Recuerdos de sus Vidas: Segovianas’ Memories of the Franco Regime, Democratic Transition in Spain

By Brandi Townsend, M.A. student in History

The following is a summary of the research I accomplished while in Madrid and Segovia, Spain, during the summer of 2007. This research will form the basis of my master’s thesis, which I plan to complete by the spring of 2009. I would like to thank and acknowledge the Tinker Foundation and the LAII, as a large part of the funding for this research was provided by the Tinker Foundation’s Field Research Grant.

My research focuses on the discourse surrounding divorce, abortion, and birth control in the transition to democracy and the early years of democracy in Spain (1975-1986). I chose these particular debates because they illuminate the issues of gender, sexuality, and anxiety surrounding the bodies of women in the transition from Spain’s identity as strictly Catholic and isolated to a modern nation that deserved an equal place among the nations of the European Union. I look not only at popular discourse found in newspapers, but also at political cartoons and oral histories to add the dimensions of culture and memory to the history of women in Spain during the transition to democracy. I place the debates about divorce, abortion, and birth control into the larger picture of the shaping of Spanish national identity in the post-Franco era. What follows are excerpts from my thesis’s introduction and a working chapter on the debates about divorce. I also include a political cartoon to represent that area of my research.

In 1975, when Spain witnessed the death of Francisco Franco, its dictator of nearly forty years, the country plunged into an identity crisis. Since the end of the civil war in 1939, Franco’s program of National Catholicism had determined Spanish identity and had fused Spanish-ness with Catholic morality. When Franco died in 1975, King Juan Carlos declared that Spain would become a constitutional monarchy rather than continue as a dictatorship. Juan Carlos and the transitional government began the process of separating the Catholic Church from the state, gradually removing the Catholic monopoly on morality from official state legislation. Not all changes took place immediately; in fact, laws gov-

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A Quick Letter from the Editor

Hola Solistas,

Editing LIMON this past academic year provided me an excellent opportunity to meet students, faculty, and staff across campus. Thanks for your submissions, readership, and support. We’ve all enjoyed the depth and diversity of the articles and fun blurbs. I will pass the torch of editorship to someone else as I assume the role as SOLAS president for the 2008-2009 academic year. Please view the following SOLAS events and be sure to attend the graduation party (May 9) and Convocation Ceremony (May 16).

—Lisa Burns

May 7: Kara Millar, Keeley Lowney, and Ryan Bobbe, Senior Portuguese majors enrolled in the Portuguese Honors project, “The Research and Design of Service Learning in Brazil for Summer Study” will provide the results of a semester of research into the best practices and components of study abroad and service learning. The event will be held at noon in the Latin American and Iberian Institute located at 801 Yale NE. Refreshments will be served.

May 9: SOLAS graduation party! The party also falls during the birthday weekend of two SOLAS members, so come and celebrate with birthday cake as well. The graduation party will be at Martini Grill at 4200 Central Ave. beginning at 9 P.M. Watch the SOLAS Listserv for details or contact SOLAS officers at 277-6847.

May 16: The Latin American Studies Convocation Ceremony will be held in the Atrium room of the Hibben Center beginning at 3 P.M. with a reception and refreshments to follow. Come join peers, faculty and staff in this special LAS graduation ceremony!

Spring and Summer 2008 Graduate Students:

Wendy Courtemanche: MALAS
Max Fitzpatrick: MALAS
Ivis Garcia: MALAS/MCRP
Anna Mabel Gonzalez: MALAS/MALLSS
Jennifer Jackson: MALAS/MBA
Ana Maria Martinez Rodriguez: MALAS

Spring and Summer 2008 Undergraduates:

Colleen Chavez
Daniel Jimenez
Melinda Leodas
Brenda Loya
Bailey Pence
Schuyler Thompson

Alfredo Schwarz: MALAS/MBA
Jimmy Silva: MALAS
Aaron Sussman: MALAS/MCRP
erning the family and sexual morality were hotly debated in state, religious, and popular discourse. Contraceptives were not legalized until 1978—the end of the years known as the democratic transition. Divorce remained illegal until 1981, and in 1985, abortion in cases of a malformed fetus or rape became legal. Using these issues as windows into the experience of the first years of Spanish democracy shows that the untangling of Spanish national identity from Catholic moral doctrine was not an easy task. While the Spanish government, as well as many people in Spain, wanted to assert the new democracy’s place among the other European states, remnants of the Francoist past had not completely disappeared from discourse.

The debates surrounding the legislation of divorce in Spain are particularly interesting and illuminating when discussing the conceptual changes Spanish national identity faced in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The discourse over the legalization of divorce provides a glimpse of the anxieties over changing concepts of gender, morality, and national identity in the new democracy. Notions of male dominance in marriage relationships were tempered by the fact that husbands no longer had economic and legal control over their wives, and women could divorce their husbands without fear of losing their economic footing and/or their children. Because of this new agency, women were able to affect change upon not only their own gender roles, but also traditional notions of masculinity and marriage. Still, a grey area exists: oral interviews, political cartoons, and letters to the editors of national newspapers show that, during the transition and the first years of democracy, the intransigent nature of notions of gender and morality in Spanish consciousness complicated the re-shaping of Spanish national identity from Catholic orthodoxy to plural and European.

George Mosse has argued that middle-class notions of morality became fused with national identity, and nationalist movements of the twentieth century fused established ideas of bourgeois respectability with their nationalist programs. Although Mosse cites the examples of Great Britain and Nazi Germany, the same could be argued for Franco’s Spain. Spain had a long-standing tradition as a Catholic country, and Franco consolidated his power by morphing Spain’s Catholic religious identity into its national identity. The Spanish Catholic Church enjoyed significantly increased political power under Franco’s dictatorship, and it governed societal morality as well. This was a welcomed change from the anti-clericalism persecution of the Church by the Republican side during the civil war.

National Catholicism dictated that the highest aspiration for the Spanish woman was to be a housewife and mother. Catholic organizations and the Sección Feminina, the women’s auxiliary of the Falange, both indoctrinated women and educated them so that they could better fulfill these roles. Women were also affected by Franco’s restoration of the Civil Code of 1889 and the Criminal Code of 1870. Among other restrictions, women could not have bank accounts, secure a passport without their husband’s permission, or claim the family home as their residency (the property was listed solely in the husband’s name). More draconian was the stipulation of the Criminal Code of 1870 that stated that a husband had the right to kill his wife if he caught her in the act of adultery, and a father could kill his unmarried daughter for damaging the family honor with her sexual behavior. A husband’s adultery, however, was not punishable unless it rose to the level of a public scandal.

Social mores also controlled women in the Franco era. Young women were not even allowed to hold hands with their boyfriends in public without their morality being put into question. The only acceptable options for young women were either to marry or to enter a convent; singlehood was frowned upon, even though Pilar Primo de Rivera herself never married. The Spanish woman was destined to a life of abnegation to her father, her husband, and any other male relatives in her life.

While the Sección Feminina emphasized the importance of the woman’s duty to not neglect her

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weighed heavily on the minds of the makers of the new democracy as well as those of the people living in it. While the transition to a democratic system of government was shockingly smooth, questions that dealt with Catholic morality and Spanish identity brought forth once again the question of how much Spain should proudly cling to its exceptionalism and how much of it should be conceded in order to be considered a modern, progressive European state.

The Divorce Debate

While legislators were hashing out the divorce project in the Parliament in 1980 and 1981, tensions escalated. Bishops’ main problem with the proposed divorce law was Article 60, which stated that marriages taking place via the norms of the Church were to be considered civil as well as canonical. If the state considered canonical marriage equal to civil marriage, then civil divorce implied canonical divorce—if such a thing had even existed. Despite its efforts to separate Church and state, the government had adopted the Church’s definition of marriage, which did not recognize the possibility of divorce. In advocating civil divorce, the new law challenged the Church’s meaning of marriage.5

The debate raged not only in the upper echelons of the Spanish government and ecclesiastical order, but also in popular discourse. Taking advantage of freedom of speech and of the press, conversations about divorce flowed freely in the opinion sections of newspapers. The diverse opinions concerning the prospect of the legalization of divorce show that, although the majority of Spaniards seemed to favor the availability of divorce for special cases, many were concerned about the disintegration of the family that they felt would result from it. The main proponents of divorce were people from the ages of 18 to 44—generations that had not lived the majority of their adult lives under the Franco regime. Although Spain was moving in the direction of legalizing divorce in early 1981, it is important to consider the dissenting opinions that came from conservative Catholics—both in the episcopate and in the populace. These anxieties over the loss of Catholic morality are leftovers of Spanish mentality from the thirty-nine years of the Francoist dictatorship under which the Catholic Church’s moral doctrine was actual law. The strength of the family was part of not only Catholic identity, but also Spanish identity, as the two had been fused in Spanish law and consciousness for almost half a century.

Oral histories confirm that attitudes toward

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divorce, and the changes in morality and gender roles that accompanied it, were not black and white. They do, however, show that women in Spain now remember the changes that took place in the 1970s and 1980s as part of a fundamental change in the expectations of men and women. Although the women interviewed varied in age and life experiences, they all agreed that the destiny of the Spanish woman living during the Francoist era was to marry, and she had to tolerate her husband, for better or for worse. The modern Spanish woman, however, does not have to aguantar, or put up with, a husband that is adulterous, does not help with domestic tasks, or treats her badly in other ways.

Political cartoons in ABC and Blanco y Negro satirize the anxieties over divorce and the shift in gender roles that were occurring inside the home in the fledgling years of the democracy. The binary roles of women performing all of the domestic tasks and men working outside the home began to be reshaped as women had had a significant presence in the workforce beginning in the late 1950s and even more so by the late 1970s. As Catholic morality and abnegation to men became less associated with Spanish women's national identity after the death of Franco and feminist movements in Europe and the United States (and a small one in Spain) fought for equality for women, binary gender roles were no longer a national issue, and Spain began to modernize its views about marriage relationships.

4. Carmen Martín Gaite, Usos amorosos de la posguerra española...
5. Shubert, 274.
Market Scenes and Daily Life
In Manaus, Brazil: A Photo Story

By Marnie Watson,
Ph.D. student in Anthropology

My research focuses on the ways that urban market workers construct and maintain connections between rural areas and the rapidly growing city of Manaus, capital of the Brazilian state of Amazonas. I received an LAlT Tinker Foundation Field Research Grant in 2007, which enabled me to spend six weeks conducting research with fish vendors in Manaus’s city markets. Markets are locations where rural and urban zones intersect, as rural products are transformed into commodities bought by city dwellers.

In the Brazilian Amazon, as in most of Latin America, the majority of the population now resides in urban areas that have exploded in size over the past few decades. Manaus, in 1960 a town of 173,703 inhabitants, by 1980 had grown to a city of 634,756, and today, in 2008, population estimates hover around the two million mark. Individuals and families generally choose to move to the city to take advantage of the greater resources available in urban areas. In many rural communities, schools often do not extend past the primary grades, medical facilities are limited in the care that they can provide, and employment opportunities are few. And yet people do not only move from the country to the city, but back and forth in both directions. The city and the country are not separate and distinct zones, but mutually constituting, interlocking, entwined.

Participating in the daily life of the market and conducting life history interviews with market workers enabled me to gain a window into the lived experience of urbanization in Manaus. These photographs were taken at the city’s largest market, the Manaus Moderna, and at the docks outside. I want to thank all of the wonderful market workers who received me with great hospitality and friendship. They have asked that their real names appear with these photographs.

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Photographs on pages 7 and 8: Daily activities on the docks in Manaus.

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Photographs on pages 8: Market scenes in Manaus and assorted fish products including: pirarara, pacu, and a meal of jaraqui frito.

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Pictures on page 10 are from one of the markets in Manaus.
Top left: Marnie Watson and Valdenir Cunha de Oliveira; Middle left: Luiz Eduardo Carvalho; Bottom left: Ironelson Menezes; Top right: Leandro Mascarenas and David da Silva; Middle right: Sidney Santana da Silva; Bottom right: Ronilson Bentcs dos Santos and Or-Laison Araujo.
Pictures on page 11 are also from a market in Manaus.  
Top left: Francisco Pinto Carvalho; Middle left: Irunilson Menezes;  
Bottom left: Marnie Watson; Top right: Alcimar Lira; Bottom right: Ediney Santana da Silva.

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Another dock scene in Manaus and pictures of a piranha, Pirarucu seco, and bunches of fish. □
Redrafting the Ecuadorian Constitution

By Meg Edwards,
Ph.D. Student in Political Science

As a doctoral student in the Political Science Department, my topic of research is presidential failure in South America. Presidential failure occurs whenever a president does not complete his/her term in office due to impeachment, resignation, or other reasons. Last year, I received funding through a Tinker Foundation and LAII Field Research Grant (FRG) and the Office of Graduate Studies’ Research, Project, and Travel Grant (RPT) to conduct preliminary investigations into the consequences of presidential failure in Ecuador. My project involved travel to Quito in the summer of 2007 to conduct interviews with politicians and civil society leaders regarding their views and opinions of which constitutional changes should be enacted by the upcoming constituent assembly. As Ecuadorians prepared to rewrite their constitution to address the issue of presidential failure, I was able to meet with political and societal leaders and identify what changes they would be seeking in the rewriting process.

Ecuador stood as a perfect case for my preliminary research into the consequences of presidential failure. Prior to current President Correa, the three most recent elected presidents were all removed from office before the end of their terms. In 1997, the first instance of presidential failure could be witnessed in Ecuador when protesters gathered in the streets in opposition to President Bucaram. The mass of protesters called for the president’s impeachment due to persistent economic problems and corruption concerns, and the legislature removed him from office on the grounds of mental incapacity. The next elected president, Jamil Mahuad, faced similar economic problems and encountered mass protests against his plans for dollarization. When protesters gathered in Congress and the Supreme Court, military and indigenous leaders called for his removal from office. Eventually, the Vice-President was installed. Finally, in 2005, Ecuador faced its third presidential failure when President Gutiérrez—who also helped lead the protests against Mahuad—fled the presidential palace in the face of continued protest. Since presidential failure was so prevalent in Ecuador, the country presented a valuable case for analysis. Moreover, the funding that I received allowed me to travel to Ecuador and examine the new process of constitutional drafting intended to resolve this repeated problem of presidential failure.

In conducting my preliminary investigations, I gained access to important political figures and civil society groups. Upon arriving in Quito, I became acquainted with members of Congress and numerous Diputados (Congressmen) from several political parties along the political spectrum. These representatives presented diverse opinions about the constituent

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assembly and the need for political change. As several of the party members had been fighting for institutional changes, they provided hopeful opinions about the creation of a new constitution. Other party members appeared more reluctant in driving for change, as they explained that undesirable legislative alterations might result. These Diputados answered my inquiries more cautiously, as they wanted limited changes to the constitution. Also, I met with several politicians who were candidates for seats in the constituent assembly. I was able to interview these politicians regarding the types of changes they would seek to enact. These politicians truly presented the widest variety of suggestions for political changes within Ecuador. Each candidate provided me with his/her specific views on the need for change and the manner in which to attain it.

Finally, I held interviews with several indigenous organizations within Quito. Indigenous organizations have played a role in recent presidential failure as well as in the drive for constitutional change. The indigenous groups provided an instrumental resource for learning the opinion of their communities. These groups saw social and economic issues, not institutional concerns, as the key problems in Ecuador. Their suggestions for changes focused on greater equity within the country and more government focus on indigenous issues. Also, they called for the acknowledgement of Ecuador’s ethnic diversity in the new constitution, including increased regional autonomy. These organizations presented issues that had not been mentioned by the politicians that I interviewed, such as the need for protection of the country’s biodiversity. In conducting these interviews in Ecuador, I was able to perform initial investigations into constitutional changes in the wake of presidential failure. I was able to gain access to politicians and indigenous organizations, which will dramatically contribute to the successful completion of my dissertation project. The chance to visit Ecuador during that critical summer was instrumental to my research and has given me a better understanding of their assembly process and a greater comprehension of the potential changes. Moreover, I was able to gather perspectives on institutional, as well as economic and social, factors that will be up for discussion in the assembly process.


UNM Study Semester!

Study Tour to Nicaragua and Costa Rica: Summer and Semester Sessions

By Dr. Christine Rack in the Department of Sociology
Dr. Ken Carpenter with International Programs

Summer Program: The summer program course is Sociology 461: Social Dynamics of Global Change—Recovery and Challenge in Post-Violence

Central American Society. Over the past 35 years, Nicaragua has survived two wars, a revolution, a mammoth earthquake and several hurricanes, and imposition of neo-liberal economic “reforms” on its struggling economy. At the same time Costa Rica, the country without an army, has enjoyed relative economic and political stability, but is now confronting difficult and destabilizing issues of its own. How have the people in these societies coped with the changes and challenges?

After a week of reading and classroom study in Albuquerque, we will travel to Granada, Nicaragua, a safe and charming colonial city on the shores of Lake Nicaragua. We will stay with local families, meet with scholars and activists, and visit grassroots organizations working on women’s issues, cultural and social recovery, sustainability, the effects of globalization, and other social, political and economic issues. For a week we will split into two groups, with one group visiting rural northern Nicaragua, and the second traveling to Costa Rica. We will return to Granada to compare information and prepare projects to sum up what we have learned.

For free time, we have planned a number of activities and trips so that students can enjoy the ambiance of Granada, the cultural center of Nicaragua, and the magnificence of the volcanoes, lakes, forests and beaches in Nicaragua and nearby Costa Rica.

- **DATES:** July 7-July 11 in Albuquerque; July 13-August 1 in Central America
- **Earn 3 UNM Upper Division Credits** (Graduate credit available)
- **Use your UNM financial aid, and apply for a Regents International Study Grant**

- **Approximate cost, including all trip expenses:** $2,000

Nicaragua Summer Program 2008 Tentative Schedule

**Monday, July 7—Friday July 11**
Class meetings in Albuquerque and pre-departure orientation

**Sunday, July 13—Fly to Managua.**
Travel by bus to Granada, meet homestay families, orientation to Granada

**Monday, July 14—Saturday, July 19**
Lecture/Discussions at Casa Xalteva Study Center
Visits to women’s programs and children’s programs in Granada. Field trips to University of Central America in Managua
Meeting with community organizations in Managua
Excursions to Mombacho Volcano, rainforest canopy tour, Las Isletas, Lake Nicaragua islands

**Sunday, July 20—Friday, July 25**
Group Trips
Group 1: Northern Nicaragua—Leon, Esteli, Matagalpa, Ocotal
Group 2: Costa Rica—San Jose, University for Peace, rainforest visit

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Students visit an herbal medicine farm in Bluefields, Nicaragua.
A school girl in Bluefields, Nicaragua.

Saturday, July 26—Sunday, July 27
Groups meet on Ometepe Island
Free day at Charco Verde, lakeside ecological reserve, and optional hiking trip to Volcan Concepcion

Monday, July 28—Thursday, July 31
Lecture/discussions at Casa Xalteva: Reflection & Integration
Completion of final projects
Excursions to Masaya Volcanic National Park, Arts & Crafts Mercado, Laguna de Apoyo

Friday, August 1
Return to Albuquerque

Fall or Spring Semester Program Themes:
The curriculum for the fall or spring semester program is designed to explore the historical, structural and cultural patterns in specific social institutions (economy, family, education, health, social welfare) in Nicaragua specifically and in Central America in general.

We will also explore the sociohistorical construction of inter-ethnic, class and gender relations. We will examine the national patterns emerging in Nicaragua since the 1979 Sandinista Revolution. Students will have the opportunity to travel to and meet with organizations on the Caribbean Coast, where Afro-Nicaraguan and Indigenous groups struggle for human rights, and the North Central Highlands, where the promise of women’s equality remains unrealized but an active struggle. We will investigate the patterns of privilege and oppression in a global context, where neoliberal economics entrain a kind of cultural imperialism with contradictory im-

UNM courses include:
- 6 credits of intensive Spanish language classes at beginning, intermediate or advanced levels
- SOC 398: Social Institutions Under Stress in Central America, 3 credits (may be cross-listed with other UNM departments)
- SOC 420: Race and Cultural Relations, 3 credits (may be cross-listed with other UNM departments)
- SOC 488: Sociology Internship, 3 credits
- Independent study courses and graduate credit also may be arranged

For more information, contact study tour leaders:
Dr. Christine Rack in the Department of Sociology
E-mail: rack@unm.edu
Telephone: 277-8990

Dr. Ken Carpenter with International Programs
E-mail: Carpenk@unm.edu
Telephone: 277-4032

Students enjoy a boat trip on Lake Nicaragua.
CINE DE AMÉRICA

By Lisa Burns,
M.A. Latin American Studies

MUST SEE MOVIE:

Trade (2007)

The Hollywood-like film Trade, directed by Marco Kreuzpaintner, opens with a few young women from different countries preparing for their journey to the U.S. to work through an “agency.” Soon, the women discover the reality of their situation: the “agency” claims they must repay the costs of their immigration documents and travel expenses by working in the sex industry.

Against this backdrop, the main part of the movie unfolds with the kidnapping of 13-year-old Adriana (Paulina Gaitan) from Mexico City. Adriana’s older brother Jorge (Cesar Ramos), horrified with his discovery that she would be forced into the sex industry in the United States, takes off to find his little sister. He sneaks into the U.S. by hiding in the trunk of a car belonging to Ray (Kevin Kline), a Texas police officer on his own personal mission to uncover crimes related to sex trafficking.

Trade encompasses this horrific reality by juxtaposing different sides of the sex trade industry through the screenplay writing. On screen, the graphic sexual exploitation of the women, young Adriana, and other children is broken by the more comical partnership forged by Jorge and Ray in their search for Adriana. The extreme comical and violent sides of the film may have gone too far but make the movie memorable.

On a substantive level, the movie compels the audience to consider the issues related to economic immigration to the U.S. as well as sex trafficking. The illustration of the sex trade industry highlights the need for increased understanding on the part of citizens and political leaders world-wide in relation to economics and other human rights issues. The images in the film also speak to the economic and human heart of immigration issues within the U.S. Although an individual viewer may find Trade exaggerated and drawn-out, the film-makers obtained their goal of promoting awareness of the sex slave industry.

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