

**THE LIFE OF THE SPANISH WOMAN  
UNDER THE FRANCOIST REGIME (1940-1978)**

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**Abstract**

The aim of this article is to analyse the social context in which Spanish women lived between the end of the Spanish Civil War (1939) and the transition (1978), and examine to what extent the said context affected their professional lives and created conditions to achieve forms of self-realisation. This research sets out to study the situation of women in the workplace and labour market of the period and to explore how they were able to give meaning to their existence through their social and personal lives. To this end, we will take into account the element associated with belonging to a given social class, as this variable influenced the opportunities for cultural and professional development. In this line of thought, it is necessary to point out that the methodological approach used for this study is based on oral history, taking as a starting point the testimonies collected by the researchers between the years 2006 and 2007. Consequently, it is important to note that 200 women were interviewed from 7 of Spain's autonomous communities, with an average age of 78, and who at the time were all living in retirement homes.

Based on this information, and after processing the data and subsequent analysis, we arrive at a series of conclusions of fundamental importance, which enable us to detect the most significant behaviours of this generation of women who are known today as the "solidarity generation", and which was one of the key elements that drove the process of transition.

**Key words:** *woman, human rights, civil liberties, education, culture*

**Introduction**

Post civil-war Spain was a country ravaged by hunger and abject poverty. After the three years of the Civil War (1936-1939), General Franco had achieved victory against the Republicans and Communists, and there was an atmosphere of social reconstruction, but, above all, what people wanted was peace. Meanwhile, the Spanish Roman Catholic Church had suffered fierce persecution (before and during the war, driven by an anti-clerical left that was out of control), resulting in the death of many victims including priests and nuns.

Likewise, there was a critically high number of political prisoners and this a major social and family crisis derived from this fact. To take just one case, in the city of Malaga in 1941, there were 3,500 political prisoners (De la Fuente, 2002:36). Under these circumstances, many women had no choice but to prostitute themselves to feed their children, while others were humiliated and abused. *The abuse to which they were*

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*subjected was so cruel and humiliating that many of them were marked for life. Shorn heads and castor oil purgations were everyday occurrences, then came the processions in which they were paraded around town squares, where they were forced to wear a red ribbon whenever they went outdoors* (Real, S. Abril, M. y Vicente, I, 1991: 320).

Although the situation described above was reported on the Republican side, after the war, women on the Nationalist (pro-Franco) side, suffered experiences that were similar to those on the other side, such as the disappearance of family members who had died in the purges, shootings, and in combat, not to mention the lost harvests, properties and (in generic terms) the destruction of personal life prospects. Regarding the last point, many women lost the opportunity to form a family, set up some productive activity or obtain a scholarship. As an example of this situation, there is the following testimony of a woman who fled to France with her family and who at the end of the Civil War was 16 years old: *We too crossed over into France via Hendaye, but my father was a Republican and we had to stay there until the end of the war. Before the war broke out, there was a schoolmistress who was arranging a scholarship so that I could train to be a teacher. When I returned from France, that schoolteacher was no longer there and nobody knew anything about my scholarship. I always deeply regretted not being able to go to university* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 156).

Nevertheless, these women strove to create a stable family environment that would allow them to resume their life in society, using every possible resource and means to survive. This endeavour is illustrated by De la Fuente in the following terms: *Mothers with families with the little money they had searched among the offal vendors for entrails and viscera reputed to be nutritious, such as liver* (De la Fuente, 2002:39).

We have offered this brief exposition as it demonstrates the environment in which the Spanish women interviewed in the said study lived, the majority of whom were born in the years 1928-1930. In this brief context, one may well ask what these women's daily life was like and how they dealt with these family needs and found employment. At the same time, regarding those few women (with academic qualifications) who were able to secure employment and have a career it is worth investigating how they were able to complete their education and training, bearing in mind not only the economic and social restrictions of the period, but also the legal status of women in Spain under the Franco dictatorship.

### **1. The Franco Dictatorship (1939-1978)**

The beginning of the post-Civil War was marked by the imposition of peace – by the Franco-ist regime – using whatever methods were necessary, in order to reorganise the State and stabilise Spanish society. To build a solid political base, the Franco regime has the support of the “traditionalists” and the “phalangists”, in addition to the “apoliticals” who jumped on the bandwagon later. This latter group is described by Suárez y Comellas (2006) as a “large mass” far removed from the issues of the war and politics, whose members were only interested in activities that made a profit and the progress of Spain; from this sector would come the group known as the “technocrats”, who would play a very important role from 1959 on.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to stress that this group drove the development of economy with the implementation of the Stabilisation Plan (1959) and the Development Plan (1960), and the

In order to establish a minimal socio-historical framework within which to contextualise the situation of Spanish women during the years after the Civil War, it is important to identify two fundamental elements: a- The changes produced in the legal structure of Franco-ism, a circumstance that would have major consequences in terms of women's rights during the period; b- The class structure of the society of the time, which is going to be fundamental in order to evaluate the social and occupational role of Spanish women.

With regard to the first point, when General Franco came to power, all of the legal advances that had been granted to women during the Second Republic (1931-1939), as well as to other social groups and classes, were struck from the statute book. In this regard, we must first highlight Article 25 of the Constitution of the Spanish Republic (1931) which declared as follows: *The following cannot be the grounds of any privilege in the law: the nature, parentage, gender, social class, wealth, political ideas or religious beliefs. The State does not recognise distinctions or titles of nobility.* As a consequence of this legal measure, women achieved equal rights in matrimony (Article 43), the right to practise any profession (Article 40), the right to vote (Article 36), and the right to divorce by mutual consent. This latter right was enacted by the Law of 2 March, 1932.

When Franco came to power, all of these legal and social achievements were revoked. In this regard, María Ángeles Moraga points out the following: *The dictatorship immediately took a series of measures to place women back in a status of subjugation. All of the progress made disappeared with the stroke of a pen. Thus, for example, co-educational schools were abolished, [...] access to the liberal professions was prohibited to them and other positions in the civil service, such as Attorney-General, Land Registrars, the Diplomatic Corps, Judges, Magistrates, etc. [...]. In addition, the civil marriage act and divorce act were repealed with retroactive effects, abortion was criminalised, as were adultery and "common-law" marriage. The age of majority was raised to 25 years, forcing young women to stay in their parents' home until they married or entered a convent* (Moraga, 2008: 232).

With regard to the second point about the social structure of Spain, it is important to point out the particular feature identified by the researcher Pilar Ballarín, who according to the specificity of women for the period in question, establishes the following stratification: a) The working-class woman: includes female workers in general and farm workers; b) the middle-class woman who could only aspire to improve her situation by marriage, and c) the upper-class woman, who could study at prestigious institutions, as well as speak several languages and travel abroad (Ballarín, 2001: 60-62).

This legal and socio-economic framework that restricted women's lives in post-Civil War Spain was aggravated by the international isolation to which Spain was subjected by the UN resolution from 1946 to 1955 the year in which the country was readmitted and the development plans were started. But it was only from 1960 onward that a noticeable reactivation of the economy began to be apparent: *The period from 1960 to 1973 was the most prosperous of the Franco period [...] Spain was, together with Japan and Canada, the country that developed most in the world. It was the period of "horizontal prosperity"* (Suárez and Comellas, 2006: 367).

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modernisation of the education system with the General Education Act (1970) also known as the "Ley Villar-Palasi".

In addition to the afore-mentioned aspects, during the Franco period the Social Security system was set up and subsidised housing was built for families with low incomes. Indeed, for the time, according to the above-cited Suárez and Comellas, *Social Insurance was developed, in particular Sickness Benefit, which allowed workers to have access for the first time to doctors and medicines free of charge [to which was added] the building of health centres whose size was probably disproportionate and along the lines of the “national syndicalist” mentality* (Suárez and Comellas, 2006: 368).

## **2. Spanish Women and Social Classes**

As stated under the point above, Spanish women were tightly controlled by the social class to which they belonged. Following this approach, we will then conduct an analysis based on the hypothesis made by Pilar Ballarín (2001), who suggests a division into three segments, taking into account the roles performed, financial opportunities and family roles depending on the social stratum to which they belonged.

### **2.1. Working-class women**

In this social group, one can observe differences between female workers and women who worked in the countryside. With regard to the first sub-stratum, there was a certain presence of women in the industrial workforce due to the migrations from the countryside to the cities. They were paid fair wages (although in some cases they had long working days) as unskilled labour in factories and industries, principally in Catalonia and the Basque Country. Later, Franco began to restrict the opportunities for women to access this kind of employment, which would lead women, in some circumstances, to do productive work at home, with trades related to dressmaking and embroidery (Ballarín, 2001: 62). Another segment of this social stratum was domestic servants, including maids, laundry workers or seamstresses.

As far as women in the countryside were concerned, – according to Pilar Ballarín – as they had a vital space and social status thanks to the role they played in the community (assisting in childbirth, taking care of family members, preparing cakes and sweets for village fairs) they had a more stable life. This did not occur with the working-class woman in the city, where life was harsher and more impersonal, although work in the countryside was also very hard. Regarding this last observation, we offer the testimony of a woman from Burgos (Spain) who was 15 at the end of the Civil War and who wanted to get away from working in the countryside: *The wisest decision I have ever taken was to tell my mother that I did not like looking after the cows, and that I preferred to go to the city and work as a domestic servant. I have been very happy and I have raised four children* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012:135).

### **2.2. Middle-class women**

One of the fundamental characteristics of this stratum was that they had a very limited social life, and they were restricted to the home environment. It was perhaps the most restricted segment socially, in terms of the chances of achieving some degree of autonomy, as they had no access to work in industry because it was frowned upon by the society of the time. Furthermore, they did not have sufficient means to travel, learn languages or obtain an education that would allow them to gain effective access

to the labour market and obtain financial independence. Regarding the lack of educational opportunities, the following testimony of a woman who was born in 1941 may be illustrative: *If we had studied, I don't know where we would have ended up. I was the smartest one in our home, but my father spent his savings on my brothers' education and none of them graduated. It is something I have always regretted, not having been able to study, the problem is that now (I'm sixty-six) I feel too tired to do it* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012:137).

As a result of these socio-economic limitations, it was precisely this segment that drove the demands for a better social status for women through more open access to education and thereby to the means of production.

### ***2.3 Upper-class women***

This minority, logically, belonged to the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, where marriage (to members of the same class) was the stabilising element to maintain one's status. Generally, they obtained their education at home, where they learned mostly music and languages, but there were also cases of women who attended prestigious colleges both in Spain and abroad. Nevertheless, despite the advantages derived from their social condition, they had no power to make decisions about their lives; neither did they have much freedom: although they could travel outside the country – one of the few advantages they enjoyed – in comparison with women of other social classes.

### **3. Spanish Women and Social Organisations: the Sección Femenina**

Based on the ideas discussed above with regard to the woman's place in the class structure, it is essential to explain and analyse the importance of a form of social organisation that would dominate the lives of women during the post-war period until Franco's death, namely the "Sección Femenina".

This organisation emerged during the period of the Second Republic at the behest of the "Falange Española y de la JONS" (Spanish Falangx of the Councils of the National-Syndicalist Offensive, commonly known as "la Falange"), in 1934. Indeed, it was regarded as the female arm of la falange, and it had the active support of Pilar Primo de Rivera, sister of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of la Falange Española. Consequently, the ideals of this organisation was firmly controlled by the thinking of José Antonio and of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain.

Subsequently, when Franco came to power, the basic approach of the Sección Femenina would be orientated at promoting the ideal of women as mothers who give birth to and raise children for the glory of the new fatherland. In this sense, the researcher Inmaculada Blasco (2005) offers an assessment that describes the role of women during the dictatorship: *The Franco-ist state explicitly called on women to be involved in building it. To this end, it appealed to a single national identity, one that was homogeneous, monolithic and based on the notion of serving the nation and the faith, although it articulated a different version of that identity for women: their service to the nation and the faith had to be deployed, not in working outside the home or in political participation, from which they were excluded, but in their role as mothers and socialisation in the family, spheres which, furthermore, had become matters of public importance (as issues of national concern) and susceptible to State intervention* (Blasco, 2005: 57-58).

This “female section” exerted great power over schools and the whole sphere of education (above all in physical education and political development). From its offices, teachers were selected and sent out to teach classes in girls’ schools: handcrafts, needlework, sport and a subject called “Formación del Espíritu Nacional” (National Spirit Training). In addition, starting in 1940, Spanish women between the ages of 17 and 35 had to do 6 months’ compulsory community service in offices, hospitals and rural schools; this was the equivalent for women of Military Service for men.

This national service was required to obtain paid employment, the issuance of an academic or official qualification, to join any association, obtain a driving licence or a passport. Married women and widows were exempted from this voluntary work, as well as disabled women and the seriously ill.

What this did mean – although it did not meet with the hoped-for acceptance by women – was a great effort to provide social welfare, at a time when the country needed a far-reaching social and economic reconstruction, especially from the 1940s to the 1960s. Perhaps, as Blasco (2005) claims, the women that were most hostile to this kind of instruction were those that lived in small towns and villages, because they had an organised life and were much more active participants in the community.

It is a fact that the Sección Femenina, in terms of social welfare and training, was of fundamental importance in the development of social services in Spain. In this regard, Blasco acknowledges that the Sección Femenina: *Played a part in the dictatorship’s social benefits policy, offering its services (unpaid or low-paid female labour) for the creation of rudimentary and low-cost welfare system through its rural instructors, social health visitors and nurses of the “Auxilio Social”* (Blasco, 2005: 62).

#### **4. Economic Take-Off and Comfort in Women’s Daily Lives**

As we have already noted, starting with Spain’s admission to the UN, planning for the country’s development began. This meant a major improvement in the Spanish economy which, of course, directly affected the family and hence, women.

In the 1960s, the generation of women we are concerned with in this study had an average age of 30 to 35 years, and their lives were now organised, with many of them enjoying a certain financial security. The Spanish middle class began to enjoy having a car, as well as a second home in the mountains or on the beach.

The arrival of television in homes meant that leisure began part of family life and this allowed for periods of relaxation and entertainment. Spanish people enjoyed watching foreign films, although there was State censorship which upheld a moralistic/political set of criteria to cut certain scenes or discourses, not just on television but also in the cinema; *For the Spanish censor, the three most important issues were: religion, politics and morality. It was therefore necessary that members of these bodies [sic] were among its organisers [...] to oversee these issues. They set the boundaries of what was permissible* (Gascón, 2010: 93).

The impression that was given was the Civil War was fading into the past and the idea was to forget about it because the future seemed promising. Women with children saw that their daughters and sons were starting university; this cohort of 1974 was completely normalised for the younger generations that were coming along.

The advance of education in Spain was spectacular, as pointed out by Suárez and Comellas (2006) taking in account that in 1954 illiteracy was completely eradicated, in 1964 there were 112,000 university graduates and, in 1975, 500.000.

Our women witnessed this change in its entirety; they had a harsh youth during the end of the Civil War and the post-war period, but they were able to adapt at the times it was their fate to live through and they were the bridge between two worlds: on the one hand, the poor Spain and, on the other hand, the Spain that leapt forward, becoming an important country in the European Community in subsequent years.

### **5. Testimonies of some elderly Spanish Women**

The most appropriate way to analyse the social and political ideas, postures and positions of the women who lived through the years (the subject of this research), will consist in reviewing some variables of the research related to the data obtained via oral history procedures.

In this regard, it is interesting to analyse the variable associated with the opportunities of study and the education system, and if the subject was not able to attend school or college, to investigate what were the reasons for this and how it impacted on their social lives. To this end, we sought information about what work they did outside the home, as well as ascertaining to what extent they had to do so to earn money or to develop their career or vocation. Based on the data obtained, a series of graphs was drawn up, which show the overall results for the seven autonomous communities analysed (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 217).

For the quantitative measurement of the afore-mentioned variable we interviewed 200 women over the age of 79 (in the period 2006-2007). The following items were formulated with two or three multiple choice answers from which only one could be chosen. The questions, with their design and the percentages of results were as follows:

*No.1-Question: Were you able to study when you were young?*

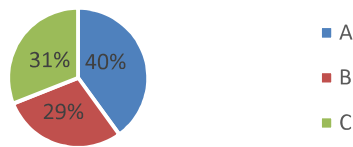
*A. Yes, but what one studied then: a bit of everything: sewing, embroidery, piano, etc.*

*B. Yes, I was able to study and practise a profession.*

*C. No, the fact is I could not study.*

The results obtained for this first question revealed that only 29% were able to study at university and practise a profession, while 40% studied at a basic level, and 31% had no access to basic education (See Graph 1).

Graph 1



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

Regarding this point, it is important to highlight as a significant data point that in one of the retirement homes that we researched in Burgos (Castilla y León), there happened to be a large number of retired pharmacists. This is an unusual data point in the generation analysed, which increased the figure to 29%. The percentages of those who studied and those who were unable to study are quite similar. This does not mean that many of them had to have worked.

*No. 2-Question: Why do you think women of your generation seldom had the chance to study?*

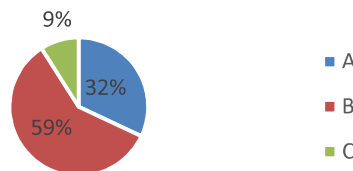
*A. We were educated to get married and we did not think we could have a professional career.*

*B. Because times were hard economically and it was very expensive.*

*C. It was frowned upon and one's families did not want it.*

With regard to the second question, although the socio-cultural variables were important<sup>1</sup>, it should be noted that ultimately the economic reasons had a significant weight in terms of the opportunities of education and training, since as can be seen in the responses, 59% said they could not have access to education due to the cost it would have entailed (See Graph 2).

Graph 2



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

*No. 3-Question: Were you able to develop your professional career?*

*A. Yes*

*B. No*

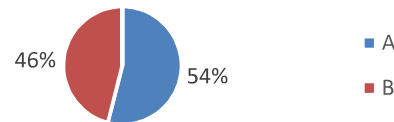
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<sup>1</sup> As can be seen in the percentage responses with regard to the social function of women being to marry (32%), or the negative social and family perception (9%) of studying.



Regarding the third question, which is closely related to the fourth (and which we discuss in more detail in the qualitative study section), it is necessary to highlight a deep-seated problem from the point of view of the social structure of the era, which was the lack of real opportunities that could offer viable options to Spanish women in the post-war period, in terms of an education that would allow one to realise oneself professionally in an effective manner, meet one's personal needs and realise one's life goals (See Graph 3).

Graph 3



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

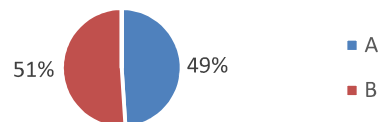
*No. 4-Question: If you were unable to develop your professional vocation, do you miss it?*

*A. No, I have been very happy without having a career.*

*B. Yes, I would have liked to develop my professional vocation, because I feel there is a great cultural void.*

Finally, referring to the last question, although one might think that professional realisation would have to be an indispensable element in the individual's psycho-social configuration, it is nonetheless striking that 51% of the interviewees did not have any problems of personal fulfilment, frustration or disenchantment for not having had a profession that allowed them to channel their concerns (See Graph 3).

Graph 4



Source: Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012.

In response to the previous comment, in order to try to find some kind of explanation for the percentages of Graph 4, we consider it necessary to review the qualitative study in which the opinions of women from different social classes, with different life histories, are observed, but who in old age find themselves in similar personal situations in nursing homes.

In the qualitative study, after looking at the problems experienced by the older women (who were interviewed), curiously, the view they have at this stage of their life, apparently gives them a different perception, which tends to be positive and

conciliatory with the problems, limitations and possible frustrations that they overcame.

With regard to the interview to carry out the qualitative study, this was structured based on a 5-item questionnaire whose purpose is to collect information about two vital aspects: firstly, we set out to obtain data about the personal and professional life of each interviewee; and secondly, it was crucial to establish a perspective in terms of the possible role of women today.

For the purposes of this research, we have taken as a reference one of the questions whose purpose was to collect information about how the post-war period had affected them, the period in which it was their fate to live during their youth. The question was as follows:

- *What would you have changed of the woman of your generation?* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 326).

To this question, most of the women from the Canary Islands, the Madrid Metropolitan Area, and the Basque Country (in particular, the city of Vitoria) replied that they would change *nothing*. On this point, a woman interviewed in the city of Palmas de Gran Canaria explained her response in the following way:

- *Nothing, because at my age generosity and loving one's neighbour is the most important thing in a person, and I believe that the women of my generation have given everything (woman aged 90)* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 388).

This question supplied a wealth of information about how women lived in post-war Spain. Firstly, when asked the question, they remembered and reflected on the most important moments of their lives. However, it is important to note that there were other, very different responses, with a degree of disagreement on a critical level (although they were a minority). This kind of response was marked by the geographical region, as depending on the place of origin they responded that they would have wanted more freedom, opportunities to have an education, or to be less dependent on their husband (this was the case in Guipuzcoa, Extremadura and Castille – La Mancha). In this regard, some of the responses were:

- *More freedom.*
- *More freedom and less submission to one's husband.*
- *Not having lived through the war.*
- *Having been able to study.*
- *More education* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 345).

In Burgos (Castilla y León) – as noted above – a group of women who were university graduates and professionals was identified (37% of the sample collected in that city) who were highly critical of the social behaviour of some women of the period for their conformist attitude, for accepting social conventions and for not standing up for their rights. In the analysis of the questionnaires, views such as the following were identified:

- *Having had the same opportunities as men.*
- *More culture; few of us girls went to secondary school.*
- *Having fewer children.*
- *More freedom of choice.*
- *That they weren't so silly.*

- *We were too trusting* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 341).

In this regard, this viewpoint is related to what we commented on earlier: that the middle-class single woman was the one who most demanded access to education and a professional career. However, part of the results obtained in this research also shows us that women, although they denounced the lack of freedom, were also able to overcome all of the problems and limitations of the era, which – apparently according to the testimonies collected – did not radically affect them in realising their personal goals. This point of view seems evident in the following testimonies:

- *My inner life is very strong. I pray mentally; it is where I draw my strength from. I have a life plan.*

- *I believe that it all depends on personal effort, not on the times one lives in.*

- *Women have to educate and develop themselves; I think they will become presidents of governments* (Ruiz-Alberdi, 2012: 342).

After analysing certain results of the research conducted, it is surprising to see certain testimonies in which, despite the difficulties of the period, the women interviewed had a positive view of their way of life during the Franco dictatorship. This circumstance must lead us to establish some form of conclusion in terms of frameworks of interpretation to assess the historical facts. Therefore, it is extremely important to reconstruct the mentalities, specific circumstances and living conditions of the period under study; in certain cases one cannot use the criteria of the present to assess past events.

Therefore, it would be useful to cite the views expressed by the Spanish intellectual and philosopher Julián Marías: *Every era is valid in itself; it has its own internal logic, according to historical reasoning, naturally, not according to abstract reasoning; it has its claims to justification, its opportunities for happiness, its risks of unhappiness, its meaning and meaninglessness, and one should not blithely project our particular way of judging reality on other eras* (Marías, 1990: 91).

Finally, when attempting to establish a kind of socio-historical balance of these women's participation in the social development of the country during the Franco era, we cite the view of Virginia Maquieira D'Angelo, Professor of Social Anthropology at the Autonomous University of Madrid, who makes the following assessment:

*The grandmothers' generation – the last generation of women who were mostly housewives – has exercised a full circle of generational solidarity, taking care not only of their children but also their elder relatives and now also of their grandchildren, for which reason society owe them an immense debt; but this cycle seems to have come to its end. The new generations joining the labour market will not likely be able to perform these tasks with the next generation* (Maquieira, 2002: 31).

The arrival of the 1978 Constitution meant the great legal change of rights and freedoms for Spanish women, although for women of the post-war period (which we have researched) this process did not mean a radical change, as it did for the new generations. In this regard, it should be noted that the elderly women had striven to overcome the difficulties of the Franco-ist period, without having the legal corpus or the rights acquired since the Transition yet, nevertheless, they laid the foundations for women's development and continue to provide support to stabilise the Spanish family structure: to sum up, these women (the "solidarity generation") see their children develop and support them by looking after their grandchildren.

### **Conclusions**

With regard to the research conducted, a series of considerations emerge which we believe are important for possible discussions about the role played by Spanish women from after the Civil War to the Transition:

1. Firstly, according to the testimonies reviewed, it is important to point out that the analysis of the women's expectations, desires and aspirations must be interpreted within the historical context, as the war cut short many people's plans for their lives. In that regard, the awareness of the restrictions and difficulties possibly helped post-war women to overcome in an effective manner the problematic situations and crises they had to deal with.

2. The self-perception of women of this post-war generation would appear to be associated more with an idea of personal effort as a way of improving oneself, without giving much importance to the socio-historical and economic conditions of the period.

3. Finally, the model of practices, customs and habits generated by the post-war woman served as the social and cultural basis to lend stability to Spain's societal fabric, as well as giving historical continuity to this country's social process. Hence, it is very possible that this model of behaviour will tend to disappear in the coming generations.

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