain" in *Women, Gender, and Fascism in Europe, 1919-1945*, ed. Kevin Passmore (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 213.



took them away from home and family, yet the organization's ideology emphasized that all other women should follow the path to marriage and family life.<sup>16</sup> Also, the Sección Femenina emphasized the importance of mothers educating their children, but in the Social Service program, where young women were taught cooking, sewing, and other domestic duties, Sección Femenina instructors actively discouraged students following traditional methods of performing these domestic duties as their mothers had instructed. The organization had high aims for spreading its ideology throughout Spain, but its greater impact on Spanish culture and the ability of the organization's ideology to reform Spanish society were limited. Nonetheless, understanding ideology as it was articulated in published material by the Sección Femenina sheds light on strands of thought and possible answers to the "Woman Question" that were circulating during the Franco years.

In the case of the Sección Femenina and food ideology, the organization advocated that women prepare all of the meals for the family and serve them lovingly and cheerfully each day. Spanish women should enjoy several hours in the kitchen each day as they sacrificed for their family. It was also the duty of the *ama de casa* to stimulate the national economy and fulfill the role of consumers when shopping in markets and later grocery stores. It was the duty of Spanish women to ensure that the family observes the food ideology of the Catholic Church by preparing meals that met fasting requirements or followed holiday rituals. The Sección Femenina's food ideology also asserted that women needed to regenerate Spain's future by serving meals that were healthy and nutritionally balanced to raise strong children for the *patria*. Women always needed to submit to authority and so should only cook with legally-obtained rations or food, avoiding the perils of the black market. And, the Sección Femenina encouraged Spanish patriotism in its food ideology by designating certain foods as national cuisine. Regional cuisine contributed to national cuisine to some extent, but not to the point that it challenged Spanish nationalism. Food availability and distribution changed significantly during the Franco regime,

---

<sup>16</sup> Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism*, 12.

but the Sección Femenina's food ideology remained largely the same. Food ideology incorporated more ingredients of international cuisine and new technologies such as refrigeration or gas stoves, but the Sección Femenina's core belief in Spanish women as wives, mothers, producers, and consumers continued throughout the decades of the organization's existence.

María Teresa Gallego-Méndez published the first scholarly investigation of the Sección Femenina. She concluded that the organization perpetuated the political, class, and gender repressive gender and class hierarchy of the Franco regime.<sup>17</sup> She uses the National Delegation meetings of the Sección Femenina and its political pamphlet publications to conclude that the members of the Sección Femenina betrayed their sex by reinforcing the political and social system of the Franco regime and acted as a branch of the regime that extended its repressive measures to the area of Spanish women. To arrive at this conclusion, Gallego- Méndez had to assess the Sección Femenina as a political organization. Even though members denied involvement in politics in their publications and interview recordings, the organization's engagement with Spanish women, a highly political and regulated subject by the Franco regime, made the organization political by nature. Gallego-Méndez's assessment of the Sección Femenina has experienced substantial revisionism in the decades since its publication, but the work led historical discourse to investigate the organization's ideology and political objectives to better understand its political nature and ambitions.

Rosario Sánchez-López complicates Gallego-Méndez's links between Francoism and the ideology of the Sección Femenina by closely examining the ideologies of both and exposing contrasting beliefs.<sup>18</sup> This explains how the Sección Femenina could adhere to *joseantonioism* (the ideology of José Antonio, the founder of the Spanish Fascist party the Falange), a distinct set of values from Francoist ideology.

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>18</sup> Rosario Sánchez-López, *Mujer Española, Una Sombra de Destino el Lo Universal: Trayectoria histórica de Sección Femenina de Falange, 1934-1977* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1990).

This scholarship proves that the Sección Femenina operated with a substantial amount of autonomy from the Franco regime and maintained its own belief system with different ideological points than the Franco administration.

Mary Vincent further developed the breadth of scholarship on the politics of the Sección Femenina by noting that some of the women who joined the ranks of the Sección Femenina sought the excitement offered by political affiliation and promise of mass mobilization. They desired to create a new femininity based on many characteristics traditionally associated with feminism, but also joined the ranks of the Sección Femenina based on the allure of providing Spanish women with new avenues of advocacy, opportunities to exhibit courage, and the possibility of promoting their political affiliation through uniforms.<sup>19</sup> Aurora Morcillo expands Vincent's analysis of gender construction and the roots of the Sección Femenina's conceptualization of femininity in her book, *True Catholic Womanhood*. Morcillo seeks out both modern and traditional components that contributed to the Sección Femenina's overall concept of womanhood. She argues that the women's group adapted the femininity theorized by Juan Luis Vives in *La instrucción de la mujer cristiana* (1523) and Fray Luis de León in *La perfecta casada* (1583). to accommodate aspects of modern femininity such as consumerism.<sup>20</sup> The Sección Femenina did not wish Spanish women to regress to historical gender divisions, but advocated for the adoption of neo-traditionalism that updated the values of the past to accommodate the needs of modern society.

In terms of gender theory then, Francoism based its ideology on divisions within Spanish society, including divisions between men and women.<sup>21</sup> The Sección Femenina, in contrast, pursued mass mobilization of Spanish women through coercion and consent. The organization sought to form a national collective of women pursuing similar goals and to mobilize individual agents to contribute to

---

<sup>19</sup> Mary Vincent, "Spain", 201.

<sup>20</sup> Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 16,18.

reforming society as a whole. The contrasting ideologies between Francoism and the Sección Femenina also led to varying degrees of influence into the everyday lives of Spaniards. Francoism processed control of both public and private lives and invaded every aspect of quotidian behavior. The Sección Femenina, on the other hand, achieved very little influence over the lives of Spaniards and had mediocre participation of the Spanish masses at best.

Since much of the previous ideology points to the differences between the ideologies of Francoism and the Sección Femenina, food culture provides a point of analysis where both ideologies tried to modify and regulate individual behavior. Francoism and the government apparatus regulated the types of food produced and its distribution to individuals and families. The Sección Femenina, in contrast, attempt to reform food ideology or the way food was consumed within the Francoist state. In this thesis, I investigate the food ideology proselytized by the Sección Femenina as an autonomous ideology from the Franco regime and will only address state control of production and distribution when it intersects the Sección Femenina's agenda. The Francoist government controlled food production, its import and export, and its distribution to individual Spanish homes. This set clear parameters in forming the food culture of Spain during the dictatorship. The Sección Femenina then worked within these state defined parameters to form a consensus on food ideology.

Other scholars have theorized about the relationship between feminine activism and authoritarian state, demonstrating that ideological division was not unique to Spain. Victoria De Grazia argues that Mussolini's Fascism designed areas of activism for Italian women to participate in support of the state but without demonstrating too much feminine solidarity or feminists interests.<sup>22</sup> Italian fascism depended on the mobilization of men and women to support and sacrifice for their country, but the regime contained women's activism to interests and activities deemed by the state as appropriate or

---

<sup>22</sup> Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 9.

natural to women and domesticity. Likewise, Victoria González makes similar conclusions in her evaluation of Somocista women in Nicaragua, 1936-1979. She argues that the Nicaraguan dictatorship appropriated feminine spaces and activities in which the *Ala Femenina* (feminine wing), the conservative women activists of Nicaragua, helped to legitimize of the regime.<sup>23</sup> The *Ala Femenina* served state interests by tempering the harsh reputation of the Somoza dictatorship and added a soft, feminine quality to the regime. These female activists worked with the Somoza regime to effectively advance a political space in which they could work.<sup>24</sup> Thus, conservative regimes such as Mussolini's Italy or Somoza's Nicaragua carved out a place of advocacy and activism for women's interests within their political structure, but attempted to set strict parameters in which women could participate in politics. In the case of Franco's Spain, the Sección Femenina received prerogative over Spanish women due to their association with the Falange.

Several historians, including Victoria Lorée Enders, Aurora Morcillo, Kathleen Richmond, Rosario Sánchez-López, and Inbal Ofer<sup>25</sup> have conducted oral histories of former members of the Sección Femenina to better understand the motivations of individuals with the organization. These first-hand accounts reveal that many women participated in the work of the Sección Femenina because the organization gave them new opportunities to promote political activism and to reform society. According to their set of values, the members of the women's group strongly believed that they were doing what was best for Spain, for the family, and for women. The Sección Femenina sought to preserve tradition and morals, but also wanted to improve the lives of women across the nation. These testimonies reveal that the organization carefully balanced these two aspects of its ideology as it

---

<sup>23</sup> Victoria González, "Somocista Women, Right-Wing Politics, and Feminisms in Nicaragua, 1936-1979," in *Radical Women in Latin America, Left and Right* ed. Victoria González and Karen Kampwirth (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 73.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>25</sup> Enders, "Problematic Portraits," 375-397; Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*; Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism*; Rosario Sánchez-López, *Entre la importancia y la irrelevancia: Sección Femenina de la República a la transición* (Murcia: Editora Regional, 2007); Inbal Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue: the making of a female political elite in Franco's Spain* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2009).

pursued numerous initiatives ranging from public health, education, culture preservation, and the protection of women.

There is little research by historians to support the claims of the interviews with former members. The discourse tends to use additional political or religious rhetoric to support the assertions made in interviews. Very little scholarship closely examines the application of the political and religious rhetoric of the organization through its domestic instruction material. It is the subtle propaganda throughout the domesticity texts of the Sección Femenina that explains how the ideal *falangista* was to live. Domestic advice published in magazines, manuals, and textbooks describe the daily reforms needed to achieve proper womanhood and how femininity is applied on a daily basis. I will investigate this subtle but prolific ideology as it was expressed through domestic ideals to deconstruct the creation of the proper *falangista* as well as analyze the aspects of her everyday life to shed new light on the daily work and ambitions of a proper Spanish woman during the Franco years.

An investigation of publications that express the Sección Femenina's food ideology will demonstrate that the organization pursued an agenda that aimed to improve the lives of women across the country. Pilar Primo de Rivera and the other members who made up the Sección Femenina sought to improve the living conditions of women, protect their rights to domesticity and motherhood, and lead them to "natural feminine happiness." The Sección Femenina acknowledged that many Spanish women faced economic hardship, food shortages, and broken families torn apart from war. The organization strove to circulate material that would help women cope with the grimness of their reality and postwar reconstruction. The Sección Femenina also lobbied the Franco regime to protect women's rights as women. This was one of the organization's foundational ideological points. The Sección Femenina sought women's right to stay in the home, and so taught women how to work from home so that they could contribute to the family economy, organized lessons for mastery of domestic activity, and sought to transform the relationship between husband and wife to one of an equal partnership. And finally, the

Sección Femenina aimed to accomplish these things cheerfully so that women would find natural enjoyment in performing the duties of wife and mother. The Sección Femenina believed that ultimate happiness came from confidence in daily tasks and this would increase a woman's value to the family. The Sección Femenina pursued this agenda on behalf of women to improve the feminine individual, her home, and her role in the family.

The Sección Femenina wanted women to actively withdraw from the political realm to domestic spaces, but the organization also wanted to reform Spanish society as a whole. It aimed to initiate social reforms through the home and its access to women readers. This multifaceted agenda is evident through an examination of the organization's recipe publications: cookbooks, domestic textbooks, and women's magazines. Recipes present advice in a way that gives readers the feeling of making a free decision regarding their behavior and that fighting against the suggestions of a recipe are insensible.<sup>26</sup> Recipes exhibit authority in the preparation of dishes, but still seem to the reader as helpful suggestions. They also create a clear step-by-step path to follow towards an ideal and present what the reader *should* do, rather than setting constricting parameters of what the reader *should not* do. In this regard, recipes are not restrictive lists like government mandates or laws that confine women to a certain behavior, but they offer opportunities towards perfection that women can emulate of their own free will. The Sección Femenina provided recipes and cooking suggestions to the public that if a Spanish woman chose to follow the organization's tips and tricks in the kitchen, the ritual of cooking and mealtime would reshape the Spanish individual, her home, and her *patria* to the organization's ideology. The Sección Femenina used this desire for perfection implanted in recipes to co-opt Spanish cooking and food ideology during the Franco years.

---

<sup>26</sup> Blanka Tivadar and Andreja Vezonik, "Cooking in Socialist Slovenia," in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, ed. Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2010), 400.

To shape family ideology through food ideology, the Sección Femenina applied new meaning to the Francoist gender language system to carve out a place for their activism in politics and society.<sup>27</sup> On the one hand, recipes communicated domestic tradition and family values, and on the other, they instructed women in political, religious, and cultural ideology of the women's group. Recipes contained more than just quantities of ingredients and step-by-step instructions for preparing a dish; they communicated to women notion of femininity, symbolized religion or regional affiliations, and could instruct women in social reform campaigns. Recipes could teach illiterate women how to read, use the metric system, or inform readers on important health and nutrition information. Recipes also presented the opportunity for the Sección Femenina to standardize the preparation of a traditional dish so that a recipe for *paella* or *cocido* was uniform throughout the country. Whereas recipes might appear as ways to combine several ingredients into an edible dish, the Sección Femenina ascribed new meaning to the content of recipes so that recipes would perpetuate their ideology. And, preparation of a recipe that followed the organization's steps could be construed as a form of allegiance to the women's group.

Not only did the Sección Femenina advocate to the state for the interests of women, they were fairly successful at lobbying the regime for their interests. The organization enacted educational programs for women that sought to instruct them in politics, religion, and physical education. It trained women in artisanal labor skills to help women contribute to the family economy. The Sección Femenina also advocated for a *casa conyugal*, or equal partnership between men and women in the home. This implied that men and women were equally important in sustaining the family and equally contributed a unique role for the survival of the home. The Sección Femenina believed in strong gender divisions between men and women, but that each component was necessary to make a whole family. The organization created and implemented the Social Service program which provided Spanish women a method to gaining work permits, driver's licenses, and passports.

---

<sup>27</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 6.



Testimonies from former members of the organization point to two important legislative acts which the organization helped to implement during the dictatorship. One accomplishment the Sección Femenina claimed as a result of their advocacy was the regime's reform of the 1889 Civil Code (*Código Civil*). The new code legally changed the status of the Spanish home from the husband's household (*casa del marido*) to a conjugal home (*casa conyugal*). The reform allowed Spanish women to keep their own property in case of annulment, received legal title to half of joint property, and could maintain Spanish nationality if a Spanish woman married a foreigner.<sup>28</sup> The other major legislation that passed in the interest of women was the Law of Political, Professional, and Labor Rights of Women (ley 56/1961 *Los derechos politicos, profesionales y de trabajo de la mujer*) in 1961.<sup>29</sup> This law assured women's rights in the workplace and protection from discrimination. It categorized certain jobs as feminine and defended women who pursued proper feminine occupations.<sup>30</sup> The Sección Femenina wanted to involve Spanish women in order to initiate reform in individual household, communities, and the political realm. Although the organization asserted an aversion to political interference and promoted self-denying domesticity for all Spanish women, it mobilized its members on a national scale to focus their efforts on advocating for specific women's interests. Yet, while the Sección Femenina experienced success in advocating for reform to the Francoist state, it experienced negligible success in reforming individual Spaniards.

In this work, I will argue that the Sección Femenina created and implemented an agenda for social reform largely autonomous from the Franco regime and the ideology of Francoism. The organization possessed its own system of beliefs and concocted methods to communicate these beliefs

---

<sup>28</sup> Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 67.

<sup>29</sup> Victoria Lorée Enders, "Problematic Portraits," 384.

<sup>30</sup> This also meant that many jobs were deemed as masculine and could only be performed by men. The overwhelmingly majority of occupations in Franco's Spain were codified as masculine in nature. Jobs deemed appropriate for women include domestic servitude, assistant cook, laundress, secretary, or professional musician other than percussion. For a complete list of occupations suitable for women, see *Guía de estudios y profesiones para la mujer* (Madrid: la comisaria de la SEU, 1966).

on a mass scale through the circulation of diverse publications to an audience of Spanish women from every region, class, and background. In pursuit of women's interests, the Sección Femenina worked within its power to elevate living conditions of women in the aftermath of the devastating war and restructuring of Spain's political, economic, and social structures. The Sección Femenina used its ties to Franco and the Falange to gain access to the Spanish home, but desired to rehabilitate the Spanish woman to be a proper *ama de casa*, or occupational housewife.<sup>31</sup> To achieve these goals, the Sección Femenina launched an extensive propaganda campaign that communicated its ideas of proper femininity and womanhood through recipe and cooking publications.

These recipes and cooking tips instructed women to follow the prescribed behavior that the Sección Femenina desired of every female citizen. I will shed new light on the ambitions of the Sección Femenina by examining how the organization tried to reshape women's actions in the kitchen. The Sección Femenina advocated that Spanish women should spend the bulk of their day cooking, serving meals, and cleaning in their home kitchen. This would bring stability to the home and perpetuate the survival of the family. The Sección Femenina believed that with the proper training, Spanish women could transform the kitchen into a place of influence, reform, and power. The Sección Femenina wanted to empower women to use the organization's prescribed femininity to positively influence their families and communities towards the social reform desired by the women's group. The organization hoped to transform the kitchen into a place for individual, familial, and social reform by modifying the way women performed their daily tasks in the home.

Morcillo characterizes the Sección Femenina's pursuit of proper femininity as "true Catholic womanhood."<sup>32</sup> She describes the femininity prescribed by the organization as "the productive and

---

<sup>31</sup> The term *ama de casa* denotes performing the role and duties of a wife and mother within the domestic realm as a career path. It not only means the daily act of staying at home to raise children, cook, and clean, but it refers to these chores as an occupation or career.

<sup>32</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 3.

reproductive woman that was necessary during the postwar years.”<sup>33</sup> The Sección Femenina proselytized these virtues through its ideology that the highest calling for all Spanish women was to fulfill the role of submissive wife and loving mother in efforts to produce and reproduce values through the daily habits of the family unit within domestic spaces. The perfect way to analyze the ideology of the Sección Femenina is to view the implementation of the organization’s ideology in the production and reproduction of family meals.

The types of propagandistic messages carried in the recipes and food articles published by the Sección Femenina varied by intended audience and changed greatly during the course of the organization's involvement in Spanish society. The Sección Femenina included recipes in their textbooks, instruction manuals, and magazines as well as publishing cookbooks for popular consumption. Diverse media with different levels of appeal increased the extent that the Sección Femenina was able to reach out and influence Spanish women of a mass scale, catering to women of different age groups, classes, geographic location, marital status, and education. The bulk of their publications were written to a female audience, the content of the works—recipes and cooking suggestions—had a larger impact on the members of the Spanish family through their consumption of meals. And, with the family considered as the building block of society in Franco’s Spain, changes in cultural production and reproduction of food carried greater impact on Spanish society as a whole. Through the different styles of publications, the Sección Femenina transmitted different types of messages through recipes to its readership.

For this project, I have selected a small but diverse group of materials published by the Sección Femenina. I present a sampling of publications intended for different audiences and how each publication served a purpose of advocacy through food ideology. Evidence supporting my conclusions consist of several textbooks, women’s magazines, cookbooks, and professional cooking manuals published by the Sección Femenina. The intended audience for these documents ranged from child to

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 44.

adult, poor to rich, novice cook to professional chef and reveal how food ideology reinforced social divisions such as class, age, or regional origin. I have also gleaned information from ideological manifestos and National Delegation meeting summaries to better understand the intent of their publications and how the Sección Femenina viewed the level of success in their mission to reform food ideology. Finally, I have contextualized these publications within a larger market of cookbooks and domestic manuals published during the Franco years, although this is once again only a sampling of the overall market of the time.

The Sección Femenina offered several courses on cooking basics and providing for a family during the *Servicio Social* (Social Service) and in the *Cátedras Ambulantes* (rural travelling schools). The Sección Femenina also managed a welfare system that helped to supply Spanish mothers with food and other resources for infant care. The organization created a certification program for women pursuing careers in domestic service and professional cooking which taught women to be professional cooks and still maintain their “natural womanhood.”<sup>34</sup> They published multiple textbooks to complement the courses which sought to teach young girls or rural women health and nutritional aspect of cooking. The subject of these books ranged from basic cooking instruction to puericulture, regional education, and domestic economics. The organization compiled much of their education material into the *Encyclopedia Elemental*, a collection of all knowledge deemed necessary for female education. This work is also rich in recipes and cooking suggestions for its readership. The Sección Femenina revised their textbooks through the publication of revised editions and incorporated new technologies and social norms as they were adapted by Spanish society. Examples of revisions in the textbooks include the incorporation of information for gas stove cooking as the device became more popular and the inclusion of picnic-packing tips once travel became more popular in the 1960s. Few classroom records exist from the

---

<sup>34</sup> This work seeks to further explain the Sección Femenina’s conception of womanhood, but the organization asserted in many of its publications that natural womanhood denoted a woman’s devotion to her family and her home by aspiring to accommodate the daily needs of domestic work of an *ama de casa*, or housewife.

Franco era so there is no way to determine how frequently classrooms updated their textbook selection, which edition of the textbook student read, or if textbooks were used at all in the school. Nonetheless, publication revisions demonstrate that the Sección Femenina tried to provide Spanish women with the education they needed to create a better future for women and the nation. The recipes communicated how to provide for children and a family, thus fulfilling the food ideology expressed by the Sección Femenina.

For a more advanced culinary education, the women's group published instruction manuals for professional cooking or an “ambitious *ama de casa*”. While the Sección Femenina advocated that being a housewife and a mother were the most important jobs that a Spanish woman could pursue, the organization acknowledged that some women could not marry and therefore needed to support themselves in occupations appropriate for their sex. The Sección Femenina trained women for these career paths and provided work certification to help in job placement. Instruction manuals ranged from catering instruction, domestic servitude etiquette, and guides to working in a restaurant. Although chef was viewed as a traditionally male job, the Sección Femenina provided some training so that women could become professional cook assistants.

Women's magazines also contained a section dedicated to the culinary needs of Spanish women. Some magazines only circulated in the early years of the organization, but others remained popular throughout the existence of the organization. The Sección Femenina published the magazines *Y: revista para la mujer*<sup>35</sup> and *Medina* in the early years of the dictatorship, but the Sección Femenina discontinued their production with the end of World War II due to limited budgets. The magazine *Y* circulated monthly from 1938 to 1946 and sold at prices ranging from 1,50 pesetas to 3,00 pesetas, increasing with inflation and decreased production budgets. It printed on quality paper, used color ink, contained some ads in the front and back pages, and was often over sixty pages in length. *Medina* was a

---

<sup>35</sup> *Y: revista par alas nacionalsindicalistas* was the original title of this magazine, but it changed to *Y:Revisita para la mujer* in 1939 and for the rest of its publication.

shorter magazine printed on lower quality paper with black and white ink. It circulated weekly from 1941 until 1945 at a cost ranging from half of a peseta to 1,50 pesetas per issue, fluctuating with inflation and special limited editions. These magazines reinforced Falange doctrine and emphasized nationalism and sacrifice for God and the *patria*. Since their publication coincided with the war, they contain more militant language than magazines published after the defeat of Fascism in Germany and Italy. The magazines often included updates on German sports and the Blue Division at the Soviet front. Since these magazines ran before the Franco regime began distancing itself from Falange rhetoric in the 1950s, the magazines were free to print insignias and references to the Falange and fascism.

Another magazine, *VENTANAL* circulated throughout Spain from the end of World War II on a bimonthly basis and provided its readership with articles on health, beauty, cooking, world news, advice on relationships, and society. Unlike *Medina an Y*, *VINTANAL* avoided any discussion of politics and religions. From April 1946 until October 1946 the magazine cost 1,50 peseta but from November 1946 until February 1947 the price increased to 3,50 peseta and used smaller paper. This periodical attempted to tailor its content more towards being a women's magazine and less as political propaganda, although its recipes and cooking tips suggested that its readers follow proper femininity. The first edition of the magazine ran this quote "... Here we will recount to you the most interesting news that has occurred in the past fifteen days since we were last together... How many things there are to recount and how little space there is!"<sup>36</sup> The magazine took a more friendly form than other magazines and often referred to its readers as a friend providing tips and suggestions that only a good friend would convey.

*Consigna* ran from 1940 until the disbanding of the Sección Femenina in 1977. The magazine provided helpful tips for teachers in the provincial schools and offered didactical aids for living in rural environments. Its articles focused on methods in culinary and domestic pedagogy and supplemental

---

<sup>36</sup> "Amiga Lector", *VENTANAL*, April 1, 1946, 1.

curricula more than it aimed to train teachers in specific domestic skills. It nonetheless published a home section from 1942 until 1947 that provided articles on topics ranging from nutrition to table decorating, and then carried a separate cooking section of the magazine which ran in every issue from 1953 until 1971 that provided recipes for the reader to teach her students. The breadth of the magazine's home and cooking sections denotes several social changes that occurred in Spain during its circulation. These include increased urbanization and the increased availability of technologies such as electricity and refrigeration. The long circulation of this pedagogical magazine demonstrates the importance of education in the Sección Femenina's agenda. It also sheds light on how the Sección Femenina adapted to social and economic changes in Spain throughout the course of the organization's activism.

Other magazines catered to a specific demographic, such was the case with the periodicals *Nuestra Casa* and *Bazar*. The *Monetpío Nacional de Servicios Domésticos* (National Union of Domestic Servants) published *Nuestra Casa* as a magazine to target domestic servants who had completed their domestic certification through the Sección Femenina and joined the syndicate. The publication printed in color with some ads scattered throughout its pages. The publication cost 3,00 pesetas and contained articles ranging from cleaning techniques, biographies of successful maids, syndicate meeting summaries, comics, and horoscopes. Every issue contained a recipe section with meal tips to prepare for the employing family. The Sección Femenina also published *Bazar* as a magazine for children. It contained very few recipes but encouraged children to act out gender-specific roles while playing house and it urged young girls to practice cooking with their mother. Both *Nuestra Casa* and *Bazar* catered to specific audiences within the market of women's magazines and they adapted their cooking and domestic instruction sections to appeal to the special circumstances of these demographics.

The recipes and cooking advice contained in these magazines only constitute a small portion of the content—none of them were devoted solely to cooking—but they nonetheless acted as a form of

propaganda for the Sección Femenina and the Franco regime. Magazines were a malleable communication medium that enabled the organization to adapt and address social, political, or economic changes occurring in Spain. Their appeal to women came from their entertainment factor and discussion of domesticity in which the Sección Femenina was able to subtly insert its political and religious agenda. This adaptive quality provides a great wealth of insight into the beliefs and opinions of the Sección Femenina on a weekly or monthly basis.

The Sección Femenina published several books that focused solely on cooking, demonstrating the importance of food ideology to the organization. The Press and Propaganda department invested substantial time and money to create several cooking publications and reprint of cookbooks, denoting the importance of this sector of its work. The purchase of these cookbooks raised money for the National Delegation, provided visible loyalty to the Sección Femenina and the Falange with their display on bookshelves, and reinforced the organization's prescription of domesticity for Spanish women. The first cookbook published by the Sección Femenina was José Sarrau's *Ciencia Gastronómica* published in 1942 and it printed for a total of five editions. This book contained several basic culinary and cooking techniques to instruct readers in domesticity rather than simply providing recipes. Sarrau dedicated the work to Pilar Primo de Rivera, and intended the book to serve a higher purpose than merely providing women with meal suggestions. He strove to organize the book in a way that would reform the domestic habits in Spanish women. The first section of the book addresses elements within the kitchen and how to prepare foods in certain styles. The second section examines nutrition and teaches the reader how to pair dishes together to form nutritiously-balanced meals. The final section includes charts of different food groups and where specific ingredients fall within the group. The Sección Femenina advertised this book extensively in many of its magazines and calendars, and it is the only book that is part of the



Sección Femenina's official archive housed at the Royal Academy of History.<sup>37</sup> Sarrau published several books independently from the Sección Femenina and served as the Director of the Royal Chef Academy of Madrid for several decades.

Although *Ciencia Gastronómica* was the first cooking manual for the women's group to publish, the most enduring of the Sección Femenina's cookbook publications is the *Manual de Cocina (Recetario)* originally written by Ana María Herrera, a member of the Sección Femenina and a professor at the Royal Chef Academy of Madrid. This was the most popular of the cookbooks published by the women's group and it went through twenty-six editions with the Sección Femenina as its publisher.<sup>38</sup> The book contains an introduction section with diagrams of animal meat cuts, directions for carving birds, information on fruits and vegetables, a list of necessary kitchen dishes and gadgets, and a glossary of culinary terms. It provides thirty days' worth of two course meals (one for each lunch and dinner to feed a family of six) for each season and then catalogues several hundred recipes divided under the headings of rice, bird, game, pudding, stew, beef, animal parts, salads, fried food, gazpacho, meat pastries, beans and vegetables, eggs, pastas, fish and seafood, vegetable soups, purees, sauces, soups, fish soups, soufflés, and desserts. Few changes occurred during the span of editions, but the organization removed the yoke and arrow insignias (symbols that represented the Sección Femenina and its association with the Falange) in its ninth edition published in 1959, removed Ana María Herrera as the author for the twelfth edition in 1962, and changed the name of *tarta de Pilar Primo de Rivera* to *tarta de mazapan* in the 1963 edition. The massive compilation of recipes considered part of Spanish food culture provides insight into what ingredients, technologies, and resources that the Sección Femenina believed Spanish women had

---

<sup>37</sup> The Sección Femenina created an archive collection of many of its publications and other materials as part of the Nueva Andadura Collection. The archive is now housed at the Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de Historia*) in Madrid, Spain.

<sup>38</sup> The Sección Femenina published the twenty-sixth edition of the *Manual de Cocina (Recetario)* in 1977, the year the organization was dissolved during the Transition to Democracy after the death of Francisco Franco due to its ties to the Falange. However, other publishers continue to publish forms of the cookbook under the name *Manual clásico de cocina* and *Manual de Cocina*. The most recent reprinting occurred in 2009 by Edimat Publishers under the name *Manual de Cocina*. The book includes Ana María Herrera as the author, but omits the recipe for *tarta de Pilar Primo de Rivera* as well as removed the yokes and arrows insignias from the publication.

access to and how the organization was able to assert its notions of proper femininity through notions of food ideology.

Other important cookbooks published by the Sección Femenina include *Recetario para olla a presión y batidora eléctrica* by Ana María Herrera, *Cocina Regional Española (Recetario)*, and *El Cocinero en Casa* by Manuel Garcés. Collectively, these works provided Spanish women guidance in following the Sección Femenina's prescription of proper feminine roles of domesticity. The Sección Femenina published these books in the 1960s and 1970s and they reflect the larger changes occurring in Spanish consumer habits. They demonstrate more specific food preferences than the all-encompassing *Manual de Cocina* and reflect an increase demand for books that catered to individual preference and taste. The *Recetario para olla a presión y batidora eléctrica* demonstrates the Sección Femenina's desire to educate Spanish women in modern technologies that would aid in their domestic duties and alleviate some of the burden of raising a family and maintaining a household. It was originally authored by Ana María Herrera, but her name was removed from the title page in 1963 with the third edition. The book printed for a total of four editions with the Sección Femenina as the publisher<sup>39</sup> and contains contemporary art styles of photo-montage and a trendy color palate.

The *Cocina Regional Española* is an example of how the Sección Femenina strove to preserve Spanish heritage against the onslaught of changes to Spanish diet. The first edition printed in 1963 and sold for 65 pesetas while the fifth and final edition ran in 1976 and cost 225 pesetas. The incredible price increase not only demonstrates the economic inflation that occurred in Spain during the later years of the Franco regime, but it also demonstrates the higher price demanded for regional cooking as it grew more popular in the 1960s and 1970s. It introduced the culinary style of each region in a few paragraphs at the beginning of each chapter followed by several pages of regional recipes. *Cocinero en casa* represents a professional approach to cooking for the working cooking assistant woman or professional

---

<sup>39</sup> Private publishers reprinted the book as recently as 2004 and restored Ana María Herrera as the author.

*ama de casa*. The Sección Femenina wanted Spanish women to treat homemaking as a career, equally as important as men's work outside the home. The Sección Femenina wanted the status of *ama de casa* to denote a career choice and an equally viable profession as any other. Women should be respected for their work in the home, and this cookbook professionalized this duty to aid in the quest for equality within the home.

While the Sección Femenina utilized these different mediums and printed multiple forms of recipes and cooking instruction, the overall message remained largely the same. The Sección Femenina used food ideology as a way to promote the organization's political ideology, but cooking instruction was only a way of reaching Spanish women and exposing them to the organization's values. The Sección Femenina often changed its food ideology to accommodate shifts in Spanish food culture, such as the imposition and later abolishment of the rationing, but this did not mean that the organization's political ideology shifted as well. Rather, since the foundation of joseantonioism was revolution, the Sección Femenina was constantly adapting its political message for an evolving society. In this case, the Sección Femenina's food ideology evolved to incorporate gas stoves, electric mixers, and pressure cookers, but the message within the recipes and cooking instruction remained the same. Proper femininity and the natural womanhood of domesticity were consistently expressed by the Sección Femenina in cooking instruction whether it was taught in a classroom, read in a magazine, or prepared from a cookbook.

For the purpose of this investigation, I examine the thoughts and opinions of the members of the Sección Femenina as it was expressed through its multiple forms of printing. Since the Press and Propaganda department fell directly under the National Delegation of the Sección Femenina, this thesis provides an analysis of the views of the organization on a national level, although some of the provincial delegations published their own cookbooks, magazines, and other forms of media as well. Little scholarship exists that sufficiently examines the relationship of the provincial delegations to the national headquarters, although historian Kathleen Richmond claims that the Sección Femenina was largely

decentralized by the late 1950s.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, little scholarship exists regarding the daily functioning of the Press and Propaganda department. Questions such as how the organization chose what work to publish, determined form, or assigned authorship are left unanswered. This thesis aims to introduce some of the trends evident in the publications of the Sección Femenina, but there is more opportunity for further research in these areas.

I will begin in Chapter Two by introducing the ideal womanhood advocated by the Sección Femenina. The organization believed that all women could be rehabilitated to the prescribed natural state of housewife and motherhood. The Sección Femenina communicated the characteristics of the model *falangista* as austere, happy, pious, educated, patriotic and well cultured. The organization desired that all women become an *ama de casa*. I will explain how the Sección Femenina communicated these ideals through their publications of recipes. Meals provided daily reinforcement of habits and use of kitchen and dining spaces that confirmed the organization's proper femininity. The chapter continues as by examining the larger market for domestic training that existed in Spain during the Franco era. The Sección Femenina did not develop ideas on domesticity and femininity isolated from other popular beliefs and customs of the time; rather, the organization assessed the need for mass instruction in tradition womanhood and therefore embarked on a massive publishing campaign to address market's needs. The Sección Femenina performed the role of advocates for women's interests by addressing the need in the market for domestic training. The organization standardized Spanish domesticity and concepts of womanhood through their extensive publication network and access to Spanish women via the Franco regime.

In Chapter Three, I will explain how the organization instructed women to become this ideal woman, or *falangista*. The organization not only prescribed femininity through cooking articles and recipe books, but established an education system that explained the step-by-step process of becoming

---

<sup>40</sup> Richmond, *Women in Spanish fascism*, 107.

the model woman. Indoctrination through obligatory Social Service required that Spanish women not only be exposed to the traditional femininity and domesticity communicated through magazines and cookbooks, they needed the prescribed womanhood taught in lesson form through school programs to inhibit any potential miscommunication of the organization's ideology. The Sección Femenina adamantly believed that the ideal *falangista* was a model that every Spanish woman could obtain, and the requirements of Social Service and the lesson format of the school supports this. The organization had high expectations for Spanish women, but sincerely believed that anyone could reform or rehabilitate to meet these expectations.

Chapter Four focuses on the different initiatives launched by the Sección Femenina. It is not a complete list of social reform campaigns of the organization, but it provides a sampling of some of the goals of the Sección Femenina to revolutionize the society in which it existed. The Sección Femenina took an active stance to lower infant mortality through health initiatives, provided alternatives to the black market, and promoted a centralized Spanish culture. I will assess the extent that these reform movements coincided with Francoist policy and will demonstrate how the organization expressed autonomy from the Franco regime while simultaneously working within the political structure. Influence in Spanish food culture provided the Sección Femenina unique influence into shaping Spanish femininity, its influence on the home and family unit, and from the family reaching a larger network of communities and societies within Spain.

The Sección Femenina claimed that the organization did not want to get involved in politics and that it only sought to restore the importance of proper domesticity to Spanish womanhood. However, the organization actively engaged the highly political issues of women and food supply. The Sección Femenina achieved access to Spanish politics by working within the parameters set by the state ideology. Within the boundaries of the kitchen and home space, the Sección Femenina devised a way to communicate their ideology, implement an extensive educational program, and lobby for social reform

through food. The organization advocated for women to perform the role of housewives and mothers, but these roles were intended to improve the lives of women and to elevate the standard of living for all Spaniards. The Sección Femenina used domestic spaces as a realm of empowerment for women and used domestic actions such as cooking to advocate for social reform during the Franco dictatorship.

## Chapter Two: A Recipe for Womanhood

*“And I have here, like the most acute observation of trivial gestures can at any given moment, exposed your defects that, above anything, make you appear ugly. That in itself is important enough, no?”- Medina<sup>1</sup>*

The Sección Femenina embarked on communicating its concept of proper domesticity through the medium of food—a commodity daily consumed by all Spaniards. The Sección Femenina specifically published recipes and cooking tips that would encourage their ideal femininity within comfort and stability of the kitchen in the home. Recipes provide an example for women to follow, and the Sección Femenina published them so that the ideal dish came from employing the organization’s prescription of femininity. The Sección Femenina emphasized that their only agenda was to improve the lives and environments of Spanish women, and Pilar Primo de Rivera and the other members of the Sección Femenina truly believed that improvement could only come by following their method of development.

Within the environment and Spanish culture created under Francisco Franco’s “New Spain”, the Sección Femenina believed that nation needed a “New Spanish Woman”<sup>2</sup> to fulfill the roles of a good housewife and mother. The Sección Femenina acknowledged the difficulties facing young women in postwar Spain and worked diligently to recreate a Spanish culture in which virtuous *ama de casa* could not only survive, but thrive. The Sección Femenina believed that the Second Republic corrupted Spanish women through what the organization deemed as “unnatural” pressures to womanhood, namely paid wages, factory labor, and participation in

---

<sup>1</sup> “Tu gesto te traiciona,” *Medina*, February 1, 1942, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Aurora Morcillo uses the term “New Spanish woman” in *True Catholic Womanhood* to describe the ideological transformation of Spanish women to serve and sacrifice for the *patria*, or new fascist state. Victoria De Grazia uses the term “New Italian Woman” in *How Fascism Ruled Women* to denote a similar desired transformation of Italian women to serve and sacrifice in Mussolini’s Italy.

public spaces.<sup>3</sup> There was no concrete list of behavior and virtues that the Sección Femenina relied on as a model of proper womanhood—in fact Jose Antonio rarely addressed women’s proper behavior in his manifestos. But, with the guidance and authority of Pilar Primo de Rivera, the Sección Femenina devised a collection of desirable female behavior drawn from the Bible, Spain’s Golden Age, and Enlightenment philosophy. Aurora Morcillo describes in *True Catholic Womanhood* that the Sección Femenina reverted back to the Baroque period for its cultural inspiration and creation of feminine identity.<sup>4</sup> She compares the rhetoric of the Sección Femenina to Fray de Leon’s publication of *la casada perfecta*, or *The Perfect Housewife* (1583) as well as Juan Luis Vives’s *La instrucción de la mujer cristiana* (Instruction for the Christian Woman, 1523). Matilde Peinado-Rodríguez asserts that the Sección Femenina’s perception of culture and feminine identity stemmed from the nineteenth century culture of separate spheres.<sup>5</sup> Mary Nash posits the agenda of the Sección Femenina strongly within the Francoist and Catholic drive for Spanish regeneration through family values.<sup>6</sup> These scholars sought to explain the Sección Femenina’s concept of womanhood by comparing their ideology to other notions of femininity throughout Spanish history. However, I will examine the communication materials of the organization—cooking publications and recipe collections—to demonstrate how the Sección Femenina devised its own goals for Spanish society unique to the circumstances of their time and place. Food ideology reveals the distinct femininity desired by the Sección Femenina for all Spanish women, forming the perfect blend of tradition, modernity, patriarchy, and equality.

---

<sup>3</sup> Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina: Prensa y Propaganda. *La Mujer en el Movimiento Nacional*. (Santander: Sección Femenina, n.d.) 10.

<sup>4</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Matilde Peinado Rodríguez, “Iglesia y Falange: Encuentros y desencuentos en el ámbito de la Sección Femenina.” In *Encuadramiento femenino, socialización y cultura en Franquismo*. ed. Lucía Prieto Borrego (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010), 151.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Nash, “Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco’s Spain.” In *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s*. ed. Giesela Bock and Pat Thane (New York: Routledge, 1991), 160.



Pilar Primo de Rivera once claimed that the Sección Femenina formed because the Spanish people needed guidance through the topsy-turvy gender norms pervading Europe.<sup>7</sup> According to her, the highest calling for women was to fulfill “womanly” roles within society. As María Jesús Dueñas Cepeda points out, this statement begs to question what is “womanly”?<sup>8</sup> The Sección Femenina aimed to standardize femininity for all women throughout Spain by creating a uniformed womanhood without regard to divisions of class, geography, or educational background. The organization tried hard to incorporate all Spanish women into its ideological influence, although the rigidity necessary in creating a uniformed feminine identity for all Spanish women posed a formidable challenge to the Sección Femenina to execute. The organization accommodated this challenge through the use of recipes and cooking suggestions—creating one aspirational form of femininity. The organization made suggestions in cooking techniques and meal planning to communicate the ideal woman—the *ama de casa* or *falangista* that every woman should want to emulate. The Sección Femenina advertised its model New Spanish Woman as the woman that every Spaniard would want to be and suggested that adhering to simple recipes in womanhood could lead to family bliss.

The New Spanish Woman, according to the Sección Femenina, blended tradition with modernity, love of God with love of State, obedience to her husband with obedience to Catholic doctrine, acquiescing wife with maternal authority in the best combination of these ingredients. In this chapter, I will explore how simple cooking articles published in an array of printed forms, communicated the Sección Femenina’s version of proper womanhood. First, I will inventory several characteristics deemed necessary of the modern Spanish woman living in the Francoist

---

<sup>7</sup> Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina: Prensa y Propaganda, *La mujer en el Movimiento Nacional* (Santander: Sección Femenina, no date), 10.

<sup>8</sup> María Jesús Dueñas Cepeda, “Construcción de las relaciones de género en la ideología de la Sección Femenina, 1934-1977.” In *Encuadramiento femenino, socialización y cultura en Franquismo*. ed. Lucía Prieto Borrego (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010), 33.

state and how certain recipes and cooking methods expressed these virtues. Next, I will explore how the Sección Femenina aimed to transform women's view of the kitchen and home from a confining or limiting place to one of influence and power. I will demonstrate that the organization sought to teach women approach the duties of domesticity with confidence and the power to influence the family. And finally, I will explain that the Sección Femenina's concept of femininity and proper domestic duty were not unique ideas to the women's group. Rather, a large market from *ama de casa* publications existed in Spain during the Franco years, implying that a substantial demand existed for domestic instruction and training. The Sección Femenina published its recipes and domesticity articles to meet the larger need for guidance in proper femininity. The Sección Femenina saw its highest goal to help improve the lives of women, and the organization strove to achieve this through instruction in cooking.

### ***Women being Womanly***

Since the Sección Femenina drew inspiration from a number of sources to define parameters for its prescribed femininity, one answer to what the Sección Femenina determined as "womanly" is in an article published by the Sección Femenina in their magazine *Y: Revista para nacionalsindicalistas* titled "The Chores of Mary and Martha in the New Spain." The author of the article, Carmen Icaza stated that "The woman who wants to join the National Syndicate... must be austere and happy, informed in our [Falange] style of Christian doctrine, and useful to the family, community, and national syndicate."<sup>9</sup> This presents a short list of characteristics for

---

<sup>9</sup> Carmen Icaza, "Quehaceres de María y de Marta en la España nueva." In *Y: Revista de la Mujer Nacionalsindicalista*. 52-53.

the model *falangista*, but these attributes called for very specific daily actions and an accompanying reform of thought-processes. To be a model *falangista*, a woman needed to sacrifice daily for her family, community, and country without a second thought, and she needed to sacrifice with genuine happiness. The Sección Femenina wanted to achieve these changes in Spanish women's mentalities, and so began a process of indoctrination that would reshape feminine identity in Spain.

The Sección Femenina utilized diverse publication media and extensive propaganda networks to promote these virtues of austerity, happiness, religious piety, and usefulness to the family and state both directly and indirectly. For example, several recipe publications of the Sección Femenina reinforced these *falangista* virtues. Recipes could guide women to austere living through the use of money saving tips and food storage. Recipes could assure the happiness of the family if the *ama de casa* prepared a certain meal in a certain way that was visually appealing and satisfactory tasting. Recipes for Lent, Holy Week, or Christmas dictated the proper way of celebrating religious holidays and participating in Catholic rituals, an important component of the Sección Femenina's ideal woman. And finally, the women's organization provided healthy and delicious meal ideas to Spanish women in order to augment their utility to their families, communities, and the nation as a whole.

Austere living was more than just a component of Falange ideology, it was a necessity in Francoist Spain, especially in the first stage of the Franco regime known as the Years of Hunger. Carlos Barciela emphasizes the extent of economic turmoil that accompanied much of the Franco dictatorship and that such hardship permeated through all sectors of culture, society,

economy, and everyday life of Spaniards.<sup>10</sup> The Sección Femenina suggested extreme measures of conservation and offered practical advice for women to emulate when cooking in order to stretch limited ingredients and conserve family resources. The organization employed three methods to communicate austere culinary practices to Spanish women. It published recipes with prices listed, advocated for canning and preserving foods, and organized meal plans that utilized a particularly abundant ingredient. While rationing and scarcity during the Franco regime provided few resources to Spanish women, the Sección Femenina provided opportunities for women to cook better meals for their families by following the organization's example for cooking during lean times. The Sección Femenina taught examples of survival in their cooking instruction.

Several food articles in the magazines *VENTANAL*, *Medina*, and *Y* addressed the need for austerity in food selection, the quantity consumed, and the use of leftovers. In the article "A Plate of Chicken for one Peseta," the Sección Femenina instructed the reader in two sets of recipes that use an entire chicken to stretch several meals.<sup>11</sup> One set made four meals for four people by cooking the recipes for rotisserie chicken, chicken *al jerez*, chicken pot pie, and vegetable stew with chicken stock, prepared in a carefully budgeted manner. The other set created five meals to feed four people and included a special recipe for chicken casserole, stewed chicken, chicken with mushrooms, chicken croquetas, and chicken sausage. These recipe groups required an entire chicken for their preparation, making sure that none of the parts of the animal go to waste. It also saved money for Spanish women because buying a chicken whole was much cheaper than buying sections or pieces at a time.<sup>12</sup> These recipes served a dual

---

<sup>10</sup> Carlos Barciela López et al., *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Economía* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001), 27.

<sup>11</sup> "Por una peseta, un plato de pollo," *Y: Revista para las mujeres*, February 1941, 32.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

purpose for the Sección Femenina. They taught women to use leftovers and make economical choices when feeding their families, and they also taught women how to cope with the difficult times and food shortages. The organization hoped to prove to its readers that women of different class levels and with varying access to resources and incomes could achieve proper womanhood the *falangista* way. This was partly due to the fact that the Sección Femenina demanded such a modest living as part of their prescribed femininity; it hoped that Spanish women from any class level or background could achieve these feminine ideals.

VENTANAL magazine commonly gave women prices for meals as advertisements of how to consume cheaply in its cooking section. In the second issue of the magazine, the publication printed the article “How Four People Can Eat for Two Duros.” The article presents a main dish and a side dish for less than ten pesetas. The recipes list the ingredients with their corresponding costs and quantities for stuffed carrots with cod *a la gallega* and fish balls with empañada surprise.<sup>13</sup> The article tried to demonstrate how easy price-conscious meal planning could be. Good meals were obtainable for a family for just a few pesetas. Future editions of the magazine also included prices of meals,<sup>14</sup> although few other menus were planned so cost-effectively. Nonetheless, these articles demonstrated that the Sección Femenina possessed cost-awareness as they instructed women in their prescribed femininity.

However, price-consciousness did not necessarily mean the cheapest food and meal options available. Most family meals consisted of a simple stew for the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup> Soups and stews were cheaper to prepare than stuffed carrots or fish balls, so the prices had a different purpose than advertising cheap food. Recipes accompanied by price lists

---

<sup>13</sup> “Cómo por dos duros comen cuatro personas,” VENTANAL, April 15, 1946, 12.

<sup>14</sup> A sampling of other editions of VENTANAL that include the prices associated with cooking are Año I, núm 3, May 1, 1946; Año I núm 4, May 15, 1946; Año I núm 5, June 1, 1946; Año I núm 10, August 15, 1946; and Año I núm 15, November 1, 1946.

<sup>15</sup> F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2010), 27.

taught the reader how to budget for trips to the market and the unit cost of individual meals, it did not instruct women to cope with poverty. The Sección Femenina urged price consciousness and informed shopping for the ideal *falangista*, sensible management of resources and not destitution. The organization wanted Spanish women to work hard in the kitchen and spend long lengths of time preparing a wide variety of meals for their families. It communicated that sensible and diverse menus were possible for all income levels as long as the *ama de casa* had the time and dedication to her kitchen.

Just as the Sección Femenina hoped to navigate young Spanish women through meager times with their recipes, the organization also communicated solutions for times of abundance. The proper *falangista* never let herself become lazy and over consume during times of plenty, but rather wisely prepared and stored foods in case of war or other difficult times should arise again. The Sección Femenina communicated this virtue through food articles on food preservation tips and tricks and stockpiling foodstuffs. The organization touted preparedness not only as a good habit but as part of the duty of a good wife and mother. According to *Consigna*, every home needed a supply of staple ingredient to cook a quick meal if needed, if there is a shortage at the store, or if an additional guest stays for meal time.<sup>16</sup> For the Sección Femenina, preparation was essential to the model *falangista* to maintain happiness and stability in the home. The *ama de casa* needed to keep peace, and therefore be prepared for unexpected situations. The Sección Femenina did its best to ensure Spanish women for a wide array of occasions.

---

<sup>16</sup> "Es bueno ser prevenido," *Consigna*, August 1950, 30-32.

*Medina* dedicated several articles to food preservation. The 1941 article “Preserves”<sup>17</sup> gave step by step instruction on how to sterilize bottles and different preservation methods for green beans, asparagus, cauliflower, and tomato sauce.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the magazine featured an article titled “New Recipes” in 1945 which focused on different types of food preservation. This collection of preservation tips includes keeping potatoes in coal dust, boiling a piece of charcoal inside a broth to keep it hot, preserving ice without refrigeration by storing it in three airtight containers, reheating artichokes in an oven as many times as needed, and using leftover artichoke leaves to make an infusion for the liver.<sup>19</sup> These tips demonstrate diverse ways to preserve several types of food. The ideal *falangista* needed to know how to keep food fresh from the time it left the market until it was served for the enjoyment of her family.

Much of the emphasis on canning not only supported the austerity and preparedness advocated by the Sección Femenina, it also tied into its “City and Countryside”<sup>20</sup> initiative. According to Pilar Primo de Rivera, Francisco Franco personally appealed to her and her Sección Femenina sisters to ease the migratory shock of urbanization and to bring urban and rural women together to work for improving Spanish communities of all types.<sup>21</sup> Canning was a technology that could benefit both urban and rural women. The Sección Femenina educated its readership on how fruits and vegetables produced in rural areas came to the city’s grocery shelves. The concept of preserving goods in migration from the countryside to the city acted to

---

<sup>17</sup> The Spanish word here is “conservas.” It refers to the preservation method of fruits, vegetables, and nuts. It refers to the canning process more broadly, but specifically refers to the contents of the canning jars.

<sup>18</sup> “Conservas” in *Medina*. Núm 31, October 19, 1941.

<sup>19</sup> “Recetas Nuevas” in *Medina*. 213. April 15, 1945. 15.

<sup>20</sup> *Hermanidad de la Ciudad y de Campo* refers to a subdepartment of the Sección Femenina under the National Delegation committee. Its focus was to train rural women in agriculture or artisanal crafts. It aimed to foster cooperation between urban and rural women to better Spanish communities. Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism*, 21.

<sup>21</sup> Consejo VIII, 1946. 13.

emphasize the pathways between urban and rural Spain, preserving fruits or vegetables and preserving feminine identity in both environments.

Although the Sección Femenina emphasized the easiness of food preservation and canning, the organization also took into account *less-than perfect* attempts at the new way of cooking and maintaining a home. The organization warned its readership how to identify when their canning attempts did not go as planned. Thus the organization published “Abnormalities in Food Preservation.” In this *Consigna* article, the Sección Femenina offered several abnormalities in canning and preservation that might occur, their causes, and solutions in a table format.<sup>22</sup> For example, it lists the defect as discoloration, attributes this abnormality to light exposure, and gives the solution to keep in a dark place. Similarly, if a jar of canned fruit has little flavor, the article attributes this to poor quality of ingredients and urges the reader to buy better fruits next time. This article demonstrates that the Sección Femenina sought to help women achieve their best when preparing its recipes. The organization realized that Spanish women may not be able to perform perfect recipes the first time, but made sure that the reader knew how to achieve the ideal dish and the ideal womanhood prescribed by the Sección Femenina. Any recipe, or woman for that matter, could be better with practice and proper instruction.

Canning was only one form of food preservation promoted by the Sección Femenina. Another aspect of food preservation was keeping fruits and vegetables fresh through refrigeration. Not all Spanish women had access to refrigeration and the Sección Femenina remedied this by developing tricks and techniques so that women from a wide range of economic levels could still perform the organization’s womanhood. An article in *Consigna* demonstrates this accommodation well. Many women, especially in rural areas, did not have

---

<sup>22</sup> “Alteraciones de las Conservas,” *Consigna*, October 1968, 33-35.



access to refrigeration so the organization accommodated for this in their article “Refrigeration without ice.”<sup>23</sup> While the article requires some access to materials (such as metal wire and a breezy area) it nonetheless afforded women the ability to keep meats and vegetables fresh during the hot summer months. The Sección Femenina strove to accommodate the different backgrounds and needs of women when molding the model *falangista*. For the Sección Femenina, the being a model *falangista* with the proper femininity did not directly mean a class level or abundance of resources, it simply meant dedicating one’s life to her family and home, and to preparing perfect dishes.

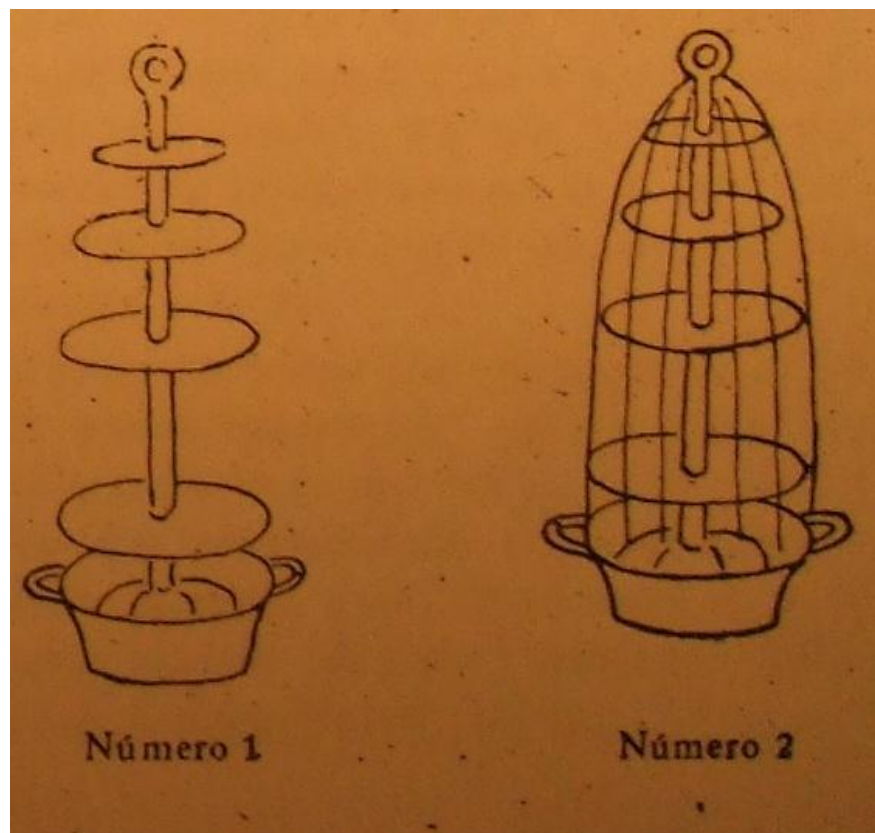


Figure 2.1 Diagram of the refrigeration method without the use of ice. Fruits and vegetables go on the bottom shelf while meat and butter should be stored on the top shelf. “Refrigeración sin hielo,” *Consigna*, May 1951, 39

<sup>23</sup> “Refrigeración sin hielo,” *Consigna*, May 1951, 39-40.

Food shortages and effective rationing were serious challenges throughout most of the Franco dictatorship. While the Sección Femenina attempted to ameliorate the burden that these caused for the Spanish woman and her family, the organization still maintained that a wife and her family could be happy even during lean times. For the Sección Femenina, a cultured housewife was key to familial happiness. Pilar Primo de Rivera emphasized at the XXIII National Delegation Council meeting that “a cultured woman can more easily facilitate familial happiness than an ignorant one, is much more a companion to men, a better educator to her children... and an intelligent and cultured woman even achieves the necessities better: fries an egg, creates menus, sweeps the house.”<sup>24</sup> The Sección Femenina taught food culture as part of their feminine culture instruction to better inform women in maintaining family bliss. A happy woman created a happy home, and a happy home all the more increased an *ama de casa*’s happiness. Cultural education also helped to adapt Spanish women to the Sección Femenina’s concept of bourgeois culture, the class basis for much of the Sección Femenina’s instruction.

For the Sección Femenina, the proper *falangista* should find joy in sacrificing for her country and pleasing her family. She should enjoy meeting challenges in the kitchen and using creativity to successfully feed her family. No example expresses this better than the article, “I don’t have oil this week.” The article presents recipes for every day of the week that do not require olive oil. However, the introduction is most revealing in the actual intent of the recipes. It says “See how it [cooking without oil] is not difficult at all? And you can show it off to you

---

<sup>24</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, “Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera,” XXIII Consejo Nacional, Gerona, January 1966, 11.

friends as well! Stay calm, we won't tell anyone that it was our idea."<sup>25</sup> The source of happiness here is not in preparing fine meals for a family, but impressing other women with creative and tasty cooking. While a good *falangista* should seek nothing but preparing wonderful meals for her family every day, this article demonstrates that the Sección Femenina saw nothing wrong with a little competition in the kitchen to make an *ama de casa* happy. Furthermore, the Sección Femenina did not mind if women took credit for its recipes, just as long as women emulated womanhood properly.

In the recipes of the Sección Femenina, every meal could be perfect and the organization always presented ways to improve a dish to perfection. Spanish women should experience joy at preparing the perfect dish, and the organization gave tips to ensure that the *ama de casa* experienced this joy of perfection. The Sección Femenina offered a few "little secrets" for fixing a meal in *Consigna*.<sup>26</sup> If there was too much salt in a stew, a raw potato would pull some of it out. An *ama de casa* can recycle oil by leaving it in a jar overnight and letting the impurities settle to the bottom. To remove fish and cauliflower odor when boiling, put a few pieces of bread into the water as well. Lemon helps to preserve the whiteness of rice when cooking. A few drops of lemon or a pinch of salt help when beating egg whites. These tips were all intended to help Spanish women achieve the perfect meals for her family and fulfill the role of *ama de casa*. The Sección Femenina did not believe that there was one type of perfect *ama de casa*, but the organization did believe that perfection was possible when it came to preparing their recipes.

Promoting variety was another way that the Sección Femenina hoped to create a happy home. Since the Sección Femenina believed that they were working for the interests of all

---

<sup>25</sup> "Esta semana no tengo aciete," *Y: Revista para las mujeres*, November 1941, 42.

<sup>26</sup> "Consejos útiles para la cocina," *Consigna*, June 1968, 33.

Spanish women, the organization aimed to measure their success through happiness. Women's happiness was imperative to the doctrine of the women's group because it motivated their actions for social justice. Even though many Spanish families suffered from food shortages and rationing during the Franco years, incorporating a variety of dishes and preparations could make mealtime less dismal. A good *falangista* kept meals interesting and enjoyable by preparing a wide variety of dishes, even if ingredients were scarce. The Sección Femenina incorporated variety into many of their publications by printing a collection of recipes using the same base ingredients. With a few twists, these simple tips suggested by the Sección Femenina could help Spanish women save money by buying foodstuffs in bulk and in season. It was also beneficial when women received rations in large amounts that needed to feed the family for a week. The Sección Femenina urged women to use variety in their meal preparation, even if they only had a few ingredients to last several meals. Creativity in meal preparation was one way that the Sección Femenina promoted happiness in the home.

One such example was an article from *Medina* that offered ten ways to prepare eggs.<sup>27</sup> The article omits portions and ingredient lists, assuming that the reader already knew the logistics of the recipe but needed a reminder of the several variations for cooking eggs. Instead, it exemplifies subtle suggestion from the Sección Femenina to perform specific actions in the preparation of a dish. A proper *falangista* applies several variations to the same ingredient in order to liven up mealtime at her home. Similarly, the organization synthesized a collection of recipes using all cheeses and published them in *Y*.<sup>28</sup> In this manner, the Sección Femenina taught Spanish women how to use the resources available to them. Mealtime with the family should not be a time of dread and boredom for the model *falangista*, but should incorporate liveliness

---

<sup>27</sup> "Cocina," *Medina*, August 23, 1942,

<sup>28</sup> "Todo con Queso," *Y: Revista para las mujeres*, May 1944, 40-41.

and surprise with a wide range of options available to Spanish women. Even if a *falangista* had limited resources, she did not suffer from limited options. With the help of the Sección Femenina and their recipe publications, any Spanish woman could create a lot of variety from very little resources.

Instruction on seasonal cooking was also important to the model *falangista* because the Sección Femenina wanted Spanish women to be knowledgeable about the natural resources available in Spain as well as how to utilize the resources to their optimum potential. The Spanish Civil War reverted much of Spain back to subsistence living, so many Spaniards had to adjust their diets based on seasonal availability of fruits and vegetables. Season-influenced cooking also reinforced the symbiotic relationship of city and countryside, one of the initiatives of the Sección Femenina, provided solutions of women with limited access to refrigeration, and taught Spanish women when certain ingredient and meal options were available to them. Fresh and in-season ingredients ensured a happy family at mealtime by providing affordable and delicious food to Spanish families. This also signifies that the model *falangista* not only knew what to cook and how, but also knew the perfect time to prepare nutritious meals for the family. The Sección Femenina took care to carefully instruct its readership in the proper amounts, way, and time to cook their dishes.

The *Manual de Cocina*, a 773 paged cookbook originally by Ana María Herrera, categorized several daily meals by their seasonal availability. The catalogue began with thirty daily meal-plans for springtime, thirty for summer, thirty for fall, and thirty for winter.<sup>29</sup> In all, this section of pre-planned, two-course meals for lunch and dinner spanned 250 pages of the

---

<sup>29</sup> Herrera, Ana María, *Manual de Cocina*. 7 ed. (Madrid: Sección Femenina, 1957).

713 pages dedicated specifically to recipes in the cookbook.<sup>30</sup> This cooking tool provided readers with the proper pairing of main courses with side dishes, lunch with dinner, and the best season to prepare such dishes. The cookbook by no means served as a mandate or a requirement for Spanish women, but offered suggestions on how to improve their domestic ability. The Sección Femenina made suggestions to women to follow their prescribed guidelines of femininity, giving Spanish women several meal options for their families.

The Sección Femenina made seasonal recipes available in a multiple of other publications as well. Magazines proved especially helpful in telling Spanish women when to prepare certain meals due to their affordability and frequent publication. *Consigna* printed an article that informed its readers which foods were available in winter. The article did not give specific recipes, but offered guidelines for dishes and emphasized the need for Spanish women to use creativity in the kitchen.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, *Y* provided its readers with recipes for summer under the heading of “Cooking in Summer time: rich, well-presented, and nothing expensive.”<sup>32</sup> This cooking section provided twenty-nine recipes for overcoming the heat. Food had the ability to cool the family in summer or warm them in winter, and the Sección Femenina provided these tips to Spanish women on how to alleviate extreme environments outside the home, making the family table a place of relief and enjoyment. The Sección Femenina wanted the *ama de casa* to set up her home to be as welcoming as possible and a haven away from harsh elements.

The publication and circulation of the Sección Femenina’s *Agenda*, an annual planner for tracking appointments and shopping lists, not only gave the owner meal suggestions for each season, it also listed menu ideas for every day of the year. Each planner contained several recipes spanning several pages near the beginning of the book. The day calendar had menu

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> “Comidas apropiadas para el invierno” *Consigna*, 1949, 45-47.

<sup>32</sup> “La cocina en el verano: ricos, bien presentados, y nada caros” *Y*, June 1941, 34.

suggestions at the bottom of each entry. These daily meal suggestions did not contain recipes,<sup>33</sup> but merely offered dish suggestions for several courses. The daily suggestions also took into account dietary restrictions for religious holidays so that there would not be any mistake on when the family should go without meat. Then, every three months, the planner had seasonal information on the availability of game, fish, fruits, and vegetables.<sup>34</sup> This demonstrates the daily reinforcement of domesticity and cooking preached by the Sección Femenina. Daily meal suggestions meant that women carefully planned and prepared every meal for the family for an entire year. When weekly and monthly recipe guides were not enough through the mediums of *Medina* and *Y*, the organization published meal calendar to nourish Spanish families 365 days a year, observing proper cooking times such as holidays and seasonal availability.

The Sección Femenina stressed the importance of painstakingly prepared meals on a daily basis as the *Agenda* recipe collections and menus suggestions reveal, but it especially emphasized the value of family meal time at Easter and Christmas. The organization arranged several “proper” meals for these special religious occasions. It was important for the *falangista* to preserve tradition, especially those that expressed Catholic devotion. Yet, as previously mentioned, the Sección Femenina used an ideology of neo-traditionalism, one that blended old and new cultural observances. This also applies to food culture and its ability to express neo-traditionalism in the choice of ingredients or the method of preparation of a dish. The organization instructed women to bake traditional meals, but with the modern conveniences of canned or processed foods and a modern emphasis on consumerism. This blending of tradition

---

<sup>33</sup> Several of the recipes at the front of the *Agenda* or throughout the seasonal listings were sporadically referenced on the daily entries for the planner. For the other daily listings of dishes, the actual recipes could be found in the cookbook by the corresponding author cited in the introduction article. So, the 1955 *Agenda* had recipes that corresponded to José Sarrau’s cookbook published by the Sección Femenina, the 1969 *Agenda* contained meal suggestions from Manuel Garcés’s cookbook published by the Sección Femenina, and the other editions contained meals from Ana María Herrera’s *Manual de Cocina*.

<sup>34</sup> Sección Femenina, *Agenda*, 1969; Sección Femenina, *Agenda*, 1968; Sección Femenina, *Agenda*, 1967; Sección Femenina, *Agenda*, 1955.

with modern conveniences is an example of the National Catholicism ideology promoted by the Sección Femenina.<sup>35</sup> Dishes rich with religious symbolism provided *falangistas* with the opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to National Catholicism as instructed by the Sección Femenina.

*Consigna* provided Spanish women with several different recipes for religious holidays. These recipes provided by the Sección Femenina blended old with new. The Sección Femenina desired to preserve tradition, but also wanted to enlighten Spanish women to new conveniences available to them through technologies and better ingredients. For example, one article for Christmas dishes stated,

Today like yesterday Christmas is celebrated with the same solemnity... Now, traveling back many years, we see that there are some things that have not changed and they are human emotion. The housewife, queen of the home, thinks of nothing but the happiness of her family; only she had to put much work and effort into providing the necessary ingredients, without the help from the quicker ways available to our women today.<sup>36</sup>

While some aspects of preparation and availability of ingredients had changed, traditional meals prepared by the *ama de casa* continued under the doctrine of the Sección Femenina. A proper *falangista* was religiously pious and observed Catholic holidays. She used the time to prepare wonderful meals for her family, but also found joy in her ability to use new amenities available during the Franco years.

Many regions of Spain celebrate Christmas Eve dinner with sea bream or stuffed chicken as the main course, with *turrónes*, marzipan, and Spanish wine to accompany the meal.<sup>37</sup> The Sección Femenina's Christmas Eve menu lists the recipe for stuffed chicken, a traditional meat

---

<sup>35</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 5.

<sup>36</sup> "Cocina de Navidad," *Consigna*, December 1967, 34-35.

<sup>37</sup> Medina, *Food Culture in Spain*, 126.



for the holiday, but lists the ingredients in grams instead of traditional measurements of pinches or splashes. The bird is cooked in wine, but the menu offers specific wine pairings for the coffee, appetizer, chicken, fish, dessert, and finished with a cup of cognac.<sup>38</sup> The Sección Femenina sought to engage Spanish tradition and improve on it when possible. The recipe called for exact measurements for ingredients instead of traditional estimations and provided specific wine pairings with the meal instead of just table wine. The menu offered in this edition of *Consigna* denoted traditional Spanish meals for the festive holiday, but provided an updated and modern method of preparing it and celebrating it.

Another such article, “Typical Easter Dishes” told readers that all towns in Spain celebrate Easter with lots of sweets and happiness.<sup>39</sup> The article continues by giving the reader “the most popular dishes from across Spain.”<sup>40</sup> The article does not have an author or divulge how it determined what was most popular in Spain. Yet, its format harkens to a general feeling of tradition with the belief that everybody in Spain practices the same customs. A major component of the Sección Femenina’s ideology—one that desired mass mobilization through consent and coercion—made women believe that they were acting of their own free will when really they were following the prescribed femininity of the organization. The emphasis on popular participation in these rituals was used in hopes of persuading women to follow the Sección Femenina because everyone all over Spain was doing it. Since the Sección Femenina wanted to create new traditions for Spanish women as part of their ambitions to form a “new Spanish woman” and “new state”, part of the efforts to establish new traditions required building a consensus. By publishing an article with the phrases “every town celebrates Easter” and “these are the most popular dishes,” the Sección Femenina sought to advertise the

---

<sup>38</sup> “Cocina de Navidad,” *Consigna*, December 1967, 37-38.

<sup>39</sup> “Hogar: Platos Típicos de Pascua,” *Consigna*, núm 7, 1947, 22-23.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, 22-23.

popularity of its recipes and its concept of womanhood throughout Spain. On the other hand, it also portrayed the Sección Femenina as responsive and adaptive to popular demand. All of Spain was participating in these forms of rituals, and so was the Sección Femenina as a type of solidarity with the nation.

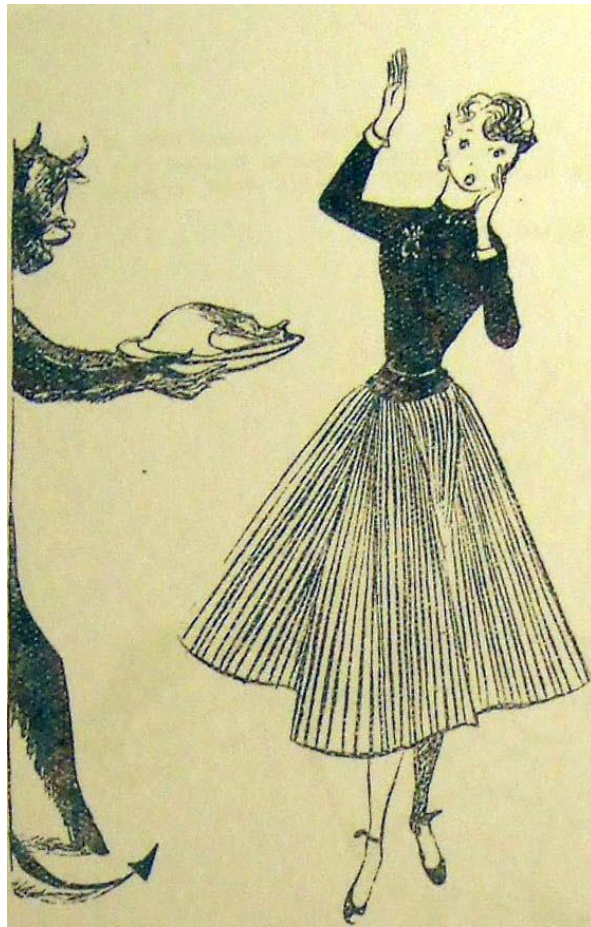


Figure 2.2 This image is from the 1955 *Agenda* published by the Sección Femenina. The image accompanies a table of religious holidays when a family should not eat meat. Sección Femenina, *Agenda 1955*, 14.

Furthermore, the Sección Femenina took into account the more challenging demands of National Catholicism hoped to make adherence to its precepts easier to follow. Fasting from meals or certain foods could be a challenge to the *ama de casa* and her family, but the Sección

Femenina strove to provide solutions that could alleviate this burden. For women who did not know many recipes without meat, meals could be bland or monotonous with the preparation of the same menu over and over again. Worse than monotony, however, was the threat that the *ama de casa* and her family may not observe the fast days, a direct challenge to the Sección Femenina's ideology. Reconciling demands of the Church and family formed another integral part of the Sección Femenina's agenda. Monotonous diets without meat from fasting could also lead to malnutrition if not performed properly. To remedy these potential threats to Catholic ritual and the ideology of the Sección Femenina, the organization published several recipe collections of vegetarian meals with variety and appeal to the family. Some of the recipes include stuffed onions, onion pie, cauliflower pudding, spinach pie, stuffed lettuce, sardine pasta, and stuffed sardines.<sup>41</sup> When these suggestions were not enough, *Medina* supplied Spanish women with full daily meal strategies for satisfying the demands of Lent and of a hungry family. This article provided recipes for potato croquetas, codfish *a la vizcaína*, rough salad, and cheese tart for one day's meals, and provided a completely new menu of garbanzo stew, stuffed calamari, *ensalada rusa*, and nutty cookies for the next day.<sup>42</sup> The Sección Femenina aimed to make National Catholicism easy to follow and still meet the ideology of the Church and the women's group.

The Sección Femenina used recipes to express their concept of proper feminine domestic virtue that they wanted all Spanish women to exhibit. Austerity, sacrifice for the family, perpetual happiness, religious piety, and nurturing motherhood were all communicated through the cooking sections of the organization's extensive publication network. Recipes provided the Sección Femenina an indirect way to communicate its domestic ideal to individual

---

<sup>41</sup> "Comida de vigilia," *Y*, March 1941, 46-47.

<sup>42</sup> "Cocina de Cuaresma," *Medina*, March 25, 1945, 28.

women. The organization highly valued its prescribed feminine roles and used every opportunity available to them to communicate its ideals to its readers. The Sección Femenina sought to initiate change within the hearts and minds of Spanish women by first reforming their mentalities in the kitchen. With the new mindset of proper womanhood, the Sección Femenina could then prescribe proper environments in which the model *falangista* could flourish.

### ***Cooking Power***

The domestic duties prescribed by the Sección Femenina required more than just knowledge of the home or the performance of a daily ritual. “Proper” domesticity was a reformed way of thinking and a complete adoption of a *falangista* identity. With the new identity came a new attitude towards the chore of cooking. The model *falangista* thrived within her prescribed space of the kitchen where her daily preparation of meals influenced the daily habits of the family. The Sección Femenina advocated that women spend a copious amount of the day in the kitchen, but advocated for a professionalization and legitimization of the position of *ama de casa*. The organization viewed the kitchen as a place of empowerment for women where women could be properly trained in the chore of cooking to be highly valued and influential to the rest of the family unit. The Sección Femenina hoped to train young Spanish women to use the kitchen as their own realm that they alone controlled, rather than as a place of confinement of limitations. A properly instructed *ama de casa* could influence her family, community, and society from her realm within the kitchen. From the perspective of the table, Spanish women alone determined family happiness through communal enjoyment of a well-prepared meal. The Sección Femenina sought to remove Spanish women from men’s public

spaces and to revitalize feminine domesticity to find purpose and happiness within the prescribed chores in the kitchen. As Morcillo notes, the Sección Femenina became *activists* for femininity with their active withdrawal from public spaces and into the domestic sphere.<sup>43</sup>

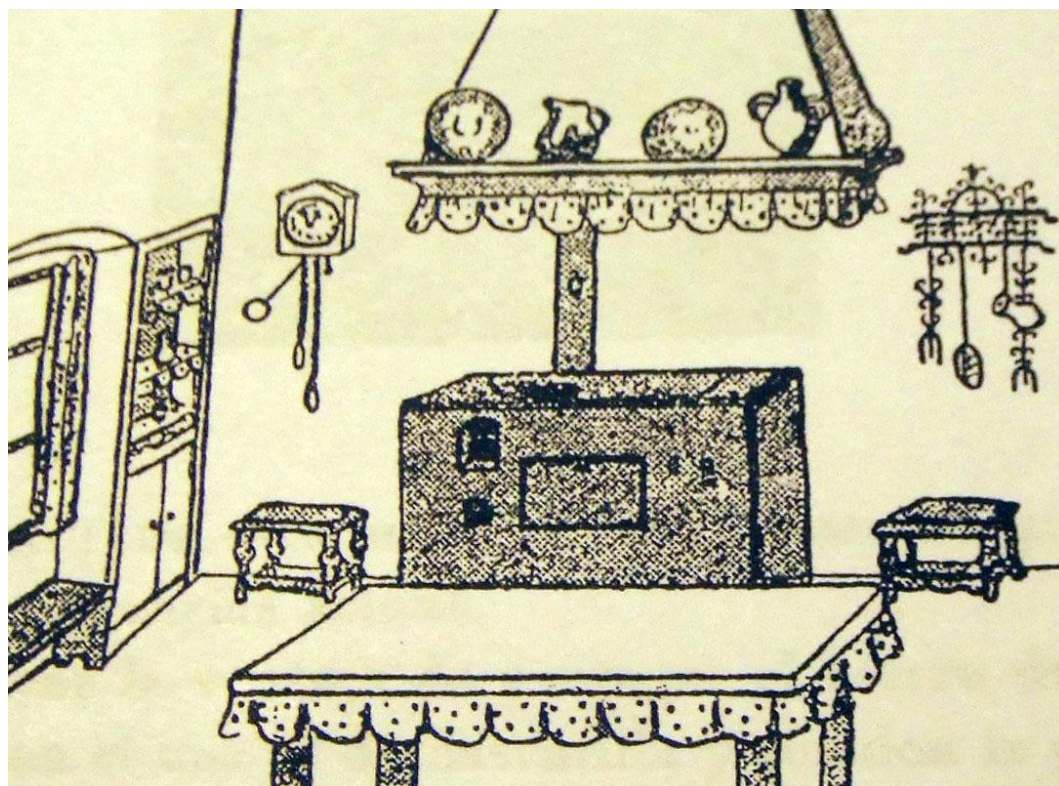


Figure 2.3 A textbook example of a Spanish kitchen taught in the Sección Femenina's cooking class. Sección Femenina, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio y Magisterio*, 12 ed., 1961.

The best explanation for transforming ordinary Spanish kitchens into a place of empowerment for women comes in an article in *Consigna* titled "The Kitchen: A place that gains importance every day."<sup>44</sup> The article presents several styles of kitchens and offers the latest trends for having an updated, modern kitchen. This exemplifies the Sección Femenina's attempts to reform domestic spaces to accommodate the changed behavior of the New Spanish Woman. She daily prepared, served, and cleaned up meals in this space. She utilized new

<sup>43</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 5.

<sup>44</sup> "Cocina: Un lugar que cada día cobra mayor importancia," *Consigna*, February 1972, 22-25.

technologies such as gas stoves and pressure cookers to successfully feed her family, stored frozen goods in a freezer and canned goods in cabinets, and she brightly decorated the space to provide warmth and happiness to her family. The kitchen was the *falangista's* feminine space of influence from which she alone could masterfully prepare dishes for the sustenance of her family.

Since the kitchen was to be Spanish women's natural place of power, influence, and comfort, it was important that she spent a significant amount of her day in it. Her space needed to be perfectly clean, equipped with dishes and utensils, and supplied with ample food. In the January 1941 edition of *Y*, the Sección Femenina made clear that a woman's identity was created by her actions twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and twelve months a year. The magazine mapped out the ideal *ama de casa's* daily schedule, weekly happenings, and monthly calendar to facilitate a full transformation in body and action to their new prescribed femininity. The daily schedule for a typical *falangista ama de casa* should follow as such, according to the Sección Femenina:

7am: Open the blinds, prepare breakfast. Set the table and serve.

8am: clean the family's shoes. Never remove the reinforcement metal.

9am: Polish the glassware. Begin to cook lunch. Clean up breakfast.

10am: Clean the house. Clean one room thoroughly each day.

12am: Finish cooking lunch. Set the table. Dress to serve the meal.

1:30am: Should be the beginning of lunch.

3pm: Clean off the table. Sweep. Recollect the plates.

4pm: Do the important works for each day of the week (explained on weekly schedule for the *ama de casa*) and pick up more or less time as needed.

5pm: Prepare a snack for the kids

7pm: Prepare dinner. Close the wood storage area.

9pm: Prepare the beds. Set the table

10pm: clean up after dinner. Find a stopping place for your work. It is time to rest.<sup>45</sup>

This pattern continues with slight variation throughout the week, month, and year. A good *ama de casa* should spend her entire day within her domestic space and enjoy her daily activities that serve the family. Chores should be fun and not a task, daily actions willingly sacrificed for the family. Much of her schedule consists of preparing, serving, or cleaning up after meals. The Sección Femenina constructed the *falangista*'s realm around the kitchen and used its recipe publications to communicate actions appropriate within these designated feminine spaces.

The *Enciclopedia Elemental*, a concise collection of all educational materials of the Sección Femenina, is even more explicit in directing women to the proper roles and spaces of a *falangista*. It says "The kitchen is a very important room in the home. The good *ama de casa* spends most of the day in it, preparing meals, cleaning dishes, etc."<sup>46</sup> This statement implies that a woman should want nothing more than the prescribed space of the kitchen. She should value the kitchen because of her gender and be satisfied with the prescribed actions available inside of it—cooking and cleaning. Also, by employing the term "good *ama de casa*," the encyclopedia suggests that the kitchen is needed in order to be a good housewife and that a woman who does not spend most of her day in the kitchen or highly value the space is not a good housewife. The Sección Femenina made sure to propagate its notions of feminine identity both directly and indirectly. By using conditional terms that implied their femininity as the "good way" or "best way," the Sección Femenina worked diligently to create an ideal that would reform women's behavior to cooking and working in the kitchen.

---

<sup>45</sup> "Calendario del ama de casa, 1941," *Y: Revista Para Mujeres*, January 1941, 40.

<sup>46</sup> Sección Femenina, *Enciclopedia Elemental* (Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina, 1946), 461.

Yet, it is important to note that the article uses the term “good” and not “perfect.” The Sección Femenina warned *amas de casa* to be leery of such illusions of perfection. *Consigna* offered an article of “Six Tips for *Amas de Casa*” with which Sección Femenina members could improve their character as model *falangistas*. The article begins “You are perfect *amas de casa*... you have come to achieve perfect order in your little world.”<sup>47</sup> The article progresses to inform the reader that this ambition for perfection is a dangerous slope. It can lead to pride, unhappiness, and losing oneself to her domestic work.<sup>48</sup> The organization made clear that its goal was not perfection—perfection could not be achieved according to Catholic doctrine and *joseantonioismo*. Yet, the organization could make suggestions to improve the lives and conditions of its members, as well as those around them. There was not a perfect woman, but the ideal supported by the Sección Femenina was a happy housewife skilled in domesticity and who was religiously pious.

The kitchen was to be the environment naturally appropriate for Spanish women. It was to blend traditionalism with consumerism according the Sección Femenina’s ideological aims for the home. In this area, they were to feel comfortable and in control. The Sección Femenina believed that domestic spaces were the natural place for Spanish women to thrive as long as she abided by the proper feminine virtue. In order to form a *casa conygal*, women needed as much control, autonomy, and authority in the home performing domestic tasks as men experienced in public spaces and waged work. Alas, some women needed more guidance than others to feel “natural” within their prescribed place of power in the kitchen. Daily food provision for a large family could be a daunting task, especially for those who faced challenges of shortages, small budgets, or picky eaters. For those who felt less than comfortable in their culinary realm, the

---

<sup>47</sup>“Hogar: Seis Consejos para las amas de casa,” *Consigna*, May 1950, 38.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.



Sección Femenina provided a solution. Recipe memorization, meal organization, and cooking needed to be practiced and drilled to the point that the kitchen felt like the “natural place” for the Spanish woman, even for those who did not feel like domesticity was “natural.”

The Sección Femenina legitimated itself within the Francoist structure by advocating for the interests of Spanish women, and the organization interpreted the needs of Spanish women to be better training in domesticity. If a woman excelled at domestic work, she would not want to leave her home or pursue waged occupations. Women needed to be able to wield complete authority in the kitchen and their meal preparation so that they could truly control the kitchen and home. To help all Spanish women—regardless of their background in cooking—to master the art of using the kitchen and performing their chores, the Sección Femenina printed games and quizzes that would appeal to novices and experts alike. Games could be educational for the intelligent and cultured *falangista* while maintaining adherence to domestic responsibility. Periodic quizzes drilled magazine readers on the proper technique to prepare dishes. A good *falangista* should know recipes and food preparation methods by heart, therefore in one of the quizzes printed in *Medina* the reader lost points for having to reread the question or contemplate the recipe for over two minutes.<sup>49</sup> In a different quiz, if the reader was unable to solve the puzzle, she should attend the cooking classes offered by the Sección Femenina.<sup>50</sup> The Sección Femenina advocated that the kitchen should be a place of leisure and tranquility, as well the source of happiness for a good *ama de casa*. She should not stress over meal planning or following recipes, but the ingredients and preparation instructions should be such a part of her that kitchen chores bring relaxation and joy. Quizzes over recipes helped to reinforce knowledge

---

<sup>49</sup> “¿Es Usted una buena cocinera?” *Medina*, November 26, 1944, 21.

<sup>50</sup> “Vemos ¿Qué sobra en estas recetas?,” *Nuestra Casa*, January 1960, 31.

of cooking so that readers could be happy while baking rather than anxious, confused, or stressed.

The Sección Femenina instructed proper behavior for the kitchen environment and a specific method for completing chores that would reinforce the desired qualities of the Sección Femenina's ideologically perfect *ama de casa*. These attributes are evident in the six tips for *amas de casa*. The article suggests to its readers:

- 1<sup>st</sup>. Above all smile; the work that you do with a bad face is still useful, but not beneficial...
- 2<sup>nd</sup>. Do not complain or whine about your luck. Tears can in a moment, given the case, bring compassion, but mostly they bore...
- 3<sup>rd</sup>. Do not sacrifice ostentatiously and above all do not talk about it. Nothing is more disgraceful than someone constantly "sacrificing"...
- 4<sup>th</sup>. Do not let yourself appear too sensitive; on the contrary, give the impression of perfect equilibrium...
- 5<sup>th</sup>. Do not neglect your outward appearance. It is very good to put all of your pride into a clean and arranged home, delicious food, and everything in order, but you are the foundation of the home...
- 6<sup>th</sup>. Do not take advantage of your little victories. Many times you give your opinion with perhaps a little too much authority...

These represent the character and actions desired by the Sección Femenina. The ideal created by the organization required the model *falangista* behaviors to work within the prescribed domesticity promoted by the women's group.

Many of the tips listed above engage an aspect of appearances such as appearing happy, never crying, and being dressed for domestic success. The Sección Femenina urged Spanish women to take pride in the visual beauty of their clothes, homes, kitchens, and meals. Of all of these little tips for cooking, perhaps the most telling of the necessity of appearances

was the organization's fixation on meal presentation. Outward appearance mattered greatly for the *ama de casa* because she needed to appear professional and in control of her home and food production. For the Sección Femenina, proper Spanish womanhood entailed presenting nutritious and visually appealing meals to the family. In its publications, the organization presented cooking as an art form, proper meal planning as a science, and the family's enjoyment of a meal was of utmost value to an *ama de casa*. These aspects were a source of pride several times throughout the day—breakfast, lunch, snack, and dinner. For this reason, the organization took extreme diligence to instruct women in proper rationing and presentation of meals, forms of garnishes that add style and flavor to a dish, and responsible grocery shopping that stayed on a carefully planned budget.

The best example of the importance of appearance comes from the magazine *Y*. An article in the magazine argues that a well presented plate is worth more to the family because it is easier to digest and can deliver better health to all of those who consume it.<sup>51</sup> The article progresses to depict methods of serving food so that the plate portions look larger. For example, cutting meat into slices fills a serving platter better than leaving a large ham or roast uncut on a large plate.<sup>52</sup> These tips focus on the presentation of the meal and value outward appearances of food to gain worth for the family. In order to appease hungry guests at the dinner table, the good *ama de casa* needed to focus on every minute detail of a dish. Taste was not enough for the *falangista*; she needed to take into account the presentation of her meal to her family as well. For the Sección Femenina, part of the visual appeal of Spanish women came from how they presented their meals.

---

<sup>51</sup> "Presentar bien un plato valie más que..." *Y: revista para la mujer*, March 1942, 26-27

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27

This is also true in the *Manual de Cocina* by Ana María Herrera who acknowledged that many of her readers may not be familiar with certain food decoration terms, so she provided a glossary for her young *ama de casa* readers. She explained that the word “garnish” meant to add delicacies to a dish to improve the presentation, “julienne” meant to cut vegetables into thin strips, and that truffles cut in thin slices were known as “flakes.”<sup>53</sup> The *Manual de Cocina* sought to elevate the level of culinary understanding of its readership. The cookbook maintained that anyone could create these meals by following the guidelines printed in each recipe. And, if the recipes were followed correctly and with every detail, Spanish women would then have followed the steps to being a proper *falangista*.

Throughout the *Manual de Cocina*, Herrera encourages the readers to complete the last step of proper presentation. One such recipe is for orange pudding. The final step of the recipe called for the dish to be served on a crystal platter.<sup>54</sup> The inclusion of this last step was perhaps the most important for the Sección Femenina to mold feminine identity. The recipe presented an example to follow that included presentation. The recipe was not followed unless the dish came to fruition on a crystal platter. Furthermore, if a recipe is not followed correctly, it is not truly the dish. In this case, the product is not orange pudding unless it is served in this style, in this *falangista* manner. This recipe, among numerous others, presented the way that a proper *falangista* should present herself and the fruits of her labor to those around her.

Aspects of food preparation chores—cooking, setting a table, serving a meal—were fundamental to domestic instruction and fundamental to the Sección Femenina’s ideological instruction. The Sección Femenina wanted to foster changes in behavior that would convince Spanish women to enjoy completing chores in the kitchen and to make their daily cooking

---

<sup>53</sup> *Manual de Cocina*, 23-26.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 651.

chores seem natural. This change in behavior and approach to work inside the home would professionalize the status of the *ama de casa*, making her work as important to the family as waged workers earned by men. This emphasis on enjoying household chores aimed to elevate women to the *casa conyugal* and promote other ideological points such as adherence to Catholicism, dedication to family, and consumerism for the *patria*.

### ***A Market for Femininity***

The only way that the Sección Femenina could have succeeded in their attempts to perpetuate the notion of a good “*ama de casa*” was if a culture that supported this concept of proper domesticity already existed. In general, Spanish society needed to “buy in” to the concept of separate yet complementary roles of men and women in order to perpetuate the work of the Sección Femenina and promote the utilization of its resources. The organization was by no means the only advocate for the feminine virtues of domesticity, piety, submission, and modesty. Many other Spanish authors and publishing companies profited from these notions ingrained deeply within Spanish culture. While the Sección Femenina added a unique Falange element to their message of femininity, and its ties to the dictatorship afforded the organization a greater level of authority within Spanish society, it nonetheless contributed to a larger market for feminine domesticity popularly consumed throughout Spain during the Franco years.

One such author profiting from promoting domesticity and traditional femininity was María Pilar Morales and her book, *Mujeres: Orientación Femenina*, published in 1942. This work explained “proper femininity” as the natural inclinations of women to grow emotionally,

intellectually, and culturally, and to work to complement her husband.<sup>55</sup> The book begins by apologizing to the readers for the author's limited knowledge of literature, lack of experience from a young age, and plethora of past failures before writing the book.<sup>56</sup> Unlike the experts and professionals who published the recipes and articles for the Sección Femenina, this author established her authority as a valuable resource to Spanish women because of her experiences of past success and failure. The Sección Femenina often used male experts in medicine, nutrition, and culinary arts to legitimate their position over Spanish *amas de casa*, but this work used the experience of another woman to build a notion of camaraderie and understanding. It is the voice of experience rather than the voice of experts that distinguished this book from the publications of the Sección Femenina.

Another book that sold a variation of feminine domesticity during the Franco years is the book, *La perfecta ama de casa* which went through multiple editions. This work was part of a series that included *La cocina perfecta* and *El libro de labors para la mujer*. Unlike the Sección Femenina, María Luísa Rocamora described her ideal femininity as “perfect” rather than “good” or “proper.” This work assumed that perfection could be achieved by an *ama de casa* if she followed a few simple steps. Rocamora stated “Food is the base of the home; this should be your fundamental work, and where you should most focus your attention.”<sup>57</sup> And what does Rocamora offer to separate a good *ama de casa* from a perfect *ama de casa*? For one, a perfect *ama de casa* knows which meals to prepare for an intellectual, a regular adult, and a day laborer.<sup>58</sup> Rocamora provides her readers more specifics on nutrition, meal planning, and

---

<sup>55</sup> María Pilar Morales, *Mujeres: Orientación Femenina* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942), 33.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>57</sup> María Luisa Rocamora, *La perfecta ama de casa*. 8ed. (Barcelona: De Gasso Hermanos, 1958), 168.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 260-262.

domestic economy than comparable publications<sup>59</sup> by the Sección Femenina. Her work also takes a more didactical approach than the Sección Femenina by providing information rather than recipes. Nonetheless, it confirms the need for domestic instruction and satisfies the attests to the demand for knowledgeable and professional women managing a home.

Other authors sought to complement the work already initiated by the Sección Femenina. Teresa Recas de Culvet wrote *Enseñanzas de Hogar: Apuntes* to complement the education received by students in the *escuela de hogar*.<sup>60</sup> She agreed with the message transmitted through the mandatory education of the *escuelas de hogar*<sup>61</sup>, but she did not believe that the curriculum went far enough to inform women in proper domestic duties. For example, she synthesized a chapter on vegetarianism based on the Sección Femenina's lessons on vitamins, fruits, and vegetables. The book references the corresponding *escuela de hogar* throughout the text, but footnotes books by Ignacio Doménech and Picadillo at the end of the chapter.<sup>62</sup> This work provides an example of how Spaniards could modify the instruction that they received from the Sección Femenina. Recas's work was not designed to work independently of the Sección Femenina, but rather provided additional instruction and clarity for students who wanted more knowledge on managing a home, and to some extent suggests that the Sección Femenina was not thorough enough in its domestic instruction. The publication of this book also proves that women wanted further instruction in proper femininity and domesticity, thus there was a market for Recas' work. The publication of additional material for the Sección Femenina's publication proves that there was enough demand for its concept of

---

<sup>59</sup> The publications of the Sección Femenina were more diverse and more prevalent than Rocamora's book, but her collection of information is more detailed than any one publication by the Sección Femenina.

<sup>60</sup> Teresa Recas de Calvet, *Enseñanzas de Hogar: Apuntes* (Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1946), prologue.

<sup>61</sup> *Escuela de hogar*, or "domestic school" was an educational program required as part of Social Service (Servicio Social) that was required for all single Spanish women age 17 to 35.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 235-240.

femininity and womanhood to justify the printing and circulation of additional notes regarding its instruction.

Many of the consultants for nutrition advice or recipe concoction for the Sección Femenina were men. The ideology of the Sección Femenina asserted that men had ultimate authority over women, including activities deemed by society as womanly in nature. The Sección Femenina relied on power granted to it by the male-run dictatorship, and the organization hoped to mimic the model relation between males and females in its relationship to the Franco regime. Spanish women were to emulate this subordination to men and trust their ultimate authority, even in regards to domestic issues. In an *Y* article, the Sección Femenina addressed this complex subject: “Are men better cooks than women? As women, we wouldn’t dare answer this question, but in the back of our minds we all suspect the answer is yes.”<sup>63</sup> Even though cooking was supposed to be a place of power and influence for Spanish women, it was still under the authority of men. However, just as the Sección Femenina carved out a niche in the politics of women and food, the organization encouraged women to carve out their own space and skills within the home. Women could co-opt the recipes of authority from men for their own use in their own personal homes. Femininity as prescribed by the Sección Femenina depended on male permission and knowledge, but provided women the ability to co-opt male authority in cooking for the empowerment of the position of *ama de casa*.

Other authors published with the Sección Femenina but had writing careers on their own. One such chef and author was Jose Sarrau. He was already a prolific culinary writer and director of the Royal Chef Academy of Madrid when he wrote his first book on domesticity for the Sección Femenina. His book, *Ciencia Gastronómica*, was published by the organization and

---

<sup>63</sup> “¿Cocinan mejor los hombres?,” *Y: revista para la mujer*, August 1943, 14-15.



widely advertised within the pages of the *Consigna*, *VENTANAL*, and the *Agenda 1955*. He began the book with a dedication to Pilar Primo de Rivera, then divided the contents of the book into two sections: one that looked at food groups and the other focused on meal formation.<sup>64</sup> Sarrau and the Sección Femenina advertised a similar femininity for Spanish women, thus forming strong partnership in perpetuating their concepts of womanhood to their audience. Both Sarrau and the Sección Femenina hoped to reform the Spanish *ama de casa* to a more professional position within the home. Both believed that women had a natural gift for cooking for a family, and both saw the need in Spanish society for a femininity that allowed women to excel in domesticity.

Although *Ciencia Gastronómica* was his only book published through the Sección Femenina's Press and Propaganda Department, he published a number of cooking instruction books before and after this one work. He authored *Guía Gastronómica* in 1934, *Nuestra Cocina: Al uso de familias* in 1935, and *Mi recetario de cocina de la Academia Gastronómica* in 1957.<sup>65</sup> When the Sección Femenina chose to publish his recipes and cooking tips, they reconciled his previous reputation and brand association with the ideology that they hoped to promote. It was a win-win situation for both parties. The Sección Femenina gained greater legitimacy in their work since Sarrau prided himself on his professional approach to cooking. His extensive training and position as Director of the Royal Chef Academy of Madrid made him an authority with which the Sección Femenina could ally. Sarrau gained favor with the Sección Femenina and to its larger readership network. The Sección Femenina advertised Sarrau's book throughout its

---

<sup>64</sup> José Sarrau, *Ciencia Gastronómica: Libro de texto para el profesorado de los Institutos Nacionales Femeninos y de las escuelas del Hogar de la Sección Femenina* (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1942).

<sup>65</sup> José Sarrau, *Guía Gastronómica: Libro de texto para profesionales* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Gastronomos, 1934); José Sarrau, *Nuestra Cocina al uso de familias* (Madrid: Prensa Española, 1935); José Sarrau, *Mi recetario de cocina de la Academia de Gastronomos* (Madrid: Prensa Española, 1957).

multiple publications and made support the purchase of Sarrau's cookbook a way to support the Sección Femenina both financially and ideologically.

Manuel Garcés also acted as a consultant to the Sección Femenina in many of the organization's later cooking publications. The Sección Femenina published his recipes in two works: the *Cocinero en Casa* and the *Agenda 1969*. He also wrote his own works independently of the Sección Femenina, many of which he intended for a male audience of restaurateurs and professional chefs. Like Sarrau, Garcés provided the Sección Femenina with a legitimate cooking authority with years of previous experience and publication. Garcés filled the role of expert and theorist for blending complex tastes, textures, and garnishes to achieve professional-quality meals within the home. His recipes are clearly cited with ingredients and their quantities listed directly below the name of the food, followed by the step by step process in paragraph form on how to achieve the dish. Uniformity, structure, and professionalization were all contributions to the Sección Femenina's ideal *ama de casa* gained from applying the cooking method denoted in the publications of Manuel Garcés.

With all of these other messages on womanhood and proper femininity saturating the Spanish market, the Sección Femenina provided a unique voice to its readers on the identity of a true *falangista*. The organization used notions of femininity already being consumed through other publishing groups and authors to perpetuate slight modifications to these domestic ideals that coincided with their own agenda. Throughout the duration of recipe publication of the organization, the Sección Femenina emphasized domestic duty and a professional nature to the role of *ama de casa*. The organization tapped into authorities outside of the organization to help gain legitimacy in their ideological quest for domesticity. Professional chefs published cookbooks and recipe collections through the Sección Femenina to gain access to the

organization's market, as well create the Sección Femenina as an authority for knowledge in the kitchen.

Yet, with several alternatives available to the Sección Femenina's publications on domesticity, consumers had several alternative choices to the ideology and stigmatization of the Sección Femenina. Women could subscribe to magazines such as *Blanco y Negro* for advice just as easily as the Sección Femenina's publications of *Teresa*, *VENTANAL*, *Medina*, or *Y*. A Larger market for domesticity meant that there was demand for this type of instruction in femininity, but also provided options other than the official Falange's food ideology as it was expressed through the women's group. The Sección Femenina still could not increase its publication distribution beyond individual consumer preference and could not make women follow their advice. It is safe to assume that those who bought the Sección Femenina's publications already supported the organization and its ideology, so the message in its cooking instruction was nothing new. The publication process established by the Sección Femenina did not necessarily convert new souls, but served the purpose of confirming beliefs among already-proclaimed supporters.

### ***Limits to Recipe Indoctrination***

The cooking articles and recipe suggestions published by the Sección Femenina communicated more than merely ways to prepare meals. They carried with them ideals for femininity which included aspects of religion, family values, joseantonioism, and social reform. The Sección Femenina used recipes to communicate their ideals and thereby politicized food consumption. The act of cooking a recipe or following a tip for the kitchen became a way to reinforce the Falange and its ambition to revolutionize Spanish society. Every ingredient, cooking step, preparation style, and cook time listed in the Sección Femenina's publications

signified an aspect of proper womanhood important to the Sección Femenina. Spanish women could demonstrate their allegiance to the *patria* and to the party by preparing recipes in the way prescribed by the Sección Femenina.

Yet, the fruition of the Sección Femenina's ideal womanhood proved more difficult to obtain than the creation of *leche frita*. Many factors contributed to the Sección Femenina falling short of their goals. One, the early phase of the Franco dictatorship is known as the "Years of Hunger" because so many Spaniards suffered from food shortages and corrupt rationing.<sup>66</sup> Many of the ingredients suggested in the recipes were not available to all levels of society or regions. Even though the Sección Femenina published recipes that tried to accommodate food shortages, it could not keep the average Spaniard from going hungry at mealtime. Also, the cooking utensils and flatware suggested in the various recipe collections, most notably the *Manual de Cocina*, were not prevalent in all Spanish households. The *Manual de Cocina* said that every Spanish home of six or more people should have three casserole dishes, one paella pan, one large flan mold, six individual flan molds, one sieve, a grinder for chocolate and a grinder for coffee.<sup>67</sup> These "essentials" for every Spanish home were not possible in the post-Civil War years. Some women could achieve these levels of bourgeois luxury, but many had to make do without these necessary items for preparing "proper" dishes.

Furthermore, the Sección Femenina assumed that all Spanish women could dedicate several hours a day to cooking and serving meals for her family. The recipes for fancy garnishes, slow cooking, and complicated steps did not provide women with the opportunity to work outside of the home. Though the organization portrayed the kitchen a place of influence in the family and community, it was not a place where women could earn significant money if any. The

---

<sup>66</sup> Encarnación Barranquero Texeria and Lucía Prieto Borrego. *Así sobrevivimos el hambre*, 89-90.

<sup>67</sup> *Manual de Cocina*, 16 ed, 27.

Sección Femenina's ideology emphasized that women should find happiness from preparing delicious meals for her home, not collecting a paycheck. Thus, women of the working classes could not achieve the prescribed femininity preached by the Sección Femenina because she did not have the time to work paid jobs outside of the home and unpaid jobs such as cooking inside the home.

Beyond the physical, the success of the Sección Femenina's recipe for womanhood was limited by the accessibility of their publications. *Y* cost readers between 1,50 peseta and 2,50 peseta monthly while *Medina*, a cheaper but more frequently printed publication than the former, cost its readers between fifty céntimos and 1,50 pesetas every week over the course of its circulation. The magazine *Consigna* was only available for teachers and *Nuestra Casa* was for domestic servants only. For families that were starving or did not desire to read publications by the Falange, these propagandistic messages with its recipes went unheeded. High illiteracy rates among Spaniards during the Franco regime<sup>68</sup> also hindered the communication of the Sección Femenina's ideas on womanhood. Illiterate women could not have read and understood all of the finer points of recipes deemed necessary to the *falangista's* culinary repertoire, since one of the cornerstones of the prescribed womanhood was educated and cultured.

And finally, with the politicization of daily food consumption, mealtime became a way to potentially resist the Sección Femenina in protest to its association with the Franco regime. Since the Sección Femenina published their proper way of cooking meals—the when, what, and how much for mealtime—modifications to these prescribed recipes could be a form of resistance. In order to communicate proper femininity, the Sección Femenina had to be very precise with its readers on the choice of ingredients, the quantities to consume, and the method

---

<sup>68</sup> Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 89.

of preparation and production. Spanish women still reserved individual choice when deciding what groceries to buy and how to prepare food for the family—if they cooked for their family at all. The Sección Femenina could suggest tips to reform Spanish womanhood to their prescribed notions of femininity, create an ideal *falangista* and assert that all women wanted to be her, and justify norms of domesticity as “naturally womanly,” but individual Spanish women still could exercise their right to participate, modify, or ignore these recipes for womanhood. Thus, the Sección Femenina attempted to dictate femininity to Spanish readers, but Spanish women ultimately decided and executed their own interpretations to womanhood.

## Chapter Three: Lessons in Cooking and Femininity

*“A thousand times I have said that the main mission of the Sección Femenina is education. What is entrusted to us by the Falange is to carry the knowledge of our truths to all women, not because they are the ones in politics, but so that they will come to love the ideas of the Falange and transmit them to the generations to come.”- Pilar Primo de Rivera<sup>1</sup>*

The Sección Femenina not only showcased its prescribed attributes of proper femininity in its numerous forms of publications, it also provided thorough instruction on how to apply its cooking tricks and tips to become a good *ama de casa*. The organization indoctrinated Spanish women with their ideology by instituting an extensive and ambitious educational program called “Social Service,” which was obligatory domestic training and volunteer work for all young, single Spanish women. Model *falangistas* were not born, but were fashioned through a long and thorough indoctrination process. The main ambition of the Sección Femenina was to teach women its standards of prescribed womanhood—educated, austere, traditional, patriotic, and cultured, all of which the Sección Femenina taught in cooking classes. Through required coursework, the Sección Femenina not only taught the moral qualities needed for creating the New State, but provided lessons to change daily actions into the virtuous habits of *falangistas*. It also ensured that no miscommunication occurred between the organization’s published documents and the implementation of proper femininity. The educational material published by the Sección Femenina established the goal for the model *ama de casa*, and its classroom instruction provided women a path for achieving those ideals.

Current scholarship on the educational programs implemented by the Sección Femenina tends to focus on the direct indoctrination of ideology through courses on politics, Spanish

---

<sup>1</sup> This quote was made by Pilar Primo de Rivera, leader of the Sección Femenina from the Eighth National Council in January 1944. The quote is later used to introduce the *Enciclopedia Elemental*, published by the Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS in 1946.

cultural heritage, or religion.<sup>2</sup> While these classes comprised the bulwark of the organization and its ideology, I will argue that cooking lessons were just as imperative to achieving the goals of the Sección Femenina. Culinary arts taught during Social Service were important to the organization because they helped to inadvertently indoctrinate Spanish women with their prescribed femininity. Cooking classes provided the Sección Femenina with a delicious way to communicate their ideology to a classroom of hungry students. And more importantly, the Sección Femenina used cooking classes to demonstrate recipe interpretation and cooking instruction so that the students understood how to follow exactly the organization's prescribed femininity contained in the recipes.

Since indoctrinating a Spanish woman to emanate proper *falangista* virtues took time and constant affirmation, the coursework organized by the Sección Femenina cross-referenced their concepts of proper womanhood in every one of its didactical publications. And, the obligatory nature of Social Service made those who did not buy the Sección Femenina's books or magazines exposed to the organization's prescribed femininity as well. Proper womanhood, as prescribed by the Sección Femenina, involved a full body transformation--taking root in daily, mundane activities and developing into a new feminine identity, one that glorified domesticity. The Sección Femenina used every opportunity available to it to reinforce its ideology--whether it was a course in physical education, religion, or domestic economy. The Sección Femenina aimed

---

<sup>2</sup> Works that reference the education program institutionalized by the Sección Femenina include: Victoria Lorée Enders, "Problematic Portraits: The Ambiguous Historical Role of the *Sección Femenina* of the Falange," In *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*. ed. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 375-397, Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000); and Lucía Piñero-Borrego, *Encuadramiento Femenino, Socialización y cultura en el Franquismo* (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010); Kathleen Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (London: Rutledge Press, 2003).



to create a new society through the family, and the organization identified women as the anchor of the Spanish household.<sup>3</sup>

It was not through the political apparatus but through the kitchen that the Sección Femenina was most active in social reform initiatives. In this chapter, I will examine how the Sección Femenina transmitted their “proper” roles of feminine domesticity to the Spanish public through the domestic training as part of the *escuela de hogar* (domestic school) during the Social Service program. The education model employed by the Sección Femenina required reinforcement and changes to daily habits, and cooking classes provided the Sección Femenina with a way to modify the everyday lives of Spaniards. The organization not only highlighted the feminine ideals of the *Falange* in their activities, but the education system established by the Sección Femenina provided a path for Spanish women to achieve those feminine virtues.

### **Social Service and the *Escuela de Hogar***

Social Service was a six-month training and service program required for all Spanish women ages seventeen to thirty-five.<sup>4</sup> The Social Service program was established October 7, 1937, to incorporate women into the Nationalist effort during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>5</sup> Mercedes Sanz Bachiller originally created the Social Aid program (later Spain’s welfare system) with Social Service as an initiative to promote education and assistance to young women. Social Service was a means of alleviating some of the devastating conditions of newly conquered territory, but after the war it was institutionalized as a means of training women in feminine culture in the

---

<sup>3</sup> Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco’s Spain, 1939-1975* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 67.

<sup>4</sup> Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, *Servicio Social de la mujer: su aspecto educativo* (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1965), 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

aftermath of Franco's consolidation of power in 1939.<sup>6</sup> It would come to represent the female equivalent of military service and sacrifice under Franco, although the program never achieved majority or even mass participation by Spanish women. Nonetheless, the Sección Femenina emphasized the need for both men and women to serve their country, and military service and the Social Service programs became the symbol of standardizing gendered culture in Spain.

The Social Service program aimed to reeducate Spanish women at every available opportunity. During the unpaid sacrifice to the *patria*, Spanish women completed two-hundred and sixteen hours of domestic, religious, political, and physical coursework known as the *escuela de hogar* before being placed in community kitchens, hospitals, or orphanages for volunteer work.<sup>7</sup> The first three months of Social Service included this educational program for Spanish girls and women to learn domestic lessons such as cooking, sewing, puericulture, and budgeting, as well as non-domestic education vital to the proper *falangista* such as patriotic songs, regional dances, and Spanish and Catholic history. Pilar Primo de Rivera advocated for the total education and indoctrination of Spanish women through the Social Service program at the National Delegation Council of 1944. She claimed, "...The education of our students should be a total body education—it should not limit itself to solely intellectual development or the instillation of etiquette norms."<sup>8</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera understood that the most effective indoctrination method was indirect indoctrination. Transformation into a *falangista* required more than just the knowledge of the writings of José Antonio. The Sección Femenina diversified the necessary coursework required for students to accommodate the diverse duties of managing a household.

---

<sup>6</sup> Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera," *VIII Consejo Nacional*, Cáceres, January 1944, 11.

The Sección Femenina did not have any real power to enforce mandatory participation in Social Service since the organization veered away from direct involvement in politics. But, the organization did utilize the resources available to them to encourage participation as much as possible. The Sección Femenina made the completion of Social Service a requirement for women who wanted greater liberties such as freedom of movement and the right to work. Single women gained these rights to citizenship through creating value to the program completion certificates.<sup>9</sup> The Sección Femenina did not punish women for resisting or rejecting their norms, but awarded women who chose to acquiesce to their ideology. Since the Sección Femenina believed that the kitchen could be a place of empowerment for women, it required mastery of the kitchen and domestic duties before granting more powers such as driving or working outside the home. Domesticity was the fundamental building block of proper womanhood, making education a prerequisite for driving or international travel.

The Sección Femenina worked within its realm largely ideologically and financially autonomous from the Falange party and the Franco regime, to create what it believed to be better lives for Spanish women. Although the organization was confined to limited financial resources and was restricted by the limitations of postwar Spanish society, the members still negotiated their powers within the Falange party to optimize their results. As recent oral histories from former members suggest,<sup>10</sup> the Sección Femenina members were motivated by the need to improve the living conditions of Spanish women, and the organization took it upon

---

<sup>9</sup> Rosario Sainz-Jackson, *Temas Españolas: Los Derechos de la Mujer* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1968), 19.

<sup>10</sup> Historians began to incorporate oral histories of former Sección Femenina members in their publications in the late 1990s. By employing this methodology, scholars are able to identify the historical agency of the members and shed new light on the role of conservative women's organizations in feminine activism. Enders, "Problematic Portraits," 375-397; Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*; Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism*; and Rosario Sánchez-López, *Entre la importancia y la irrelevancia: Sección Femenina de la República a la transición* (Murcia: Editora Regional, 2007).

itself to institutionalize the Social Service as an education program that they believed would improve the condition of Spanish women, the family, and the nation.

In the organization of the Social Service program, it is important to recognize that the requirement of classroom instruction prior to the volunteer work served both the needs of the students and the Sección Femenina. First and foremost, it trained the female students in the services that they would be providing to the community kitchen, orphanages, or hospitals after the completion of the coursework. It maximized their efficiency in performing volunteer work since all of the women followed the same methods of cooking, sewing, hygiene, and childrearing. The classes aimed to standardized femininity not only for the future generation of Spaniards, but also for the immediate volunteer work that was required after the *escuela de hogar* indoctrination. But more importantly, education was the primary mission of the Sección Femenina. Pilar Primo de Rivera, when speaking of the importance of domestic training in the *escuela de hogar* as part of Social Service referenced other organizations that help the poor and offer social assistance, but asserted that the Sección Femenina needed to concentrate on the educational institutions it created to reshape Spanish women into proper *falangistas*.<sup>11</sup> Other organizations could provide charity to women, but the Sección Femenina aimed to instruct women on how to live independently from charity care.

The cooking course consisted of twenty-four, ninety-minute lessons so that every student spent a total of thirty-six hours in a test kitchen.<sup>12</sup> This course was longer than the religious and national syndicate lessons, each of which was merely twenty-seven hours in length. While the cooking classes comprised a greater component of the Social Service coursework due to the time needed to chop, stir, or fry a meal, it also sheds light on the extent

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>12</sup> Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, *Programas para las escuelas de Hogar de la Sección Femenina* (Madrid: Regiduría Central de Cultura, 1959), 4.

to which the Sección Femenina valued domestic training. Though the women's organization sought to indoctrinate Spanish women with religion and politics, its central message, based on classroom time, was one that emphasized domestic virtue and the importance of providing for the family unit.

### **Cooking as a *Falangista***

The lessons in the *escuela de hogar* served multiple purposes. They prepared women for coping with marriage and the daily requirements of raising a family, taught women how to manage their home, instilled domestic virtue and womanhood throughout the lesson plans, and indirectly taught uneducated women a basic knowledge of math, science, and reading. The Sección Femenina advertised this final point as one of their greatest accomplishments. One of the main goals of the Sección Femenina's extensive education program was to combat illiteracy and ignorance, especially ignorance of the ideal womanhood prescribed by the Falange. At the Eleventh National Delegation Council of the Sección Femenina, Pilar Primo de Rivera stated: "Because we have established then, a system of customs (referring to the *escuela de hogar*) that elevates Spain from such intellectual mediocrity, such as common vulgarity and bad education, to the proper etiquette of citizenship."<sup>13</sup> The members of the Sección Femenina truly believed that they could recreate Spanish women and fashion a New Spain in accordance to their ideology through this education initiative. Falange ideology and Catholic doctrine were important characteristics of the model *Falangista*, but instruction in daily life and the reshaping of mundane habits would ultimately recreate the Spanish woman.

---

<sup>13</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera," *Consejo XI*, Zaragoza, January 1947, 4.

A published report emphasizing the success of the Social Service structure stated:

“Finally, we should consider the success of Social Service in the fight against illiteracy... because there has been a proportion of illiterate participants who, by passing through the program, have gained the skills needed to remedy their condition.”<sup>14</sup> Basic education was a fundamental characteristic of the Sección Femenina’s prescribed femininity. The Sección Femenina wanted to retrain Spanish women how to think, and the provision of basic instruction in reading, math, and science provided women with a way to think differently. The organization implemented its basic education through cooking classes, where students could experience hands-on application of math, science, and reading while preparing a meal to enjoy. By training women how to cook, the Sección Femenina also trained them to apply these skills in their daily lives. So, everyday Spanish women would practice reading, science, nutrition, and math when they prepared breakfast, lunch, and dinner for their families.

An example of this is chapters four and six of the *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio, y Magisterio* which taught “kitchen math” by presenting kitchen weights, measurements, and a calorie calculation formula.<sup>15</sup> The chapters include a measurement conversion chart to promote the metric system over traditional and arbitrary measurement styles.<sup>16</sup> Although the main purpose of the textbook was to instruct Spanish women in proper family rearing and meal provision, it also educated women to measure in grams and plan menus based on caloric value. Furthermore, these lessons aimed to standardize the culinary methods practiced throughout Spain. The textbook rejected past units of measurement such as *pinches* or *handfuls* and promoted the scientific exactitude afforded by the use of the metric system in Spanish cooking. The Sección Femenina attempted to teach women how to meet the physical

---

<sup>14</sup> Sección Femenina, *Servicio Social de la mujer*, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Sección Femenina, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato*, 24-31.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-19.

needs of the Spanish family by reducing meals to their nutritional and caloric value. The health of the family rested in the calculations of the wife and mother to provide the proper proportion of vitamins, proteins, and calories for daily consumption.

Cooking lessons during the Social Service coursework also included lessons in managing fuel for the stove, fire safety in the kitchen, nutrition lessons with healthy meal planning strategies, types of foods and cooking methods, proper food preservation, and a variety of food storage techniques.<sup>17</sup> Even though the lessons taught several tasty recipes as practice to develop basic knowledge of culinary arts, the meals also served a larger goal of teaching proper health and nutrition. The Sección Femenina placed family health in the charge of wives and mothers. With the proper training, the Sección Femenina sought to create Spanish women who could provide nourishing meals to their families and improve the overall health of the *patria*. The Sección Femenina's campaign and nutrition initiative was similar to other national campaigns to promote health during the mid-twentieth century.<sup>18</sup> To build a healthy family and nation, the Sección Femenina charged women with the monitoring of diets of the family members to ensure the proper proportions of vitamins, minerals, fats, and proteins.

Chapters on fruit, vegetables, fish, meat, poultry, dairy, and grains all contained sections with nutritional information. This includes their caloric value; their fat, vitamin, and mineral attributes; as well as their appropriate daily rationing.<sup>19</sup> The women's organization wanted to restore the strength of the nation to the time of its greatest empire, and planned to do so through building strong Spanish bodies. The Sección Femenina, as the women's auxiliary unit to the Falange, could not expand territory to add strength to Spain, but it could educate Spanish

---

<sup>17</sup> Sección Femenina, *Programas para las escuelas de Hogar de la Sección Femenina*, 7-9.

<sup>18</sup> In Argentina, the Perón regime implemented similar national health and healthy food initiatives during the 1950s. Rebekah E. Pite, *Creating a Common Table: Doña Petrona, Cooking, and Consumption in Argentina, 1928-1983* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, forthcoming).

<sup>19</sup> Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio y Magisterio* (Madrid: Delegación de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1961). 29-31.

women to improve the health of Spanish people. With this building block, the members of the organization sought to improve the society in which they lived. Their initiatives and programs aimed to reform Spain one individual at a time, and the members knew that by educating future *amas de casa*, the organization could have a larger impact on the home, community, and country.



Figure 3.4 The "nutrition wheel" that educates readers on how to create a balanced diet. "Hogar: La ciencia de equilibrar las minutas," *Consigna*, January 1951.

The Sección Femenina included meal planning and food rationing in the required Social Service coursework.<sup>20</sup> "Chapter Five: Purchasing and Rationing" of the *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio y Magisterio* stated that measuring exact amount of food to prepare for each family member came only from trial and error, but the book offered an average ration of

<sup>20</sup> Sección Femenina, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio y Magisterio*.



rice, potatoes, fish, bread, and other foodstuffs to prepare as an approximation.<sup>21</sup> This statement speaks to the individuality of each home and family acknowledged by the Sección Femenina. While the organization could estimate how much the average Spaniard should eat, the book had to admit that their numbers were only guesses. Recipes expressed an ideal, an example for Spanish women to follow. They did not necessarily address the needs and preferences of individual Spaniards. This passage reveals that the members tried to help Spanish women prepare enough food for each home but that only the good *ama de casa* could know the preferences of her family. The Sección Femenina aimed to help its students feed their families, but the individual woman ultimately knew what was best for her home.

Basic education in reading, math, and science was only one indirect benefit of the domesticity curriculum. As discussed in the previous chapter, recipes can communicate notions of femininity and communicate steps to achieve ideal womanhood. This is also true for cooking classes. The Sección Femenina used their cooking lessons to communicate austere consumption and limited food waste to students. The Sección Femenina deemed conservation and responsible allocation of resources as essential elements of the model *falangista* home. Throughout the chapters of their cooking textbook, the organization strove to instruct students in how to make food last longer through methods such as canning, drying, or freezing. Food conservation instruction helped Spaniards cope with food rationing, the black market, and the Years of Hunger. Carlos Barciela explains that Spain experienced one of the slowest post-war economic recoveries in all of Europe, primarily due to Franco's inability to enact efficient economic policy.<sup>22</sup> Sección Femenina hoped to alleviate this stressful burden on women by teaching the importance of stretching a peseta for family meals. Even when the Spanish

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>22</sup> Carlos Barciela López, et al., *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Economía* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001), 23.

economy began to improve with the Stabilization Plan of 1959, the “Spanish miracle” was slow to permeate all levels of society. Cazorla-Sánchez writes that it was the duty of women to ensure the survival of their family during the years of famine, rationing, and hunger.<sup>23</sup> The Sección Femenina stressed the importance of wise economic choices by women in their food purchases and conservation techniques because the preservation of food by women could help with the preservation of the family in difficult times.

In the magazine *Consigna*, a publication that provided educational tools to teachers throughout Spain, the Sección Femenina wrote to its member instructors:

Furthermore in teaching Domestic Economy lessons, it is best for the instructor of each school to give the students lessons regarding vegetable conservation and recipes for a variety of meals using the food predominantly grown in the area. These are the basic meals consumed by almost all families and in the same way. (These recipes should take into account the actual living conditions of the students and resources available, etc.) This, which seems like a trivial detail, is very important because many times these foods that are prepared simply can result in more happiness for the family and, in this way, the class contributes to the wellbeing of the town.<sup>24</sup>

The mentality expressed in this quote is demonstrated throughout the textbooks used in the *escuela de hogar*. The classes taught students how to budget so that they saved money on weekly groceries and planned meals without waste.<sup>25</sup> The Sección Femenina wanted to make its lessons as accessible as possible for their students, and so suggested that teachers try to accommodate the actual conditions and challenges facing their students. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine how many teachers heeded this advice and to what extent accommodations for students were made. Nonetheless, the passage reflects the organization’s attempt to provide every student with the resources and knowledge needed to become a good

---

<sup>23</sup> Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 71.

<sup>24</sup> “Hogar,” *Consigna*, núm 8, 19.

<sup>25</sup> Sección Femenina, *Enciclopedia Elemental* (Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina, 1946), 472-475.

*falangista*, wife, and mother. The organization possessed the ambition to teach all students, regardless of their backgrounds or skills, how to build a happy, model *falangista* home.

Much of the Sección Femenina's education in preservation methods employed the use of new technologies or methods not traditionally part of Spanish cuisine. An example of this is lesson nine from the *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio y Magisterio*, the main textbook for the cooking lessons offered through the *escuela de hogar*. The chapter focuses on dairy products and taught students three techniques to prevent milk from spoiling. The chapter instructs the reader how to boil, sterilize, and pasteurize milk in her home for consumption.<sup>26</sup> Teaching conservation helped students save money by keeping food from spoiling, but it also instructed women in proper management of foodstuffs in their homes.

The incorporation of pasteurization and sterilization not only taught basic physics and chemistry through new food preparation, it also standardized the method by which women performed their daily chores. In this way, the Sección Femenina tried to disassociate the New Spanish Woman from traditional customs that relied heavily on superstition or old wives tales. It demonstrates that the Sección Femenina, while seeking to restore traditional gender roles to Spain, also wanted to stoke the progress of modernity through technology and scientific advances. Although the organization advocated for women to remain in the home and fulfill the duties of domesticity, they strove to inform women of modern conveniences that could alleviate some of the burden of managing a home. The Sección Femenina broke with previous generations' cooking habits when it attempted to create a new domesticity for women as part of their larger ambition to reform modern Spanish womanhood.

Cultural preservation and heritage was also important in shaping Spanish women in proper femininity. The promotion of domestic products was very important to the Sección

---

<sup>26</sup> Sección Femenina, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato*, 47-48.

Femenina. Propagating Spanish nationalism was a component of the organization's founding ideology,<sup>27</sup> and the Sección Femenina used Social Service and its domestic classes to instill a love of the *patria* in students. The presentation of information was meant to contribute to the Sección Femenina's method of instilling patriotism. The *escuelas de hogar* taught students about local products available in their region as well as dishes and ingredients that formed part of their province's heritage. The Sección Femenina assigned greater value to food so that its enjoyment at mealtime symbolized loyalty to New Spain and the Franco regime. It created geographical significance in meals and brought new symbolic meaning to meal time with the family. The consumption of ingredients or dishes, with the knowledge that the products were locally cultivated, became an act of patriotism and support for the nation.

For example, the students who attended an *escuela de hogar* learned about fish and their classification in the thirteenth lesson.<sup>28</sup> One of the chapters on fish contains several diagrams of seafood; catalogues varieties of fish by red, white, and blue; and teaches different cooking methods for each variety. The unique aspect of this lesson is that the textbook dedicates several pages to informing the reader on the geographical availability of different fishes in Spanish waters. The chapter refers to the product as "more common fish—where to fish" and proceeds to list locations in Catalonia, Huelva, and Galicia as the most plentiful fishing grounds in Spa.<sup>29</sup> The Sección Femenina hoped that this information would provide new knowledge to their students and foster greater Spanish nationalism. Whereas many students were probably familiar with the local cuisine available in their areas of Spain, the insight to great fishing spots in other parts of the country provided a commonality between regions and

---

<sup>27</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 36.

<sup>28</sup> Sección Femenina, *Programas para las escuelas de Hogar*, 9.

<sup>29</sup> Sección Femenina, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato*, 91-93.

constructed a national identity of sorts. Although different types of fish were available along the Northern Atlantic and the Mediterranean coastlines, they were all still “Spanish fish.”

QUESOS DEL PAIS	
<i>Frescos y fermentados ... ..</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cáceres.</li> <li>Villalón.</li> <li>Burgos.</li> <li>Cabrero.</li> <li>Castiblanco.</li> <li>Mahón.</li> </ul>
<i>Duros y cocidos ... ..</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Manchego.</li> <li>Cantal.</li> <li>Piedrafita.</li> </ul>
<i>Crudos y prensados ... ..</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cabrales.</li> <li>Roncal.</li> </ul>

Figure 3.5 Cheese Chart depicting the different consistencies of Spanish cheeses. Sección Femenina, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato*, 50.

The cooking textbook also provides a chart of cheeses native to Spain and their consistencies rather than presenting an internationally-diverse selection of dairy products.<sup>30</sup> This chart served two purposes: one, it informed the reader on the different tastes and physical attributes of cheeses, and second, it promoted national products for domestic consumption. Xavier Medina claims that the Franco regime generated an ultra-nationalist culture to defend Spanish heritage and identity in all aspect of life, including cuisine.<sup>31</sup> The Sección Femenina supported the efforts of the Franco regime in fostering strong national loyalty to Spanish culture, including its cheeses. By focusing on Spanish products in their cooking class, the Sección Femenina contributed to the pride in consumption and enjoyment of Spanish identity

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>31</sup> F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, CT: Greenwood Press, 2010), 27.

This list of cheeses, while native to Spain, is not a complete list of all Spanish cheeses, nor did the chart identify the regions of origin of the cheeses. The Sección Femenina still controlled what aspects of regional identity it wanted to include in its lesson plans. Overall, the Sección Femenina adopted a policy of promoting some regionalism, but making sure that regional pride correlated with Spanish nationalism and the agenda of the Falange. In its attempt to define national Spanish identity, the Sección Femenina stressed how regions and their cultural heritages contributed to Spanish identity as a whole, but that Spaniards should subordinate regional culture to national culture. This ambition became complicated and seemingly contradictory at times in the lessons taught by the Sección Femenina. The culture lessons implemented by the organization often focused on regional identity, but only to the extent that they contributed to Spain's national culture. This cheese chart is an example of the broader trend in which the Sección Femenina displayed regional heritage and identity while simultaneously suppressing it under its larger cultural aims of Spanish nationalism.

Recipes and cooking instruction taught in the cooking classes communicated feminine domesticity, economical living, modern preservation techniques, patriotism, and Spanish culture, but they communicated them from the perspective of the Spanish bourgeoisie. Quality and quantity of food became more accessible with the abolition of the rationing system in the 1950s. Still, access to certain foods such as meat, foreign delicacies, and coffee alluded to class status and norms.<sup>32</sup> Class comprised a curious aspect of the Sección Femenina's ideology. The evidence in the organization's printed materials suggests that the Sección Femenina members genuinely sought to create a pathway in which all Spanish women could achieve a bourgeois level of living and luxury. The Sección Femenina was in charge of the formation of Spanish

---

<sup>32</sup> Barranquero-Teixeira and Prieto-Borrego, *Así sobrevivimos el hambre*, 90.

womanhood without distinction of class, geographic origin, or civil status.”<sup>33</sup> However, Richmond’s investigation of the organization finds evidence of elite and bourgeois favoritism. Class represented one way in which the Sección Femenina strove to standardize society to one common level. Yet, the ideology differed greatly from implementation and pragmatism. The members implemented their lesson plans so that any student could mimic bourgeois actions in the test kitchen, but did not provide students with the skills and resources needed to equip their personal kitchens for proper womanhood. Any student could *act* the part of a bourgeois *falangista*, but very few had the financial and material resources needed to *fulfill* true bourgeois status and therefore the organization’s prescription for womanhood.

The Sección Femenina set bourgeois actions as the *falangista* ideal, but the members also recognized and modified their prescribed *falangista* routines to accommodate students at all levels of Spanish society. In the lesson for proper food serving, the textbook permits the woman of the house or the oldest daughter in the family to serve the meal if no servants are available.<sup>34</sup> The book says “For Daily Meals: we will present two cases—one for those who have table servants and one for those who do not. We will examine each separately.”<sup>35</sup> The lesson teaches proper meal consumption with a servant and without a servant.<sup>36</sup> This accommodation—houses with and without table servants available—suggests that the organization acknowledged and accepted the different class statuses of women coming into their Social Service program. Not all Spanish women could afford a servant to prepare and serve

---

<sup>33</sup> María Jesús Dueñas Cepeda, “Construcción de las relaciones de género en la ideología de la Sección Femenina, 1934-1977,” in *Encuadramiento femenino, socialización y cultura en el Franquismo*, ed. Lucía Prieto Borrego (Málaga: Centro de ediciones de la diputación de Málaga, 2010), 23.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> The term used in the *Economía Doméstica* textbook is *sin doncella*- without a maid, and *con doncella*- with a maid and with the assumption that the maid fills all purposes, or “*para todo*”.

meals, but all could participate in the formality and ritual tied to meal consumption in the Sección Femenina's coursework.



Figure 3.6 Image associated with serving a proper meal "con doncella." Method without servant is not pictured in the textbook. Sección Femenina, *Economía Doméstica*, 214.

For example, the Sección Femenina teacher instructed her students that servants should place clean plates to the right and pick up dirty plates to the right of the table setting.<sup>37</sup> This implied that the proper way for a family to consume a daily meal was by the hands of a servant. The *escuelas de hogar* taught women how servants should behave and how household staff should act. If a household could not afford wait staff, the *ama de casa* was supposed to assume

<sup>37</sup> Sección Femenina, *Economía Doméstica*. 214.



the role of subservient staff. It is important to note that this lesson was for all women who passed through the Social Service program—women earning their work permits for domestic work pursued a more rigorous training program in addition to the basic *escuela de hogar*. For this reason, it is clear that the Sección Femenina created an ideal that every household should have a female servant and interwove this bourgeois standard of living into their lesson plans.

Although the Sección Femenina attempted to standardized femininity with bourgeois rituals such as having the *ama de casa* fulfill the roles of servant if none were available to the family, the material demands of bourgeois living were unobtainable for many women who passed through the Social Service. The *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio y Magisterio* textbook contains a chapter on desserts with several types of sweet delicacies and their preparation method. The textbook focuses the bulk of the chapter on frozen desserts like ice cream and sorbet.<sup>38</sup> To master these desserts, a student needed a mechanical ice cream maker, a variety of fruits or nuts, several kilos of ice, and very heavy cream. This concoction would have been an excellent treat if the ingredients and utensils were available, but due to the economic reality of the early years of Autarky during the Franco regime, especially for the rural, single, or unemployed women who comprise the bulk of the Social Service classes, these ice cream recipes were virtually unattainable.

The teachers of the *escuela de hogar* offered instruction on how to perform the necessary rituals of a *falangista* in the classroom, but financial and material limitations caused many Spanish women to fall short of the organization's ideal womanhood in its application to daily life. Historian Kathleen Richmond asserts that the Social Service program was detrimental for lower-class women because they had to take the course in order to receive a working permit, but completion of the Social Service program meant six months of unpaid labor and time

---

<sup>38</sup> Sección Femenina, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato*, 130-132.

away from family.<sup>39</sup> It is unlikely that any of the participants from the lower classes purchased a crystal glass so that they could serve pistachio sorbet in bourgeois fashion or ever attempted the seafood lesson for stuffed calamari.<sup>40</sup> These little details in the cooking lesson, while short, carried heavy implications of bourgeois standards of domesticity. The Sección Femenina tried to instruct Spanish women in proper femininity and domesticity, but these ideals were dependent on bourgeois living standards.

Mass participation and influence became a point of complication with the education program of the Sección Femenina. While teaching women to save money through proper conservation techniques, the organization also instructed women to use luxury ingredients and tableware when preparing meals. The Social Service coursework sought to instruct women in the idealistic bourgeois level of professional domesticity while accommodating the lessons for the actual skill and class level of the students. The cooking textbook simultaneously taught actual and perfectionistic cooking for women of all classes, but the bourgeois ideal was the goal of the Sección Femenina to create a level base for society and for Spanish women. The Sección Femenina wanted women to become consumers, but not to over consume.

Although the Sección Femenina aimed to help the Spanish poor through teaching affordable homemaking options, the organization could not ameliorate the harsh living conditions suffered under the Franco dictatorship. The Sección Femenina implemented and managed the early welfare system for the Franco regime to provide for needy women and families. Richmond writes that the Sección Femenina hoped to stabilize Spanish society through instructing women in conservation techniques or rationing, but Spanish women saw the efforts of the Sección Femenina as part of the Franco regime and therefore part of the cause of their

---

<sup>39</sup> Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 17.

<sup>40</sup> Sección Femenina, *Programas para las escuelas*, 9.

misery.<sup>41</sup> Also, working women could not slave over a meal for several hours as they had been instructed in the *escuela de hogar*. The lesson plan does not accommodate for women who worked outside of the home and the prescribed space of the kitchen. Furthermore, the course itself posed a great expense to women who may not have had control household funds. Women needed to attend the Social Service to receive their certification to work, but they may not have been able to afford to attend the class without wages earned from work. The courses offered in the *escuelas de hogar* only cost students five pesetas per student per course<sup>42</sup>, about the cost of preparing the Sección Femenina's "fish ball" recipe for four people.<sup>43</sup> But even this was a heavy burden for Spanish women when considering the wages lost during the school program and the lack of compensation to the volunteer program. The tuition covered the cost of attendance and use of textbooks, but students were responsible for additional materials needed for the courses, such as flour, pans, fabric, or flowers. The teacher's manual published by the Sección Femenina suggested that the cost of ingredients and cookware were split among the students for each lesson and the final dish raffled at the end, or students could prepare and take home all of their own meals.<sup>44</sup> The effects of this imposition were three-fold on women. Students were not required to complete the course before they could receive work certificates, were not reimbursed for their volunteer labor in the last three months of the program, and were expected to pay out of pocket for lesson expenses. It also posed a challenge to Sección Femenina instructors who had to teach using limited resources. Richmond acknowledges that

---

<sup>41</sup> Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism*, 66.

<sup>42</sup> Sección Femenina, *Programas para las escuelas*, 3.

<sup>43</sup> This is based on the price listing of a recipe for *bolas de bacalao* in the magazine VENTANAL. The Sección Femenina member priced the cost of *bolas de bacalao* at in their April 15' 1946 edition of the magazine. I am using this example because both are priced as part of the standard of living expected by the Sección Femenina. "Como por dos duros comen cuatro personas," in VENTANAL, April 15, 1946, 12.

<sup>44</sup> Sección Femenina, *Programas para las escuelas*, 28.

many instructors paid out of pocket in order to follow the prescribed lesson plans.<sup>45</sup> Many students could not afford the materials and so the instructors had to supplement the lessons or modify coursework to accommodate their students' inability to buy materials. The price for "proper" femininity was high for both students and instructors alike.

### The Value of Education

In every minute of the two-hundred and sixteen hours required in the *escuela de hogar*, the Sección Femenina modeled proper feminine virtue and womanly actions. Through every lesson and every textbook, the Sección Femenina attempted to mold Spanish minds to conform to their ideological ambitions for the nation. The motivation for the Sección Femenina was to form a *hogar conyugal*, or conjugal home where men and women were respected partners in family life. The intent for the Sección Femenina was to prepare women for family life and provide the training needed to manage a successful home.<sup>46</sup> The organization set out to do this by implementing cooking classes that informed students on modern technologies and cooking techniques, taught family values, Catholic doctrine, cultural preservation, emphasized professionalism in the kitchen, and expounded bourgeois living standards. The organization wanted to apply as much skill and discipline to domestic work as paid work in factories or offices demanded. It believed that this would raise women to the level of men, but in completely different skills and environments as not to challenge the authority of males. Morcillo claims that the Sección Femenina achieved the possibility of a *hogar conyugal* with the reform of the *Spanish Civil Code* in 1958.<sup>47</sup> However, this form of family partnership had been the ambition of

---

<sup>45</sup> Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism*, 107.

<sup>46</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discursos de Pilar Primo de Rivera" *XII Consejo Nacional*, Sevilla, January 1948, 6.

<sup>47</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 67.

the Sección Femenina for over a decade. The Sección Femenina chose to educate women in their prescribed gender roles so that women's position as *ama de casa* legitimized their importance to the family. Through education and domestic training, the Sección Femenina elevated the position of wife and mother to a professionalized career path. Although the Sección Femenina required Social Service for all Spanish women and used the education program to indoctrinate students with Falange rhetoric, their larger aim was to help women achieve "success" in their personal lives, according to the Sección Femenina's measurements of success, which was achieving a happy family.

Yet, the education initiative of the Sección Femenina fell drastically short of its original intent. Very few women participated in the Social Service program, so the success of the education initiative was mediocre at best.<sup>48</sup> For women who did not need a driver's license or passport, the Social Service program was unnecessary. There were also non-official job opportunities available to women through family connections and the black market so that women could avoid completing the program for a work permit. Even for women who did attend the program, many students resisted the indoctrination by refusing to participate in class, ignoring the instructor, or coercing the instructor to omit or modify certain lessons.<sup>49</sup> Although the Sección Femenina designed the program as mandatory, refusal to participate in the program can be interpreted as a form of passive resistance not only to the Sección Femenina, but to the Franco dictatorship as well.

The organization also experienced internal dilemmas that impeded the success of its education initiatives. The Provincial Delegations of the Sección Femenina organized the *escuelas de hogar* for their respective regions and therefore possessed the ability to reinterpret or

---

<sup>48</sup> Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism*, 96.

<sup>49</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discursos de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *X Consejo Nacional*, Valencia, January 1946, 8.

modify lesson plans to accommodate their school. Teachers also took it upon themselves to omit or adapt portions of the *escuela de hogar* coursework to fit the needs and desires of their students.<sup>50</sup> Whether because of financial restraints, limited resources, or passive resistance by the students, the *escuelas de hogar* run by the Provincial Delegations implemented a far from uniformed program to Spain. While the National Delegation aimed to create a unified teaching program throughout the provinces, the local schools had agency to adapt the curriculum to the needs of their individual students, schools, and regions, inhibiting the intended standardization of womanhood across geography and background like the National Delegation intended.

Although Social Service did not create model *falangistas* as the Sección Femenina intended, the program sheds light on the ambitions of the organization and their attempt to change the society in which they lived. The Sección Femenina communicated messages of proper gender roles and feminine virtue in their choice of ingredients, system of measurement, and baking instructions. Social Service provided the organization a way to instruct women in proper femininity on an individual basis or in small groups under the power relationship of student and teacher. Many of the women's magazines and cookbooks published by the Sección Femenina communicated notions of their prescribed womanhood, but the schooling system provided a way for the Sección Femenina to guarantee the retraining of Spanish women in their domestic habits. In the cooking class, the Sección Femenina established itself as an authority in the kitchen, and by extension the home and family. The food ideology communicated by the Sección Femenina was equally important to its political and religious rhetoric. Through these

---

<sup>50</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera stressed the importance of uniformity in lesson plans and courses in the *escuelas de hogar* in many of the National Delegation meetings of the Sección Femenina. The Tenth National Delegation Council 1946 stressed the importance of instructors to cover every lesson regardless of student's desire to omit it. The Eleventh National Delegation Council 1947 emphasized the importance of using the textbooks correctly and completely and the Fifteenth National Delegation Council 1951 called on the provincial delegation to oversee the execution of the *escuelas de hogar* in their regions more effectively.

lessons, the members of the Sección Femenina attempted to reform Spanish women, the home, and the nation. The organization emphasized their virtuous ideals of femininity in their publications, but their education program provided women with the means to achieve the characteristics of model *falangista*.

## Chapter Four: Domestic Activism

*"We are intent to make Spain more agile, more clean, more true, more beautiful, more just...we have not failed to break from the overwhelming trap of vulgarity and stagnation."-Pilar Primo de Rivera<sup>1</sup>*

The Sección Femenina highly valued social reform initiatives and sought to enact change in Spain by using communication to women as a way to access the family. The organization orchestrated a complex educational and indoctrinating system to reform Spanish womanhood, but their ambitions did not stop with the individual. Rather, the Sección Femenina desired to initiate social reform through food ideology to affect greater change in Spanish communities and societies on a national scale. The organization viewed women and the home as vehicles that they could program with ideology and through which they could reach the Spanish nation in its entirety. Yet, the members of the Sección Femenina still advocated that women should work within domestic spaces and that motherhood was the highest possible achievement for young Spanish women. The organization reconciled these seemingly incongruous actions—social revolution advocacy and prioritizing motherhood above all other aspects of life—by devising methods of social reform that began in domestic spaces. The Sección Femenina initiated what I refer to as *domestic activism*, or activist campaigns rooted in behavioral reforms within the home. Reformed women produced reformed domestic spaces, and reformed domestic spaces could then produce community and social reform.

Kathleen Richmond dedicates much of her book, *Women in Spanish Fascism*, to exploring the various initiatives enacted by the Sección Femenina and evaluating their successes and limitations. She writes that the Sección Femenina valued the personal strength of individual

---

<sup>1</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera" in *XVIII Consejo Nacional* (Málaga: January 1956), 5.



women like Saint Teresa of Avila and Queen Isabel, and believed similarly strong Sección Femenina members needed to generate development for Spanish women.<sup>2</sup> Men as well as women were equally important to the organization's ideology to support the work of the Falange and revolutionize Spanish society. Likewise, Inbal Ofer concludes that the various campaigns initiated by the Sección Femenina served as a way for the organization to form and consolidate a female political elite body during the Franco years, and that such dedication to social reform can be defined as feminist activism.<sup>3</sup> She argues that the organization created several social reform initiatives from within the resources available to the Sección Femenina from the Francoist political and social structure. From this perspective, it is clear that members of the Sección Femenina used their extensive publication network and indirect indoctrination techniques that the state deemed as "womanly" to advocate for reforms that were fundamental to the organization's ideology. The Sección Femenina organized social reform campaigns that mobilized women to change their communities, but kept their activism within the home so that women could properly tend to the needs of the family and home. I have demonstrated that recipes communicated the ideal womanhood and home and family life, but cooking instruction on a broader scale could express examples of the ideal nation state.

In this chapter, I will highlight several social reform initiatives launched by the Sección Femenina and how recipes and cooking instruction acted as a communication tool to further the organization's agenda. I have explained that recipes and food articles published by the Sección Femenina communicated notions of femininity, but recipe publications and cookbooks served larger purposes in the formation of the New Spain as well. They helped to directly and indirectly affect change in Spanish communities by communicating new habits for cooks across the nation.

---

<sup>2</sup> Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (London: Rutledge Press, 2003), 38.

<sup>3</sup> Inbal Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue*, 131.

Recipes proved an effective way to combat infant mortality, fight against the prevalence of the black market, and standardize Spanish culture. I will first address how the Sección Femenina reconciled the organization's interests with the Franco regime by interpreting pronatalist policy as a mandate to lower infant mortality. I will demonstrate how the Sección Femenina achieved its goals without regulating female bodies. Next, I will examine the prevalence of the black market and how the Sección Femenina tried to address its threat to the stability of the home and family unit. This campaign proved less successful for the organization due to the need for family survival. Finally, I will explore how the Sección Femenina claimed to preserve Spanish heritage, but like the organization's ideology based on neo-traditionalism, its initiatives created a new culture conducive to the New State and New Spanish Woman that were the cornerstones of their ideology. The Sección Femenina used recipes to attempt to enact change in all of these sectors of society, and through dedication to domesticity and a little creativity in applying food ideology to political ideology, the Sección Femenina advocated that women revolutionize Spanish society from within the kitchen.

### ***The Fight against Infant Mortality***

The "New State" envisioned by Francisco Franco and the Nationalist coalition needed a new and young generation of Spaniards to revitalize the nation and sacrifice for the *patria*. Mary Nash emphasizes that all legislation passed during the Franco era, including laws regarding female reproduction and regulation of the female body, was written and executed by men.<sup>4</sup> The regime implemented a policy of pronatalism by outlawing abortion and creating incentives for

---

<sup>4</sup> Mary Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," In *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States 1880s- 1950s*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London: Rutledge, 1991), 162.

large families. The regime wanted to boost the Spanish population to accommodate for the losses incurred by the Spanish Civil War and postwar reconstruction. Many of Spain's undesirable population (political dissidents, poor, and regional nationalists) were purged from the nation in the war's aftermath, leaving acute labor shortages in most sectors of the economy.<sup>5</sup> More abstractly, ideologues within the regime equated larger population with stronger nation, and also planned to use the future burgeoning population as an excuse to form an empire.<sup>6</sup> These theories of regeneration and the equation of demographic with geographic expansion were prevalent among fascist ideologues in Europe at the time.<sup>7</sup> The Franco regime pursued a similar pronatalist policy with similar intents to its Fascist counterparts.

The Sección Femenina did not have access to write or execute legislation, but they did have an extensive network to communicate initiatives to Spanish women in the home. The Sección Femenina, as part of the Falange and supporters of Francoist policy, reconciled the regime's initiatives to their own campaigns to reform Spanish femininity by interpreting pronatalist policy as a mandate for healthy childrearing. The organization's method of advocating for population increase transformed from a policy that encouraged larger family sizes and greater fertility to one that advocated for women to remain in domestic spaces, perform maternal duties as a career choice, and improve living conditions for the next generation of Spaniards. The Sección Femenina reinterpreted the pronatalist mandate from an emphasis on quantity to one that emphasized quality, effectively co-opting the desire for higher population rate as justification to campaign against infant and child mortality.

---

<sup>5</sup> Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 34-46.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 162-163.

<sup>7</sup> A similar stance to increase the population for national regeneration and expansion occurred in Mussolini's Italy, producing similar state regulation of women's bodies and reproduction. De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, 5.

The Sección Femenina advocated that healthy children created a healthy family and thereby a healthy society. Family stability was the goal for the Sección Femenina, but the organization did not place a magic number on the perfect amount of children. This demonstrates that the organization's considerations for the actual living conditions of ordinary Spanish people and the needs of women to realistically fulfill the duties of motherhood. The Sección Femenina insisted on providing women with solutions to improve their lives and their families in contrast to the state's fixation to national statistics. The organization began welfare programs in Spain that provided women the resources (such as clothing guides, educational material, and washing and feeding techniques) to raise the quality of life for children, but omitted information about fertility or sex education in its publications or Social Service program. The organization acknowledged the hardships facing families in the postwar period and supplied solutions to improve the experience of the family unit as opposed to urging families to grow beyond their means. Puericulture, or child development and rearing, became a major component of the Sección Femenina platform to raise the quality of life in the home and the nation.

Therefore, the Sección Femenina incorporated infant health into their larger campaign for national health. One way that the organization reached out to mothers was to send young Sección Femenina teachers and midwives out to the rural regions of Spain to provide flour in exchange for attendance at educational puericulture lessons.<sup>8</sup> *Medina* published an article that highlighted the work the Sección Femenina members who committed their lives to activism and improving Spanish families. The article "The work of the Sección Femenina: Companion in the fight against infant mortality" praised the Sección Femenina members for being so patient and courteous to spread their maternal love and infant-rearing knowledge with other women. The

---

<sup>8</sup> "Tarea de la SF: Compañía contra la mortalidad infantil," *Medina*, August 30, 1942, 18.

travelling Sección Femenina members (*visitadoras*) taught women proper nutrition for their babies, dangerous environmental conditions to avoid with children, remedies for common childhood ailments, and how to provide maternal care to babies the *falangista* way. By 1947, the Sección Femenina established 160 centers in thirty-nine provinces that offered assistance to mothers through education programs, nurseries, and orphanages.<sup>9</sup> These initiatives had positive effects in diminishing child death rates in Spain during the Franco regime.<sup>10</sup> It can be assumed that if child deaths declined directly with the initiatives of the Sección Femenina, the organization was successful in reforming childrearing in Spain. It promoted practical and scientific forms of puericulture to improve the overall health of Spain's youngest citizens so that they could mature to be hard workers for the country and sacrifice for the *patria* in case of communist threat.

The Puericulture classes offered by the *visitadoras* were only one component of the puericulture education offered by the Sección Femenina and were geared towards first-time mothers. The organization also taught puericulture as part of the obligatory Social Service with a separate textbook for students and an independent course of the *escuela de hogar*. Puericulture instruction only consisted of fifteen, forty-five minute classes for a total of eleven hours, the least of any Social Service courses. Yet, the inclusion of puericulture in the obligatory Social Service program demonstrates that the organization viewed motherhood as the natural part of proper Spanish womanhood and needed for all women. The Sección Femenina did not emphasize a perfect family size, nor did it stress the importance of marriage or motherhood by a certain age. The Sección Femenina urged Spanish women to begin cultivating the next generation of *falangistas* from birth and to indoctrinate Spanish youth as young as possible with

---

<sup>9</sup> Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 66.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

the organization's ideology.<sup>11</sup> The Sección Femenina called on women to raise model Spanish citizens the *falangista* way, tending to their physical, spiritual, and intellectual development so that the next generation could enjoy the fruits of such careful cultivation.

In the puericulture classes, the Sección Femenina taught proper childcare techniques, including weaning, baby food preparation, and simple home remedies for ailments in order to ensure the health and life of the future generation of Spaniards. This once again emphasized the importance of food ideology, in the case of children, to shape family ideology. The implementation of the post-Civil War pronatalist policy by the Sección Femenina did not advocate for sex to achieve higher population growth, but strove to keep future citizens who were born alive and healthy. The Sección Femenina did not attempt to regulate women's fertility and sexual reproduction as did the Franco regime. The organization lacked the political power to even attempt any such regulation. The Sección Femenina reinterpreted the governmental mandate to increase the population to coincide with their prescribed femininity communicated within its established network of publications so that its women's magazines, mandatory Social Service, and cookbooks served the dual purpose of satisfying the demands of the Franco regime and promoting the organization's concept of femininity.

The puericulture textbook addressed a variety of themes on parenting infants and dedicated several chapters to feeding infants and proper child nutrition. Lessons five through seven taught different lactation methods including one option for artificial formula, and lessons eight through ten taught women how to transition their infant from milk to healthy, solid foods.<sup>12</sup> The Sección Femenina put the health of the family and the future generation of Spain in

---

<sup>11</sup> Childrearing in the manner of a proper *falangista* included participating in infant Baptism that reaffirmed the importance of Catholicism to the family, teaching children religious and patriotic songs to sing, and young daughters helping in the kitchen as early as possible.

<sup>12</sup> Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, *Nociones de Puericultura post-natal*. 7 ed. (Madrid: Ediciones de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1955).

the care of mothers, increasing the value of motherhood to the state. The textbook says, "This is the most important work reserved to puericulture: to guarantee the perfect development and growth of a child and to prevent disease as much as possible with the knowledge available."<sup>13</sup>

The Sección Femenina asserted that homemaker and mother were the best professions for all Spanish women, and the organization strove to teach women how to better perform these duties. Rather than part of the birth rate statistics, the Sección Femenina saw every child as a future worker for the patria. The organization claimed that it was the duty of Spanish women to nurture these future soldiers, mystics, workers, or intellectuals into their proper role for the Spanish nation.<sup>14</sup> The Sección Femenina sought to build a better Spain, and the organization employed Spanish women to raise their young to achieve a better and healthier *patria*.

Puericulture instruction did not end with the completion of Social Service and was not reserved for rural populations only. The Sección Femenina continued to advocate for proper childrearing and the fight against infant mortality in the magazines *Y*, *Medina*, and *Consigna*. *Consigna* most thoroughly advertised the Sección Femenina's fight against infant mortality. Throughout the publication, the organization placed large advertisements in bold font saying "Fight Infant Mortality." These usually called on Sección Femenina members to volunteer as *visitadoras* to vaccinate children, but they also carried a symbolic component of providing for the health of a child. The Sección Femenina focused on food and childhood nutrition as a daily reinforcement of childhood health and maternal care. While the Franco regime analyzed birth rates and population statistics, the Sección Femenina took practical action and urged women to improve the quality of life for their children through balanced meals, healthy snacks, and correct proportions of dishes.

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

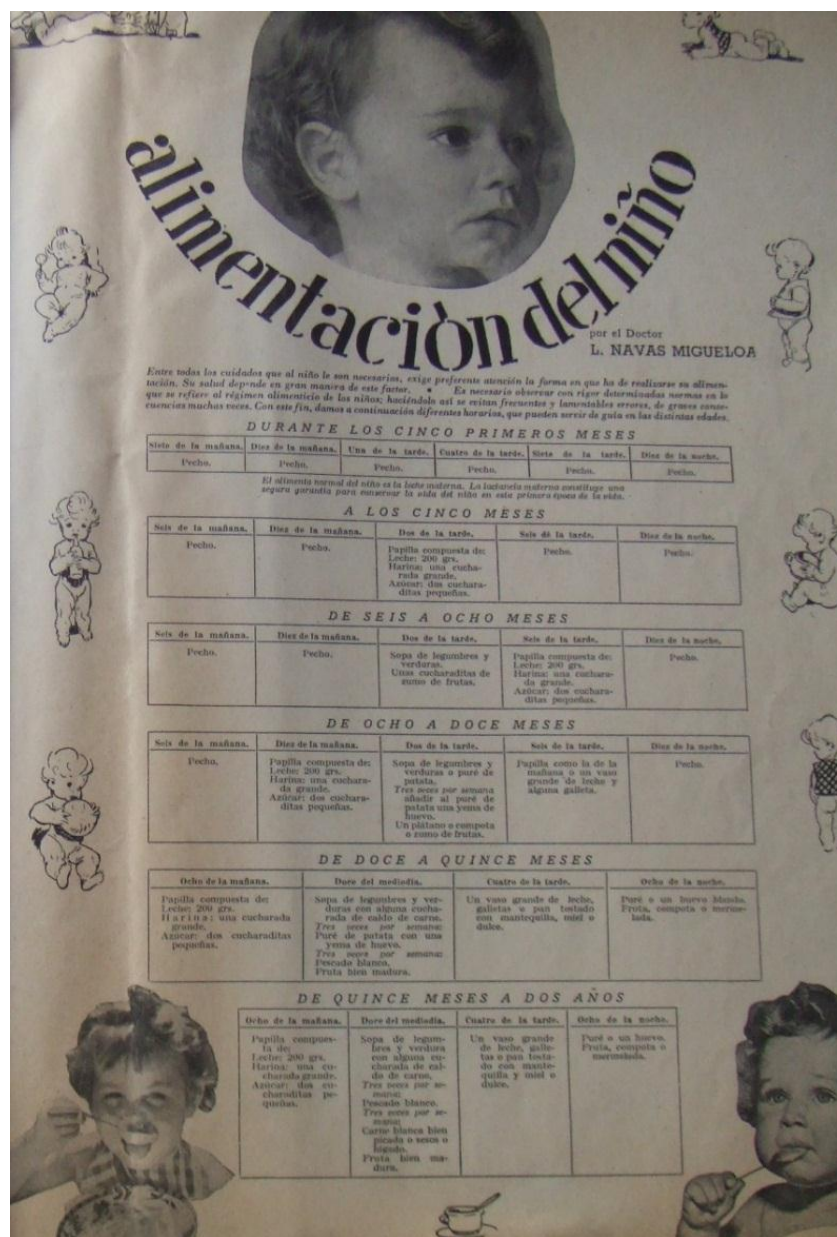


Figure 4.7 Nutrition Chart created by Dr. Navas-Migueloa and published in Y. Dr. L. Navas-Migueloa, "Alimentación del niño," Y: revista para la mujer, November 1941, 41.

To fight infant mortality, the Sección Femenina employed the authority of doctors to instruct their readership in the infant nutrition needed for proper development. This fulfilled the organization's mission to use the newest and most reliable information in pediatrics. Dr. L.



Navas-Migueloa published an infant nutrition chart in an *Y* article. Dr. Navas-Migueloa prescribed six daily breast feedings for babies at seven in the morning, ten, one in the afternoon, four, seven, and ten, until the child reached five months of age.<sup>15</sup> From this, a good and proper mother slowly incorporates milk mixed with flour and sugar, followed by the integration of vegetable soup or fruit juice. The Sección Femenina incorporated the scientific knowledge and the authority of a doctor with their prescribed natural and traditional habits of motherhood. The chart diagrams the proper and scientific method for feeding infants while also advocating on the importance of motherly devotion to the family. It provided an easy to follow chart based on age and time of day, alluding to mothers that it was easy to follow a doctor's orders. It is also free of technical jargon to aid in the accessibility of the article. Women could raise a new and vivacious generation of Spaniards by incorporating scientific advances in nutrition along with an emphasis on domestic duties.

Much of the knowledge of puericulture spread by the Sección Femenina was not new, but it was not available in much of Spain. Few women had access to materials that instructed them in the latest techniques of child rearing, necessitating the need for *visitadoras* to teach puericulture in rural areas. To remedy this, the Sección Femenina made doctor reports and nutritionists' assessments easily available through their women's magazines or book publications. For example, the American book *Your Child from One to Six*, or the Spanish version *El niño de uno a seis años*, is one way that the Sección Femenina made information more readily available to the Spanish public.<sup>16</sup> The translation and summary of the work appealed to a greater number of women and thus was more successful at diffusing the information. The purchase of the magazine was cheaper than buying a full medical text and was much quicker and easier to

---

<sup>15</sup> Dr. L. Navas-Migueloa, "Alimentación del niño," *Y: revista para la mujer*, November 1941 41.

<sup>16</sup> Cited in the article, Eulalia Martínez-Medrano, "Cómo aprenden los niños a comer," *Consigna*, October 1967, 14.

read. The magazine also could be easily distributed than a foreign book. The Sección Femenina campaigned that all women should have access to education, and this is one example of how the organization actively pursued this goal.

These “expert” opinions and suggestions gave validity to the Sección Femenina and their goals for a healthy Spanish youth. Diverse and authoritative sources such as doctors and professors legitimized the status of mothers by creating a scientific basis for motherhood as an occupation. Like any other profession, motherhood had regulations, research advances, and experts in the field. The professional guidance of international researchers became accessible to common Spanish housewives through the publications of the Sección Femenina’s Press and Publication department. The organization used its extensive networks to disseminate information to the home about medical advances in the profession of domesticity.

The Sección Femenina did not stop its child rearing instruction at infancy, but continued the health instruction through all stages of life as part of a campaign for national regeneration through food. From quick and healthy snacks for children to diagrams of the “nutrition wheel,”<sup>17</sup> the Sección Femenina began its nutrition initiative from birth and continued it for the life of the child. The article “Your Children... and Vitamins” instructed women on how to properly nourish their children by providing lists of several vitamins and foods that contain them.<sup>18</sup> The article says “Medical science decrees—at least in our times—that vitamins help to power thinking and nurturing functions in tissue organisms.”<sup>19</sup> Nutritious food provided fuel for improving the health of Spaniards and more broadly Spanish society. The Sección Femenina prioritized the quality of life and pursued pragmatic results for babies, children, and adults above statistics. The

---

<sup>17</sup> “Hogar: La ciencia de equilibrar las minutas,” *Consigna*, January 1951.

<sup>18</sup> “Tu hijos—y vitaminas”, *Medina*, July 5, 1942, 18.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Franco regime sought to increase the population of Spain, but the Sección Femenina sought to elevate the quality of life for Spaniards.

School lunches provided the Sección Femenina with ways to help regulate childhood nutrition. Dr. Octavio Aparicio wrote an article for the Sección Femenina that claimed that eggs were a great food for school children and an important part of school lunches<sup>20</sup> He noted the nutritional merit of the yolks, the vitamins and proteins contained in the egg, and the versatility of the food. He based his work on investigations by UNICEF and hoped to gain support for the UNICEF school lunch campaign from Sección Femenina members. He stated “Many of the instructors that read these lines, it is very possible to join part of this battle front to dietarily rear the Spanish child, and from him, the family.”<sup>21</sup> According to Dr. Aparicio and published by the Sección Femenina, higher population numbers came from better living conditions, and better nutrition presented a way to improve quality of life. The organization planned to use child nutrition as a way to teach the Spanish family proper health, thereby elevating living standards across the nation. Quality of life levels were the statistics that most interested the Sección Femenina.

Unlike the Sección Femenina’s attempt to mold Spanish women to its prescribed womanhood characteristics, the women’s group experienced notable success in its infant mortality initiative. Historian Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez claims that the Sección Femenina’s fight against infant mortality was the organization’s most successful endeavor, based on measurable statistics. The Sección Femenina effectively educated women how to care for children born and raised in rural areas at a time when nine of ten children were birthed by midwives in the

---

<sup>20</sup> Eulalia Martínez-Medrano, “Cómo aprenden los niños a comer,” *Consigna*, October 1967, 15.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. Octavio Aparicio, “Un buen alimento de los colegiales: El huevo forma parte de la mayoría de las minutas del Servicio Escolar de Alimentación y Nutrición,” *Consigna*, October 1967, 15.

home.<sup>22</sup> Spanish women responded positively to the childrearing messages propagated by the Sección Femenina and took the prescribed steps for raising the next generation of Spaniards. Mothers adjusted foods and reorganized meals in order to accommodate the more scientific forms of puericulture popularized by the Sección Femenina. Infant mortality decreased due to changing food habits during the Franco years.

Although infant deaths decreased during the Franco dictatorship, overall birthrates continued to be dismal, especially compared to other post World War II countries that experienced a baby boom during the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>23</sup> Nash writes that some women chose to produce small families or not at all as a form of resistance to the Franco regime, but most Spanish women choose to moderate the size of the family based on the availability of social and economic resources, much of which was lacking in Spain during the years of Autarky.<sup>24</sup> Spanish women still maintained the ultimate control over their bodies and choices, and the Sección Femenina did not try to regulate women's sexual reproduction. Rather, the organization, as a means to promote women's interest, instructed women on how to best care for the children that they did have so that they could build strong family units. Spanish women chose to subvert the regime's campaign for higher birthrates, but followed the tips for healthy childrearing suggested by the Sección Femenina. From these scholars, we can ultimately conclude that the Sección Femenina experienced great success at their infant mortality campaign while the Franco regime failed miserably their attempt to regulate female bodies and population sizes.

### ***The Fight against the Black Market***

---

<sup>22</sup> Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 67.

<sup>23</sup> Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain," 171.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

Health of the *patria* though nutritious eating largely existed in rhetoric and ideology only during the Years of Hunger. Healthy eating was the ideal expressed through recipes, but highly unobtainable for most Spaniards in rural areas, of the working classes, or without connections to the black market. In reality, many people from the lower classes in Spain suffered from food shortages and malnutrition through much of the Franco regime. Even though the Sección Femenina promoted new health initiatives to create the next generation of healthy Spaniards, food shortages and a dysfunctional rationing system still plagued the daily food consumption of ordinary Spanish families. When rationing shortages occurred or Spain's autarchic economic system could not produce the goods necessary to sustain the Spanish family, many Spaniards took matters into their own hands by participating in the black market. The Spanish black market formed during the Spanish Civil War when the Popular Front imposed a rationing system for allocating resources to regions still in loyalist hands. Territorial changes in the war, communication and distribution challenges in rationing, and farmlands abandoned or devastated by war all contributed to the increased use of the black market.<sup>25</sup> By the time of Franco's consolidation of power in 1939, the black market was an integral component of Spanish society.

Carlos Barciela addresses how the black market ingrained itself deeply into the Spanish economy and society during the economic policies of Autarky.<sup>26</sup> The black market created an opportunity for additional family income, was commonly viewed as a socially acceptable way to resisting the state, and provided job opportunities for women outside of the home. This last component—work most commonly performed by women and occurring outside of the home—proved very threatening to the Sección Femenina's ideology. Cazorla-Sánchez writes how women were able to move in small groups to the French, Portuguese, or Gibraltar border to

---

<sup>25</sup> Barranquero-Teixeira and Prieto-Borrego, *Así sobrevivimos al hambre*, 63.

<sup>26</sup> Carlos Barciela, *La España de Franco*, 27.

smuggle luxury goods.<sup>27</sup> The Sección Femenina saw women's participation in the black market as a threat to Spanish society and the family. Smuggling brought women outside the home—their natural place of power and influence in the family—and exposed them to dangerous and unregulated working conditions. Women were often used in the most dangerous of activities and were the most likely to be caught and punished.<sup>28</sup> The Sección Femenina advocated against the use of the black market in the interest of Spanish women. The organization desired to protect women from this para-economic activity by providing options for resources and income that would keep them within the safety of their homes and families.

The Franco regime monitored food production and distribution, so any subversion of the official system of rationing acted as a form of subversion to the government. The Sección Femenina, as part of their association with the Falange and the Franco regime, did their best to communicate methods of living off rations and avoiding involvement in the black market. As late as 1951, seventy percent of an average household budget went to food purchases,<sup>29</sup> so the Sección Femenina relied on communicating its fight against the black market through the medium of food. This campaign took two forms. First, it advocated against the use of the black market to provide for the Spanish home, and second it provided Spanish women with recipes based on legal Spanish products available through the rationing system or other legal means such as vegetable gardening. The Sección Femenina sought to inform women about the risks of involvement with the black market while simultaneously providing alternatives to the unofficial economy—mainly, through a little ingenuity in the kitchen.

Perhaps the most persuasive argument against the black market published by the Sección Femenina occurred in the magazine *Y*. The article title is “Are you seriously able to do

---

<sup>27</sup> Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 67.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

this?" written in red ink that covers a photograph of an *ama de casa* feeding a bomb with a lighted fuse to a full table of family and guests. The caption continues:

"You, the *ama de casa*, who is jealously vigilant for the health of the whole family, were going to destroy your own work by placing an explosive bomb on the family table? And, nonetheless, do you realize the danger, sometimes fatal, when you expose your loved ones to the temptations of the 'black market'?"<sup>30</sup>



Figure 4.8 Article title with image. "¿Serías capaz de hacer esto?" *Y:revista para la mujer*, July 1942, 31.

The article continues by describing the hazards of poor-quality and unregulated goods of the black market. Meats sold and purchased on the black market could come from sick animals rejected by government meat regulators and could pose health risks to consumers. In the case of milk-based products, black marketeers could overly water down milk or not have passed it through proper pasteurization procedures. Likewise, canned items bought and sold on the black

<sup>30</sup> "¿Serías capaz de hacer esto?" *Y:revista para la mujer*, July 1942, 31.

market could contain harmful microbes or other impurities. These were health risks the family faced every time an *ama de casa* participated in the black market.

The black market undermined the Franco regime and the political structure created to distribute food, threatened the health of the family and Spanish society, employed women to perform illegal tasks in dangerous environments, and brought women outside the safety and security of their domestic realms. The Sección Femenina stressed these problems to their readers in hopes of demarcating acceptable and unacceptable ways to provide food for the family. The Sección Femenina's ideology urged women to be consumers, but there was a right and wrong way to shop. When it came to the black market, the Sección Femenina went beyond suggesting an ideal for women to follow and strictly laid out right and wrong behaviors for the *ama de casa*.

Y provided a solution to these "black market perils" in the next edition of the magazine. The Sección Femenina published an article titled "Without a ration card or the black market." This article urged women not to waste their times and talents lamenting the shortages and troubles of their situation, but to embrace their challenges with more efficient cooking practices.<sup>31</sup> The article reads, "If you use the recipes we are about to give you, you can rest assured that you will not see faces of disgust come dinner time, only the daily song and applause of satisfaction by your family at your culinary habits as always."<sup>32</sup> The image accompanying the article reveals another benefit motivating an *ama de casa* to choose to implement the recipes provided by the Sección Femenina. The graphic depicts an *ama de casa* confidently cooking at a stove while other women admired her skill in the kitchen. Creative cooking would not only impress the family, but would also impress neighbors and friends. The Sección Femenina urged women not to participate in the black market but to find new, creative, and legal ways to

---

<sup>31</sup> "Sin cartilla ni 'estraperlo,'" *Y: revista para la mujer*, August 1942, 30.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.



provide for their families. While luxury goods such as high-quality flour, coffee, and sugar were predominantly only available through criminal activities,<sup>33</sup> an *ama de casa* properly trained by the Sección Femenina could find legal solutions to food shortages, such as ingredient substitution or completely new dishes. She would possess the know-how to feed her family legally, maintain familial happiness, and show off her cooking to her friends. Success in the Spanish kitchen required creativity and compromise, but with the proper instruction, the Sección Femenina intended to teach Spanish women how to improvise in such situations.



Figure 4.9 An *ama de casa* showing off to her friends her ability to cook with the family ration card marked out to the side. "Sin cartilla ni 'estraperlo'" *Y: revista para la mujer*, August 1942, 30.

The concept of this article—the predicament of lacking rations or black market access—was more than common during the Years of Hunger in Spain. In theory, goods were allocated to municipalities and then distributed through one shop to the community depending on the various types of ration cards. However, Spaniards deemed unworthy or enemies of the state did

<sup>33</sup> Barranquero-Teixeira and Prieto-Borrego, *Así sobrevivimos al hambre*, 101.

not receive ration cards. War veterans who fought against Franco were ineligible for food allocations.<sup>34</sup> Often times their family members suffered for these affiliations as well. Food was scarce for those in prisons or concentration camps, and many times freed individuals experienced difficulty acquiring food after they were released.<sup>35</sup> Michael Richards emphasizes the need of the Franco dictatorship to delineate Spanish society between victors and losers, good and bad, regenerative and degenerative.<sup>36</sup> The Sección Femenina, however, had its own agenda for Spanish society and concepts of rehabilitation. It intended to regenerate Spain on a massive and complete basis, not just certain sectors of society. Any Spanish woman could follow their steps to proper womanhood and domesticity regardless of her background or family ties. It is doubtful that these outcast Spaniards read any of the publications of the Sección Femenina, but it still raises the ideological point that the organization thought that anyone could be reformed and practice model womanhood, in stark contrast to the Francoist ideology that punished undesirable elements until they were eradicated from the *patria*.

Even if individual families had access to legitimate ration cards, this did not ensure that they had access to rations or received food. Corruption permeated every level of the economic system and foodstuffs proved the easiest to exploit. Sometimes corrupt mayors or other city officials would sell the village's rations on the black market, leaving their citizens without anything.<sup>37</sup> Many Spaniards felt that they had no other option than to participate as runners in the black market where they were an easy target to catch and punish rather than the high ranking traffickers themselves.<sup>38</sup> Also, if women did receive rations, it was important to allocate the foodstuffs for the entire week and not permit any ingredients to go to waste. An *ama de*

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>36</sup> Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 18.

<sup>37</sup> Cazorla-Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 69.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 68.

*casa* needed to guard against misappropriation and shortages of food for her family. These are just a few reasons why the Sección Femenina sought to alleviate women's burden through food ideology and intervened through cooking manuals to provide women with solutions.

The Sección Femenina strongly believed that the home was the safest and most natural place for women, and the dangers of the black market only acted to reemphasize this assessment. To keep women off the streets and out of prison for smuggling, the Sección Femenina provided Spanish women with options within the home and with the support of their family. If the black market was the inappropriate way for a *falangista* to shop, the Sección Femenina needed to instruct women on the proper way to purchase grocery items. They urged women that smart shopping within the legal economy could be affordable and delicious. The organization published shopping tips and recipes that maximized savings at the store. The Sección Femenina hoped to reform Spanish women's shopping preferences as a way to combat the unofficial economy of the black market.

One way that the organization hoped to achieve more participation in the formal market was by describing a fictional but plausible shopping process to its readers. Enrique Ambard wrote a fictitious account for the Sección Femenina in *Y* that described a trip to the market to instruct in the art of proper planning and the flexibility necessary for effective shopping. He wrote, "In this moment [referring to the protagonist's first trip to the market at Gran Vía in Madrid], the woman shines with the glow of a young teenager full of delusions."<sup>39</sup> The author shatters this image when the hypothetical *ama de casa* realizes the prices of her planned menu. He uses this story to stress the importance of planning meals and creating a grocery list before going to the store. Stretching ingredients over the course of several meals mean that there would be less to buy at the market and this can only be done with proper

---

<sup>39</sup> Enrique Ambard, "Cómo gastan las mujeres en el mercado," *Y: revista para la mujer*, August 1942, 40.

planning. The article does account for some variance to the grocery list if a particular product is on sale. In his example mackerel was fresher and cheaper than calamari, so his *ama de casa* decided to prepare *croquetas* with the more affordable fish.<sup>40</sup> The Sección Femenina's publication of the narrative alludes to how the organization strove to prepare young women with the expertise needed when shopping at the large and congested market. The use of a fictitious trip to the market at Gran Vía aimed to provide women with a relatable story of being overwhelmed in a large shopping environment. Yet, the character's adventure was highly successful and provided readers with a shopping method that they could emulate. The story provided indirect information about efficient shopping for readers so as not to be too forceful with proper behavior at the market, but the story presented an ideal shopping trip where the *ama de casa* experienced great success in her trip. The Sección Femenina instructed readers that purposeful shopping could be very cost-effective and time-efficient if they strove for the ideal suggested in women's magazines.

Shopping for official goods was also more efficient when an *ama de casa* knew how to prepare meals with leftovers or very abundant ingredients. The Sección Femenina promoted cooking with leftovers by offering several recipes for turning previous dishes into casseroles or stews. One such article tells readers that they can prepare leftover meat two ways and continues by explaining how to mix the leftovers with cabbage or potatoes.<sup>41</sup> Another article published in *Medina* advised Spanish women that if they cooked stew yesterday, they had three options to recook and serve it to their families. Likewise, if an *ama de casa* prepared veal the day before, she had three other ways of serving it the next day.<sup>42</sup> The Sección Femenina went beyond telling women to use leftovers and instructed them with great detail how to cook in this

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>41</sup> "Un poco de ingenio en la cocina," *Y: revista para la mujer*, April 1942, 23.

<sup>42</sup> "Cocina," *Medina*, November 5, 1944, 20.

manner. The organization listed specific ingredients to incorporate with the most common Spanish dishes in order to create new and exciting meals for the Spanish family. This is an example of how the Sección Femenina did not tell women what to do outright, but provided appealing solutions to daily challenges faced by many families of the time and aimed to initiate a lifestyle change in their readers. An *ama de casa* did not have to spend large sums of money at the market if she calculated her ingredients to last several meals. Likewise, carefully planned menus ensured that no rationed foodstuffs went to waste. One trip to the market could provide several dishes, and the Sección Femenina encouraged Spanish women to plan their food purchases carefully and on a weekly basis.

The Sección Femenina also suggested cooking soufflés from meal leftovers as a way to alter appearance and taste of previously served food. Soufflés provided the family members with a new meal that they would hardly recognize. The article gave recipes for cauliflower and potato soufflé, as well as a detailed step by step process for creating new and unique soufflés. The article states “In the kitchen, you should not throw anything away, but leftover cooking should be done in a certain way. The economy requires that one reuse leftover food, but that is not to say that it has to be served in the same way as before.”<sup>43</sup> The official economy and the rationing system under Autarky led to monotonous consumption of the same foodstuffs. Yet, as mentioned previously, key ingredients could be prepared in a multitude of different ways in order to bring variety and happiness to family mealtime. Spanish women did not have to seek food variety on the black market because the Sección Femenina provided them with different methods of preparation. All the variety that a family needed in their daily meal consumption could be achieved through legal means if the *ama de casa* followed a few of the Sección Femenina’s simple recipes for leftovers.

---

<sup>43</sup> “Cocina: Aprovechamiento de los restos,” *Consigna*, April 1970, 37-38.

In sum, while the black market might have seemed like a viable alternative to the official economy, many Spanish women saw it as the only way that they could provide for their families. The Sección Femenina tried to ameliorate this hardship and reliance on the unofficial economy by emphasizing the danger of the black market and offering budgeting tips for grocery shopping and rationing. According to the Sección Femenina, options for food consumption and possibilities for family sustainability came from the official economy rather than illegal smuggling. Just as the kitchen could be transformed into a place of empowerment and influence for women, the official economy and rationing system, even with the limits of Autarky, could transform into a world of possibilities for the *falangista* and her family. From the perspective of the Sección Femenina, Spanish women needed nothing more than domestic spaces and food consumption available on the official market in order to build and maintain a happy family. It was the role of the Sección Femenina's members and media to inform women about strategies to achieve these goals.

### ***Creating Spanish Food Culture***

Finally, one of the most extensive and ideologically fundamental campaigns of the Sección Femenina was the creation and perpetuation of Spanish culture, heritage, and identity. The Sección Femenina incorporated Spanish culture into many of its social projects and based women's education on culture. In order to shape a feminine identity (one of the cornerstones of the Sección Femenina's ideology), it also had to create an environment in which it could flourish. The Sección Femenina's model woman could only exist in an ideal community that reinforced her femininity and role in the household. Furthermore, the organization legitimized its place of authority in Spanish feminine culture by drawing heavily from Spanish heritage and culture. The model *falangista* was well-cultured and very knowledgeable in the richness of Spanish history.

By drawing on past versions of Spanish femininity such as Saint Teresa of Avila or Queen Isabel, the Sección Femenina sought to legitimize its own version of femininity. And in a broader context, the organization created its own version of *lo español*, or Spanishness. The only way that the Sección Femenina could win the “hearts and minds” of the future generations of Spain was to nurture a greater national culture that reaffirmed its standards and ideals. For this reason, the Sección Femenina embarked on creating Spanish culture for the New Spanish State that promoted and protected its New Spanish Woman. The Sección Femenina not only created a new femininity for Spanish women, it also created a new Spanish culture to support its idea of Spanish womanhood.

The Sección Femenina’s cultural objective coincided with the Franco regime’s reforms for the tourism industry and the Falange’s ideology of ultra-nationalism. In the 1950s when Franco’s Autarkic system began to open up to allow foreign investment and aid, the Sección Femenina saw international influences and increased consumer power as a potential threat to Spanish heritage. Morcillo observes women’s increased purchasing power, especially for luxury goods, occurring in Spain in the late 1950s.<sup>44</sup> In the case of food, foreign ingredients infiltrated the Spanish economy as part of trade agreement or aid packages. Spaniards enjoyed greater varieties of foods available to them during the 1960s. The Sección Femenina tried to preserve Spanish foods by promoting Spanish cuisine in cookbooks, recipe collections, cooking articles in magazines, and textbooks. But first, the organization had to define what made Spanish food “Spanish” by standardizing national cuisine. The organization also sought to transform regional dishes into national ones. So, the Sección Femenina also set out to redefine a dish that had been traditionally “Galician” or “Madrileño” as now “Spanish” cuisine.

---

<sup>44</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 56.

The Sección Femenina's interest in Spanish culture and heritage is rooted in the ideology of the Falange. Eric Storms analyzes how Fascist ideology supported "the idyllic notion of an untouched countryside as the heartland of the nation"<sup>45</sup> as a means of creating an epicenter for culture production for the nation. Joseantoniosim asserted that Spanish culture was the remembrance of a rustic past and the adherence to tradition that Fascist ideologues believed flourished throughout the Spanish countryside. The Sección Femenina participated in this larger cultural movement within Falange ideology by aiming to standardize culture within their prescribed feminine spaces such as fashion, interior decorating, and food.<sup>46</sup> The General Vice Secretary of the Falange Fernando Herrero-Tejedor addressed the members of the Sección Femenina at their National Delegation on the importance of culture in the mission of the *Movimiento*. He said that cultural nature went beyond the material world and was a supernatural part of every human being.<sup>47</sup> Culture created unity and within Spain and connection between Spaniards. It was not any one particular aspect or movement, but it was that indescribable factor that made Spain *lo español*, or Spanish. This was the ideological foundation on which the Sección Femenina justified its campaign for standardizing national food culture.

Michael Richards takes a less optimistic view when examining popular culture during the Franco regime. His investigations focus on the repression and cultural limits of the authoritarian structure. He writes that the Franco regime glorified the Nationalist culture for Spain as pure and regenerative while demonizing the "other" cultural identities of Republicans, liberals, and

---

<sup>45</sup> Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture, and International Exhibitions in France, Germany, and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 12.

<sup>46</sup> The Sección Femenina often addressed these cultural issues in their publications *Medina*, *Y*, and *Consigna*. The organization also taught courses in the *escuelas de hogar* for fashion, interior decorating, and food.

<sup>47</sup> Fernando Herrero-Tejedor, "Discurso del Vicesecretario General del movimiento" at the XXII Consejo Nacional de la Sección Femenina 1964, 11.



the working class.<sup>48</sup> Richards views the creation of culture during the Franco years as one of confinement and censorship. Barranquero-Teixeira and Prieto-Borrego agree with this assessment of forced limits to Spanish culture. They argue that Spaniards' "return to the countryside" was not to uncover their cultural roots but an effort of sheer survival.<sup>49</sup> The state's and party's cultural production coupled with the popular culture created by the need for survival shaped the Spanish experience as a whole and was far from one-dimensional. It carried concepts of Falange ideology, alterations from the authoritarian political structure, and a culture formulated to simultaneously represent everyone and no one. Food, and its written recipe form, demonstrates the multiple levels and meaning of cultural production that occurred during the Franco years.

Since the Franco regime created a new political, economic, and social structure in Spain as part of forming a New Spanish State, the word *España* or Spain took on the new meaning to represent these changes. In regards to food, terms such as *comida española* gained new meaning when used by the Sección Femenina in their recipe publications. This term means "Spanish food," and its use distinguishes it from other forms of food that exist. By using this phrase to describe some of the organization's recipe books, the Sección Femenina created a unique Spanish identity from the organization's perspective. Another popular cooking term that changed meaning with the New Spanish State was "a la española." This phrase referred to a large and standardized *Spanish* method for preparing a type of food. The term assumes that there was a monolithic *Spanish way* of doing something, such as cooking a meal or serving a dish. Eugenia Afinoguénova has recently contributed new scholarship on the history of Spanish cuisine and its standardization as part of the governmental tourism initiative in early twentieth-

---

<sup>48</sup> Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 26.

<sup>49</sup> Barranquero-Teixeira and Prieto-Borrego, *Así sobrevivimos al hambre*, 119.

century Spain.<sup>50</sup> Spanish food consisted of its regional parts contributing equally to form a national culture, and the Sección Femenina used this method of regional culture to solidify a strong national identity. Between *comida española* and *a la española*, Spanish identity and actions changed with the establishment of the Franco dictatorship and carried new meaning for Spaniards across the country and at all levels of society. “Spanish food” and “Spanish-style” became associated with the New Spain initiative of the Franco regime, the Falange, and the Sección Femenina.

Both of these culinary terms transitioned in meaning during the Franco years in Spain. The regime’s efforts to create a new state, coupled with a national culture divided between winners and losers in the Civil War, changed the meaning of what it meant to be “Spanish” or “act Spanish.” These changes in *lo español* permeated down through every level of society, every cultural outlet, and every mundane task. In the case of food, Spanish dishes or a Spanish-style preparation, the meals themselves acted as symbols of the new regime under Franco. Even the mundane action of daily food consumption brought new meaning and cultural reinforcement to the Spanish people during the Franco years. The Sección Femenina recognized this transition in meaning of *lo español* and sought ways to take full advantage in steering the future of Spanish culture. Food culture provided the organization as a way to express cultural norms that it wanted to instill in the Spanish people. Meal consumption represented daily affirmation or expression of culture, and the Sección Femenina aimed to influence daily culture to reflect their values for society. Through multiple publications, educational programs, and social reform initiatives, the Sección Femenina contributed to reshaping Spanish culture to comply with its ideology for the Spanish nation, family, and woman.

---

<sup>50</sup> Eugenia Afinoguénova, “Cooking from the Soil: Tourism-Driven Regionalism and Cuisine in Spain, 1905-1930.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Lisbon, June 2011.

Afinoguénova's theory of using regional cultural parts to make a whole culture is evident throughout the publications of the Sección Femenina. The organization drew largely from regional pride and heritage to fortify nationalism and culture. From the point of view of the Sección Femenina, regional culture shaped Spanish culture and regionalism provided the organization with a way to modify the larger national culture. The Sección Femenina used some regional aspects to represent Spain in its entirety, compiled regional identity to form a Spanish identity, altered or omitted undesirable aspects of Spanish culture, and created a culture distinctly national.

Generic rural Spain came to represent Spanish heartland and heritage in many of the Sección Femenina's publications. The organization used bucolic images and ideals to represent Spanish heritage in its entirety, not just rural working classes. This also assumed that there was one type of rural experience that was uniform throughout Spain, offering little variance for different cultural distinctions that existed in ranching lands, farm lands, or fishing communities. It also forsook the cultural heritage of major metropolitan areas such as Barcelona. The Sección Femenina expressed much of this aspect of their culture initiative through their "City and Countryside" (*Hermandad de la ciudad y el campo*) program. Pilar Primo de Rivera considered this the second most important project for women behind their education initiative.<sup>51</sup> She stated that Spain needed individuals to work the land in order to support the economy of the *patria*.<sup>52</sup> For this reason, much of this campaign focused on self-production and family subsistence based on home production and work.

I have already addressed the importance of canning in the City and Countryside program. Canning encouraged women to produce their own goods for sustaining the family and

---

<sup>51</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discursos de Pilar Primo de Rivera" VII Consejo, 13.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

also contributed to the family income. Gardening was another integral part in the cultural production of the City and Countryside initiative. The Sección Femenina advocated that all Spanish women—urban and rural alike—could start a garden to ensure fresh and healthy vegetables for the family year round. It contributed to the family economy and self-sustainability of the family, and from the family helped the self-sustainability of the Autarkic economic system. Gardening also provided Spanish women with the “cultural heritage” of working the land and enjoying the fruits of Spanish soil. It gave women the opportunity to produce and contribute to the family economy without leaving the home and domestic responsibility. Gardening did not represent any one region or cultural tradition in Spain, and the Sección Femenina aimed to incorporate it into Spanish everyday life and national identity.

An example of this is found in *Medina*. The magazine advocated that women grow their own simple plants such as herbs. The article urges that any woman can cultivate well and produce bountiful harvest for her family.<sup>53</sup> Another article instructed women on how to grow simple medicines to alleviate various illnesses that could plague the family. The article states “If you have a little patch of ground for plants, these medicinal plants are a wonderful edition to your garden.”<sup>54</sup> Simple gardening could help with providing food for the family in both urban and rural environments. It united women with a common culture and feminine experience. The Sección Femenina hoped that cultivation of plants would reunite women with the rustic roots of Spain and return traditional values to Spanish society through taking pride and cultivating Spanish land, regardless of the size of the plot.

Gardening provided Spanish women and their families with fruits and vegetables throughout the year. The Sección Femenina published numerous vegetable-based recipes to

---

<sup>53</sup> “Campo,” *Medina*, November 7, 1943, 22.

<sup>54</sup> “Es muy fácil para cultivar plantas medicinales,” *Medina*, March 11, 1945, 22.

encourage the use of sustainable fruit and vegetable food products. The consumption of vegetables boosted the growth of vegetables, helping in the sustainability of the family unit. The Sección Femenina provided the directions for making five salads to span the seasons in *Medina*. The article “Salad for the whole year” listed rough salad, green nut salad, chicory salad, winter salad, and green pea salad.<sup>55</sup> A later article included more recipe options for salads to provide year-round vitamins to their readership. These included cauliflower salad, apple and chestnut salad, endive salad, watercress salad, and oyster salad.<sup>56</sup> The incorporation of natural fruits and vegetables cultivated from Spanish soil helped to reinforce the Sección Femenina’s goal of creating harmony between the city and the countryside. The produce provided Spanish families with the nutrition needed to create a healthy nation, united through national pride in the land and its production capabilities, and perpetuated rural tradition as an integral component of Spanish culture.

With that said, the Sección Femenina also strove to incorporate individual regional culture in the formation of an integrated national culture. This concept continued during the creation of the Falange by José Antonio and the Sección Femenina perpetuated it throughout the Franco regime. Thus the seemingly-problematic and contradictory ideology of promoting and stifling regional culture ensued. The Sección Femenina desired to promote regional culture, but only to the extent that it could contribute to forming an overall national Spanish culture. The organization omitted aspects of cultural movements that encouraged regional autonomy or exceptionalism. The Sección Femenina advocated for a regional culture that acted as parts of the body to form the larger functioning being.

---

<sup>55</sup> “Ensaladas para todo el año,” *Medina*, October 15, 1944, 17.

<sup>56</sup> “Ensaladas para todo el año,” *Medina*, November 12, 1944, 25.

The best explanation of the goal of the Sección Femenina was stated by Pilar Primo de Rivera herself at the 1948 National Delegation. "The world, at least when it comes to music, does not know Spanish culture except for its deformation through Andalusian culture. For those who left, popular regional music does not exist. The same Spaniards, abandoning their towns, always have worries about their traditions being lost to the land which are part of the richest folk culture in the world."<sup>57</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera criticized the seeming domination of Andalusia and Catalonia in presenting Spanish culture as a whole.<sup>58</sup> These regions presented a threat to the balance of the national cultural body composed of equally important and culturally rich regional identities. Just how all provincial offices of the Sección Femenina equally contributed to the campaigns of the Sección Femenina body, the organization strove to create a synthesized national culture comprised of equal regional parts.

To remedy the perceived cultural favoritism of Catalonia and Andalusia and to expose the public to regional culture on a national scale, the Sección Femenina published *Cocina Regional Española* which printed for several editions. This work exemplifies the piecing together of cultural components to form one cohesive culinary production. The work contains an introduction on the history of Spain and the influence of conquest and migration on peninsular food. It continues by offering a brief synopsis of the culinary tradition of each region, and then subdivides the cuisine into provinces.<sup>59</sup> The Sección Femenina defines the regions of Spain as Andalusia with the provinces of Seville, Huelva, Cadiz, Malaga, Granada, Cordoba, and Jaen; Aragon with the provinces of Zaragoza, Huesca, and Teruel; the region of Asturias, as well as Baleares and Canary Islands, the region of New Castile with the provinces of Madrid, Cuenca,

---

<sup>57</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discursos de Pilar Primo de Rivera" in *Consejo XII*, 7.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Sección Femenina, *Cocina Regional Española: Recetario*, 3 ed. (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1963).

Guadalajara, Toledo, and Ciudad Real; Old Castile with the provinces of Burgos, Avila, Segovia, Soria, Logrono, Valladolid, and Santander; Catalan with the regions of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida, and Gerona; the region of Extremadura; Galicia with the provinces of La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, and Pontevedra; Leon which consisted of the regions of Zamora, Salamanca, and León; Murcia with the provinces of Murcia and Albacete; the region of Navarre; the Basque land which the book refers to as Vascongadas<sup>60</sup> with the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Vizcaya; the region of Valencia with Valencia, Castellón, and Alicante.<sup>61</sup> The Sección Femenina presented the regions alphabetically as to not show favoritism, but still the larger regions with several provincial components dominated the contributions to regional food culture. Also, regions with greater cultural distinction (such as Andalusia or Galicia) received more recipe coverage and cultural description than less distinct provinces such as Extremadura or Old Castile.

In case Spanish women were unable to purchase the cookbook, *Cocina Regional Española*, the organization catalogued the recipes by province in the magazine *Consigna*. The cooking section of the magazine dedicated several editions of the publication to provincial cuisine and provided teachers with ways to incorporate regional culture into their lesson plans. The culture presented in the recipes went beyond food. The Sección Femenina presented local—at times to the village level—of common customs and daily life throughout Spain. One example is the inclusion of the recipe for “wedding meat.”<sup>62</sup> This is listed as a dish typical of Alava, but more specifically prepared in El Bonillo, a village within the province. The magazine explains that weddings in this town usually last three days and that the villagers prepare the

---

<sup>60</sup> “Vascongadas” is the formal Castilian term for the Basque land. The publication omits the distinct name “Euskadi,” or the term for the region in the local language of Euskera.

<sup>61</sup> Sección Femenina, *Cocina Regional Española*.

<sup>62</sup> “Cocina de toda España,” *Consigna*, February 1971, 43.

meat for those celebrations following the listed recipe.<sup>63</sup> Food provided a vehicle for the education of other cultural traditions, such as weddings and their celebrations. The Sección Femenina wanted to preserve not only regional culture and culinary heritage, but also the rituals and traditions associated with it. This recipe, among several more similar in significance, demonstrated how the organization attempted to incorporate all aspects of Spanish culture—down to the village level and local celebration traditions. Spanish food culture represented more than regional products, it incorporated celebrations and traditions associated with regional food.



Figure 4.10 Image of a few choice dishes representing Spanish cuisine as a whole. “Cocina de toda España,” *Consigna*, April 1971, 36.

Another publication, *Lecciones de Cocina Regional*, served to educate students in the rich cultural heritages in the provinces of Spain. The introduction to the cookbook states “There

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 43.



is a classic Spanish cuisine from Spain's heritage, formed by the injections of different ways to garnish, stew, preserve, and sweeten the natural products from the distinct regions of Spain.”<sup>64</sup> This introduction exemplifies the intent of the Sección Femenina in creating a national Spanish culture. The Sección Femenina wanted to promote regional culture because much of Spain's rural and distinctive past was being lost to urbanization.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the cookbook continues by describing the threat of French cuisine in overtaking Spanish food culture in national popularity. The book teaches students of the “French threat” of the nineteenth and early twentieth century of establishing culinary dominance throughout the *patria*.<sup>66</sup> The Sección Femenina justified the compilation and publication of these regional cookbooks as a way to strengthen Spanish heritage over the influx of French culinary tradition. The organization desired to promote Spanish culture, and it achieved this goal by highlighting the importance of Spain's rich regional traditions.

Although the Sección Femenina promoted regionalism, the organization carefully selected which components of Spanish culture that it wanted to showcase. Even though the publications provided samples of regional dishes, they are by no means a complete compilation of every region—the publications only include the recipes that the organization wanted to perpetuate in Spanish culture. While part of this could be logistical limitations—inability to find all native provincial dishes or limitations to available space and funds to print all recipes—much of it stemmed from regional identity deemed undesirable by the Sección Femenina. For example, none of the recipes for paella list dog or cat meat as part of the ingredients. These meats were deemed culturally unacceptable for consumption by the women's group, but were

---

<sup>64</sup> Sección Femenina, *Lecciones de Cocina Regional: Escuela de Magisterio* (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1961), 1.

<sup>65</sup> Pilar Primo de Rivera, “Discursos de Pilar Primo de Rivera” VII Consejo, 13.

<sup>66</sup> Sección Femenina, *Lecciones de Cocina Regional*, 1.

widely consumed during the Years of Hunger out of necessity.<sup>67</sup> The Sección Femenina created its own national identity from choice selections of regional culture. They chose what components of Spanish culture coincided with the ideals and traditions of *joseantonioismo* and campaigned to standardize these traditions throughout the nation.

Likewise, the regional recipes published by the Sección Femenina included dishes from Catalonia, Valencia, Galicia, and Basque land, but these were all listed in the official Spanish language of *Castellano* rather than the regional languages. The Sección Femenina decided that recipes were an acceptable form of cultural expression of regionalism, but regional language was not. The Sección Femenina did not publish any of their cookbooks in *valenciano*, *catalán*, *gallego*, or *euskera*, although it circulated recipes inspired by these unique heritages. Distribution of regionally-distinct recipes throughout Spain also acted to devalue regionalism. *Paella valenciana* did not emit regional pride if it was prepared in a different region such as Asturias or Extremadura. The wide distribution of recipes desensitized Spanish culture to the uniqueness of regions by exposing all of Spain to these traditions. The Sección Femenina urged women to try making recipes from other regions, and in a way that would destroy a recipe's regional identity. The Sección Femenina exercised control over the cultural production process, at least within the realm of its publication department

The organization sought to integrate strong regional components of Spanish culture into the formation of a solid national identity. Regional culture was not to stand on its own, but equally contributed to the creation and perpetuation of Spanish nationalism. The compilation of recipes represented a symbolic compilation of Spanish culture. Just as recipes called for the combination of certain choice ingredients, so too the Sección Femenina called for the

---

<sup>67</sup> Barranquero-Teixeira and Prieto-Borrego, *Así sobrevivimos al hambre*, 112.

combination of regional cultural identities to form the culture and identity of the nation as a whole.

In this manner, the Sección Femenina simultaneously promoted, altered, and censored regionalism during its cultural activism. The organization provided final edits and revisions of what was culturally acceptable for Spanish women to feed their families, and more broadly what aspects of Spanish culture should be consumed by the family and the nation. The Sección Femenina actively urged women to express Spanish culture through recipes, thus the organization published regional recipes extensively. While at first glance the organization's stance on regionalism seems contradictory, further investigation into its publications and its selective promotion of Spanish heritage reveals that the organization actually carefully monitored the Spanish culture that it fed to Spanish women. The Sección Femenina successfully advocated for a carefully-tuned Spanish culture that reflected its desired notions of Spanish heritage, regional diversity and equality, rural culture as conceptualized by José Antonio and the Falange, cultural centralization under the Francoist structure, and regional subordination to the regime's ambitions for *castellanoization*. All of these factors contributed to the shaping of the Sección Femenina's Spanish culture-awareness campaign that was communicated through cooking.

## ***Conclusion***

For the Sección Femenina, social reform began with changes the daily habits of Spanish women that would instigate reformed behaviors to trickle through the family, home, community, and nation. The organization pursued an active agenda in advocating for change

within Spanish communities while simultaneously maintaining adherence to their ideological ambition for women to exhibit domestic virtue and patriarchal submission. Although the Sección Femenina did not have access to legislative power, the organization used the publication network available to it to launch thorough social reform campaigns and advocate a political agenda. The organization constantly emphasized that its sole goal was the domestic happiness of women, and so its goals did not always coincide exactly with the ambitions of the Franco regime or the Falange. Thus, while the organization advocated for strict patriarchal submission and aversion to political intervention, the Sección Femenina did involve itself within the realm of politics and autonomous social activism when it was in the best interest of its ideology.

The Francoist political structure attempted to channel women's desire for activism by permitting the Sección Femenina to operate in certain realms that the regime determined as womanly. Mussolini's Italy and Somocista Nicaragua similarly attempted to create similar parameters for women's activism within the conservative state. Historian Victoria De Grazia refers to the appropriation of women's activism during the dictatorship as "the thin line between modernity and emancipation."<sup>68</sup> Similarly, the Somoza dictatorship relied on women activists to legitimize the regime in a way that mobilized women as mothers.<sup>69</sup> Conservative regimes relied on women to fulfill the role of mother and *ama de casa*, and tried to steer women's organizations to focus their activist efforts on motherhood. The Sección Femenina worked within these borders set by the Franco regime to pursue their own goals. The organization formatted its agenda so that it met the demands for womanhood by the regime while simultaneously fulfilling the organization's ideological dedication to improve Spanish society. This took the form of domestic activism—social reform that began in the home.

---

<sup>68</sup> DeGrazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, 9.

<sup>69</sup> González, "Somocista Women," 73.

By establishing the kitchen within the home as the proper place for Spanish women, the Sección Femenina was able to standardize the implementation of its social reform campaigns. The Sección Femenina trained women through the *escuela de hogar* on how to use the kitchen as a natural place of feminine power and influence. The “influence” that these women gained could then be used to propagate social reform initiated from domestic spaces across the nation. The organization used its concept of the model Spanish woman and her mastery of culinary influence as the vehicle for enacting social change throughout Spain. The recipes and cooking method intended to communicate reform initiatives of the organization, such as the aforementioned combat against infant mortality, black market danger awareness, an Spanish cultural preservation.

With that said, social reform initiatives transcribed through recipes faced some limitations in their effectiveness. Even though recipes advertised the ideal and urged women to follow their steps to perfect, they were not mandates or coercive requirements for women. Recipes offered passive suggestions to follow a certain way of life, but Spanish women could choose not to follow them exactly or to modify them to fit their needs or desires. Similar to how the ideal *falangista* existed in ideological rhetoric only, so too did activism from the kitchen reach limited fruition. Spanish women still ultimately determined to what extent they wanted to support or resist the initiatives launched by the women’s group. Although the Sección Femenina legitimized itself within the Spanish political structure based on their advocacy for women’s interests, individual women still determined their actions and interests. This explains why infant mortality decreased under the watchful eye of the Sección Femenina and its extensive campaign and why the black market continued to flourish throughout the country well into the 1960s. The Sección Femenina communicated its ideology and social reform goals through recipes and their publications, but women were able to pick and choose what aspects to support and cook and

when to find an alternate recipe for social change. Thus, many of the goals and social reforms of the organization occurred in recipe-form only and never fulfilled the organization's desire for social revolution.

## Chapter Five: Conclusions

*“The Sección Femenina has raised all of the homes of Spain in faith of a better future, making its mark on the most remote towns and villages through its instructors and traveling schools, fighting without rest for the better education of women, for the effective enforcement of their rights, the health of her children, the strengthening of religion, and the perpetuation of family values.”-Manuel Valdes Larrañaga, Vice secretary of the Falange<sup>1</sup>*

The Sección Femenina worked within the gender parameters set by the Franco government in order to advocate for women's interests and social reform. The organization applied new meaning to the language system during the Franco years in order to create fluidity in Spain's gender ideology.<sup>2</sup> One way that this was achieved was through the incorporation of food ideology into the ideology of the Sección Femenina. In this work, I have examined how recipes and cooking instruction could have multiple meanings within the same language system. Recipes used the language of ingredients, cooking, baking, and stirring to convey meaning in the home, but they also carried meaning that communicated political ideology, educational information, and social activist initiatives advocated by the Sección Femenina. The habitual production and reproduction of a recipe or cooking method that occurred on a daily basis in homes across Spain, if prepared in a certain way, acted to reaffirm both domesticity and the ideology of the Sección Femenina.

The Sección Femenina negotiated the intersection between food ideology, family ideology, Francoism, and Joseantonioism to provide Spanish women with an edible way of expressing political beliefs. Recipes served the productive and reproductive capacity desired by the organization to produce and reproduce its version of femininity and family values. A good example of how the Sección Femenina was able to co-opt the language system of Spanish food

---

<sup>1</sup> Manuel Valdes-Larrañaga, “Discurso en el acto de clausura del XXVI Consejo Nacional de la Sección Femenina” (Murcia: ediciones del movimiento, 1972), 9.

<sup>2</sup> Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 6.

culture for propagating its own ideology is in the recipe for *tarta de Pilar Primo de Rivera*, published in the first few editions of the *Manual de Cocina* but renamed in the thirteenth edition to *tarta de mazapán* (marzipan cakes). The recipe called for copious amounts of sugar, almonds, apricots, eggs, and flour to form beautifully-shaped crimson flower cakes with green leaves.<sup>3</sup> By naming the dessert as *tarta de Pilar Primo de Rivera*, the dish became politicized. The traditional Spanish snack transformed in significance from a delicious dessert consumed for special occasions to one that expressed allegiance to Pilar Primo de Rivera and the Sección Femenina. The consumption of the dessert provided food for the individual and also made a strong political statement.

The choice of marzipan cakes to represent the Sección Femenina is key to understanding the goals of the women's group and how the language of recipes served multiple purposes. Marzipan cakes were traditionally served on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day to celebrate the birth of Christ and are enjoyed by the entire family.<sup>4</sup> During the Franco years, the recipe held religious significance for National Catholicism and asserted the importance of religion in the Spanish family. Also, marzipan cakes are regularly prepared in several regions of Spain, such as the Canary Islands, Castile La Mancha, Madrid, Valencia, and Murcia.<sup>5</sup> The recipe carried regional significance in many areas of Spain, but was consumed too commonly across Spain to evoke strong sentiments of regionalism in consumers. The recipe exemplifies how the regional culture was modified during the Franco regime to represent national identity. The recipe for *tarta de Pilar Primo de Rivera* contained flour, sugar, and food coloring, but the recipe also carried religious and regional symbolism used by the Sección Femenina to establish its role within society as a producer and reproducer of these values.

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 663-664.

<sup>4</sup> Medina, *Food Culture of Spain*, 126-128.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 99, 101, 107.



With that said, *tarta de Pilar Primo de Rivera* was still a very unique dish. Marzipan cakes often take the form of flowers, toys, or fruit and are a wide range of colors. This recipe did not accommodate for variations of the treat's shape, color, or. Only red flowers with green leaves qualified as *tarta de Pilar Primo de Rivera*, any deviation would change the recipe to a different form of marzipan cake. This point of style and presentation demonstrates how the organization emphasized style and appearance of food for family members and house guests. Looks were everything when it came to presentation of the dish, home, and the individual, and the organization stressed this at every opportunity. The Sección Femenina emphasized such specificity in all of its recipes and cooking tips. The ingredient quantities had to be measured accurately to the gram and the step of preparation followed exactly in order to produce the perfect dish and the ideal *falangista*.

The organization approached its ambitious concept for directing Spanish women towards its goal of femininity by extensively publishing material to the public which communicated these ideal characteristics for Spanish women to emulate. Recipes provided step by step instruction on how to turn basic ingredients into a tasty and consumable dish. Likewise, the Sección Femenina took characteristics that they deemed necessary for all Spanish women and taught the step by step preparation that would transform the feminine virtues into a exemplary *falangista*. The Sección Femenina created a recipe for model womanhood and instructed Spanish women in recipes for social change. Through a very seemingly domestic medium—recipes and cooking tips—the Sección Femenina aimed to provide possibilities for women to thrive within the limitations of their current situations and to aspire to improve their lives, their families, and Spanish society as a whole. Reformed cooking and domestic action had the potential to create greater opportunities for women and maneuverable skills to influence society.

The Sección Femenina negotiated the contours of the regime's policies towards women to provide them with information that they could use to take better advantage of their situations, in this case to become confident experts in the kitchen. The Franco regime limited Spanish women to the home and domestic duties, but the Sección Femenina went to great lengths to instruct them on how to use these limitations to their advantage. Like cooking on a budget or altering a recipe to omit meat, limitations imposed by political, religious, and social regulations did not mean that individuals or families had to sacrifice happiness or satisfaction. Food ideology on a macro-scale set parameters to what was acceptable to consume and by whom, but the Sección Femenina tried to teach women on how to work within this food ideology to better themselves. The Sección Femenina hoped to teach women how to transform domestic tasks from habits of confinement to habits of empowerment.

The Sección Femenina's recipe for proper Spanish womanhood was simple. It combined ingredients of traditional Spain—domestic virtue, religious piety, family values—and mixed them with more modern values such as the professionalization of the duties of an *ama de casa* and new technological trends to modernize the home. Austerity and happiness, sacrifice and submission, and education and culture contributed to the ideal Spanish womanhood that the Sección Femenina wanted everyone to exhibit. These ingredients blended together in just the correct quantities to form the model *falangista*. The organization carefully communicated the natural feminine attributes and amounts of these virtues when publishing the recipe for their notions of proper femininity in Spain.

With all these virtuous ingredients lumped together through the cooking articles and recipe collections published by the Sección Femenina, the organization had to instruct Spanish women how to properly combine the ingredients to form the model woman. This occurred through the extensive education program launched by the organization that aimed to teach

every woman in Spain on how to follow its directions for proper womanhood. The Social Service program was required by all single Spanish women with the hopes of leading each one of the students down the path of proper femininity. The coursework taught in the *escuelas de hogar* provided step by step instructions for transforming students into textbook *falangistas*. Social Service acted as an incubator to foster the virtues of the proper *falangista* that, if all went well, would produce the perfect Spanish woman in only six months' time.

To keep the newly formed ideal Spanish woman preserved, the Sección Femenina strove to create an environment that would protect her virtue and permit her to thrive. The Sección Femenina strove to keep Spanish women safe and secure within the domestic spaces especially suited for them to practice proper femininity. To do this, the organization launched several campaigns to ensure the rights of women to live within a *casa conyugal*, or an equal partnership home. The Sección Femenina instructed women on how to take control of the kitchen with authority and confidence in their work. It aimed to instill as much skill and mastery for cooking as men had in paying occupations. Once this ideal environment was achieved the Sección Femenina desired to keep Spanish women within this space not as confinement, but as her greatest point of influence within society. Thus, the social activism and reform campaigns launched by the Sección Femenina were instigated in the home where Spanish women possessed the most control and authority.

Although the Sección Femenina claimed an aversion to political interference, the organization demonstrated great interest in two subject areas that were highly political: women and food. The Franco regime politicized motherhood and sought to regulate women's spaces, careers, wages, legal rights, and sexuality. Likewise, the Spanish government monitored agricultural production, industrial production or importation of consumer goods, and the rationing system, thereby controlling the national food supply. Francoism permeated every

aspect of daily life, and included regulation of the domestic sphere.<sup>6</sup> Yet, these two subjects were fundamental to the ideology of the Sección Femenina and therefore within its jurisdiction of influence and power.

The Sección Femenina maneuvered between traditional political intervention (for example, advocating for women to the regime, implementing Spain's welfare program, or creating mandatory education for women) and less overtly political intervention (such as the publication of a women's magazine or a cookbook), although many of the members claimed through interviews and publications not to participate in politics. It was the use of both political and apolitical action that afforded the organization the greatest amount of autonomy. The members of the Sección Femenina actively engaged these two political issues in hopes of bringing change to the society in which they lived. Much of its advocacy occurred through the Press and Propaganda Department of the Sección Femenina and was specifically directed to women's lives in the home and their social roles as wives, mothers, and consumers.

Francisco Franco, in the restructuring of the Spanish state, delegated issues of women's interest and the domestic sphere to the care of the Sección Femenina. The organization exercised a large amount of autonomy in interpreting and implementing social and political regulations for women and domesticity. By the end of the Franco dictatorship, the Sección Femenina had effectively expanded the legal meaning of the word "domesticity". The organization professionalized motherhood, instructed women in marketable skills, certified female students for careers outside of the home, and lobbied for greater civil rights for women regardless of their civil status. The organization took advantage of its limited resources to create new opportunities for its agenda. Likewise, the Sección Femenina urged all Spanish women to emulate its creative maneuvering of space and policy to their advantage.

---

<sup>6</sup> Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 173.

The women who joined the Sección Femenina had a number of alternative ways to express their beliefs or to advocate for reform in their communities and country. The Acción Católica (Catholic Action), Teresian Institute, Carlist women, and SEU (Association of Spanish University Women) were other politically conservative outlets for female expression and activism. Yet, many chose the Sección Femenina feeling like it was the most effective way to communicate their beliefs to a larger audience and express their activism to the state. Enders reveals through her interviews of former members that many women voluntarily joined the Sección Femenina because of its ideology of social justice and commitment to revolution.<sup>7</sup> Other affiliations or activist groups did not provide the influence or commitment to individual transformation in the way that the Sección Femenina, led by Pilar Primo de Rivera, aimed to do in Spain.<sup>8</sup> The Sección Femenina saw itself as making great advances for Spanish women by reshaping Spanish notions of femininity so that all Spanish women could achieve their prescription of womanhood.

In regards to food supply, the Sección Femenina addressed limitations and restrictions occurring throughout Spain due to the postwar reconstruction, the economic implementation of Autarky, and a less than perfect rationing system. Once again, whereas the Franco regime limited options available to Spaniards due to restrictive policy and authoritarian control, the Sección Femenina publicized ways to overcome such challenges through a little creativity and manipulation. The organization did not wish to subvert the state and social order imposed by Franco, but it did seek to provide alleviation to the heavy burdens suffered by Spaniards during the Franco years. The Sección Femenina implemented an autonomous agenda in regard to food supply in pursuit of its perception of what was best for Spain and Spanish women.

---

<sup>7</sup> Enders, "Problematic Portraits," 383.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 383-384.

The women's group operated on the theory that women were responsible for their own development and that greater social change could occur with individual effort working together towards a common goal.<sup>9</sup> Although Francoism established authority over the country by creating strong divisions within society including gender divisions, the Sección Femenina aimed to unite all Spanish women through its mandatory education system and by co-opting Spanish cuisine to further its cause. Meal time provided individual the opportunity to come together and share a meal as a way of creating a common identity and a common goal.<sup>10</sup> It was a collective action that united women and families to share food and camaraderie. Thus, food ideology and the ideology of the Sección Femenina intersected at the transmission of recipes.

More broadly, the recipe publications of the Sección Femenina demonstrate how women were able to negotiate a totalitarian regime to pursue their own interests and activism. The members of the Sección Femenina did not resist the Franco regime, and quite often they asserted their allegiance to the dictatorship. However, allegiance did not mean that women did not have their own goals for social reform. They created and communicated their ideal for women, the home, and the nation through recipes that had wide appeal. Religious and political rhetoric were an important component of the organization's ideology, but the indirect allusions posited within recipes carried greater implications of Spaniards during the Franco regime. While recipes might at first seem like a modest initiative, a closer examination reveals that they contained huge amounts of symbolism for the producer and consumer of a dish. Cooking and its production and reproduction of family and gender ideology asserted the goals of the Sección Femenina on a quotidian basis. Recipes reveal the daily application and effects of Sección Femenina ideology throughout the duration of the Franco regime.

---

<sup>9</sup> Richmond, *Mujeres en el fascismo*, 40.

<sup>10</sup> Pite, *Creating a Common Table*, 21.

## Bibliography

Archives

Biblioteca Nacional de España: General Collection

Instituto de la Mujer: *Consigna* Collection

Biblioteca de las Mujeres de Madrid: Women's Press and Magazine Collection

Real Academia de Historia: The Nueva Andadura Collection

Sección Femenina Magazines

*Bazar*, January 1948-1962.

*Consigna*, 1940- January 1977.

*Medina*, October 5, 1941- December 30, 1945.

*Mundo Hispánico*, 1948.

*Nuestra Casa*, December 1959- January 1962.

*VENTANAL*, April 1946- February 1947.

*Y: revista para las mujeres nacionalsindicalistas*, 1938.

*Y: revista para la mujer*, May 1938- December/January 1945/1946.

Sección Femenina Cooking Publications

Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina.

Garcés, Manuel. *El Cocinero en casa*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina del movimiento, 1973.

Herrera, Ana María. *Manual de Cocina (recetario)*. 7 ed. Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1957.

----- . *Recetario para olla a presión y batidora eléctrica*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1961.

Sarrau, José. *Ciencia Gastronómica: Libro de texto para el profesorado de los Institutos Nacionales Femeninos y de las escuelas del Hogar de la Sección Femenina*. 4 ed. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1942.

Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS. *Cocina Regional Española (recetario)*. 3 ed. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1966.

----- . *Lecciones de cocina regional*. 2 course. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1961.

----- . *Manual de Cocina (Recetario)*. 16 ed. Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1967.

----- . *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio y Magisterio*. 12 ed. Madrid: Delegación de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1961.

-----, *Recetario para olla a presión y batidora eléctrica*. 3 ed. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1973.

#### Sección Femenina National Delegation Meetings

*XXIV Consejo Nacional de la Sección Femenina*. Madrid: Ediciones del Movimiento, January 1968.

*XXVI Consejo Nacional de la Sección Femenina*. Murcia: Ediciones del Movimiento, 1972.

Primo de Rivera, Pilar. "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *VII Consejo Nacional*, Cáceres, January 1944.

Delegación Nacional de Provincias. *XXII Consejo Nacional de la Sección Femenina*. Pontevedra: Ediciones del Movimiento, January 1964.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *X Consejo Nacional*, Valencia, January 1944.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *XI Consejo Nacional*, Zaragoza, January 1947.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *XII Consejo Nacional*, Sevilla, January 1948.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *XIII Consejo Nacional*, Oviedo, January 1949.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *XV Consejo Nacional*, Burgos, January 1951.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *XVIII Consejo Nacional*, Málaga, January 1956.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *XIX Consejo Nacional*, Medina del Campo, 1958.

-----, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera." *XXI Consejo Nacional*, Castellón, January 1962.

#### Other Publications by the Sección Femenina

*Agenda 1955*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina, 1955.

*Agenda 1967*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina, 1967.

*Agenda 1968*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina, 1968.

*Agenda 1969*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina, 1969.

Delegación Nacional de Auxilio Social. *Auxilio Social: Obra Nacional Sindicalista de Protección a la Madre y al Niño*. Madrid: Departamento Central de Propaganda, n.d.

Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina. *La Mujer en el Movimiento Nacional*. Santander: Sección Femenina: Prensa y Propaganda, n.d.



Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS. *Economía Doméstica*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1955.

-----. *Enciclopedia Elemental*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1944.

-----. *Enciclopedia Elemental*. 6 ed. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1962.

-----. *Higiene y medicina casera*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, n.d.

-----. *Labor realizada en 1945*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1946.

-----. *Organización y Acción del Estado Español*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1962.

-----. *Nociones de puericultura post-natal*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1955.

-----. *Profesiones femeninas: Profesoras de Enseñanza de Hogar*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1965.

-----. *Programas para escuelas de hogar de la Sección Femenina*. Madrid: Regiduría Central de Cultura, 1959.

-----. *La Sección Femenina: Síntesis de su organización*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1968.

-----. *Servicio Social de la mujer: Su aspecto educativo*. Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1965.

Werner-Bolin, Carmen. *Convivencia Social (formación familiar y social)*. 1 course. 6 ed. Madrid: Ediciones de la Sección Femenina, departamento de cultura, 1955.

-----. *Convivencia Social (formación familiar y social)*. 2 course. 3 ed. Madrid: Ediciones de la Sección Femenina, departamento de cultura, 1954.

-----. *Convivencia Social (formación familiar y social)*. 3 course. 7 ed. Madrid: Ediciones de la Sección Femenina, departamento de cultura, 1958.

#### Other Primary Sources

Auxilio Social. *Normas: Servicio Social de la Mujer*. n.p.: FET y de Las JONS, 1939.

------. *La mujer y la educación de los niños*. Madrid: Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS, n.d.

Bartina-Marull, Teresa. *Ama: Resumen de economía doméstica*. Gerona: Editorial Delmáu Charles, 1960.

*Concentración Nacional de la Sección Femenina*. Madrid: Ediciones de la vicesecretaria de educación popular, 1944.

De Lara, Lula. *La Prensa Femenina*. Madrid: Club de Prensa de Madrid, 1955.

*Los derechos políticos, profesionales y de trabajo de la mujer*. Ley 56 July 22, 1961. B.O.E. July 24, 1961, no. 175. Madrid: Ediciones Almena, 1961.

Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS. *Texto de Nacional sindicalismo*. 6 ed. n.p.: Sección Femenina, n.d..

Garcés, Manuel. *Cocina por Garcés*. Madrid: Revista para la mujer, 1965.

------. *Tecnología de Cocina: Formación Profesional*. 1 course. Madrid: Paraninfo, 1975.

*Guía de estudios y profesiones para la mujer*. Madrid: Comisaria para la SEU, 1966.

Jiménez, Vicente. *Engrandecimiento de la patria por las madres españolas: algunas normas prácticas para la educación moral de los hijos*. Cádiz: Marqués de Cádiz, 1938.

Morales, María Pilar. *Mujeres (orientación femenina)*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942.

Recas de Calvet, Teresa. *Enseñanzas del hogar: apuntes*. Barcelona; Casa provincial de Caridad, 1946.

Rocamora, María Luisa. *La perfecta ama de casa*. 8 ed. Barcelona: DeGasso Hermanos, 1958.

Sainz-Jackson, Rosario. *Derechos de la mujer*. Madrid: Publicaciones Españoles, 1968.

Sarrau, José. *Mi recetario de cocina de la Academia Gastronómica*. Madrid: Prensa Española, 1951.

------. *Nuestra cocina, al uso de familias*. Madrid: Peña, 1935.

Suárez-Valdés y Álvarez, Mercedes. *Infancia de hoy, Juventud de mañana* (guía de la madre nacionalsindicalista). Madrid: Aldus, 1940.

### Secondary Sources

Abella, Rafael. *La Vida Cotidiana Bajo el Régimen de Franco*. Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 1996.

- Afinoguénova, Eugenia. "Cooking from the Soil: Tourism-Driven Regionalism and Cuisine in Spain, 1905-1930." Paper presented at the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies in Lisbon, Portugal, July 2011.
- Barciela López, Carlos. *Autarquía y Mercado negro: el fracaso económico del primer franquismo, 1939-1959*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2003.
- Barciela López, Carlos et al. *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Economía*. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001.
- Barranquero, Encarnación and Lucía Prieto Borrega eds. *Así sobrevivimos al hambre: estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la posguerra española*. Málaga: Centro de ediciones de la diputación de Málaga, 2003.
- Beardsworth, Alan and Teresa Keil. *Sociology on the Menu. An Invitation to the Study of Food and Society*. London: Rutledge, 1997.
- Bock, Gisela and Pat Thane ed. *Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s*. New York: Rutledge Press, 1991.
- Boyd, Carolyn. *Historia patria: politics, history and national identity in Spain, 1875-1975*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Cazorla-Sanchez, Antonio. *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Charles, Nickie and Marion Kerr. *Women, Food and Families*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Chuliá, Elisa. *El Poder y la Palabra: Prensa y Poder en las dictaduras: el régimen de Franco ante la prensa y el periodismo*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva/Universidad de Educación a Distancia, 2001.
- Ciesla, Burghard and Patrice G. Poutus. "Food Supply in a Planned Economy: SED Nutrition Policy Between Crisis Response and Popular Needs." In *Dictatorship as Experience: Towards a Socio-cultural History of the GDR*. Ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. Trans. Eve Duffy. New York: Berghahn Books, 1999.
- Counihan, Carole M. and Steven L. Kaplan. *Food and Gender, Identity and Power*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998.
- De Certeau, Michel, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol. *The Practice of Everyday life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- De Grazia, Victoria. *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1992.

- De las Heras-Pedrosa, Carlos. *La prensa del movimiento y su gestión publicitaria, 1936-1984*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2000.
- Dore, Elizabeth and Maxine Molyneux, eds. *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Ellwood, Sheelagh. *Spanish Fascism in the Franco era: Falange Espanola de las JONS, 1936-1976*. Basingstonke: Macmillan, 1987.
- Enders, Victoria Lorée. "Problematic Portraits: The Ambiguous Historical Role of the *Sección Femenina* of the Falange." In *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*. Eds. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff. Albany: SUNY Press, 1999.
- Fernández Jiménez, María Antonia. *Pilar Primo de Rivera: el falangismo femenino*. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2008.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, an Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
- Gallego Méndez, María Teresa. *Mujer, Falange y Franquismo*. Madrid: Taurus, 1983.
- Garon, Sheldon. *Molding Japanese Minds: the State in Everyday Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- González, Victoria and Karen Kampwirth, eds. *Radical Women in Latin America: Left and Right*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2001.
- Holguín, Sandie. *Creating Spaniards: Culture and Identity in Republican Spain*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
- Hudson, Ray and Jim Lewis ed. *Uneven Developments in Southern Europe*. London: Methuen, 1985.
- Lim, Jie-Hyun and Karen Petrone. *Gender Politics and mass dictatorship: global perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Martín de la Guardia, Ricardo M. *Información y propaganda en la prensa del movimiento: Libertad de Valladolid, 1931-1979*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1994.
- McIntosh, Wm. Alex. *Sociologies of Food and Nutrition*. New York: Plenum Press, 1996.

- Medina, F. Xavier. *Food Culture in Spain*. Westpoint, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2010.
- Morcillo, Aurora. *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010.
- Morcillo, Aurora. *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*. DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000.
- Ofer, Inbal. *Señoritas in Blue: The Making of a Female Political Elite in Franco's Spain*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Offen, Karen. *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: a political history*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Pack, Sasha D. *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006.
- Passmore, Kevin. *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe, 1919-1945*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Pérez-González, Ana Beatriz. *La Economía No Oficial y el Mercado Clandestino*. PhD diss. Universidad de Cádiz. 2002. <http://www.eumed.net/tesis/bpg/index.htm>
- Pilcher, Jeffrey. *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.
- Pite, Rebekah E. *Creating a Common Table: Doña Petrona, Cooking, and Consumption in Argentina, 1928-1983*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming.
- Prieto-Borrego, Lucía ed. *Encuadramiento femenino, socialización y cultura en el Franquismo*. Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010.
- Primo de Rivera, Pilar and Antonio Prometeo Moya. *Ultimas Conversaciones con Pilar Primo de Rivera*. Madrid: Caballo de Troya, 2006.
- Radcliff, Pamela. *Making Democratic Citizens in Spain: Civil Society and the Popular Origins of the Transition, 1960-1978*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.
- Richards: Michael. *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936- 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Richmond, Kathleen. *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Sabrow, Martin: Dictatorship as Discourse: Cultural Perspectives on SED Legitimacy." Konrad H. Jarausch ed. Eve Duffy trans. *Dictatorship as Experience: Towards a Socio-cultural History of the GDR*. New York: Berghahn Books, 1999

- Sánchez-López, Rosario. *Entre la importancia y la irrelevancia: Sección Femenina de la República a la transición*. Murcia: Editorial Regional, 2007.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. Revised ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Seidman, Michael. *Republic of Egos: a social history of the Spanish Civil War*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
- Storm, Eric. *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Suárez-Fernández, Luis. *Crónica de la Sección Femenina y su tiempo*. Madrid: Asociación Nueva Andadura, 1992.
- Tax-Freeman, Susan. "Culturing Food." in *Gastronomica* 6, no. 4, (Fall 2006): 99-107.
- Tessada-Sepúlveda, Vanessa. "La prensa de la Sección Femenina de Falange: modelos de "ser mujer." Paper presented at the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies in Lisbon, Portugal, July 2011.
- Tivadar, Blanka and Andreja Vezovnik. "Cooking in Socialist Slovenia: Housewives on the Road from a Bright Future to an Idyllic Past." In *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Eds. Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik. Washington DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010.
- Thomas, Paul. "Jean-Jacque Rousseau, sexist?" in *Feminist Studies* 17, no. 2, Constructing Gender Difference: The French Tradition (Summer, 1991): 195-217.
- Townson, Nigel. *Spain Transformed: The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959-1975*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- Tusell-Gómez, Javier and Rosemary Clark. *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy: 1939 to the present*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Pub., 2007.
- Valis, Noël. *The Culture of Cursilería: Bad Taste, Kitsch, and Class in Modern Spain*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*. London: Chatto and Wilndus, 1960.
- Wood, Roy C. *The Sociology of the Meal*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.