

**FROM PEASANT TO HOUSEWIFE. FEMININE ROLES AND
AGRICULTURAL TRAINING IN FRANCO'S SPAIN.**

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This is a postprint. The Version of Record of this manuscript has been published in
HISTORY AND ANTHROPOLOGY, 07 Jun 2023,
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2023.2220350>

FROM PEASANT TO HOUSEWIFE. FEMININE ROLES AND AGRICULTURAL TRAINING IN FRANCO'S SPAIN.

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to outline the ideal that the Franco dictatorship pursued for the case of rural women and analyze its evolution during the almost forty years that the dictatorship lasted. For this purpose, we have analyzed the official curricula of the female agrarian training schools, where the women who were to be "models" for the peasant women were trained. The press and reports from the Ministry of Agriculture and women's magazines of the time were consulted. We conclude that this specific education sought to turn them into housewives by erasing the traces of their peasant identity and that this process entailed the creation of a space that could be called "home" and the assignment to them of specific tasks within it.

Keywords: rural woman, gender, agricultural education, identity, Francoism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Research on formal education has been recognized as a valid entry point when approaching the study of gender conformity in rural societies. Studies have confirmed that is necessary to pay attention to physical segregation in educational spaces but, above all, to the different education that men and women in Spain used to receive, which from their earliest childhood generated and projected a very clear image of what corresponded to men (*lo masculino*) and what corresponded to women (*lo femenino*)¹. The Franco

¹ Among them, see BALLARÍN DOMINGO (2001), SARASÚA GARCÍA (2002); SONLLEVA VELASCO and TORREGO EGIDO (2018).

dictatorship was, without a doubt, a regime characterized by its emphasis on the centrality of a discourse of sexual dimorphism and education was one of the preferred modes for transmitting this idea. Both formal and informal education, like the obligatory services imposed on men (military service) and on women (social service) had an influence in clearly marking gender differences, providing two bounded, distinct models for gendered behavior, although it is important to also recognize that neither model remained static over time ².

The objective of the present paper is to analyze the courses on “agrarian training” pursued by women who later educated other women from the Spanish rural areas during the Franco dictatorship. We aim to interpret this information in view of gender construction processes that are focused on the feminine, being conscious of the “fluidity, fragmentation, precariousness and complexity of gender identity” (Esteban, 2004: 59). We adopt the definition provided by Marcela Lagarde in 1990 (2011: 104) when she affirmed that:

The condition of women is constituted by the relations of production, reproduction and all the other vital relations in which women are immersed, independently of their will, their consciousness and due to the way they participate in them; due to the political and legal institutions that contain and regulate them and due to the understanding of the world that defines and interprets them.

There is no doubt about the construction of gender roles in societies, which leads to the assignment of tasks and functions to men and women. Gender is not what we are but what we do “the place of women in human social life is not the result of what they do (and even less of their biology) but of the meanings that their activities acquire in specific

² As REBOLLO MESAS (2001) noted, in the case of the Obligatory Social Service, established in November of 1945, the regime initially established an exception for women who worked in the countryside, who were freed from this duty, but beginning in 1963 they also had to complete a year of training and doctrination required by the State. On the evolution of models of masculinity and femininity during Francoism, vd. VICENT (2018) and CENARRO LAGUNAS (2017).

social interaction - in a political and social sense” (Stolke, 2003 and 2011: 9). In fact, gender identity came to be understood as a function of labor, as pointed out by Silvia Federici (2010:31) in the early 2000s: “In capitalist society, ‘femininity’ has been constituted as a work function”. In this paper, we undertake the task of highlighting this process of construction in the Spanish rural environment during the Franco dictatorship³. We seek to disclose the level of interest that the agrarian authorities had in the training intended to teach those whose task was to mold the women that lived and worked in agriculture. Furthermore, we reflect on the roles and gender stereotypes that emanated from the study plans and reports by the people in charge and bring to light what that training implied in the consolidation of the ideology of domesticity.

In our previous work (Cabana and Freire, 2018) we suggested that “the domestic” transcended the space defined by the walls of the homes, as it is a notion that was expanded in rural areas for the convenience of authorities and a heteropatriarchal society so that women remained at home even when they physically occupied and walked through public spaces. The “angel of the home” ideal, established first in 19th century Europe, became even more important during whole time of the Franco regime, which sought to encourage Spanish women to “return home”⁴. However, an approach focused on the rural context allows us to question a central issue: How could it be possible for rural women to reconcile the agricultural work that already consumed their days with the new and never-ending tasks imposed by the figure of the “angel of the home”, defined as a bourgeois housewife? Since when had they been confined in those homes to where had to “return”

³ Our research is part of an effort to focus on gender and feminine subjects as a perspective for the study of the rural world. Rural women have remained invisible both to agrarian historiography, which has had men as its preferred subjects of study, and to gender studies, more usually interested in urban women than in rural women. On the interest of gender as an element in the study of past rural societies and its potentialities, see CABANA IGLESIA, JOHNSON, FRENCH, and VAN MOLLE (2021).

⁴ About the discourse and the legislation passed during the Franco regime that made urban women return “home” following the “angel in the home” ideal, see DAVIDSON (2011) or OTERO-GONZÁLEZ (2020) and for an explanation of the 19th century angelic model consult ESPIGADO TOCINO (2018).

if they had always been a necessary workforce in the fields and the reproduction/production division had not been operative at all in the rural environment? Where could they learn what it meant to be a “housewife” when the “domestic” tasks were largely performed outside the home?

We aim to reflect on the configuration of the space within the private environment and pay attention to the transformation of the house into a home, a change that refers both to the creation of a specific “environment” and to the provision of certain equipment. We argue that the Franco regime was the historic period that achieved the “retreat into the home” of rural women, because even though in practice they spent a good part of their working day outside the home, the home was increasingly demanding of their time and more central to the definition of their identity.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The sources used in this paper consist of official documentation and newspapers. We have reviewed the consecutive study plans approved by the Franco regime for the training of female agricultural instructors and we have also used reports from the Sección Femenina (Women’s or Female Section) (hereafter, SF). This was an institution created ad hoc by the regime to undertake everything relating to women, from their recruitment to their training and leisure. We have also availed of historic photographs and ethnography to cross-check the presence or absence of women in certain rural tasks and occupations. Regarding the press, our sources have been, first, magazines through which the institutions governing rural areas disseminated their guidelines and popularized Franco’s discourse on agriculture (*Revista de Extensión Agraria [Agricultural Extension Journal]*, etc.). Second, we consulted sources which were also produced by official institutions, in this case the SF, but were aimed towards women in the general population

(*Teresa: Revista para todas las mujeres* [*Teresa: Magazine for all women*]). These sources were obtained from the archives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Culture, or provincial historical archives. We have combined our analysis of them with an attentive reading of relevant scholarship on the transversal aspects of gender, the Franco regime and rural areas. This has allowed us to develop an interdisciplinary perspective that combines the historical and anthropological viewpoints in answering the questions that guide this research.

Aware of the propagandist and hollow dimensions of the state's formulations in terms of education generally, which always had a clear indoctrinating purpose, we were interested in observing how these guidelines created and reflected female gender stereotypes. By creating regulations, the State sought to standardize social life in the rural areas, offered the pattern and the rules that should be followed and caused any practice that did not conform with the proposed reference set to be considered abnormal. All of this was regardless of the real results achieved with the training given and/or received.

We begin the analysis with a review of the educational plans that were in force in the National Schools where the "Rural Qualified Instructors" (*Instructoras Diplomadas Rurales*) were trained. The aim is to discover, first, how the State developed its intervention in the definition and redefinition of agrarian productive tasks assigned to females. Secondly, we are also interested in the connection between the women-home bond and rural areas during the Franco dictatorship. With the imposition of the Franco regime, the training of rural women fell within the SF. This was the female branch of the fascist political party Falange Española which came to be omnipresent in the life of various generations of Spanish women until its disappearance (in 1977, coinciding with the end of the dictatorship). Its goal was to indoctrinate women in Falangist principles, disseminating a maternal, domestic, docile, and religious model of femininity, a task for

which they employed all the media at their disposal (magazines, school textbooks, radio programs, etc.) (Pérez Moreno, 2014, Barrera, 2019). The main function of SF was to train women “for their life at home” and rural women were also included in their mission⁵. The responsibility for this training fell into the hands of the “Rural Qualified Instructors” who from 1960 onwards were at the forefront along with “Home Economics Agents” (*Agentes de Economía Doméstica*). A focus of our analysis is the figure of the female instructor, given that the work of this group of women continued to be central for practically the entire Franco period.

3. STUDY PLANS AND AGRICULTURAL TRAINING: MARKING TIME, SPACE AND LABOR.

The Instructors represented the highest echelon of rural counselors. It was not a homogeneous body, but it was possible to be a Rural Instructor at different levels (national, provincial and local) that were determined by the student’s level of study and class position (Marías, 2011: 155). Our analysis focuses on the training at the national level which allows for a reconstruction of the ideal that the State pursued for rural women. These instructors dominated all educational institutions in which agrarian training designed for women was developed. They were the teachers and instructors in Farm Schools and Rural Homes as well as responsible for the Mobile Schools (*Cátedras Ambulantes*) created by the Franco Regime to deliver agrarian training for rural women.⁶ They were also placed in other educational institutions designed for urban settings, and

⁵ On the binomial SF and rural women, the reference books are MARÍAS CADENAS (2011), RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ (2015) and PASCUAL HERNANSANZ (2020). An approach to no-formal education of SF for rural woman in ROSEMAN (2008).

⁶ About the educational institutions created for the rural areas during the Franco regime, see RAMOS ZAMORA, 2016, RAMOS and ROMERO 2007, RAMOS ZAMORA and RABAZAS ROMERO, 2007 and RAMOS ZAMORA and COLMENAR ORZAES, 2014.

so their social influence and the ideals they projected to women across different spheres of training was significant⁷.

The FS's monopoly over the training of rural women was brought to a close by the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service (*Servicio de Extensión Agraria*, hereafter, AES) which was entrusted by the Ministry of Agriculture to provide adequate technical training to male farmers and instruction to their wives.⁸ This change in the governing institution is of interest in terms of the cultural construction of models of rural femininity. The SF did not abandon their responsibilities without resistance and viewed the Extension Agencies as an opportunity to professionalize the body of Instructors. The SF reached an agreement with the Ministry that, after passing a competitive examination and an intensive course, the Instructors could become "Home Economics Assistants", a more prestigious and better paid position. The first class began in 1960⁹.

A review of the institutions and educational figures linked to female agrarian training brings out several issues. The first is that this was an immediate and constant intervention by the Administration. As an object of instruction, women were paid great attention. This is demonstrated in the emphasis on instruction from the very beginning of the dictatorship, the design of training centers, provision of various sets of curricula and the creation of differentiated personnel to deliver their training. The second observation is that the formulations of the Franco regime were consistent in terms of their ultimate objective: to remove women from the rural-urban migratory flow. This had also

⁷ Also, as instructors of the "Workers' Professional Promotion Program" under the Ministry of Labor, as collaborators of the Colonization Institute in the social plans and as graduates in Education, Food and Nutrition and as professors in First Grade Professional Training Centers. RAMOS ZAMORA and RABAZAS ROMERO (2007:235).

⁸ Through Agricultural Extension Agents and Home Economics Agents. On the AES educative model, see GÓMEZ BENITO and LUQUE PULGAR (2007).

⁹ PRIOR CANALES, M. Luz (1962). "How to train the Home Economics Assistants." *Revista de Extensión Agraria*, 1-(12), 6-8, Recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture: https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_REA/REA_1962_12B.pdf

been the objective of Western European intellectuals and governments since the agrarian crisis of the late 19th century. As Francisco Cobo and Teresa Ortega (2015) point out, during the first three decades of the twentieth century Spain emulated foreign projects that sought to reaffirm female peasants' connection to the land. Once educated in agriculture, in this line of thinking, they would no longer be open to the attraction of cities and would become a pillar of both agrarian development and the welfare of rural households. Focusing on the sets of curricula created and implemented in the National Agricultural Schools (created to train Rural Qualified Instructors), our interest lies in examining the archetype of rural women that the regime sought to shape and its evolution over time. We do not enter the debate about the degree to which the Franco regime met its own objectives; that is, whether the regime achieved the expected results in the agrarian training of rural women or whether it had to settle for only partial achievements. This issue has been explored in other papers on the history of education and specific research on the SF¹⁰.

During the dictatorship, two training centers operated to train the Instructors. The first, which was the only one for three decades, was the National Rural Guidance School "Onésimo Redondo" (hereafter, OR School), created in October 1950 in Aranjuez (Madrid). The second was the School of Castilla, located in Palencia and put into service in 1973, which operated until 1978. In 1954 it was decided that each year the OR School would offer places for "a minimum of 10 and a maximum of 30 students by specialty and course"¹¹. Potential students had to demonstrate that they knew how to read, write, and had knowledge of arithmetic; and were between 21 and 35 years of age.¹² According to

¹⁰ In any event, the sources consulted endorse this qualitative leap that separated theoretical formulations and intentions from the real achievements in this specific field. We agree with the interpretations of MARÍAS CADENAS (2011) and BLASCO HERRANZ (2005)

¹¹ About the five specialties in the title LACRUZ ALCOCER (1997: 330 et seq.)

¹² The Ministry study plan was published in the Official State Gazette in August 1954. Besides the subjects, it also defined the guidelines to access and the length of the studies. Decree of 13 november 1953, contained

Miguel Olivas, a teacher at the center, the minimum entry age was lowered later on to 18 years and the entry requirements also modified to include factors such as the prior completion of Obligatory Social Service (or a promise to complete it while at the OR School) and having completed high school, teacher training or equivalents. He also indicates that “in admitting students there was a preference for those who came from rural areas and had a clear vocational dedication and interest in rural problems”.¹³ The students, some of whom had scholarships, had to board at the institutions for two academic years, the equivalent of 18 months. The faculty was comprised of specialized professors: agronomists, veterinarians, pedagogy graduates and other agricultural experts who developed the technical-rural part of the study plan. The household and general complementary part of the education was carried out by the SF. Each year, 35 women graduated with the title of Instructors although not all ended up working in rural locations. This led in 1960 to the Ministry of Agriculture establishing 30 positions to work in the Agencies of Agrarian Extension “to teach what they had learned in the school in Aranjuez” and there were not enough applicants to fill this quota.¹⁴

It is noteworthy that the OR School opened its doors in 1951, three years before the Ministry of Agriculture officially established a study plan. As Sara Ramos describes (2016), the curriculum initially observed four different thematic blocks. The first block was called “General Education” and it had subjects dedicated to ideological indoctrination (religion, politics, social coexistence, the National Movement and State organization - especially the Ministry of Agriculture and Trade Union organization, etc.)

in the Order of the 27th July 1954. Official State Gazette number 219, of the 7th August 1954, pp. 5463-5464, recovered from <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1954/219/A05464-05465.pdf>.

¹³ OLIVAS SOTO, Miguel (1962). ‘The school ‘Onésimo Redondo’ in Aranjuez.’ *Revista de Extensión Agraria*, 1 (12), 4-5, recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture: https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_REA/REA_1962_12B.pdf, p. 4. About the five specialties LACRUZ (1997: 330 et seq.)

¹⁴ In 1973, when the Escuela de Castilla was opened, there were 100 vacancies. RAMOS ZAMORA y RABAZAS ROMERO (2007: 228)

and promoting the regime's values (albeit under general headings such as culture, math, botany and zoology, physics and chemistry, music or physical education).

The second block was formed by the "Complementary subjects", which were law, rural social insurance, official agricultural organization, trade unions and farm aid services. The third block was "Household science", where the subjects were dedicated to sewing, making canned food and handicrafts as well as training in childcare and hygiene, first aid and cooking. The last block was "Agricultural sciences", which integrated the subjects of agriculture, horticulture, home gardens, livestock, family farms and floriculture subjects. There is a notable combination of general headings (livestock, agriculture or farms) with others that could be considered gender distinctive (horticulture and floriculture). The use of the term "Sciences" should be emphasized, as it seems to bestow on the training a greater prestige that would bring it closer to regulated studies in the general educational system (vocational and/or university education).

The adaptation of the teaching plan that was used in the OR School to the one passed by the Ministry in 1954 meant that it required reformulation¹⁵. This would maintain the structure around two headings: "Agricultural sciences" and "Domestic sciences" as well as the "General" and the "Complementary" training. We are interested in highlighting several aspects from the comparison between the initial teaching plan and the one proposed a few years later. First of all, there were changes that did not entail important modifications, such as the decision to change the titles of some subjects¹⁶. Nevertheless, the replacement of "Household techniques" with "Sewing" and "Manual work" does not seem trivial. Although they maintain the same profile, they show an effort

¹⁵ Order of the 27th July 1954. Official State Gazette number 219, of the 7th August 1954, pp. 5463-5464, recovered from <https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1954/219/A05464-05465.pdf>.

¹⁶ This is the case of "Political education", which becomes "Social political education" or the case of "Childcare and hygiene", that were two independent subjects. The same happens with "First aid", which becomes "Emergency medicine", perhaps in search of greater social prestige.

to delimit and specify the two tasks that formed a core component of the construction of the female gender in the rural areas of the time. With the aim of bringing visibility to the performance of tasks mostly associated with weaving and seamstresses, we can appreciate the strong influence of the “angel in the home” model, part of the nineteenth century bourgeois discourse that the Franco regime resumed and that offered rural women a stereotyped pattern defined by the ideals of upper-middle class urban women.

There were new additions to the study plan within the block of “General education” such as “Musical education and theater” and “Physical education”. In the case of the latter, the importance given by fascist regimes to physical education is well known; in the case of the former, its diverse range should be highlighted. Traditionally, the latter was perceived as incompatible with the goal of all female education: marriage. But some research has demonstrated that such education did not contravene the ideal of domestic femininity that was being pursued since “it is not a departure from the home as many believe, on the contrary” (Rebollo and Núñez, 2007: 186). This education was thought to complete the training of middle-class women, who were the ones accessing this type of national school. However, it was conceived as being directed more at husbands than women since it was expected that, by not exceeding a basic level of training, it would allow him to show off his wife without any sense of equality or competition. This reaffirms that the training for women was based and dependent on the ideals of masculinity.

In any case, the greatest incidence of pedagogical renewal came under the heading “Agricultural sciences”, where subjects such as “Family vegetable gardens” and “Family farms” disappeared and others appeared such as “Rabbit farming”, “Pig farming”, “Poultry farming”, “Beekeeping” and “Dairy industries”. In this change we see, again, an interest in clarifying the tasks perceived as feminine, in this case, in relation to raising

crops and animals. These would be governed by two main principles: 1) Those tasks associated with physically smaller animals or other things, and 2) those which were considered to be derivative. From the nomenclature of the subjects alone, it is evident that rural women were given the task of taking care of small sized animals (rabbits, birds, etc.), an activity of lesser economic importance to the family unit. This type of animal husbandry did not involve a large number of stock and the meat was used for self-subsistence or local markets. The presence of these animals was insignificant in terms of the economic specializations of farming enterprises (focused more on raising crops or livestock for meat or dairy). They served instead as a dietary supplement.¹⁷ The condition of something being "supplementary," so as not to abandon the conception of femininity that was being encouraged, is thus emphasized. Due to the objective that everything considered as not very important should be in the hands of women, some of the tasks considered male in many rural societies, such as beekeeping, were now reassigned as tasks for women, stressing the gender connotations already assigned to this task by the guidelines and projections of agronomists and the specialized Spanish agricultural press since the beginning of the century¹⁸.

This educational apparatus maintained that rural women held the main responsibility for the food preservation phase of dairy and pork products¹⁹. It can be argued that the decision to keep preserve-making in the hands of women was determined by the previously mentioned principle of the limited weight of the activity in the

¹⁷ The anthropologist Lourdes Méndez established that the expression "women's things" or "women's affairs" refers to the lower symbolic status of activities demarcated as female in the rural context, apart from their actual contribution to the household or local economy (see MÉNDEZ PÉREZ 1988). Moreover, we were able to confirm that even in cases where women's tasks convert into the economic activity that sustains the family unit, the general discourse about them continues to define them as minor occupations CABANA IGLESIA and FREIRE PAZ (2018).

¹⁸ For example, the similarity with proposals such as that of the engineer Victorino Muñoz-Barjau, described in COBO ROMERO and ORTEGA LÓPEZ, (2015: 228).

¹⁹ We agree with Jack GOODY (1982) in terms of his outline of the five phases of the food chain, i.e., production, storage and distribution, preparation, consumption, and collection.

household economy²⁰. On one hand, such production surpluses do not have a place in the local market because overproduction affects the entire community (what cannot be consumed fresh is preserved). On the other hand, canning was considered of little value because it was a matter of saving surpluses from imminent waste (including the discard of products used for animal sustenance). Lastly, the handling process is identified with food preparation (confitures, jams, etc.) or a previous phase (making sausages, cheese, pickling, etc.) which refers to the kitchen, the space perceived as feminine par excellence.

In 1973, in light of the increase in demand for this type of education, the Ministry of Agriculture opened the School of Castilla. In its educational plan, we can appreciate slight variations that allow us to glimpse the evolution in the intentions behind the training of those destined to be models for, and educators of, rural women. The new plan clearly designed three different fields of training: the essential, which encompassed technological and economic subjects; the auxiliary, with a clear social bias, and the general, oriented towards the cultural and ideological spheres. The general training had a segment corresponding to “General education”, where what was formerly “Musical and theater education” was renamed “Cultural activities” to signify a greater and more diverse cultural offering (also focusing on cinema, television, etc.). However, the “Complementary education” grouping of subjects was removed because the four subjects that it had included in the 1950s were dispersed and relocated to another two modules: “Essential subjects” and “Auxiliary subjects”. In the latter, except for the relocation of “Sociology” and a small change in the name of the subject “Community development”,

²⁰ Food conservation was destined for household self-subsistence and thus remained outside of food commercialization circuits, irrespective of the proximity of markets. The use of different forms of conservation for foods (e.g., vegetables) was a habitual practice in rural areas of the interior and the coast to guarantee access to these products during the off-season.

almost everything was new, except for “Home Economics”, which was retained from the old study plan²¹.

In the “Essential subjects” module, “Family vegetable gardens” and “Family farms” were retained and four new subjects incorporated: “Gardening”, “Agricultural business management”, “Rural industries” and “Internships”. Therefore, the focus on signalling the occupations thought of as feminine in the names of the subjects taught, which was what lay behind the study plan of the 1950s, was lost. Again, it is possible to sense that men were treated as the yardstick in the education designed for women. Since they no longer defined specific spheres of action for women, it was assumed that women could be present in any potential initiative for a person who is no longer a “peasant” but rather an “farmer”. By the mid-1970s, editorials and articles in women’s magazines that had broadened their dissemination to rural houses indicate that women already knew which jobs highlighted their femininity.

The most important part of this reformulation is that the didactic segment in “Home sciences” disappeared. This suppression does not imply diminution of the purpose of sowing the values associated with the ideal of domesticity; we argue, rather, that what lies behind this absence is the prior success of the gender discourse of the regime, which had managed to establish with great clarity the centrality of domesticity in the ideal of the rural woman. The only topic to insist on, therefore, was the relationship between the domestic and the economy, which was done by maintaining a subject that combined both concepts and aimed at training rural women as administrators, not agents, of the domestic economy.

²¹We should stress the introduction of subjects such as “Psychology”, “Pedagogy”, “Sociology” and “Social research techniques” with “Internships”, which, as RAMOS ZAMORA and RABAZAS ROMERO (2007:232) have rightly pointed out, reflects an attempt to coincide with the curriculum in teacher training colleges, but also to introduce aspects related to the agricultural extension mission.

In 1974, only a year after the opening of the School of Castilla, the study plan of the OR School was revised again. This change perhaps reflected the intention to standardize the education provided in the only two centers that issued the instructor's degree. However, the truth is that there was no such standardization; rather, the OR school opted for a distribution of content in subject areas for which, although the training corresponding to general education was maintained²², there was a clear preference. This preference related to the pedagogical content in two major areas, business organization and technological and practical knowledge²³.

The difference lay not in the model of rural women that inspired them, but rather in their approach. The study plans remained faithful to the initial objective: to prepare the students to be able to pass on the knowledge required for rural women who should “manage the rural household in its double aspect of being a center of both family life and the farm, manage the economic resources of the family and collaborate with the man in the agricultural business” (Ramos, 2007:229). However, while in the case of the School of Castilla the study plan seems to have been designed to ratify and define the role assigned to women within agricultural businesses, the OR School stressed the role of the housewife who shared the life of the agricultural businessman.

The analysis of the source documents indicates that the training in the 1960s was designed to assign specific tasks to rural women inside the house (food, crafts, childcare and/or improvement of the household) or nearby (vegetable gardens, buildings annexed to the main dwelling, etc.) and, in a formula of exclusive assignment (to spaces and tasks not shared with men), not so much in the fields. As the system had already succeeded in

²² Now named as “Common training area”, with the only novelty being the inclusion of “Modern language”.

²³ The subjects corresponding to the first major area would be “General economy”, “Hygiene and Safety at work”, “Agricultural business management” and “Development of rural communities”. In the second major area, these would be “General and special agriculture”, “General and special animal science”, “Rural industries”, “Childcare”, “General craft training”, “Rural home economics”, “Food and nutrition” and “Improvement of rural housing”.

locating them in a specific place, the house, it was necessary to create tasks to make sure that they would spend their day inside or very close to that space. Moreover, the female presence in these tasks was particularly appropriate because it allowed them to fulfill their quintessential mission: motherhood and the blurring of their role as workers and, therefore, active agriculturalists and economic agents.²⁴

The transition between the paradigms proposed in the 1950s, when the domestic aspect was included as a specific category in study plans, and those drafted two decades later was gradual. In the latter plans, the domestic aspect had less visibility in not being a specific category but still permeated the entirety of the studies aimed at female Instructors. This change should be placed in relation to the study plans outlined in between; namely, those intended to train Home Economics Assistants for Agriculture²⁵. Attention should be paid to the transformation of the names of the trainers themselves, since the nomenclature "Rural Qualified Instructors" does not have the same background as the use of the category "Home Economics Assistants", which specifies the educational mission in the household.

The Instructors' teaching program suggests a shift to a constrained locus for the feminine ideal. In contrast to the possibilities of a training that sought to make the work

²⁴ A rhetoric that is reaffirmed in other forums, above all, in press aimed at women, for example *Teresa: Revista para todas las mujeres*, 1, 7. An analysis of motherhood during Franco's dictatorship in MARTÍNEZ CUESTA (2017).

²⁵This is a training defined as "specialized", organized in six major areas with a teaching load of 488 hours, which was given at the school "El Encín" from the Agricultural Extension Service. In the contents required for the conversion of the Instructors into Assistants, the defining subject of "Home Economics" is maintained, with explicit deference to the weight of "Sewing" (26 of the 66 hours of the total were dedicated to it), which refers to the study plans of the 1950s, and, at the same time, is already a preview of what would be the didactic modifications introduced in the 1970s by the National Schools with the introduction of subjects such as "Food and Nutrition" and "Health". Note the change from the terms "Cooking" and "Hygiene" used in the 1950s for the terms "Food and nutrition" and "Health care" in the training programs from the 1960s onwards and consolidated in the seventies, formulations that seek to give a major technical importance and scientific character. PRIOR CANALES, M. Luz (1962). How to train the Home Economics Assistants, *Revista de Extensión Agraria*, 1-(12), 6-8, Recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture:
https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_REA/REA_1962_12B.pdf.

performed by rural women economically profitable and to open doors for them to access new areas (improving or initiating commercial circuits for their work or their agricultural production), the training instead was oriented to the care of the family unit and the home. The spaces understood as belonging to rural women who wished to achieve the optimal model of femininity were reduced. By this same logic, FS delegation reports repeatedly expressed concern regarding the agricultural training's focus on certain tasks in the countryside that hardened the women. Therefore, it was important to remove women from work in the fields as a formula for making them feminine within the parameters of domesticity (personal care and childcare are the preferred focus for their contribution to the household).

From all the above, it is clear that women's work is a fundamental fact of the rural farm. But in the same way it is excessive to the point of exhaustion [...] to understand that this hard work that so prematurely ages them, dulls and limits them in their human development and, to the same extent, limits and diverts them from their fundamental mission in the household[...]²⁶.

4. “INVENTING THE HOUSEHOLD” OF THE RURAL WOMAN

In the SF's identification of women, including rural women, as “souls of the homeland”, lies the idea of encouraging what is ethereal as opposed to the harshness of certain agricultural tasks that did not leave time to take care of a household, now understood within the new coordinates in which the notion of the home was inscribed. As during the Civil War, women were still being asked to make a “Homeland”, always from their positions as wife and mother and always “with a smile” and bringing “atmosphere

²⁶ GALLOSO GASALLA, M^a Isabel (1967). El trabajo de la mujer campesina. *Estudio socioeconómico*. Lugo, May the 13th, 1967. Provincial Historical Archive of Lugo (Galicia). Female Section Fund. Sig. 105913-15 (1967-1978).

[...] to that home” that depended “on their organization, their comfort, their grace [...]” (Palacios, 2003:16). Their grace and smile would be the values of the new Franco regime’s femininity, which in rural areas formed a contrasting reference to the so often praised “strength” that had now come to be identified as “primitive”²⁷.

If we focus on the training of Home Economics Agents instead of the Instructors, we find the same conclusion: the aim was to confine rural women to their houses instead of training them in agricultural fields. Articles in the official journal *Revista de Extensión Agraria*, such as the extract below from 1962, frequently made this point.

“Help the rural woman to improve her household”. This simple sentence, which sums up the work of the Home Economics Agents of the Agricultural Extension Service, contains a difficult and complex task. In the rural environment there is a lack of means and comforts that must be substituted by the intelligence and the preparation of the housewife. There is a lack of emergency medical aid, the opportunity to find the right food at all times to prepare a varied and nutritious diet, as well as modern utensils, which help to facilitate household chores. [...] the work of the Home Economics Agents; their advice, their guidance, must reach where the tasks of the rural woman reach, that, outside or inside the home, will always be directly related to the general welfare of the family, which is, in short, the objective pursued through the help we try to give her.”²⁸

²⁷ As ROCA I GIRONA pointed out (1996: 143, 147) the “manly” woman provoked a special social “alert” and what she evoked became incompatible “with the several qualities or, rather, essences that adorned the dominant feminine image in the post-war period”. The feminist critic FEDERICI (2013: 35) has profiled how the capitalist economic system was the motivating agent of this paradigm of woman, identifying gestures with economic benefit: “More smiles? More money”.

²⁸ PRIOR CANALES, M. Luz (1962). How to train the Home Economics Assistants, *Revista de Extensión Agraria*, 1-(12), 6-8, Recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture.

https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_REA/REA_1962_12B.pdf Reinforcing this idea, it is also worth quoting, for example, the guidelines echoed by the already mentioned journal in 1963, when it states that: “In the Agencies with Home Economics Assistants, the following will be considered as compulsory preferential objectives: Human nutrition, family care and hygiene, decoration and improvement of the house and childcare”. Agricultural Extension Service (1963). Fourth National Plan of Activities. *Revista de Extensión Agraria*, 2(2-3), 64-67. Recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture:

https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_REA/REA_1963_02-03E.pdf

Work on the land was easily identified as inappropriate for the social construction of the female gender, as repeatedly stressed by Instructors and Home Economics Assistants.

The mission to make rural women aspire to be “housewives” managed to impose itself as an ideal identity for many rural women, both because it brought them closer to the model of urban femininity and because it was part of the technical innovations that were intended to be implemented within the house, which we will return to later, and equated them with nothing less than “household engineers” (Roca, 2005: 92). Underlying the mission was the idea that retreating to the home would in certain cases reduce rural women’s agricultural workday, and this was not always perceived with negative connotations by its target. This in no way meant that they de facto stopped working or they worked less in the fields, but rather that these tasks came to be couched within the ideal model and, from there, or because of this, in aspects of women’s identities related to agriculture.

The values transmitted to Instructors were filtered to different degrees, and in different periods, to rural women. The ultimate goal set by the Franco Regime and its educational institutions for female rural training was clear: to prevent these women from leaving the countryside. From their perspective, one of the main reasons they went to the cities was the enormous workload they performed and the absence, they said, of “domestic comforts”. Editorials and articles such as those published by the magazine FATIS, edited by the SEA in collaboration with the OCDE, stress that worry:

The rural woman has to carry out several tasks. In addition to taking care of her house, she must also attend to the work of the farm, the farmyard, the garden, etc. Considering that all this must be done in conditions generally less satisfactory than in urban

*environments, their domestic training is even more necessary [...]*²⁹.

A key aspect to take into account is that the jobs traditionally carried out by women in the household, even before the Franco regime, cannot automatically be labeled as “domestic” in the classic meaning of the term -- that is, “at home”. There was nothing “domestic” in tasks such as doing laundry, providing water for household needs nor even in cooking. These tasks and many others designated as female implied, as anthropological and photographic material has revealed, outdoor occupations outside the house³⁰. To achieve the desired domesticity, authorities focused their efforts on building a new ideal of the home – as is evident in the revised study plans. Providing these rural women with a certain notion of “home” was one of the great endeavors of agrarian training. The different levels of the regime had to create the space where they wanted to confine women. They had a household before Franco’s regime, of course. However, the regime was concerned to ensure that these four walls under a roof became absorbed into the general social imaginary, and specifically that linked with women, as the house seemed to be an appropriate stronghold to serve as the sanctuary for the playing out rephase femininity.

The first step in this process was to direct fierce criticism against the situation in which women’s household tasks, even those performed inside the house, often involved the work of caring for livestock rather than caring for their families. This work was

²⁹ PLAZA DE PRADO, Mónica (1961). La mujer rural y las Cátedras Ambulantes de Divulgación en España. *Revista FATIS*, 4, 16-19. *FATIS* was the official journal of the European Productivity Agency (EPA) was created in 1953 within the framework of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). Recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture: https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_REA/REA_1961_01_16_19.pdf.

³⁰ Just seeing images of women in the photographic archives from the Ministry of Agriculture, <https://www.mapa.gob.es/en/ministerio/archivos-bibliotecas-mediateca/mediateca/exposiciones.aspx>. We can note this aspect, for example, GÓMEZ BENITO and LUQUE PULGAR (2007) or the first minutes of José Antonio TARAZAGA BLANCO (2007).

defined as hardening and at odds with the imposed ideal of the home and prototype of the rural woman as a housewife.

THE GALICIAN RURAL HOUSE, except perhaps in the coastal areas, preserves a primitive, almost medieval aspect, which is unthinkable in our times. Neglected, lacking essential services, lacking hygiene, dark and smelly.

[...] AT THE HOUSE. Along with her duties as a wife and mother, with the upbringing and education of the children, there is the housework, which in our small villages is almost always carried out in very difficult conditions due to lack of means and technical advances, the stabling of animals in the house itself and the rusticity of the household. Thus, she often has to carry water from the well or from the village fountain as preliminary task to do any washing work. To iron, she has to light and feed a charcoal iron, the "lareira" kitchen (which is maintained in addition to the firewood kitchen, for livestock) also requires constant care, carrying and baiting wood... etc.

"[I]f women had the necessary knowledge and time [...]" they could take care of "personal hygiene" and have "a minimum of distractions and comfort", read reports such as the one cited. Such sources echo figures from international organizations and documents from the *XXIII Congress of the rural family* held in Reims in highlighting "the need for the stabilizing role of women in the renewal of the rural world", asserting that:

The training for the home, manual and household work is an element of feminine balance that maintains the human characteristics of women, who, due to their affective understanding and their spiritual sense, are a harmonizing element within a society.³¹

One of the most powerful ways this image was disseminated was through the combined institutional focus on female agrarian training we have been describing, which successfully encouraged rural women to identify as "housewives". The role played by magazines aimed at the female audience was also decisive. Not only as text but also for

³¹ GALLOSO GASALLA, M^a Isabel (1967). El trabajo de la mujer campesina. *Estudio socioeconómico*. Lugo, May the 13th, 1967. Provincial Historical Archive of Lugo (Galicia). Female Section Fund. Sig. 105913-15 (1967-1978).

the visual power they possessed, which was supported and carried forward by other cultural and/or entertainment productions in different media that were gaining traction in rural communities³². Such new written and audiovisual products were critical means for disseminating a prototype of femininity that had already become successful in the urban environment, which drew on class differences and projected bourgeois aspirations³³.

The Instructors, and later the Home Economics Agents, were essential in the first instance. They played a role as transmitters of the paradigms of femininity deriving from the international context in conjunction with the ideals of the Franco regime. As transmitters via their educative role, they were intermediaries with women from the agricultural sector who, despite being sometimes being geographically remote and defined as backwards within the parameters of industrial production, were in no way isolated from the advance of modernity. The new models of being a woman that arrived in rural areas limited femininity. So, that those women selected by the dictatorship for instructional roles ended up bringing to rural areas the mores of a modern woman who was more and more focused on being a “housewife” and less on being a peasant.

One cannot aspire to understand either the intention or success of the Franco regime transforming rural women into housewives without paying attention to the context in which it was manifested³⁴. Cavestany, minister of Agriculture in 1955, expressed his objective for the Spanish rural areas: “Fewer peasants and better agriculture”. The germ

³²These magazines were generically designed for the female audience, but they did not have rural women as a differentiated social segment. A review of issues of magazines such as *Consigna* or *Teresa* reveal the anecdotal nature of the rural category in their contents. See FERNÁNDEZ OSTOS and GONZÁLEZ DUGO (2014), MARTÍN QUEVEDO and NAVARRO SIERRA (2013), MARTÍN QUEVEDO (2010) and OFER (2017).

³³In the research that María ROSÓN has carried out on the study of gender identities through the visual materials in Franco's Spain (2014: 325), the author contrasts how different media tried to “bring us closer to a glamorous, transnational and modern imaginary”. Aurora Morcillo also highlights this question from the point of view of historical research, see MORCILLO GÓMEZ (2010).

³⁴ A synthesis of the evolution of the regime of Franco during its forty years of existence and its impact on the daily life of the Spanish population is found in CAZORLA SÁNCHEZ (2010).

of removing women from the fields is within this idea to transform the agrarian productive system and reduce the active agricultural population. The vision of the minister would be replaced by the effects of the Green Revolution, which in the 1970s was the only model for modernizing the countryside pursued by the state³⁵. One of the main effects of this revolution, which relied on new practices and technologies in search of maximizing production and outcomes, was that the female labor force was replaced as multiple tasks either disappeared or were carried out using technological advances that were considered masculine³⁶. This was not only due to the direct association drawn between engines and males, but because the Ministry of Agriculture organized training programs on the management of new machines and made sure to masculinize the learning process. Thus, the students targeted were the owners of farms. Moreover, publications about agriculture and, of course, advertisements were careful to offer male images and illustrations³⁷.

The realization of the regime's goals did not set rural women free; rather, their days were now filled by new occupations through which they would supposedly access those "domestic comforts" that would make them desist from wanting to go to the cities. A large part of the training defined as agricultural was aimed at defining these new

³⁵On some of the peculiarities of the adoption of the technological package that led to the Green Revolution in Spain, see LANERO TÁBOAS and FREIRE (2011).

³⁶Several authors have explored the cultural constructions of masculinities in relation with agricultural technology among farming families in France, for instance, see SAUGERES (2002).

³⁷The material of the Media Library of the Ministry of Agriculture, such as the videos of the Agricultural Extension Service (SEA), the Film Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Film Library and NODO, is useful for learning about the processes of dissemination of the technical transformations of motor-mechanization. It is worth mentioning, for example, the reports on the National Tractor Driver Competitions or collections such as "Labores Agrícolas", whose images show how men take charge of agricultural tasks that were previously feminized or shared between men and women once they are motorized. Also, there are examples in the SEA photographic funds, vd. GÓMEZ BENITO y LUQUE PULGAR (2006). Advertising by agricultural machinery manufacturers (for example, the advertorials of tractor brands such as Ebro or Ford), both in the specialized and general press, as well as in the audiovisual media, emphasize the relationship between their products and the values associated with masculinity and virility during the Franco regime. In this line, see Mary VICENT (2006), who analyzes the male archetypes from the virility attributed beyond the figures of warrior and monk to the paternalism inherited by the Carlist tradition and that, according to the author, was imposed after the immediate post-war period. See Dolores RAMOS PALOMO (1995) to read about the character of *pater familias* in Spanish rural society.

occupations. The rest, as we have already pointed out, sought to clearly mark what was feminine in agricultural work on farms, that is, what women could do without ceasing to be "housewives".

It is worth stressing that the label “housewife” was shaped not only from the outlines of the educational model already described but also in opposition to the model for men. This was built on images that referred to the management of innovations that put an end to so-called “traditional agriculture”, knowledge from which women were excluded³⁸. It might seem that this phenomenon did not go beyond corroborating the already existing division of labor in agriculture, but we suggest it went further than this. The differential training of the sexes meant a segregation of spaces in most farms, new in some cases, that was more marked than previously³⁹. Separating out previously shared workspaces made it impossible or extremely difficult for there to be the type of osmosis of knowledge that had happened in the past through women and men occupying the same productive spaces and allowed for a transfer of work tasks from men to women in cases of need (due to emigration, widowhood, etc.). Sharing workspaces allowed for the exchange of functions and knowledge. However, training requirements focused on technological change and gendered segregation made it impossible for women to undertake certain tasks that required the handling of machinery. Learning “blindly” was another obstacle to the relationship between women and new technology and could only be overcome in a timely manner when a male relative took on the role of educator. Thus, despite the Green Revolution implying a reconfiguration of the roles of family members,

³⁸About the National Agricultural and Livestock Training Plan of the Ministry of Agriculture, it is worth quoting researchers such as Bruno ESPERANTE PARAMOS (2019: 70-73) or Juan PAN MONTOJO (2012).

³⁹ On the parameters for women learning about agricultural work, see LIČEN (2018).

certainly not only of women. The effects were also felt most intensely in the case of collective tasks among households in which women also played a fundamental role.⁴⁰

Thus, a reformulation of the roles within the family unit, which corresponded to the production unit, was imposed. In this change, women started to be labeled as “housewives”. However, this category allowed for women to maintain the performance of agricultural tasks. It was these occupations, which had been defined through the training provided as belonging to rural women, that had a place under their new role. These agricultural tasks were equated with the new domestic chores insofar as none of them involved the women receiving earnings⁴¹. The absence of a salary is a key element for understanding the assimilation of the workload performed outside the house within the domestic workload. That both were easily accommodated in the construction of a new identity centered on a certain notion of home. This identity centered on the social construction of a dependent woman that does not consider her contributions in terms of work for the family unit, or even whether she is a *de facto* housewife or not⁴².

The regime told rural women which agricultural tasks they should cease to perform by withdrawing them from training and highlighting how they would harden them into non-feminine individuals. Agricultural tasks that fit with the prototype of the modern rural woman were reinforced through the introduction of specific training about them in the study plans. Moreover, that training had an impact on the increased workload that they should perform in their households.

⁴⁰ The study of the reconfiguration of roles is present in the research by the North American anthropologist M. SHUTES in the county of Kerry (Ireland) in 1976, (1989:186-206), quoted in ESPERANTE PARAMOS (2019: 288). On the same aspect but focusing on the “recovery” thanks to the fact that motor-mechanization recovered the labor force of older men, see CARDESÍN DÍAZ (1992: 102).

⁴¹ On devalued labor perceived as “help” because it did not entail a salary, see GARCÍA et al. (1995).

⁴² This would be what the international literature has defined as “housewifisation” (MIES, 1982).

The hours liberated from agricultural labor were now invested in an increased focus on household maintenance (Méndez, 1988). Firstly, in many cases both animals and machinery had disappeared from the interior of the house. New machinery as well as the increase in cattle meant the building of stables and other outbuildings annexed to the main house, leaving free spaces in the interior of the house that were now put to new uses that required cleaning tasks that had not existed before; these were, principally, bathrooms, dining rooms and living rooms⁴³. In addition to the introduction of structural elements that hitherto had been absent or scarce in the houses (tiling, windows, doors, furniture, etc.), the new proportions of the rooms were considerably reduced. Secondly, the owners of rural houses renovated their kitchens with the objective of providing them with greater storage capacity and room for all types of household appliances⁴⁴. And thirdly, decorative elements began to pervade all the rooms in a profuse manner (curtains, paintings, tablecloths, vases, etc.).

The magazine *Revista de Extensión Agraria* published several articles encouraging and highlighting changes reflecting the model promoted by the Home Economics Assistants. In 1962, for example, one read:

In several homes I have seen renovations in bedroom partitions for children and parents, new windows for better light and ventilation and kitchen renovations to make food preparation easier for the housewife [...]

The refurbishment and repair work on existing buildings are more frequent. The aim is to provide them with better hygienic and sanitary conditions, to increase the number of rooms or their capacity to adapt them to the family of the occupant, to provide the building with a longer life and/or better appearance and to

⁴³ In this regard, the houses of the colonization towns served as a model to look at, which transferred to the rural area's new models of construction and distribution for housing. CABANA IGLESIA (2020).

⁴⁴ In this regard, see the research of DEL VALLE MURGA (1985: 274) on rural women from the Basque Country, when the author points out that, to avoid emigration to the cities from the 60s onward, men "do not hesitate to renovate this [referring to the rural household], especially in areas that are thought to be of fundamental benefit to women. Thus, the kitchen is equipped with modern appliances and the bathroom with the best possible amenities".

*achieve ventilation, luminosity and decoration that make it more comfortable*⁴⁵.

Such changes imposed both a higher workload and the learning of specific techniques both for the new tasks and for those they were already accustomed to. Thus, now they had to acquire knowledge and learn about new technologies in addition to performing the cleaning and food provision tasks they were already expected to perform.

A report conducted by a Domestic Agent in 1964 details the following:

*To improve the dietary resources, 103 family vegetable gardens were established in the counties of Verín, Betanzos, Arcos de la Frontera and Torrelavega. The family farms of poultry and rabbits have been improved in 427 households. In all the counties where Home Economics operates, housewives are very interested in the preservation of fruit, vegetables, and livestock products. Simple techniques for preserving certain products from the traditional family pig slaughter such as wild boar's head or foie gras, previously unknown, are now common in many counties. They have also fostered the family gardens, the whitewashing of homes and general home improvements. The use of the emergency kit is taught, and many housewives have acquired it*⁴⁶.

As can be seen in the above, food is paradigmatic. All the changes in the kitchen were related to culinary changes occurring in that historical moment. The transition from quickly boiled to stewed and braised preparations implied a very significant increase in the time and effort dedicated to cooking and harvesting. The same occurred with baking, which gained special weight within the training courses offered by the educational institutions we have mentioned, as it did through the periodical publications aimed at the female public. In rural contexts, baking implied an overstrain, not only in economic terms

⁴⁵Words of Virginia G. Ortiz, Technical Advisor of Household Economy, and writer of the article: ORTIZ, Virginia (1962). El trabajo de Economía Doméstica, *Revista de Extensión Agraria*, 1, (12), 2-3. Recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture:

https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/revistas/pdf_REA/REA_1962_12B.pdf.

⁴⁶ Annual report of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fishing and Food. 1964. *Capacitación y extensión agraria. La Agricultura, la Pesca y la Alimentación en España. Chapter: XIII, pp. 188-189*. Virtual library of the Ministry of Agriculture. Recovered from the Virtual Archive of the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture:

https://www.mapa.gob.es/ministerio/pags/biblioteca/memoria/APYA_1964_13_183.pdf

due to the cost of the raw materials which either were not produced by the household unit or were normally destined for the market, but also due to the difficulty of the recipes and dependence on appliances for their execution. Underscored once again is the symbolic power of cooking in general and baking in particular as materializations of the woman as caregiver who “sweetens” family life.

If cleaning and cooking tasks had to change, becoming a monopolizing factor in women’s schedules incompatible with agricultural work carried out far from the house, also key was the introduction of a whole series of new occupations linked, as we have already mentioned, to the decoration and modification of the house. These included crocheting, knitting, embroidery and other handicrafts. This was the culmination of the model of the industrious woman and required an uninterrupted time chain for the subsequent phases of learning, making, placing and maintenance. We pay special attention to the metonymy that is produced between the feminine identity constructed for the rural world and the existence of hands that work tirelessly, no longer in the field, but in the new tasks created for them⁴⁷.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The models of femininity proposed during the Franco dictatorship were not static throughout the four decades that the regime lasted. As part of their survival, these models were modified depending on multiple factors among which stand out the international situation and the internal evolution of Spanish society itself. The analytical line proposed

⁴⁷DEL VALLE MURGA referring to Basque rurality (1985: 290), “the attributes of cleanliness and being hardworking, related to the good organization of the house, are essential in every woman, so that an inability to organize the house would automatically discredit her”.

here is based on the mobility of the female roles of Spanish rural women, whose models of transformation are easily visible when tracking the education designed for them. All of this was for the sake of achieving ideals of femininity that became increasingly demanding regarding the workload entrusted to women who were charged with improving their family's living conditions, as well as the attention required for personal care that would keep them away from the "rusticity" of the countryside. Both circumstances ended up moving rural women from the fields to the chain of goods consumption both for themselves as well as for households specifically created to place them there and occupy them in the performance of "their tasks". This is how they came to be "already located in the confines of the realm that was designed for them by the regime: family domesticity" (Rosón, 2014: 325).

Our review of the National Schools teaching plans and the role of Instructors trained to transmit their knowledge and methodologies has allowed us to demonstrate the Franco's regime effort to transform peasant women into housewives. Two premises were necessary: 1) to create a new idea of a rural household, and 2) to identify agrarian tasks as domestic. The implementation of the Green Revolution in agricultural production supported the latter, while the urban model and training did so with respect to the former. In both cases, the notion of modernism was employed to devalue everything (knowledge, practices, uses, etc.) that women from previous generations had known and treasured.

Rural households thus took the next step towards becoming social units inextricably linked to the profile of women labeled as "housewives". This invention was at the core of the objective of agrarian training from its beginnings in the 19th century: to avoid female migratory movements towards urban areas. But now the historical context favored the triumph of this model.

The success of the conversion of women's identities from "peasants" into "housewives" is palpable in that it was these women, educated according to this new register of femininity, who constituted the bridge generation (Camarero, Sampedro and Vicente-Mazariegos, 1991). This generation included those born in rural areas in the 1970s; their introduction to new parameters for what femininity meant had very little to do with those of the previous generations. They were the ones who naturalized the domestic as the basic pillar of what it meant to be a modern woman living in the countryside, although agricultural work continued to be in the hands of women and occupy an important part of their working day. As they were confined to their homes for more hours, they identified with an ideal of femininity that was increasingly distant from agricultural tasks while, simultaneously, those that they continued to carry out came to be conceived as "domestic". The boundaries of domesticity were imposed by a dictatorial regime in line with the parameters of heteropatriarchal society, but, even in such a context, obviously, rural women contributed to redefining, shaping or adjusting those limits in their everyday life.

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Acknowledgements

The authors are thankful to the anonymous referees for their very valuable suggestions that improve the paper. They would also like to thank the attendees of the Gender Roundtable of the III International Congress of Agrarian History SEHA-Rural RePort held in Salamanca in 2021 for their comments. The authors gratefully thank Sharon Roseman and Jacob Copeman for their careful reading. The first and third authors are supported by the Project 2021 GRC GI-1657 of the Research Group HISTAGRA (University of Santiago de Compostela) and the Research Project I+D+I-RTI Tipe A Ref. PID2020-117858RA-100. The first and the second authors are also supported by the Project 2022-PU012.