EL CINE SOBRE EL DESARROLLO:

The Representation of Development in the 1960s in Popular Spanish Films

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By

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Abstract

Spanish popular cinema produced in the 1960s has recently been revived through its accessibility on television and DVDs, which allows new audiences to discover these films. Also, within the past decade, a few scholars have undertaken an investigation of this body of work, which has been disregarded in Spanish film scholarship due to its formulaic narratives and conservative themes. Deeper investigation of these films uncovers their shared intellectual persuasion, which situates the corpus within the soft social governance of the Franco regime in the 1960s. This thesis examines the representation of Spanish society through three films: *La gran familia* (1962), *El turismo es un gran invento* (1968) and *¡Cómo está el servicio!* (1968). These films probe the phenomenon of progress known as “el desarrollo”, and promote the idea that economic progress and social advancement is best achieved if joined with an adherence to traditional social mores.

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Introduction

Films can be seen as products of a certain moment in a society. They project particular values and perspectives of filmmakers and influence the way that viewers perceive the world around them. As such, they can be used as cultural artifacts that offer insights into the social and political ideologies that shape a film's production and exhibition. Scholars can use these artifacts to ascertain information about cultural history by analyzing the socio-political milieu in which filmmakers work and the lens through which they present their perspectives of society.

This thesis demonstrates how one can use films as a valuable tool to understand the social and political perspectives of a political regime and its supporters through an investigation of three films' representation of society. As its object of study, the thesis examines popular films produced in Spain during and in response to the historical phenomenon of "el desarrollo" (development)¹; a term that is used to denote the process of change and progress, as well as, the era of economic development in modern Spanish history that began in the late 1950s and endured until the early 1970s.

The thesis approaches its subject by grounding a formal analysis of three popular Spanish films made in the 1960s -- *La gran familia* (Dir. Fernando Palacios, 1962), *El turismo es un gran invento* (Dir. Pedro Lazaga, 1968) and *¡Cómo está el servicio!* (Dir. Mariano Ozores, 1968) -- within a framework of historical research on the politics and society of Spain during "el desarrollo". While the main focus of the

¹ Translations provided by myself except where otherwise indicated.

² Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin, "Prizes & Honours 1966",

thesis is the analysis of the three films and the way that they construct and present a particular conservative ideological vision of Spanish society in the 1960s, a historical account of the period is necessary to contextualize the preoccupations of these films, which relate very specifically to concrete events and policies implemented during “el desarrollo”. The relationship between film and historical research further develops the argument that this artistic medium has value as a cultural artifact. It is also through the interaction between these two complementary research focuses that the social and political ideologies of the dominant cultural forces in Spain during the period can be determined. In this manner, the methodology of this thesis is grounded both in history and film analysis.

This approach to the topic of popular Spanish cinema builds on a body of research that is scarce and lacking. Few Spanish film scholars have investigated the field of popular cinema in the 1960s. The primary reason that this type of cinema is overlooked is that, at the same period that these films were released, a body of art films produced by young, innovative filmmakers was screened at a few specialty cinemas in Spain’s major cities and at film festivals abroad. This includes Carlos Saura’s *La Caza* (1966), which won the Berlinale’s Silver Bear for Best Director² and *Con el viento Solano* (Dir. Mario Camus, 1966), an entry for competition at Cannes.³ These films are significant within Spanish film history for the quality of the filmmaking that they introduced to the national film industry and for their daring, anti-Francoist themes. Therefore, this smaller group of films has dominated much of

² Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin, “Prizes & Honours 1966”, http://www.berlinale.de/en/archiv/jahresarchive/1966/03_preistr_ger_1966/03_Preistraeger_1966.html (28 Nov. 2012).

³ Festival de Cannes, “Con el viento solano”, <http://www.festival-cannes.com/en/archives/ficheFilm/id/2818/year/1966.html> (28 Nov. 2012).

the scholarship on Spanish films of the decade while popular cinema, when mentioned, is often unfavourably compared to the much more respected and recognized art films. The sentiment that J.M. Caparrós Lera expresses about popular Spanish films when he describes them as “un cine chabacano” (a crude cinema, in the sense that it lacks intellectual weight or artistic merit) epitomizes how these films were commonly viewed among film critics and scholars for decades.⁴ Given the dominant position of the latter films in scholarly research on Spanish cinema in the 1960s, the frameworks through which popular Spanish film is often discussed or dismissed is one that marks it as inferior due to being socially conservative and apolitical in comparison to the progressive and politically driven art cinema. This thesis takes popular cinema out from under the shadow of art cinema and proposes that this group of films has a place of importance in Spanish film history and cultural studies.

Even scholars focusing on popular cinema have adopted this particular framework, whereby those films that do not challenge Franco’s regime are marginalized in Spanish film studies due to their lack of political criticism. In order to bring popular films into academic discussion, scholars like Sally Faulkner in her work *A Cinema of Contradiction: Spanish Film in the 1960s*, argue that it is possible to read these films beyond their conservative narratives and themes in order to locate a subversive, anti-Francoist orientation.⁵ While this type of approach has brought more attention to popular Spanish films and aided in legitimizing their study, it also

⁴ J.M. Caparrós Lera, *El cine bajo el regimen de Franco, 1936-1975* (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1983), 57.

⁵ Sally Faulkner, *A Cinema of Contradiction: Spanish Film in the 1960s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 3.

plays into the notion that Spanish films from the Franco-period must be politically subversive in order to warrant a place in film history. Figuring this cinema within the study of politically subversive films is also problematic as it re-imagines the place of popular Spanish films within Spanish history. By projecting anti-Francoist and pro-democratic messages onto the films in order to position popular cinema within the same discursive frameworks as the art cinema of the same period, this approach overlooks the actual role of these films in Spanish society during the time of their exhibition and the effect that they had on audiences of that time. Overlooking the conservative themes of these films has created a gap in the history of Spanish cinema, one that silences the voices of filmmakers whose work was seen by millions of spectators in the 1960s.

While the conservative perspective of popular Spanish cinema makes it unpopular and tainted by an association with the Franco regime, this thesis takes on the important task of uncovering the themes of these films in order to identify their role within the history of Spanish cultural and political discourses. Studying Spanish art cinema of the 1960s is valuable for analyzing the aesthetics of Spanish films and the political perspective of a small group of educated and politically conscious Spaniards, yet, to obtain a sense of the experience and outlook of mass society, it is necessary to examine the images that they viewed and the narratives that influenced their outlook on the society in which they lived.

In *National Spanish Cinema*, Núria Triana-Toribio brings attention to the importance of popular Spanish cinema in building an understanding of the history of Spanish cinema. In her defense of popular Spanish films, she makes the claim that

the art cinema, which has been the only recognized cinema of this era, “defines itself against” the popular cinema that proliferated screens across the country in the 1960s.⁶ This thesis responds to the call for an analysis of popular Spanish films and seeks to answer the question of the nature of popular Spanish cinema during “el desarrollo” and its underlying social commentary.

The thesis does not attempt to construct a history of “el desarrollo” through film, nor does it propose to provide a history of popular film in Spain. The subject of popular cinema in Spain during the 1960s is much broader than the topic undertaken here; the diversity of these films expanded in this period as the state gave special incentives to westerns and horror films in order to expand the national cinema beyond musicals heroic historical dramas of the 1940s and 1950s, such as *El último cuplé* (Dir. Juan de Orduña, 1957) and *Los últimos de Filipinas* (Dir. Antonio Ramón, 1945).⁷ Lázaro-Reboll and Willis argue that the development of genre films, particularly horror and sex comedies, including *Gritos en la noche* (Dir. Jesús Franco, 1962) and *No desearás al vecino del quinto* (Dir. Tito Fernández, 1970), was an attempt on the part of Spanish film industry to compete with successful foreign imports.⁸ Furthermore, the genre of comedy is much larger than these films, which can be identified as commenting on the social environment during “el desarrollo”. The thesis focuses solely on this group of light comedies⁹ that construct representations of the major phenomena that resulted from the economic and social

⁶ Núria Triana-Toribio, *Spanish National Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 93.

⁷ Bernard P. E. Bentley, *A Companion to Spanish Cinema* (Rochester, New York: Tamesis, 2008), 157.

⁸ Lázaro-Reboll, Antonio and Andrew Willis, *Spanish Popular Cinema* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 12.

⁹ Other films that can react to “el desarrollo”: *La ciudad no es para mí* (Dir. Pedro Lazaga, 1966), *Sor Citroën* (Dir. Pedro Lazaga, 1967) and *Vente a Alemania, Pepe* (Dir. Pedro Lazaga, 1971).

development of Spain. Its objective is to identify the lens through which the cinema about “el desarrollo” engages with and critiques the cultural and economic reality of Spain in the 1960s.

Firstly, the thesis determines the foundations of the ideologies that shaped Spanish popular cinema. Thus, its initial task is to identify the dominant political ideologies of Spain’s government at the time, those that the Franco government created as a means to retain its non-democratic control over both lives of Spaniards. Chapter one explores scholarship on popular Spanish films and provides a historiography of Franco’s Spain up to the end of the 1960s. Analyzing this specific period allows one to comprehend Franco’s politics and trace several factors that influenced the social milieu in which the films were produced and exhibited.

Secondly, the thesis argues that the politics of the state shape the central ideological underpinnings of the popular films of the period. In the second chapter of the thesis, *La gran familia* is analyzed for its focus on consumer culture and Catholicism. This chapter explores how the filmmaker has reconciled these two value systems in the same way that the state promoted the marriage of these seemingly inconsistent belief systems. Chapter three of the thesis looks at two films, *El turismo es un gran invento* and *¡Cómo está el servicio!*, which deal respectively with the tourism industry and urbanization.

Both chapters two and three investigate how these films comment on the impact that these changes had on middle class Spaniards while critically evaluating the ideological basis of the filmmakers in their construction of these experiences. Thus, the thesis demonstrates through the narratives and the thematic content of

popular Spanish films that this particular type of cinema produced during “el desarrollo” assisted, intentionally or unintentionally, the government’s social and economic imperatives: the only way to endure and emerge prosperous in the new Spanish economy was to commit oneself to hard work and traditional values.

The contribution of this thesis is that it represents a new and productive approach to Spanish cinema of the 1960s: it moves beyond the framework that establishes political art cinema as the standard that other Spanish films of the period must meet in order to be taken seriously as objects of study. While this thesis does not agree with the argument that it is possible to read against the socially conservative ethics of these films, neither does it agree with the idea that this apolitical orientation is a reason to disregard popular cinema from scholarly investigation. Rather, it shows that the conservative perspective portrayed in the films provides fruitful ground for studying the relationship between the medium of film and political ideologies. The films examined are situated within the historical political and social context in which they were produced and to which they respond within their respective narratives. By demonstrating the ways in which popular Spanish films negotiate the social attitudes and experiences of their time through an ideological perspective that conforms to the values of the state, this thesis demonstrates how film can be used as a tool for investigating social and cultural history.

Chapter One: The Historical Framework

Since the cinema about “el desarrollo” depicts the modernity and economic progress of the 1960s, an analysis of this work must begin with an examination of the historical phenomenon to which it responds and within which it is situated. These films view “el desarrollo” from a conservative standpoint, a standpoint that defends the legitimacy of the government and celebrates the traditional morals and values of the past. Through humour and happy resolutions, the films obscure the social ruptures between modern Spain of the 1960s and Spanish society before this period. This chapter reveals the contradictions between Francisco Franco’s political ideology and the transformative economic policies, which the government’s financial experts implemented in the late 1950s, through direct comparisons between the pre-“desarrollo” period and “el desarrollo”.

The first section of this chapter outlines the limited work that has been conducted in the area of popular Spanish films of the 1960s and examines how this cinema has previously been analyzed. The next section explores the historical background of the films and their major themes. This historiography surveys the early history of the tools of social control and suppression of information of the Franco regime. It then compares this situation to the more open social environment of the 1960s when foreigners became pervasive and the locals were more informed due to greater access to information. This history is important for understanding the regime’s softer approach to social control by means of film and the new medium of television that are explored through an analysis of *La gran familia* in chapter two.

This is followed by an exploration of the ideological underpinnings of the “paleta” subgenre of comedies, to which *¡Cómo está el servicio!* and *El turismo es un gran invento* belong. This subgenre positions the rural protagonists as noble and moral in contrast to the urban dwellers and foreigners that they encounter in their adventures in modern cities and spaces. To understand the historical background of this cultural figure of the “paleta” (hillbilly)¹⁰ hero, the chapter explores the Franco government’s pro-agriculture policies and the later trend of urbanization. The final part of the chapter examines the history of tourism in Spain through its role in stimulating the national economy, as well as introducing new social customs and values that conflicted with the conservative values that both the state and the Catholic Church in Spain enforced. As chapters two and three later show, these tensions between the society Franco created in the 1940s and the more liberal social reality that emerged in the 1960s are depicted and reconciled in the popular films of that era.

Scholarship on Popular Cinema of the 1960s

As noted in the introduction of this thesis, there has been very little scholarship on popular Spanish films of the 1960s. Instead, much more attention has been given to the internationally recognized art films produced during that decade. However, within the past decade, several scholars have taken on the task of investigating this largely ignored body of films. Among these scholars, there is a general consensus that the narratives of these films, particularly those films that can be grouped with the cinema about “el desarrollo”, are supportive of the regime and its

¹⁰ Translation provided by Prof. José Sánchez.

policies. However, the different theoretical approaches that the writers use in their analyses of these films provide a corresponding array of perspectives on the historical significance of this corpus.

Addressing the cinema about “el desarrollo” in a different light from conventional conceptions, Sally Faulkner’s *A Cinema of Contradiction: Spanish Film in the 1960s* rejects the notion that popular Spanish films of the 1960s were overwhelmingly pro-Francoist. Through a formal analysis of several popular films, she seeks to uncover stylistic elements that can be seen as negative representations of Spanish society or the regime. Faulkner rejects the Frankfurt School approach in favour of Antonio Gramsci’s “counter-hegemonic cultural tactics,”¹¹ which give greater agency to the spectator and more emphasis on reception rather than authorial intention or state control. While the films’ narratives were quite traditional and not provocative in their structure and subject matter, Faulkner examines the mise-en-scène, humour, cinematography and editing for possibilities of subversive political and social commentary. Most of her claims are based on symbolic and visual representations of Franco or Francoism that appear to satirize the regime, its leader, and its values. Her most compelling argument is the correlation she draws between the grandfather in *La gran familia* and Franco by noting their similar physical characteristics and costume. Faulkner describes the grandfather in Palacios’ film as a surrogate of the ailing elderly Francisco Franco by making connections between his short stature and the military attire he wears while playing with the children. As the grandfather is depicted as senile, infantilized and incompetent, the construction of this

¹¹ Sally Faulkner, *A Cinema of Contradiction: Spanish Film in the 1960s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 9.

character seems to ridicule the dictator. The objective of this type of analysis is to create parallels between mainstream cinema and the art cinema of the same period, which was celebrated by intellectuals in Spain and abroad for its allegorical criticisms of the Francoist government.

Perhaps the most critical reading of the popular Spanish cinema is Barry Jordan's "Late-Francoist popular comedy and the 'reactionary' film text", which views the films as an instrument of state control and influence. In his broad discussion of the popular films of the era, Jordan claims that this cinema attempts to reconcile both the entrenched socio-economic inequalities in the country and the rapidly changing economy with Francoist and conservative Catholic doctrine. He takes an approach inspired by the Frankfurt School¹² in his argument that not only did these films avoid offending or challenging the regime but also they assisted it by normalizing social inequalities and promoting the traditional family as the foundation for the nation. He writes that mainstream Spanish comedies "accommodate and manage dissent via laughter and mockery and thereby safeguard the status quo."¹³ Jordan describes popular Spanish cinema as "dominant" and "state controlled," suggesting an intrinsic link between the regime and these types of films, as well as, an intention to use comedy and entertainment to indoctrinate and pacify a population that was enduring significant shocks due to urbanization, consumerism, and a rise in foreign tourists invading the country. This reading constructs the cinema about "el

¹² Scholars who analyze popular Spanish films through the approach of the Frankfurt School view these films as tools that the dominant classes used to exert social and political control over the masses.

¹³ Barry Jordan, "Late-Francoist popular comedy and the 'reactionary' film text," *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas* 2.2 (2005): 90.

desarrollo” as a tool of the state that could be used to ease Spaniards into modernity without the loss of their traditional values.

Núria Triana-Toribio holds a similar opinion of popular Spanish cinema in her claim that the Spanish art films of the 1960s, which often contained veiled criticisms of Francoism, existed in opposition to these films.¹⁴ She states that for this reason, critics and film scholars have largely ignored these films. Since popular Spanish films were not seen to challenge or critique the dictatorship as the art films did, many critics did not give much attention to these films and characterized them as “static, conformist and reactionary entertainment cinema.”¹⁵ Triana-Toribio does not disagree with this assessment yet nor does she deem the traditional narratives to be justification for ignoring the films.

To demonstrate the conservative nature of popular cinema, Triana-Toribio points to the phenomenon of the National Interest Prize, which was a government subsidy that was given to films that contained moral, social and political values that aligned with those of the government. Like Jordan, she also cites the “obviation of references to political or social inequality and the representation of a benign but unnamed government and a social climate of contentment” as elements that provide this cinema with a sense of nationalism and pro-Francoism.¹⁶ By celebrating traditional Spanish values over the European influences found throughout beach resorts and increasingly in cities, the narratives seem to reject cultural change and

¹⁴ Núria Triana-Toribio, *Spanish National Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 93.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 75.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 75.

look to the past as a model for familial and social values despite the enormous economic transformations occurring across the country.

This idea that popular Spanish cinema appealed to past traditions to navigate the changing society of the 1960s is also evident in the work of Peter William Evans. His analysis of the popular series of films that follow the character of “Marisol”, suggests that the development of the character across several films acts as an allegory for the cultural and political changes occurring in Spain during “el desarrollo”. Although this series does not deal with the political aspects of modernity, Evans’ theory of how these films negotiated past traditions and economic progress informs the reading in this thesis of the cinema about “el desarrollo”. This franchise of musical comedies starred a young girl who was renamed Marisol after the character that she portrayed in over ten films. Marisol was a very popular and culturally influential force throughout the 1960s. In “Marisol: the Spanish Cinderella”, Evans studies the persona of the character as it develops across the course of the series. He argues that Marisol embodies the balance between traditional Spanish culture and values with economic advancement and ties with foreign nations, especially the United States.¹⁷ The character is constructed as an Andalusian archetype through her costumes and singing style. Around this time, the state had adopted Andalusian culture to represent the entire multiethnic nation of Spain abroad, thereby presenting predominately Andalusian bullfighting, flamenco and gypsies tropes as collectively Spanish.¹⁸ As the character of Marisol became a popular performer at the narrative

¹⁷ Peter William Evans, “Marisol: the Spanish Cinderella” in *Spanish popular cinema*, ed. Antonio Lázaro Reboll & Andrew Willis (Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 2004), 137.

¹⁸ Ibid, 134.

level of the films, she gradually adopted American clothing and music. Perhaps this shift in the construction of her character can be interpreted as a reflection of the changing political and economic agenda at the time. As the Spanish government attempted to engage with foreign partners, it began to relinquish its very nationalistic and insular attitudes in order to cultivate a more cosmopolitan image. While maintaining the character of a wholesome girl in a patriarchal society, both the character and the actress Marisol rose from a poor background to wealth and success, which was the ideal scenario of the Francoist regime during the 1960s.

This thesis builds on Triana-Toribio's contention that popular films must not be overlooked and should be analyzed in order to garner a fuller understanding of the cinematic history of a nation. This cinema is comprised of a body of films whose narratives' focus on the major economic and social developments that occurred as a result of "el desarrollo". Analyzed in their historical context, these films argue that past traditions and social values remain important during an era of major economic progress and cultural change. In this manner, Jordan's claim that these films reconcile dissimilar value systems also shapes the reading of these films. In addition, Evans' conceptualization of the character of Marisol as a symbol of equilibrium between tradition and economic progress influences the reading of the cinema about "el desarrollo". Thus, this thesis builds on previous literature on Spanish popular cinema to develop the case that these films constitute a subgroup of popular films based on the progress and development that restructured Spain in the 1960s.

This thesis analyzes three films that were produced in 1962 and in 1968. This range of dates signifies a period of time during which Francisco Franco oversaw great

economic progress. Throughout the thesis, this era is referred to as “el desarrollo”. As stated in the introduction, this term has come to denote both historical timeframe during which much of the economic liberalization and resulting development in Spain occurred. It has also been used to refer generally to the economic processes and political policies that facilitated this development. The term originates from the Franco regime’s “Planes de desarrollo”. These were the three economic plans that the economically liberal Opus Dei technocrats developed and implemented in 1964, 1968 and 1972. These economic plans fostered Spain’s financial turn around, which the technocrats first set in motion with their “Plan de estabilización” (Stabilization Plan) in 1959 but which only really started to produce results a couple years later. The cinema about “el desarrollo” as identified in this thesis is restricted to this brief yet critical moment in Spanish history.

The analysis of these films, both methodologically and theoretically, is grounded in the perspective of cultural history. This thesis seeks to understand the popular cinema produced during the 1960s as cultural artifacts that not only provide filmic representations of Spanish society during “el desarrollo” but also engage in a discourse of Spanish modernity. Accordingly, in order to uncover the implication of these films for Spanish audiences in the 1960s, it is necessary to deconstruct the representations of Spanish society that are presented in these works to reveal their ideological underpinnings. It is important to note that, while the thesis takes the approach of cultural history, it engages with political and social histories of the period. A historical overview of Franco’s economic and social policies allows one to elucidate the dominant political ideologies that shape the narratives and themes in the

cinema about “el desarrollo”. An understanding of the factors that influenced the intellectual development of these films is paired with an examination of the social history that describes the experiences of the mainstream audience to whom the films are directed. The cultural history of the cinema about “el desarrollo” that develops from this approach identifies this body of films as an instrument of social influence that the dominant conservative class employed to suppress any aspirations for meaningful political and social change.

A Historical Overview of Franco’s Spain

In the years following the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, Francisco Franco and his Nationalist regime held control over nearly every aspect of the nation by suppressing discussions of politics, maintaining a tight censorship of information, closely directing the economy, and enforcing an adherence to Catholicism. The effect of this heavy-handed approach was to create a depoliticized society with uniform social values that were based on the doctrines of the Church. Antonio Cazorla Sánchez notes that, in the years following the end of the war, the government sought to eliminate non-Catholic practices from the country through forced baptisms and Church marriages.¹⁹ The intent of this operation was to create homogeneity in the beliefs, ethics, and values of the Spanish people; for Franco, this meant that all Spaniards should participate in Catholic rituals and diligently follow Catholic doctrine.

¹⁹ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975* (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 143.

Reciprocally, the Catholic clergy gave their support to the regime that had restored their authority. Mass became a channel for political propaganda as many priests used their sermons as an opportunity to speak positively about Franco and his policies to parishioners and encourage popular support for the dictatorship.²⁰ However, unlike most other institutions that were integral to the state, the Church was given considerable autonomy. Its responsibility was to dictate and protect the moral values of the Spanish people, particularly Spanish family dynamics, which was considered the foundation upon which Spain was built. A large patriarchal nuclear family was the ideal lifestyle and instrument of socialization into conservative values.²¹ This authority was challenged in the 1960s, when Catholic values were forced to compete with modern consumer-oriented lifestyles that prized the accumulation of wealth and material goods above religious tradition and conventional family life.

Outside of the institution of the Church, violence and fear were the methods that the regime utilized in order to stifle dissent and to impose a compliance with the non-democratic government's agenda. Max Gallo describes the nation as being under a state of "libertad vigilada", or "freedom under surveillance".²² This notion implies that although the war was over and people no longer had to live with the fear of battle and further mass devastation, they still had to be careful about what they did, whom they spoke to, and where they had their conversations, as judicial punishment applied to any behaviour that the state perceived as a threat to its authority. Further

²⁰ Ibid, 140.

²¹ Jordan, "Late-Francoist popular comedy and the 'reactionary' film text," 94-95.

²² Max Gallo, *Spain Under Franco: A History*, trans. Jean Stewart (New York: Dutton, 1973), 162.

enhancing this state of fear was the fact that everyone was at risk of arbitrary imprisonment or execution as the law that was drafted on March 2, 1943 to make affiliation with the Popular Front illegal, did not clearly state which offences were punishable.²³ Therefore, individuals could be arbitrarily prosecuted.

Not only did the state seek to control the thoughts and action of its people through lessons at Church and the establishment of a culture of fear, access to information about news and current events was restricted to state-controlled channels and the publication of books was quite limited. However, this suppression began to erode in the 1960s as the nation started to open up to new ideas and sources of information. The major change that occurred during this period was the appointment of the Opus Dei technocrats to key government positions. Unlike most of Franco's advisors who came from military careers, these individuals were educated and experts in the areas of government to which they were appointed, notably in the area of finance. The most significant change that these technocrats ushered in was the implementation of liberal economic policies, which saved the economy by opening Spain to foreign trade, investment, and tourists. This fundamentally altered how the state operated as it had previously relied on an isolationist approach to diplomacy and autarkic economic policies, which protected the dictatorship from outside influences.²⁴ With greater freedom of movement for capital and people across its borders, Spain became exposed to a broader set of cultural and social values.

The renovation of the national economy arose due not only to the initiatives of the Opus Dei technocrats but perhaps even more largely because of the influence of

²³ Ibid, 135.

²⁴ Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime: 1936-1975* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 470.

foreign economic bodies. Fabián Estapé and Mercè Amado, among other scholars, argue that the “Plan de estabilización” of 1957, the precursor to the “Planes de desarrollo”, created the conditions for economic growth and prosperity throughout the 1960s.²⁵ This perspective credits the regulations of foreign financial experts with laying the groundwork for the changes that stimulated investment and corporate spending within Spain. While the Opus Dei technocrats were responsible for convincing Franco to abandon his autarkic principles in favour of international trade and cooperation, many of the policies, including the removal of tariffs, were conditions of Spain’s inclusion in international economic institutions, such as the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the Export-Import Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.²⁶ Thus, although the Spanish government remained a military dictatorship during “el desarrollo”, political decisions made during this period responded to international circumstances. Neither the state nor society remained isolated from the rest of Europe, so the influence of foreign cultures and values began to pervade even the private lives of individuals.

Perhaps the phenomenon that was most influential in shaping the culture and society of Spain in the 1960s was the mass tourism industry. This activity occupied a significant place in the collective imagination of the country due both to its immense scale and importance in the economy and its considerable cultural impact. Both *La gran familia* and *El turismo es un gran invento* contain positive representations of tourism and the popular beach resorts; however, since the tourism industry is the main

²⁵ Fabián Estapé and Mercè Amado, “Realidad y propaganda de la planificación indicativa en España,” in *España Bajo el Franquismo*, ed. Josep Fontana (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1986), 208.

²⁶ Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 263.

focus of *El turismo es un gran invento*, its cultural representation is explored in depth in chapter three. The film presents tourism as the source of economic development in the 1960s but cautions against the modern social values associated with the industry.

The Historical Context of the Analysis of the Cinema About “El Desarrollo”

The historical interpretation of “el desarrollo” within this thesis emerges largely from an analysis of Spanish political and, more importantly, social history. The intrinsic contradictions between the conservative values of the state and the progressive ideals attached to the project of “desarrollismo” that characterize Spanish society in the 1960s were a direct result of the regime’s policies that are explored in Raymond Carr’s and Stanley G. Payne’s political histories of regime’s fascist economy. The social confusion and contradictions that these policies created are then examined in Antonio Cazorla Sánchez’s social history of daily life under Franco and the history of tourism that Justin Crumbaugh and Sash D. Pack each present. Thus, the political and social histories examined in this thesis are concerned with investigating the competition and conflict between the state’s economic policies and the resulting social implications.

The political history of Spain during this period provides the general framework for the understanding of economic change and subsequent internationalization of the country, which are central motifs of the cinema about “el desarrollo”. Within this historiography, Carr’s discussion of the way Franco privileged the agricultural sector through his autarkic economic policies helps to explain why the shift to liberal economic principles was a risk for the leader. In

particular, the inherent contradictions between the regime's ideological aggrandizement of the agricultural worker and its policies that favoured large landowners at the expense of peasants who were forced to flock to the cities provide an understanding of the cultural significance of the "paleto" hero, a character that inspired a major subgenre within the films of "el desarrollo". This figure was culturally significant in the 1960s when the country was experiencing a massive movement of millions of people from the countryside to the major industrial, urban centres of Madrid, Barcelona, and other developing cities found primarily in the northern half of the peninsula. However, the roots of its development can be located in Franco's rhetoric in the 1940s, which positioned the rural peasant as noble in contrast to the corrupted urban worker.

The havoc of the prolonged destructive Civil War caused the devastation of hundreds of towns and cities, the slaughter or starvation of a large portion of livestock, and the loss of the equivalent of a few hundred million dollars that was spent by the government in defense of the country against the Nationalist rebellion.²⁷ This created years of subsequent poverty and hunger, so the country's agricultural fields had to return to productivity in order to feed the suffering nation. Carr proposes that Franco pursued economic policies that encouraged peasants to return to their jobs working the farms of wealthy landowners.²⁸ Furthermore, Carr states that these policies resulted in an ideology that positioned rural farmers, who were necessary for feeding the starving population, as noble and characterized industrial

²⁷ E. Ramón Arango, *Spain: From Repression to Renewal* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985), 191.

²⁸ Raymond Carr, *The Spanish Civil War: The Civil War in Perspective* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), 282.

workers as harmful to the values of the nation.²⁹ The protagonists of *El turismo es un gran invento* and *¡Cómo está el servicio!* emerge out of this notion of the rural characters as honourable and their experiences in the modern beach resort and industrialized Madrid heighten their moral superiority over foreigners and Spaniards who have embraced foreign values.

In 1940, half of the population made their livelihood in agriculture; however, Carr notes that throughout the decade, production suffered due to a series of droughts and the lack of fertilizer, which the farmers imported substantially before the nation moved towards a more isolationist position.³⁰ Thus, the agricultural sector could not support the millions of underemployed Spaniards and the autarkic economic policies could not be sustained much longer; dramatic demographic and policy changes were inevitable. The demographic trends of the period reveal a large-scale migration of working age individuals from the countryside and small towns to larger and wealthier industrial centres. The decade of the 1960s witnessed a sharp drop in the number of individuals working in agriculture, from 42 percent of all employed Spaniards in 1960 to only 25 percent in 1970.³¹ As the nation industrialized at a quick pace, Spaniards increasingly turned to jobs in the service and manufacturing sectors. This journey from rural Spain to urban settings, which was characterized by cultural conflict and change, became a major preoccupation in Spanish cinema, including *¡Cómo está el servicio!*, a film studied in chapter three.

Payne's history of the liberalization of publishing in the 1960s reflects the ironies and frustrations of the period. His work identifies Manuel Fraga Iribarne as

²⁹ Raymond Carr, *Spain: 1808-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 740.

³⁰ Carr, *The Spanish Civil War*, 254.

³¹ *Ibid*, 282.

one of the key government ministers of this period who was responsible for much of the social liberalization that occurred. As the Minister of Information and Tourism starting in 1962, Fraga initiated a process of lifting censorship, which alongside the increase of university attendance, Payne argues, helped to create a more informed populace.³² The intellectual wasteland that the government had created through the repression of the press, media, and education was no longer an apt description of the culture of the state. In terms of book publishing, the number of titles released increased four-fold following the ratification of the Fraga's Press Law in 1962.³³ This law marked a significant change within the Franco regime, which had used the suppression of information as an important tool for suffocating dissent and independent thinking. Payne describes the social change that resulted from Fraga's efforts to foster social change and the Opus Dei technocrats' liberal economic policies as "a decisive change and modernization in society and culture".³⁴ Although Spaniards had greater access to news and information, they still lacked the outlets to express their own ideas if they were not favourable to the government. While political history is important for providing the background of "el desarrollo", the analyses of the films engages more with the social history of Spain in the 1960s.

In addition to the political history, this thesis covers several distinct aspects of Spanish social history that are represented in the three films. Firstly, the notions of urban Spain and the role of individuals in relation to consumerism and social change are investigated primarily in Cazorla's *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in*

³² Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 434.

³³ Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 487.

³⁴ Payne, *Fascism in Spain*, 426.

Franco's Spain, 1939-1975. The author constructs his social history by combining historical statistics with personal historical accounts from witnesses to this period in order to create a sense of the lived experience for average Spaniards as they navigated the tight political control of the state and the economic opportunities many sought to take advantage of during “el desarrollo”. Of all of the historians mentioned in this thesis, Cazorla most explicitly explores the notion of the contradictions between the liberalization of the economy and the continued political repressions of the state. His social history of the 1960s contends that multiple factors, including economic mobility, foreign tourists, and a more educated populace, created a desire for greater autonomy that the authoritarian government continued to withhold.

The new social reality of most urban and socially mobile Spaniards in the 1960s led to the development of new social values and perspectives that challenged the old compliance with the dictatorship’s traditional, repressive policies. In particular, the Western ideals connected with capitalism and liberal democracy, which were associated with Franco’s former adversaries, the Republicans,³⁵ posed a threat to the regime. The individualistic and progressive values associated with industrialism, urbanization and capitalism were incongruous with autarky. As Cazorla writes, “The regime’s authoritarian discourse, unchanged since its birth, collided with the increasingly tolerant outlook of Spaniards, who were more interested in having a better life than in guarding the political essence of a system that seemed more and more a relic of a troubled past.”³⁶ Thus, the regime orchestrated a new propagandistic message, which Cazorla claims sought to create continuity between the years of

³⁵ Shlomo Ben-Ami, “The Republican ‘take-over’: prelude to inevitable catastrophe?” in *Revolution and War in Spain: 1931-1939*, ed. Paul Preston (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1984), 18.

³⁶ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 172.

control and repression and the liberal values of industrialized Spain. It argued that the years of peace and stability that Franco had ensured in the 1940s and 1950s, as well as Spaniards' hardships and sacrifices during the most difficult years, enabled the economy to flourish during "el desarrollo".³⁷ Such inconsistencies between Franco's political philosophy during the first two decades of his rule and the liberal model he permitted the technocrats to pursue in the 1960s caused a confused and disjointed social reality. This social reality of contradictions and tensions lies at the heart of the cinema about "el desarrollo".

The historical lens through which the films in chapter three are investigated is based on social histories of tourism and cultural exchange. Crumbaugh's cultural history of the tourism industry in Spain of the 1960s explains how the Franco regime used the industry both to sell the nation abroad and to convince the Spanish people that the state was responsible for much of the economic liberalization that they now enjoyed.³⁸ He describes tourism as providing an illusion of freedom to foreigners who could roam the resorts oblivious to the contemporary political reality and to Spaniards whose limits on personal freedoms now extended to the activities of the foreign tourists. In this manner, Spaniards enjoyed many of the social freedoms that other Western Europeans enjoyed yet they were always aware that these freedoms could be taken away at any moment since they still lacked the ultimate freedom of democracy.

The government propaganda that presented the tourism industry as a sign of political change and social modernization was not only directed towards Spaniards

³⁷ Ibid, 155.

³⁸ Justin Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 5-6.

but to the international community as well. Crumbaugh proposes the notion that this rhetoric, which showed the regime in a positive light, was turned outwards to the tourists who were lured to Spain and to the foreign nations with whom Spain conducted trade. He argues that this provided an appearance of democracy that served as a distraction from Spain's political system.³⁹ Tourism became a symbol of progress that suggested that the regime was changing; Spain was no longer the backwards, insular, impoverished nation that it had been not only since the end of the Civil War but for the several decades since the nation had ceased to be a colonial power. Crumbaugh asserts that the more progressive aspects of the tourism industry created social and cultural linkages between Spain and the Western world without forcing Franco to relinquish his dictatorial control.⁴⁰ This reasoning suggests that, as long as the state could provide Spaniards with the economic and social freedoms that their Western European neighbours experienced, there was no need for a change in the political system.

More directly related to the analysis of the films is the history that Pack has written about this same industry. His approach emphasizes the conflict between the vital importance of the tourism industry for the success of "el desarrollo" and the liberal cultural practices that tourists unavoidably demonstrated to local Spaniards. As stated earlier in the chapter, the social values that Franco extolled were based on conservative Catholic moral doctrines. These standards were directly at odds with the skimpy attire and decadent behaviour of tourists who came to Spain to expose their skin to the sun and to have fun. In order to maintain the economic growth, the state

³⁹ Ibid, 96.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 6.

itself had to compromise its principles and provide Spaniards with greater, although superficial, social freedoms in how they dressed and behaved on vacation.

For the millions of tourists who chose to spend their vacation days and disposable incomes in Spain, the attraction to the country was based on the sun, warmth, and numerous beaches that the land had to offer. The conservative nature of the Francoist state did not prevent European and American tourists from enjoying the relaxing and playful activities that they would have expected to partake in at seaside resorts in more liberal countries. Sasha D. Pack comments on the hedonistic behaviour that the foreign tourists engaged in with little regard for the severe social restrictions of the dictatorship. He notes that tourist resorts frequently hosted “Bikini War” contests that welcomed both foreign and local tourists as competitors.⁴¹ These exhibitionist activities that celebrated the display of as much skin as possible represented a stark change from the strict conservative morals of the regime. As the outside world increasingly became part of Spanish society, the strict enforcement of morality and modesty was no longer feasible. It was clear that economic prosperity had taken precedence over concerns of maintaining conservative social values.

The government realized that there were limits to how much the state could control the tourism industry and the actions of foreigners if they wished to maintain the strong and vital industry. Rather than fighting the changes in social behaviours and material culture, the scholar suggests that the regime used this situation to their advantage in appealing for favour among the population. During “el desarrollo”, it was in the interest of the government to appear as though they had ushered in a new

⁴¹ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 145.

era of liberalism and progress. Pack notes that, in 1965, the Ministry of Information and Tourism released a booklet entitled *España de Hoy (Today's Spain)*, which contained images of the modern advancements that Spain had made during its implementation of the “Planes de desarrollo”, including the construction of new highways, factories, urban landscapes, and improvements to the nation’s aviation sector.⁴² In addition to promoting these developments in print, the government’s official newsreels, which were always played in cinemas before a feature film, celebrated the achievements that tourism had made possible. Pack notes that a common topic of these newsreels “was the links among tourism, urbanization, modern infrastructure, and economic development.”⁴³ Through these forms of propaganda, the government ensured that the populace recognized that the economic and social progress that they enjoyed during “el desarrollo” was attributable to the efforts and policies of the state.

Throughout the thesis, these various historical approaches are used to develop the notion that the massive economic transformation of “el desarrollo” had the unintended consequence of initiating a change in the attitudes and lifestyles of Spaniards. The thesis contends that it is this social reality that the conservative cinema of “el desarrollo” sought to mitigate through its positive images of Spaniards prospering in the new economic environment while maintaining their traditional values. Although the historical foundation of this work is grounded in political and social histories, the methodological approach to the film analysis in relation to this

⁴² Ibid, 151.

⁴³ Ibid, 141.

history emerges from the perspective of cultural history. Situating these films in their historical context allows one to dissect their themes and narratives to determine the conservative values that the filmmakers presented to mass audiences. Through this approach, the films are examined as historical artifacts that reveal both the ideological outlook of those sympathetic to the regime's agenda and the culture of Spain during "el desarrollo".

Thus, the history of the development of the cinema about "el desarrollo" that emerges from the analyses of these works proposes that this corpus is unique to this period as the subject matter deals explicitly with specific economic and social phenomena of the period. Each film's narratives are based on their protagonists' attempts to navigate their changing society and take advantage of the new economic reality. Thus, the rising wealth and increasing urbanization during the 1960s underlie the themes of these films. In regards to *La gran familia* and its preoccupation with consumerism, Cazorla's study of the role of television in the 1960s as an object that signified social advancement informs the understanding of the ideological underpinnings of the film and the state's televisual programming. In chapter three, the histories of tourism and cultural globalization that Crumbaugh and particularly Pack have developed help to situate *El turismo es un gran invento* and *¡Cómo está el servicio!* within the issue of the tension between economic progress and social liberalization.

Chapter Two: *La gran familia* and the Socialization of the Traditional Family Unit into Consumer Culture

In a non-democratic state, a sense of freedom and control is often sought in apolitical ways. This chapter proposes that the Franco regime embraced mass culture as a way to present itself as a benevolent power that offered individuals the opportunity to gain wealth and find pleasure in a consumerist lifestyle. As argued in chapter one, the economic and social opening of Spain made the militaristic politics of control unfeasible and forced a change in the style of the state's relations with its citizens. In order to understand how film participated in this political objective, *La gran familia* will be examined as an example from the cinema about "el desarrollo", which constructs positive and, more importantly, desirable images of labour, leisure, and materialism that aligned with the state's continued pursuit of political immobility. To support this argument, the analysis of the film's ideological underpinnings will show the shifting priorities and values of Spain corresponding with the access to prosperity.

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that themes and narratives found in the cinema about "el desarrollo" acculturate the spectator into the adoption of consumerist mores. It traces the two major concerns of *La gran familia*, consumerism and Catholicism, as they negotiate their place in Spanish society at the advent of "el desarrollo". The first sections of the chapter focus on the growing importance of consumerism as the foundation of the Spanish economy and as a tool of control. This discussion will lead to an analysis of the methods and media the state

used, particularly television, to put forward an ideology in which the new consumer values would not replace Catholic doctrine, but instead, reinforce it. Throughout this cultural analysis, it will be demonstrated that *La gran familia* depicts and is complicit in this process.

The Ideology of *La gran familia*

An examination of the political and social undercurrents in *La gran familia* reveals the influence of conservative political ideologies in the cinema about “el desarrollo”; however, when positioned within the social reality of the period, it also depicts a certain agency on the part of Spaniards in regards to the autonomy they wielded over how they led their lives. As discussed in the previous chapter, individuals had more opportunities and economic freedom during “el desarrollo” than in the prior period of Franco’s rule. This situation, which was made possible partly through government policies, simultaneously became an asset and a threat to the legitimacy of the regime. Appealing to government sensibilities to gain film subsidies, *La gran familia* attempts to demonstrate how a traditional Catholic family can become financially self-sufficient consumers while maintaining key conservative values and ethics.

Produced in the early years of “el desarrollo”, *La gran familia* covers several months in the life of a devoutly religious, traditional and large Spanish family that lives in the nation’s most urban city, Madrid. The parents, Carlos and Mercedes, manage a household that includes fifteen children who greatly range in age, from babies to young adults. In addition to raising their children, they also care for the

children's grandfather who acts more like the younger children than a responsible adult. The parents' friend and children's godfather, Juan, also greatly supports the family by bringing them food and treats from his shop and by helping to keep an eye on the many children.

The plot centres upon the parents' daily challenges in managing their family as they go through typical activities, such as First Communion, school exams, family vacation, and Christmas celebrations. Each of these events allows the film to focus on a different group of children, and therefore introduce each of their unique personalities, as the film progresses. The first subplot is the First Communion of two of the middle children. Mercedes takes responsibility for much of the preparation for the celebration as the primary caretaker of the children and the spiritual leader of the household, while Carlos just tries to keep up with his busy career and rambunctious children. Juan also provides his culinary services by baking a cake to be eaten after the mass. This section of the film culminates with a scene inside a church where the well-dressed and now well-behaved children watch the two siblings in their special moment when they are the centre of focus and not simply two of fifteen kids.

The story then moves on to the children's final exams, which allows the film to focus on the older children and also to signal a transition in time towards summer. While the daughter who is taking her exams, Luisa, is not expected to take her schooling seriously, for the older boys, performing well in their exams means stepping toward their future and not letting down their father who wishes to start a business with his sons. When one of the sons, Carlitos, does not perform as well as Carlos had hoped, the father decides that, as a punishment, Carlitos will not be

joining the rest of the family on their vacation. However, when the children stand united with Carlitos, Mercedes convinces her husband to change his mind. Thus, the entire family, including Juan, leave the city and go to a beach resort for their summer holidays.

The vacation storyline introduces the theme of romance into *La gran familia*. The major relationship that is followed is that between Luisa and a boy she meets at the resort. Their relationship continues beyond the vacation and the pair later communicates by telephone and letters. Thus, despite the sexualization of Luisa throughout the film during this relationship and when classmates and teachers ogle her at school, her commitment to this long distance relationship establishes that she remains chaste. The relationship between Carlos and Mercedes is also developed while the grandfather and Juan take over much of the responsibility of supervising and entertaining the children. For the parents, the vacation is not only a vacation from the city and their daily duties it is a vacation from their children and an opportunity to reignite their romantic relationship. Juan also tries, but fails, to initiate a relationship with the children's tutor. Meanwhile, the young children are exempted from this more mature theme and exhibit their youthful innocence by catching sea creatures and setting off rockets.

The fun hot summer transitions to a dark cold winter, as the family gets ready for Christmas. Amidst the chaotic activity of decorating and shopping, one of the infants, Chencho, is kidnapped while out in the city with his grandfather and a few of his siblings. The parents, along with the police, desperately search the streets for the missing child but fail to recover him. Any hope to find Chencho seems to run out

until the head of the television station offers to let the parents plead for their son's return during their Christmas programming. The plan works when Chencho sees his parents on the television and, without the ability to speak, alerts his kidnappers that he wants his parents. Thus, on Christmas night the Alonsos are reunited with Chencho just in time to celebrate the holiday together.

La gran familia explores how a large and traditional family navigates the changing social values and increasing modernity of their milieu. The film appears to simultaneously celebrate and take caution of Spain's new economy and way of life. While the family is depicted as enjoying key aspects of "el desarrollo", such as tourism, consumption, and modernity, each of these phenomena are approached with certain reservations. For although the cinema about "el desarrollo" guided spectators towards a modern, consumerist lifestyle, they also made a point to remind people that past traditions and values were the characteristics of the Spanish society that Franco had helped to shape. In particular, a commitment to the Catholic faith, traditional gender roles, and, above all, the absence of political discussions was to be upheld while the country was dramatically reorienting its composition and outlook. Amidst the background of progress, these social values lie at the heart of *La gran familia*.

This ideological position, however, was not intended to keep Spaniards in the past and hold them back from engaging in the market economy. Traditional values were to march forward alongside economic progress towards a greater and more prosperous future for Spain. *La gran familia* is very much a forward-looking film that anticipates many of the modern social practices and technologies that would become commonplace throughout the country in the years following the film's

release. This is represented in the character of the family's patriarch, Carlos Alonso. His career in the construction business as a building planner signals a sense of progress and building the future of Spain. Architects, engineers, and builders were in high demand during "el desarrollo" as construction rose at a breathtaking pace helping to fuel the growth of the cities, resort towns, and the industrial economy in general. The significance of Carlos' occupation surely would not have been lost to Spanish audiences who lived with the constant growth and construction. As a building planner, Carlos is also contributing in the development of the country. Thus, this aspect of the character firmly positions the family as part of the large demographic that simultaneously reinforced and benefited from "el desarrollo", a group that embraced the new prospects of Spain's reinvention as a highly developed participant in the international economy.

The film also emphasizes the family's focus on career ambitions and desire for a higher social status than the father holds. Carlos is depicted as hardworking and very busy as he balances his many construction projects and still finds time to come home in the evening and assert his patriarchal authority over his household. When he is shown at work, Carlos is constantly moving between his office and construction sites. Likewise, at home, he continues to do his work until late in the evening while going back and forth between working in his home office and disciplining his children when they do earn poor grades. In this way, his character represents what could be considered the ideal man in Francoist ideology. He not only works hard to support his large family, he also strives to achieve a higher position in society to take advantage of the benefits of 1960s modernity, which included spending money on

material goods and leisure activities. *La gran familia* demonstrates that, through hard work and a strong foundation in family values, anyone could enjoy the diversions of the consumerist lifestyle. Before demonstrating how this philosophy is constructed in the film, the chapter will turn to a historical analysis of the political and social situation to which the film responds.

The Promotion of Consumerism

For the Francoist regime, which had relied on political repression to guarantee that it could govern unchallenged, consumerism was another means to foment an apolitical and consenting attitude amongst the population.⁴⁴ Government officials hoped that the Spanish people who were engaged in urban, industrial, and modern lifestyles would occupy their minds with the social phenomenon of consumerism and remain distracted from political affairs. In creating the policies of “el desarrollo”, the Minister of Planning, Laureano López Rodó, aimed to achieve a national average income of 2 000 dollars, at which point, he determined, social and political discontent would be placated and the population would willingly accept the legitimacy of the regime.⁴⁵ This line of thinking suggests that if people based their happiness and self-worth on the amount of money and material goods that they had, they would acknowledge the dictatorship as the political force that was permitting this lifestyle and would have no reason to desire political freedoms. Thus, consumerist values became the government’s new propagandistic line. People were persuaded to improve their lives by obtaining material possessions and a disposable income rather

⁴⁴ During “el desarrollo”, the struggle to survive was no longer the major concern for most Spaniards, so their attention could turn towards other interests.

⁴⁵ Raymond Carr, *Spain: 1808-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 725.

than through the attainment of political rights and freedoms.⁴⁶ This approach to governance, while falling far short of any meaningful change to the undemocratic political system, still signaled a loosening of the tight grip the government had maintained over the country.

In addition to perpetuating political apathy, the cultivation of a culture of consumerism was an important tenet of government policy for economic reasons, and thus, to the credibility of the regime's management of the country. The fundamental nature of Spain's economic system had been altered; the state no longer had direct control over wages, employment, and the financing of industries. While government subsidies and incentives could stimulate certain industrial sectors, the new market economy depended on the participation of private consumers to grow and sustain businesses in the country. Cazorla writes, "The pocketbooks, hard work, and missed opportunities of ordinary Spaniards, not the state or the taxes of the affluent, were once again footing the bill for change and modernity."⁴⁷ As the economy shifted away from agriculture and towards the service and industrial sectors, consumer spending was an essential aspect of future economic growth and was directly responsible for the success or failure of competitive businesses based in Spanish cities.

A major obstacle to the implementation of a market economy in Spain was the fact that consumerism was not a part of the fabric of Spanish society's habits, values, and psychological outlook up until the early 1960s. Not only had the majority of Spaniards lived in agricultural settings where subsistence living was the norm, even

⁴⁶ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975* (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 175.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 151.

the urban, industrial workforce was unfamiliar with this lifestyle based on material consumption since productivity and wages had been too low to allow individuals to purchase more than they needed.⁴⁸ However, with a rapidly urbanizing population and soaring economic growth, by the mid-1960s, Spaniards were in a position to spend money on luxury items and leisure activities. Over the course of roughly the same period, the national income doubled.⁴⁹ Not only did the Spanish economy of the 1960s depend on an active consumer population, the conditions were very favourable for Spaniards to embrace consumerist values.

Even though consumerism was an essential component of the market economy transforming the social values of individuals also brought with it many risks for the legitimacy of the dictatorship. The Francoists' faith in consumerism as a means to retain social and political control was rooted in the idea that consumption provides individuals with a sense of agency yet does not challenge existing political and economic systems. This dynamic is often referred to as the consumer paradox. In one manner, consumption, or the act of purchasing goods that is at the core of the ideology of consumerism, offers a certain material freedom in people's personal lives in terms of how they decorate their homes, adorn themselves, and fill their leisure time. Studying this phenomenon from a sociological perspective, Steven Miles terms this sense of personal liberty as "consumer sovereignty."⁵⁰ The appeal of consumerism resides in the idea that buying things offers control over one aspect of life; as Miles contends, "the act of consumption is active and is therefore

⁴⁸ Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime: 1936-1975* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 465.

⁴⁹ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 12.

⁵⁰ Steven Miles, *Consumerism – as a way of life* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 1998), 155.

automatically equated with power.”⁵¹ Under the Franco dictatorship, there had been few venues for one to express their individual autonomy due in part to a lack of financial means but in particular because of the tight controls and repressions the regime exerted. With the increase of wealth and employment possibilities that came as results of “el desarrollo”, the ability to fashion a personal identity and demonstrate social status through material goods represented a change in the way that Spaniards interacted with their society on both a materialist level and also on a national market level as their actions were now much more consequential to the strength of industry and the future prosperity of the nation.

Although Spaniards gained some mastery over their personal lives, the practice of consumption did not occur independently from the government and the interests of Francoist officials. The ideology of consumerism is based on the theory that the perceived sense of personal autonomy that people experience when taking advantage of their purchasing power is limited and mediated by larger social structures. The negative side of the consumer paradox is the actual lack of freedom that consumers have over their own purchasing decisions and the minimal role that most consumers have in shaping their society at large. While “consumption provides a framework within which people can actively negotiate their position in the world” their agency is restricted to the boundaries of the prevailing economic and political systems that benefit from consumerism.⁵² Since embracing a consumerist lifestyle implicates the individual in a process of buying into a certain ideology, there is a complicity between the consumer and the forces that administer the mechanisms of

⁵¹ Ibid, 156.

⁵² Ibid, 153.

this belief and way of life.⁵³ Consumerism is a powerful tool for political control, or more specifically, suppressing political criticism because “the pleasures which consumers find through consumption outweigh any comparable concern as to its ideological underpinnings.”⁵⁴

In this manner, the government’s active assimilation of the population into a culture of consumerism was an attempt at social control and became part of the value system that the state extolled. Since the government relinquished control over a few aspects of society, persuasion and propaganda, which the Francoists had utilized since the Spanish Civil War, became an even more important mechanism to protect the legitimacy of the regime. As the population became more accustomed to modern technologies and habits, the government followed this trend by introducing new forms of media that they could marry to their philosophies. The most significant technology that the government carefully made available to the public during “el desarrollo” was television, which was introduced to the country under tight government control.

The Early Role of Television in Spanish Society

An understanding of the significance of the motif of the television set in *La gran familia* as an object of material and social status is derived from the history of the television in regards to its relationship to consumer ethics and modernity. When the device first became available to Spanish consumers at the end of the 1950s, it was

⁵³ During “el desarrollo”, the Franco regime was the authority that directed the introduction and structure of Spain’s market economy through the “Planes de desarrollo”, which influenced the growth of certain industries and cities, but most of all, encouraged the consumerist ideology.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 153.

an expensive luxury item that was imbued with the gleam of wealth, prestige, and modernity. it was an object belonging to a social class that had long been distinct from majority of Spanish society and out of reach for many. However, with the economic mobilism that was made possible thanks to “desarrollismo”, improving one’s socio-economic position was no longer impossible. Within a few years, the television set would no longer be seen as a status symbol but as a must-have item for every household.⁵⁵ This mass desire for televisions signified the changing attitudes of Spaniards and also revealed the confluence between government policy and personal interests.

Perhaps television’s most important role was acculturating the population into consumerism. The government owned and operated the nation’s television station, Televisión Española, and, unlike other European state networks, it used commercial advertising to finance programming and the operations of the network.⁵⁶ The nature of Televisión Española’s, or TVE, appeal to advertisers is indicated by the network’s message to businesses with products to sell to Spaniards: “Un escaparate en cada hogar,” or “A shop window in every home.” Television was intended to be a way to show viewers not only what items they could purchase, but also, the consumer lifestyle they could enjoy with their higher wages and better employment. Pleasure and modernity were tied to the experience of consumption, so in order to keep up with the social and economic development, filling one’s home with new appliances was an essential part of contemporary Spanish life. Tatjana Pavlovic states that,

⁵⁵ Tatjana Pavlovic, *The Mobile Nation: España Cambia de Piel (1954-1964)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 97.

⁵⁶ Barry Jordan, “Redefining the Public Interest: Television in Spain Today” in *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 363.

“television was located at the core of a changing society, oriented more and more towards consumer values.”⁵⁷ Television advertising served the interests of companies wishing to sell products to the growing Spanish middle class, the government who wanted to promote an ideology of consumerism, and the Spanish people themselves who wanted the privileges and goods that wealth and modernity afforded them.

The Role of Television in *La gran familia*

The prominent role that television held in 1960s Spain is exemplified in *La gran familia*. While the television is not the central focus of the film, it serves a key function in the film’s climax and certain scenes depict television’s ability to draw the attention of the nation to the same images. Most significantly, the film portrays the power of television to fascinate and attract Spaniards of all ages to engage with this new apparatus. The first appearance of a television set in the film involves the entire Alonso family gathering together in anticipation of watching a movie on TV. Following dinner, the children gather on the balcony of the apartment seated in rows resembling a theatre. The adults and older children gather behind them, just as eager to watch what will be projected on the television screen. Their excitement in viewing this new technology is exhibited by the children’s feverish guessing of what movie will be shown, as one of the boys acts out his favourite action scenes. However, their evening ends before they even have the opportunity to learn which film TVE would be airing. The reason for this interruption in their television viewing is that the set that they are watching is not their own, but rather, it belongs to their neighbours who

⁵⁷ Pavlovic, *The Mobile Nation*, 107.

live across the courtyard and who close their curtains when they realize that all fifteen members of the massive family are looking into their home. Disheartened, the children disperse and head off to bed. As the film was produced in the early 1960s, television had not yet become commonplace in Spanish homes; it was still a rare novelty that was known to most people but remained out of their reach due to financial restrictions. Although the family in *La gran familia* is presented as middle class, the burden of providing for an enormous family, prevents Carlos and his wife, Mercedes, from purchasing luxury items.

Regardless, the Alonso family is oriented towards the politically promoted consumer lifestyle to the extent that they can participate within it. The image of the television is shown from the perspective of the family who is sitting on their balcony and whispering amongst themselves so that the neighbour won't hear them. The large window of the neighbour's apartment squarely frames the television set in a shallow and quite bare space that resembles the display for a television set in a shop window. This image recalls TVE's slogan for potential advertisers, "Un escaparate en cada hogar." While Carlos Alonso cannot furnish his home with some of the modern appliances that his childless neighbours enjoy, the family is nevertheless exposed to the products that are available for consumption and which they would buy if they could afford them. In this scene, the "shop window" operates in two ways. The television offers a window to the world of consumption and spending that is shown in the advertisements and programs. In addition, the apartment window presents individuals with a view of the modern lifestyle that people around them, especially those with greater financial means, are becoming accustomed to.

One aspect of this lifestyle is the consumerist values embodied in the television; however, the placement of a religious painting directly above the television is a reminder of Spain's Catholic traditions that were as important to the regime as material consumption in the era of "el desarrollo". It also reflects the transition from preaching Catholicism to preaching consumerism. Whereas social values were once espoused from a priest at the pulpit, they now came from advertisements and entertaining shows. However, for the regime, these two modes of spreading ideologies were not successive but concurrent. As will be discussed later in this chapter, throughout the film, this marriage of religion and modern consumerism is demonstrated visually and narratively in a manner that conforms to the social principles of the regime, particularly in regards to the storyline of the First Communion. Thus, the two objects framed in the neighbour's window present the pillars of Franco's ideal Spanish society: the commitment to Catholic doctrine and the adoption of consumerism as a lifestyle.

Although this scene depicts the humorous situation of the Alonsos peeking into the neighbour's apartment so that they can watch a movie on television, this moment also alludes to the phenomenon of communal television viewing in the early 1960s. At a time when the process of mass urbanization was still in its early phases and Spaniards were only just beginning to accumulate disposable incomes, the television set was still a luxury that most families went without. Nevertheless, fascination and interest in the pleasure and entertainment value that this technology provided spread to all social classes. Not having a television did not necessarily mean that people were not finding other ways to partake in this phenomenon. During

the initial years of the introduction of television to Spain, television viewing would become a social event with neighbours, extended families, and other such groups gathering together in the home of whomever did manage to purchase the much desired object.⁵⁸ Television viewing became an inclusive activity that brought people together to absorb the same images of consumerism and traditional values.

The scene in which the family watches the neighbour's television plays on this historical social situation but offers an almost cruel twist on what was a positive, communal experience. By denying the Alonsos the chance to watch their television, the neighbours socially *exclude* the family from the experience. Within the context of the narrative, this action does not speak to the tensions and antagonism between the Alonsos and their neighbours, but rather, their social exclusion is a metaphor for the *economic* exclusions that they encounter. At the narrative level, they cannot watch television because their neighbours are unwilling to share their screen; however, the ideological reason for their exclusion from the activity is that Carlos cannot afford to provide his family with their own television set. The family knows that their neighbor will not tolerate their activity so they hush each other in a failed attempt to remain unnoticed. Thematically, the closing of the curtains does not represent an act of ill will towards the Alonsos, but rather, it is an obstacle or even a motivation for the family on their journey towards becoming fully active members of modern Spanish society.

The importance of this distinction harks back to the ideological position of this film and the cinema about “el desarrollo” in general. *La gran familia* is not a

⁵⁸ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 161.

story of strong community values conquering social inequity; it is about individual families drawing strength in their numbers and from their faith in traditional ethics to thrive in the competitive consumer economy. The market economy alone does not automatically guarantee citizens membership into consumer society. This culture of wealth and materialism, and also of leisure and pleasure, is one that must be bought into and which restricts those without the capital to afford the lifestyle.⁵⁹ Thus, the economic exclusion that the Alonsos experience is representative of their position within Spanish society. Like many Spaniards in the early 1960s, they are in the early stages of the transition to the modern economy and on a journey towards greater wealth and prosperity. The audience can identify with these characters who, like themselves, desire an improvement in their material well-being and to be in a position to enjoy Spain's new prosperity. The purpose of this scene is to demonstrate the family's drive towards achieving a higher social standing, an attitude that supports the government's consumerist socio-economic policies and agenda. The goal of the Alonsos is (in the government's ideal vision of Spain) one that is shared with the rest of the country.

The second appearance of television occurs in the final part of the film after the Alonsos's son, Chencho, is kidnapped. Although not truly villainous or even considered criminals, one can regard the couple that kidnaps Chencho as the major antagonists of the film. When the kidnappers take Chencho home they treat him as though he is their own child. The infant is provided with a large cushy bed that is lavishly filled with stuffed animals to make him feel comfortable and at home with

⁵⁹ Miles, *Consumerism*, 149.

the couple so that he will adjust to his new location. This image of the plush bed is contrasted with a graphic match of his crib at home. Instead of being filled with soft pillows and new toys, Chencho's own crib is bare, wooden, small, and hard.

While the child sleeps, the kidnappers watch over him lovingly, feeling that their family is finally complete. Throughout his time with them, the kidnappers watch Chencho dutifully to make sure that he is happy at all times. As he is the only child in their home, the setting is quiet and calm, an environment that could not be more different than the noisy, chaotic Alonso household. This characterization of the kidnappers and their home seems to suggest the possibility that Chencho may be better off with them than with his own family. After all, Chencho became lost and then was kidnapped because no one had the time or capability of watching over the small child since all the adults are too busy either trying to manage the rest of the children or their own lives. In his final moments in the kidnappers' home, it is revealed that Chencho can even watch television in their apartment, something that he and the other children are deprived of at home. The television set signifies the prosperity of the couple who are able to provide the kidnapped child with not only the attention he lacks at home but with the material possessions that allow him to become educated in the values of consumerism.

The film dismisses the notion that Chencho is better off with the wealthy couple and instead suggests that materialism cannot substitute the virtues of the traditional family throughout the scenes when Mercedes is searching for her lost child. While Chencho was overlooked while at home, as soon as he goes missing, the entire family focuses on his recovery. However, it initially appears that they will have little

luck finding the small child in the large city of Madrid. After searching the streets, turning to the police, and asking everyone they can find if they have seen the infant, the exhausted family is forced to wait and hope. Their search is made more difficult by the fact that the Christmas season has dominated the focus of the population and has also filled the streets and plazas with many children and their families. The Alonsos' ability to get attention for their missing child is hampered further by the lack of media available to them; as one of the kidnappers declares to assure his wife that they will not be caught, "Mañana, no hay periódicos" (Tomorrow [Christmas], there are no newspapers). When the family seems to have lost every resource available to them in their search, the power of television presents them with a new opportunity.

It is through television that the family is finally restored. On Christmas morning, a representative of Televisión Española comes to the Alonso home and offers them the chance to present their situation to the Spanish nation and plead for the return of Chencho. With every television set turned on the Christmas-themed specials being broadcast throughout the day, including the television set of the kidnappers, the Alonsos connect to the entire nation and most importantly to their child, Chencho, who is also viewing their message. Chencho's recognition of his parents and his attempt to call to them as if they were in their room, fills the kidnappers with guilt and remorse; the misguided but loving couple cannot help but return Chencho to his family, as they know that this is the best decision for the child. This scene acts as an endorsement of television and the way that it serves as a medium more powerful and direct than newspaper or radio.

Television is able to bring the Alonsos back together through the medium's ability to draw people across the nation together as they watch the same program. As an instrument of mass culture, the television creates a shared experience of a program and unites viewers from different regions and backgrounds across Spain. This act of homogenization benefits the television producers and providers (in this case, both of these groups are the Spanish state) in their effort to put forward their ideological views. This form of propaganda becomes more impactful through television viewing, as the film projects an intimacy in the experience of home viewing. Like Chencho who feels he can reach out to his parents who appear on the television screen, the images that are presented by TVE enter into the private spaces of Spaniards and become a part of their daily experience. This interaction between the national and the domestic exemplifies the nature of Francoist social ideology of consumerism. The very nature of consumerism pertains to the daily personal choices of the individual in the manner that they construct their own identity in modern society.

As a conventional film about "el desarrollo", the ending of *La gran familia* reaffirms the virtues of both conservative values and modernity. Despite the obstacles that the family faces in the course of the film, they emerge as an intact traditional unit thanks to a device that represents progress and modernity. This coalescing of traditional and modern lifestyles is further strengthened when, after Chencho has returned home to celebrate Christmas with his family, the kidnappers gift the Alonsos with a television set as a sign of their remorse and also to show their respect to the loving family. In this film, the television set is constructed as a signifier of social status in terms of not only wealth, but also, one's position along the

path to a modern lifestyle. Through the action of the gifting of the television set, the Alonso family at last achieves full membership into the consumerist society. The fact that the closing images of the film depict the family gathered around their new appliance rather than the newly returned child is not unimportant. Whereas the cinema about “el desarrollo” does concern themselves with positive images of conservative values, their major preoccupation is displaying the economic progress that the regime has made and showing that Spanish people were thriving within this new milieu. As “el desarrollo” is the overarching theme of *La gran familia* and the kidnapping is only a short subplot occurring in isolation from the rest of the events of the film, the true resolution does not come with Chencho reuniting with his family, but rather, with modernity finally blessing the Alonso household.

Consumerism as a Goal and a Lifestyle

The message that this film, and the cinema about “el desarrollo” in general, presents to audiences is that, since the protagonists in these films are able to successfully transition into the consumerist lifestyle, the spectator watching the film has the ability to achieve the same social position in the new economy. Many Spaniards who saw this message whether in film, television, other media or even just in the examples set by other people in the streets of urban centres, became exposed to consumer values and reoriented their lives to become active members in the new economy, just as the Alonsos do in *La gran familia*. Amando de Miguel describes the attitude of Spanish society during this period as materialistic; social values were

based on “getting ahead whatever the cost.”⁶⁰ The “getting ahead” that de Miguel refers to is the climbing of the socio-economic ladder by obtaining better, or multiple, jobs and accumulating wealth in order to improve one’s status and standard of living.⁶¹ The “cost” that Spaniards paid for this lifestyle included accepting the undemocratic system in order to buy into the economic system it provided and sacrificing their personal lives to devote themselves to their labour. For the millions of Spaniards who hoped to rise from a poor rural background to enjoy the lifestyles that they saw in the cinema about “el desarrollo”, it was necessary to work long hours in low paying jobs in the cities and give up much of their personal lives. These costs that Spaniards paid meant that the regime’s mission to demobilize the average individual’s political interests and activities was somewhat successful.

This social reality that required putting work before family, traditions, and leisure time in order to obtain material comforts is not depicted in *La gran familia*. Although Carlos is characterized as busy and hardworking, he is never forced to compromise his family life for the sake of establishing a comfortable life in Madrid. Despite providing for himself and seventeen other individuals, the middle class worker is able to spend time with his wife and children each evening as well as take them on vacation. Throughout the film, the family enjoys many of the luxuries of modern Spain without having to sacrifice for them. Not only does this situation imply that the family is somehow immune from the high costs of this standard of

⁶⁰ Amando de Miguel, “Spanish Political Attitudes, 1970” in *Politics and Society in Twentieth Century Spain*, ed. Stanley G. Payne (New York: Franklin Watts, 1976), 211.

⁶¹ Not only did twenty percent of Madrid workers hold more than one job in the early 1970s, many working class Spaniards chose to work up to ten hours each day. Javier Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy: 1939 to the present*, trans. Rosemary Clark (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 198.

living, the way that they receive their television set breaks the conventions of consumerist values. It is important to identify the fact that the family did not obtain the television, and membership in the consumer society, because they worked hard and paid for it with their own money. Rather, the kidnappers gift the Alonsos with a television set partially as an act of remorse but also in admiration of the size and love of the family. Thus, the Alonsos' ability to match the status of their neighbours is not based on financial merits but on the fact that they provide a positive image of a devout Catholic family that conforms to Franco's family policies. While this breaks the rules that govern how one operates within a consumer society, the fact that the family receives the object on social merits aligns with ambition of the cinema about "el desarrollo" to bring together consumerism and traditional Catholic values in a harmonious and complementary ideology.

However, the explicit portrayal of Catholic rituals and the pronounced emphasis on female fertility differentiate the film from others of the same period and especially from the more adult comedies that would become very popular at the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s. While the film's strong concentration on themes and motifs that are based on the modernist aspects of 1960s Spanish society firmly root this film within the tradition of the cinema about "el desarrollo", the actual narrative concerns and plot devices of the film deal with ethics and values that the Franco government and the Catholic Church in Spain had enforced since taking power in 1939. Furthermore, the social assistance that the family is provided to help them keep up with changes in the nation's economic reality is not entirely a fantasy constructed for the purposes of the narrative; families like the Alonsos who had many children

were given financial support from the government. The state publicized and praised large families in the media and also aided them materially and financially through the “premios de natalidad” (birth rate prizes).⁶² Generally in the cinema about “el desarrollo”, the government is invisible and unacknowledged to avoid the possibility of negative representation. In its absence, the kidnappers act as a surrogate for the state programs that celebrate and aid large families. Therefore, while the fact that the Alonsos receive the television without earning it with their own labour and money defies how one is supposed to achieve membership in the consumerist society, in Francoist society their esteemed social practices legitimize their material acquisitions. By affirming the relationship between traditional values and the consumerist lifestyle, the object of the television set in *La gran familia* and within Spanish society during the 1960s comes to symbolize the cohesiveness of family unity with consumption and wealth.

The Influences of the State on Society

Given the importance of the television set as one of the key aspects of Spain’s consumerist culture, it is essential to understand the role that the content of the state’s television programming had in shaping family patterns. As both producer and distributor of programming on Televisión Española, the state ensured that the television programming that Spanish families consumed would instill traditional values. Likewise, the regime exerted a similar influence over the content of films even though the government did not have a monopoly on this industry. While

⁶² Jean Grugel and Tim Rees, *Franco’s Spain* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999), 135.

television was the dominant medium through which the regime attempted to indoctrinate the population with specific social values, films were not immune from the propagandistic messages of the state. The major constraint or form of control that the government exerted over filmmakers was the state's severe and often arbitrary censorship. Nevertheless, filmmakers worked in the private sector and not under the direct employment of the state, which meant that, unlike television, films were not a product of government. By monopolizing the television industry, the Franco government was able to dictate exactly what images and information were sent to Spanish homes. Despite lacking this same position of control in the film industry, the state created a system that incentivized filmmakers to positively represent the social, political, and economic values of Franco's policies. The government established a set of subsidies that provided varying level of support to filmmakers, divided between production costs and exhibition rights, under the name of the National Interest awards. Films were selected as recipients of the National Interest award based on the level of support they gave to Francoist policies and on their positive representation of social and moral values that conformed to Church and state doctrine.⁶³ Thus, filmmakers working in private industries had a considerable motivation to cater to government interests in order to secure not only a partial remuneration, but also, certain privileges of access to cinema screens across the country and, therefore, the possibility of earning even more money by reaching a large audience. Rather than exert its authority to shape the themes and messages of films, the government influenced the content and reception of this popular medium by entering into a

⁶³ Núria Triana-Toribio, *Spanish National Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 105.

mutually beneficial relationship with those filmmakers who were willing to compromise their vision for financial compensation.

The National Interest awards were divided into several rates of compensation with the top award providing a fifty percent subsidy on the cost of a film's production.⁶⁴ In order to secure the most government funding and best conditions of exhibition, it was in the interest of filmmakers to unequivocally propound Franco's vision of Spanish society and the values that should govern it. Indicating its inclusion of qualities that appealed to government officials, the film *La gran familia* received the highest level of government support available.⁶⁵ The film advocates for the same values that the government proffered through its television broadcasts: consumerism and Catholic family dynamics. Furthermore, the film acts a means to socialize traditional families into the modern reality of "desarrollo"-era Spain while maintaining conventional gender roles and a commitment to the Catholic faith. The central theme of the film depicts the balance between long held Spanish values and modern, urban attitudes.

In keeping with the Francoist social values of the 1960s, television programming married this ideology of consumerism to Spanish cultural heritage and traditional Catholic teachings about morality and family. Robert Graham notes that the telecast on the very first night of public transmission, which included a mass, folk dancing, singing, and a government speech "came to typify television broadcasts in Spain."⁶⁶ While most television shows were not official state broadcasts, Francoism

⁶⁴ Augusto M. Torres, *Cine español, años sesenta* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1973), 16.

⁶⁵ Sally Faulkner, *A Cinema of Contradiction: Spanish Film in the 1960s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 29.

⁶⁶ Robert Graham, *Change of a Nation*, 235.

influenced and dictated the kinds of shows that were either produced at the state's television studios or brought in from abroad. The trend of glorifying government, conservative Catholic values, and Spanish traditions continued even as programming became more entertainment oriented. Cazorla describes how all three ideologies could be combined within a single program: "Spanish television reinforced these values by producing programs for children and adults that adapted classic, but politically and morally screened, themes from novels and plays, with any disturbing ideas conveniently expunged, and with characters who expressed acceptable conservative values."⁶⁷ Thus, between advertisements that promoted the latest modern appliance that could not only make life simpler but would exhibit one's wealth and status, television audiences consumed classic Spanish stories, which had been altered to suit the dictatorship's tastes and propagandistic imperative.

The philosophy of the state's television station was based on three central components that aligned with the concerns of the state in general during "el desarrollo". Television programming married consumerism, traditional values, and the legitimacy of the state into a carefully constructed flow of advertising, entertainment and news. This flow naturalized the disjointed combination of these differing philosophies within everyday life and obscured the inconsistencies and incompatibilities between the future of Spain that was being built on labour and consumerism and the past of Spain that was firmly grounded in conservative traditions and subsistence living. *La gran familia* imagines the Francoist dream of a family achieving a perfect, happy balance of each of these elements.

⁶⁷ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 161.

The exaggeratedly massive family represents Catholic moral teachings, which forbid the use of contraception and advocate for ample procreation. This unusual situation functions as a source of humour several times throughout the film; the energetic children noisily fill the confined space of the apartment and, outside of their home, their mischievous nature leads to playful misbehaviour, such as when the twins switch places to cheat on their exams. Their misdeeds are never considered serious or harmful but characterized as youthful high jinks. When the twins present their high grades to their parents, Carlos and Mercedes beam with pride and congratulate them on their achievement never knowing that the grades were earned dishonestly. Thus, Carlos and Mercedes are depicted as good, caring, and responsible parents who offer the proper emotional and spiritual guidance, as well as, disciplinary discretion for each of their fifteen children. Therefore, the representation of this unusually large family is not a satire of irresponsible or outdated Church and state ideologies regarding procreation that would create financially unsustainable family units. Rather, the film shows audiences that if this middle class couple can successfully raise fifteen children while living in urban Madrid then having four or five children would seem like a realistic goal for the average couple.

The writer and producer of *La gran familia*, Pedro Masó, constructed the film's themes and narrative to win the National Interest award. It celebrates Catholic rituals and morals, presents the seamless coexistence of a traditional family in the untraditional modern setting of 1960s Spain, and promotes the television as a desirable household appliance. The film also sought a large audience, one that would be made available to the film since it received expansive exhibition as the winner of

the top level of government support. However, the film only earned a large following through television in the years following its theatrical release. Ironically, it was only through repeated showings on the government controlled television station that the film became one of the most popular in the country a few years after its release, as only 20 000 Spaniards viewed the film in cinemas.⁶⁸ While originally a box office flop, the film gained so much popularity in the subsequent years that two theatrical sequels were produced in 1965⁶⁹ and 1979⁷⁰, as well as, a final made-for-television movie in 1999. Therefore, *La gran familia* is best understood in its relationship to television and especially in its reception as a televisual presentation.

The Episodic Structure of *La gran familia*

The unusual narrative structure of the film may be more applicable to the flow of television programming than the cinematic experience. Rather than following one story arc, *La gran familia* is divided into three distinct sections with very few elements overlapping the three storylines. Further distinguishing each section from the others is the temporal disparity between each unique plotline; the entire film takes place from May until December. The first and third stories speak to the Catholic heritage of the nation by portraying the Alonsos' experience of the First Communion and Christmas, respectively. Positioned between these two very traditional Catholic themes is the family's beach vacation. During "el desarrollo", tourism became an incredibly large part of the Spanish economy and, as a result, the beachside leisure

⁶⁸ Faulkner, *A Cinema of Contradiction*, 2.

⁶⁹ *La familia y uno más* (Dir. Fernando Palacios, 1965)

⁷⁰ *La familia, bien, gracias* (Dir. Pedro Masó, 1979)

time and encounters with foreigners occupied a significant place in the national experience of the period and will be discussed in greater length in the next chapter. This delineation of plotlines that deal with important aspects of Spanish society create three easily consumable units that unfold like separate television episodes rather than one cohesive feature film.

Cultural theorist Raymond Williams has proposed the notion that television puts forth a consumerist ideology through the organization and tempo of intermixed commercials and shows, which operate with the intention of producing easily consumable images and ideas.⁷¹ His case study of American television in the early 1970s emphasizes the medium-specific capabilities that television has in its ability to become a constant channel between cultural producers and consumers' living rooms. The goal of those that produce television is to create a sense of immediacy that draws viewers in at all times and to retain them by obscuring the distinctions between the formats of individual programs.⁷² He notes that upon arriving in the United States from England, he had difficulty discerning the commercials, shows, and trailers for other shows from one another as they all shared the same style and tempo. Williams' central critique of American television flow and ceaseless programming does not precisely describe the situation of television in Spain during the 1960s; however, the organization of the television schedule of TVE may have had an even greater impact in shaping the ideologies and lifestyle of the average Spanish television viewer.

Tatjana Pavlovic's examination of TVE's broadcast schedule shows that the organization of programming offers a division of values along gender lines; women

⁷¹ Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, ed. Ederyn Williams (New York, Routledge, 2003), 107.

⁷² Ibid, 119.

were the primary target of consumerism, while traditional family values were included in programs that aired after working hours.⁷³ Pavlovic's analysis of daytime television in the 1960s reveals the interplay between household chores and shows that promoted consumerism. The program *Hora de la mujer* (*The woman's hour*), for instance, presented topics like beauty, fashion, and cooking, while advertisements convinced female viewers that their chores could become easier if they purchased the newest household appliance.⁷⁴ While women were socialized into the new role of the modern consumer, the role of men as the patriarch and moral authority was reinforced in evening telecasts. Pavlovic paraphrases the newscast *TeleDiario*, which, during one of the first episodes in 1957, declared that the television would create "family peace and unity."⁷⁵ The segment deemed family television viewing as the way to bring family members together at home in the evenings to share in a common experience and absorb the state's values. The films and television shows on TVE often advocated Catholic moral values, conventional gender roles, and traditional ideals for modern, urban Spaniards.⁷⁶ As a symbol of modernity, television served a vital role in the government's "desarrollo"-era ideology that espoused a simultaneous commitment to traditional Catholic ethics and active participation in the consumer economy. It is in this manner that television programming and *La gran familia* use the same techniques of visual flow to espouse identical values.

Throughout the film, Catholicism and modernity are interwoven to demonstrate their compatibility; *La gran familia* expresses the government's hope

⁷³ Pavlovic, *The Mobile Nation*, 104.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 104.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 105.

⁷⁶ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 161.

that Spain can compete as an economically and technologically advanced nation while maintaining its traditional values. The narrative that follows two of the younger children's First Communion shows one aspect of a long revered Catholic tradition that includes an element of material consumption. Cazorla describes how families, regardless of their financial means, would spare no expense to make sure that their children were dressed in the best outfits to show off on their communion day.⁷⁷ This is portrayed in *La gran familia* when Mercedes is shopping for communion costumes and expresses her dissatisfaction with the quality of the clothing in the shop. As with the television, the status of the communion clothing relates to the idea of social perception and being viewed. Although having the best dressed children may reflect the parents' commitment to their church to other members of the parish who will be judging and comparing how the children are attired, this act cannot be separated from the act of consumption at the core of this practice. Thus, the gaze of consumerism that characterizes the relationship of society to television is also applicable to the communion outfit, as depicted in the scenes leading up to the day of the First Communion. The night before she is to receive the sacrament of the First Communion, the daughter asks her mother to hang her communion dress on the wall in front of her bed so that she can look at it as she falls asleep. This gaze directed towards a material object, as well as, the film's attention to the process of buying and preparing the communion garments places the consumerist aspect of this Catholic ritual on the same or even greater level of significance as the actual spiritual celebration itself. However the most important implication of this

⁷⁷ Ibid, 144.

plotline is to connect consumerist values with past traditions. Whereas the television represents modern consumerism, the practice of buying the fanciest communion outfits for both female and male children demonstrates that consumerism was not an entirely new or insignificant aspect of Spanish social values.

A Distinct Division of Genders

This episode also projects the ideology of the mother as the primary consumer for the family in her traditional role as housewife and the father as the breadwinner. As mentioned previously, television programming was scheduled around the routine of the traditional family with female-oriented shows that advertised consumerist lifestyles and products being aired during the day when the husband would be at work. *La gran familia* perpetuates this distinction between the roles of man and woman in a married couple. The scenes that depict Mercedes purchasing the communion outfits are part of a larger montage that portrays the daily routines of each spouse. The sequence is comprised of four scenes, two of Carlos and two of Mercedes, that are intercut to demonstrate their simultaneity and similarities. In the first scene, Carlos is shown discussing building plans with a client in front of a set filled with scaffolding and half-built walls. His actions display that he performs his job well and is able to accommodate the changes that his client demands despite his tight schedule. This is followed by a scene of Mercedes negotiating with a produce vendor in a market where the wire covered food crates and wooden ceiling resembles the space of the previous scene of the building under construction. Mercedes is depicted as a strong-willed negotiator who is able to argue with vendors and win.

The action then returns to Carlos who is now in his office working on the changes to one of his major building plans. The final shot of this scene shows Carlos with the rolled up white papers in his hands. This image resembles the subsequent scene, which shows Mercedes in a clothing store examining white communion dresses. While Mercedes is not a submissive woman and is able to negotiate within the public sphere to best serve her own household, the central purpose of this sequence is to demonstrate that in the consumerist society, the role of the husband is to make money while the wife is responsible for purchasing goods for her family's consumption.

Several techniques are employed to manufacture the ideology that consumerism does not disrupt the traditional family structure and gender roles. The first method is through the behaviour of Carlos and Mercedes. Each acts with urgency and determination in their duties outside of the home, which is a marked contrast to the way that they lovingly and patiently interact in the apartment with their children and each other. Due to these traits, there is a consistency in the pacing of the entire sequence across all of the scenes. As the montage switches between each character, there is an impression created that the spouses are harmoniously fulfilling necessary roles; thus, to challenge this way of life, as was occurring at the time with many more women pursuing higher education and employment, the operations that were required for managing a family would be destabilized.

The *mise-en-scène* within the montage is also constructed in such a way that the spaces Mercedes occupies in her consumer exploits mirror those that Carlos operates in as a builder. While the sequence primarily attempts to construct similarities between their daily routines, there is also a differentiation of the spaces

along gender lines. Notably, women are entirely absent from the places in which Carlos works. While this may seem less surprising in the field of the construction business, the notion of a male-only workforce is also present in the scenes that Mercedes occupies. Both the produce vendor that interacts with a mostly female clientele and the clerk at the clothing store who sells communion dresses and suits to young mothers are middle-aged men. This gender dynamic reinforces the ideology of the mother as *the* consumer for the household. In addition, when Mercedes is buying produce, she successfully negotiates at the busy market and manages to keep one of her younger daughters and her two infants, including Chencho, obediently at her side.

This scene is contrasted with a similar moment much later in the film when the grandfather takes a group of the children, with Chencho once again amongst them, to the market in the plaza. It is the night before Christmas and Mercedes is busy at home finishing her preparations for the family's celebration of the major holiday. As a result, the grandfather is sent out to the market to buy a few last minute goods and a few of the younger children accompany him. In this instance, the grandfather is unable to manage the children and deal with the various vendors amidst the crowds of other shoppers. Consequently, Chencho gets separated and then is kidnapped when the grandfather attempts to take on two tasks that the film has already positioned within the domain of female duties. Thus, while it initially seems that the grandfather loses Chencho due to his senility, by analyzing this incident according to the traditional ideology constructed in the film around the concept of conservative gender roles, the responsibilities of taking care of the children and shopping are outside of the male domain and unnatural for this character to be doing,

therefore, he fails and the security, stability, and cohesiveness of the family is threatened. The contrast between these corresponding scenes reaffirms the market as a female space and childrearing as a female duty.

The distinction of roles and responsibilities according to gender is not restricted to the two older generations; this ideology also extends to the children as well, thus, indicating the continuation of this conservative way of life. If role of consumer and space of the market are constructed as feminine spaces, formal education is a realm reserved for male children. One of the main subplots of the film involves one of the older sons' struggles in school. Carlitos' poor academic performance is a concern for the father and assists in demonstrating Carlos ability to stay involved and informed about his children's lives. As Carlos imagines a prosperous future that is founded on a building company that he would share with his sons, his sons' academic performance is directly linked with his dreams of taking advantage of Spain's development. When the results of Carlitos' exams disappoint Carlos and Mercedes, they decide that he will not be allowed to come with the family on their beach vacation; Carlos had already expressed his concern that Carlitos was not taking school seriously enough earlier in the film. This decision is ultimately overturned when the children band together to present a united front of solidarity with their brother and refuse to go on vacation without him.

The conservative viewpoint of female education is presented alongside this narrative, just as Carlos' and Mercedes' activities were contrasted. However, unlike the parents' duties, which were demonstrated to be equally important, the education of the daughter is shown as less important than that of the son and is even ridiculed.

A long montage, which shows most of the school-aged children writing their exams, reveals the film's condescending and backward attitude to both gender identity and female education. While the study habits of the sons are important for the future of the family and the legacy they will leave, neither Carlos nor Mercedes acknowledge the preference of the second oldest daughter for socializing over studying. However, the discrepancy between genders in regards to the value of education is most clearly displayed within the school. When Luisa is undertaking her oral exams, she is unable to successfully answer any of the questions that she is being asked. For example, the examiners ask her simple geography questions about Spain, such as how many provinces there are, yet she seems undisturbed by the fact that she cannot answer any of these questions correctly. Nevertheless, the old leering examiners, enchanted by the teenage girl's physical appearance, feed her the correct answers and allow her to pass her exams. In this instance, the position of the female in formal education is made fun of and the girl is reduced to her sexuality, a theme that follows this character as she begins an innocent romance with a boy while on vacation with her family in the second part of the film. The contrasting treatment of Luisa and Carlitos in this subplot reinforces the distinctions between roles and spaces that are designated for each gender.

After establishing formal education as a masculine space within which the daughter does not belong, the film presents the place where, according to traditional ideologies, young girls should receive their education: in the home. The oldest daughter, also named Mercedes, is seen mostly within this space and, in particular, working in the kitchen. In this role, she shares many of the household responsibilities

with her namesake, her mother. The education of the daughter Mercedes is oriented towards becoming a faithful wife, a good mother, and a capable caretaker of the home, all of which are characteristics of what is called the “ángel del hogar” (the angel of the home). Until the 1960s, this was the ideal model that Spanish women were supposed to follow and live up to. The “ángel del hogar” was a mother who was able to take care of the household duties while strengthening the children’s commitment to nationalistic and religious values, as well as their respect for paternal authority.⁷⁸ The ideology that the Francoists and the Catholic Church in Spain manufactured around the concept of the family and social values rested on the notion that girls’ education came from their mothers in the home and that formal education was not important in comparison to learning how to raise a family and conduct household chores. In *La gran familia*, the daughter Mercedes is depicted as being set on a trajectory to become an “ángel del hogar” through the education that her mother provides her, while Luisa’s education in school is taken lightly by herself and her educators reflecting a conservative social bias regarding the roles of women and men in society.

In the very first scene of the film, the young Mercedes is shown taking the lead in setting the table and preparing the food for breakfast before her siblings leave for school. Due to the way she interacts with her siblings and the tasks that she undertakes, it is easy to mistake her for being the mother of the family. Later in the film, the character is in the kitchen after dinner washing dishes. During this scene, her mother joins her and the two begin discussing the younger Mercedes’ relationship

⁷⁸ Grugel and Rees, *Franco’s Spain*, 134.

with her boyfriend and how the mother knew she had fallen in love with Carlos. Thus, in this moment, the film presents its two notions of a traditional woman, as homemaker and wife. The character is not developed much beyond these two instances just as Luisa's character is limited to being a sexualized object. In this way, the *La gran familia* presents clearly defined and rigid concepts of femininity.

The film demonstrates the Franco government's vision of the ideal Spanish family as both consumers and as devout Catholics; two distinct philosophies that women, particularly mothers, were given responsibility for developing and promoting within their families. As discussed previously in this chapter, the consumerist lifestyle that was an important foundational component of "desarrollismo" quickly became part of the Spanish identity and began to shape the lifestyles of urban workers. *La gran familia* creates an image of the traditional yet consumerist Spanish family that perfectly conforms to Franco's ideological vision of society during "el desarrollo". Released in 1962, *La gran familia* speaks to a moment in time when social and economic changes were beginning to manifest themselves in the industrial cities. It optimistically appeals for economic progress that does not leave conservative social values in the past. In the next chapter, the films about "el desarrollo" that were produced at the end of the decade will be shown to cast a more critical eye towards modernity, and globalized urban culture in particular, with a sense of nostalgia for pastoral life and conservative gender roles.

Chapter Three: A Changed Society and a Nostalgia for Pre-“desarrollo” Spain

Through the analysis of *La gran familia*, the thesis explored the impact of development or “el desarrollo,” at its beginning stages, as well as, on the ideological underpinnings of the Franco regime and its relation to Spanish society, particularly with respect to traditional family patterns and consumerist values. However, in subsequent years, larger socio-economic changes would transform not only the structure of families but reshape the composition of the entire society. This chapter focuses on the most dominant social evolution that occurred in this decade: the division between urban modernity and rural traditionalism. This transformation is reflected most poignantly in the emergence of Spain’s new key industry: tourism. Tourism, though very lucrative, brought together the competing values of tradition and modernity as Europeans brought with them their urban, cosmopolitan, and secular values to the seaside and rural communities, further fueling modernization in Spain. The foreign presence and values, while less starkly evident than in beach resorts, also infiltrated Spain’s industrial cities, influencing styles of dress, music, and streetscapes to reflect the internationalized nature of “desarrollo”-era Spain. As an increasing number of tourists flooded Spain’s beaches and foreign investors became fixtures in the cities, more modern and urban development reshaped these spaces. The two films discussed in this chapter, *El turismo es un gran invento* (Dir. Pedro Lazaga, 1968) and *¡Cómo está el servicio!* (Dir. Mariano Ozores, 1968), both released in 1968, four years after the implementation of the government’s first

development program, capture the tensions that modernization and globalization were creating in Spain.

This chapter argues that the depiction of these internationalized spaces within the cinema about “el desarrollo” presents these transformed spaces as foreign and inauthentic. In *El turismo es un gran invento*, the tourism industry, which was the foundation of Spain’s economic development, is depicted as the key to prosperity while the tourist resort is presented as estranging to Spaniards. This sense of estrangement also applies to the representation of the city in *¡Cómo está el servicio!*, where foreign values are attacked as invasive and immoral while Spanish virtues are upheld as right and relevant. However, to understand how these two films reflect the social tensions brought about by modernization, this chapter first looks at the history of tourism in Spain and the migration of millions of rural Spaniards to the major cities. The chapter then examines the cultural impact that these important aspects of Spanish history produced, and draws on cultural theories regarding tourist resorts, the internationalization of cityscapes, and the relationship between foreigners and local populations. This cultural and historical analysis will be applied to *El turismo es un gran invento* and *¡Cómo está el servicio!* to demonstrate how the cinema about “el desarrollo” in the final years of the 1960s longs for the traditional and unique Spanish values that began to recede in the face of rapid development. Thus, unlike *La gran familia*, which spoke to a Spanish society recently acculturated into a consumer society that first took hold around the time of the film’s release, these two films meditate on the social changes already created through years of modernization and economic advancement.

Like *La gran familia*, each of these films were able to reach large domestic audiences. However, in contrast to Palacios' film which did not become popular in theatres but through repeated airings on state television, these films were profitable in cinemas. *El turismo es un gran invento* was one of Pedro Lazaga's many commercial successes, taking in an audience of about two-and-a-quarter million spectators.⁷⁹ To put this figure into perspective, the number of tickets sold is roughly half of that of his most popular film and one of the most commercially successful films of the decade, *La ciudad no es para mí*, which received nearly four-and-a-half million viewers.⁸⁰ *¡Cómo está el servicio!* was somewhat less popular but still managed to attract a respectable million-and-a-half spectators.⁸¹ This data on the spectatorship of these films reveal that they were able to attract many cinemagoers even without the benefit of the generous incentives of the National Interest prize. It may be worthwhile investigating whether there is a trend of commercial failures among films sought the National Interest prize in comparison to films whose profitability depended on appealing to mass audiences.⁸²

Both films in this chapter tell narratives of journeys from traditional rural places to modernized spaces. *El turismo es un gran invento* follows Benito, the mayor of a small village called Valdemorillo, to a newly constructed tourist zone. The voyage is not a vacation but an investigation of what makes these tourist resorts

⁷⁹ "Crítica de *El turismo es un gran invento*", accessed January 27, 2013, <http://www.muchocine.net/criticas/7651/El-turismo-es-un-gran-invento>.

⁸⁰ Faulkner, *A Cinema of Contradiction*, 1.

⁸¹ "Cine de barrio: *¡Cómo está el servicio!*", accessed January 27, 2013, <http://es.tv.yahoo.com/programacion/tve-internacional/2012-08-18/17-30/>.

⁸² Due to constraints of time and resources, it has not been possible to investigate the critical reception of these films in cinema magazines of the period, such as *FilmIdeal* and *Nuestro Cine*; however, this may be a possible area of exploration for further research.

so successful as to draw millions of foreign tourists to Spain each year and contribute billions of dollars to the national economy. Accompanying Benito in this mission is his dopey assistant, Basilio, who takes detailed notes on every aspect of the seemingly alien tourist resort, including the strange imported food, the recreational activities, and the furnishings of the hotel room. Benito takes a much more immersive approach. Hoping to revive his own village by transforming it into an internationalized space of pleasure and relaxation, he attempts to embrace foreign cultures and values with humourous results. His less studied approach to learning about modernity leads Benito to live luxuriously at the hotel spending lots of money on food and entertainment in order to experience the lifestyle that he believes the foreign tourists enjoy. His generosity and bucolic charms earn him the friendship of a young foreign woman named Helga.

Satisfied that he has the information and experience needed to transform Valdemorillo into a popular destination for foreigners and a place where the youth of the town can envision their future, he returns home in order to move forward with his project. However, Benito's noble pursuit is not unanimously supported by all of the citizens of Valdemorillo, as many of the town's conservative women are suspicious of European morals and lifestyles. Instead of giving Benito and Basilio a warm welcome, the women berate Basilio for befriending foreign women and Benito realizes that he has a new challenge in convincing his citizens that tourism is the only way to save the village. However, his critics remain unconvinced of tourism's merits, as the vacation has already taken a toll on Valdemorillo's limited finances. The village's toleration of Benito's grand plans finally ends when the mayor takes a costly

trip to Madrid where he petitions the government for money to finance the construction of his resort. The women of Valdemorillo work together to remove Benito from office, thus putting an end to any ideas of turning the village into an international resort location.

However, when Benito appears to have given up and has returned to his lonely farm, the results of his work begin to emerge. The government announces that Valdemorillo is worthy of becoming a tourist site. But, instead of becoming an international resort, it is given official status as a historic site that is oriented to tourists seeking a glimpse of pastoral Spain. In the vein of the cinema about “el desarrollo”, this ending to the film offers a compromise between economic progress and traditional lifestyles.

The journey in *¿Cómo está el servicio!* involves Vicenta moving to Madrid where her womanizing cousin, Manolo, finds her work as a domestic servant. The film can be divided into two parts. The first half of the film depicts Vicenta’s struggles to find a suitable home to work in. She first takes a job in an aristocratic household where her “paleto” characteristics quickly become evident. Vicenta then finds a more lasting situation in the home of ‘Señora’, the wife of an American soldier. Despite Señora’s disrespectful attitude, Vicenta meekly maintains her position in the home until she discovers that the woman she works for is also a prostitute. She then moves into the home of an elderly woman who believes that her dead husband is still alive. This complication doesn’t pose any serious problems until, at night, the old woman becomes crazed and tries to attack Vicenta. The first

part of the film ends with Vicenta unemployed and pessimistic about her life in Madrid.

When it seems that Vicenta will never be able to endure urban life, she meets a young doctor from a wealthy family. Her relationship with Dr. Cifuentes Jr. dominates much of the second half of the film. After the incident in the home of the elderly woman, Vicenta goes for a medical check-up with Dr. Cifuentes Sr. When she overhears that the doctor is looking for a new domestic servant, Vicenta offers her services. While Vicenta begins to enjoy her job for the first time since arriving in Madrid, it is Dr. Cifuentes Sr. who is even more desperate not to lose her services. Thus, he pushes his son to enter into a relationship with Vicenta. At first, their courtship is largely one-sided, but the young doctor eventually falls in love with Vicenta. However, Dr. Cifuentes Jr. is unable to pursue the relationship further until Vicenta knows the truth about his father's intervention. The two briefly end their relationship, but Vicenta eventually forgives her lover and comes to appreciate his good intentions and strong morals. At the end of the film, the two get married and Vicenta is able to quit her job as a domestic servant. Dr. Cifuentes Jr.'s conservative background offers Vicenta an oasis of traditionalism amidst the modernized city and, by marrying her, he provides Vicenta with the ability to have the life she desires in a city of economic opportunities.

These two films are investigated in greater depth after a survey of cultural theories that analyze the experience of cultural change and exchange in globalized urban and tourist spaces.

A Changed Society

In the previous chapter, *La gran familia* was analyzed as a film that treats the emerging modernity of Spain with optimism for economic prosperity and an equal caution towards the preservation of traditional values, particularly those rooted in Catholic doctrine. This Francoist ambition of a society that combined economic liberalism with traditional family patterns was not realized. Instead, the millions of Spaniards that chose to move from poor, rural areas throughout the decade also moved away from their conservative lifestyles and become more secular and European. This did not put an end to persistence of conservative Spanish values and traditions, however. Rather, these two conflicting philosophies persisted on their own among separate demographic groups. While modern Spaniards and traditional Spaniards could be found in different parts of the country and within different age or socio-economic groupings, a general trend can be pointed towards, which shows urban Spain as the site where most modern attitudes were found while poorer, rural areas were left behind with rural, traditional lifestyles. A notable exception to this delineation is the wealthiest class who maintained a commitment to conservative values and family practices.⁸³ However, this remained a small segment of the population⁸⁴ and “el desarrollo” had its largest impact on the quickly emerging middle class; this mobile group fueled the demographic shifts in the composition of Spanish society.

The cultural changes that occurred within urban and tourist centres accompanied the economic liberalization for which the Franco regime sought credit,

⁸³ Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi Aizpura, *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy* (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 85.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 85.

favour, and legitimacy. Thus, while the cinema about “el desarrollo” presents certain aspects of modern Spain as social threats, particularly those cultural practices that foreigners were perceived to have introduced, it could not characterize the distinction between rural and urban through a dichotomy of good and evil. Both urbanization and tourism were far too important to the state’s management of the economy for the more socially conservative elements of the nation to entirely deride or reject. The massive role that each of these phenomena had on the restructuring of the Spanish nation is evidenced through the history of human movement during the period of “desarrollismo”.

The most dramatic social shift resulting from “el desarrollo” was the large-scale migration of millions of individuals from rural Spain to urban centres located primarily in the northern half of the country. This resulted in a social upheaval that moved the nation’s consciousness from the traditional rural lifestyle that Franco had cultivated in the first two decades of his reign to a more urban and modern mentality that the liberal technocrats had promoted in their attempts to integrate Spain into the international community. As late as 1960, nearly half of the population still resided in rural areas; however, by the mid-1970s, six million of the nation’s thirty million people migrated, with a large majority rushing to the most populous centres, Madrid and Barcelona.⁸⁵ The jobs that lured these migrants to the major urban regions were often in the service sector and facilitated a professionalization of the Spanish workforce from the previous dependence on casual labour.⁸⁶ The active pursuit of

⁸⁵ Borja de Riquer i Permanyer, “Social and Economic Change in a Climate of Political Immobilism” in *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (New York, Oxford University Press, 1995), 262-263.

⁸⁶ Jean Grugel and Tim Rees, *Franco’s Spain* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999), 119.

new careers and modern lifestyles indicates the level of social change occurring across the country. The repressed and immobile subsistent peasant that was the norm in the 1940s and 1950s was quickly disappearing as millions of working age Spaniards began to seek better standards of living and greater economic liberties through urban employment. Progress was not just a policy of the Opus Dei technocrats, it was manifested through the decision of millions of Spaniards to create change in their own lives in a more modern direction and, as a result, thrust the entire society towards that end as well.

This image of what Spain could become was increasingly tangible to most Spaniards throughout the 1960s due to the large role that their foreign neighbours were playing in both the social and economic arenas of the country. While the presence of foreigners was increasingly witnessed in the industries such as manufacturing, nowhere was the impact of Europeans and Americans more pronounced than in tourism, both through their roles as tourists and as important players in that industry as well. Foreign investment in hotel construction, service jobs, and other related activities not only poured millions of dollars directly into tourist resorts, the revenue of this profitable industry helped finance economic development in the industrial cities of the Basque country, Catalonia, and the Community of Madrid.⁸⁷ Tourism was also responsible for much of the modernization of the nation's infrastructure and architecture. European standards had to be met in terms of the quality of roads, hotels, and services in order to

⁸⁷ Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 475.

accommodate international tourists accustomed to more developed societies.⁸⁸ The Europeanization undertaken in Spain's cities and, more overwhelmingly, in tourist zones provides further evidence that the society was becoming more divided between rural and urban segments of the population.

Globalized Spaces

The phenomenon of culturally specific local spaces transforming into generic international spaces is a product of the process of globalization. Thus, within the Spanish context, this change was accelerated in the 1960s, so the cultural and architectural internationalization of Spain can be seen in the films of this era. Steven Miles suggests that the organization of shops, hotels, and sites for activities has become quite uniform across national borders and is based on a model that best allows for locals and tourists alike to consume a city. The standardization of urban tourist spaces is most pronounced in those cities where global exchanges occur most frequently and would therefore welcome the largest numbers of foreign business people and tourists. Citing the work of George Ritzer, Miles attributes this phenomenon to global consumer culture.⁸⁹ Major international cities lose their cultural specificity and begin to imitate each other in order to best accommodate outsiders and to herd individuals towards prescribed spaces of consumption where they can feel a sense of familiarity and direction as they spend their money on mass produced goods and at chain restaurants. Miles argues that the redesign of cities is

⁸⁸ Sasha D. Pack, "Tourism and Political Change in Franco's Spain" in *Spain Transformed: The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959-75*, ed. Nigel Townson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 56.

⁸⁹ Steven Miles, *Consumerism – as a way of life* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 1998), 62.

determined by consumer ethics; locals and tourists alike are directed towards certain zones in the city that offer commercial businesses spaces of high traffic and, to consumers, desirable spaces of pleasure and security as opposed to marginalized areas that are occupied by people excluded from consumer society.⁹⁰

Miles borrows a term from George Ritzer to describe this common design pattern of sanctioned spaces as the “McDonaldization” of urban landscapes⁹¹. While cities market themselves as different, in reality, consumerism furthers a process of globalization that leads to highly trafficked areas becoming more similar with the same stores and restaurants and the familiar arrangement of navigable spaces.⁹² His assessment of the composition of international cities is primarily a criticism of contemporary urban planning that is too heavily dictated by international business interests and the ideology of consumerism. However, in regards to “el desarrollo”, it is possible to consider this Europeanization of Spanish locations, from a different perspective. The McDonaldization of spaces presupposes a certain set of values or outlook in that the layout of city centres responds to modern decisions regarding behavioural patterns of cosmopolitan individuals. Thus, for a society that is not a progressive, liberal democracy, the transformation of the city reflects the attitudes of the foreigners visiting these spaces rather than the habits of the locals. For example, the construction of Spanish beach resort towns would not accommodate the traditional, conservative values of Spanish society, it would suit Europeans’ values, economic practices, and material culture, thus creating an opportunity for Spaniards

⁹⁰ Ibid, 55.

⁹¹ Ibid, 64.

⁹² Ibid, 64.

who traveled to these internationalized resorts to adopt more European philosophies and behaviours.

This standardization of spaces is acutely pronounced within the mass tourism industry. Gareth Shaw and Alan M. Williams describe the mass tourism that was common in the 1960s as a part of the Fordist⁹³ mode of consumption. The attributes of this type of tourism include the packaging and standardization of high-rise hotels, cruise ships, tour companies, and airline deals that created uniform and generic experiences through which the tourist did not have to worry about many details of their journey.⁹⁴ The Fordist model of tourism also created a norm for tourism spaces that disregarded national differences of culture, landscape, or politics. The goal of Fordist tourism is to create a sense of familiarity for the beach-going tourist who seeks neither challenge nor education and is only concerned with pleasure and relaxation within a comfortable setting.⁹⁵ For tourism operators to create this non-threatening and familiar space and experience, tourist resorts needed to create an atmosphere that would be similar to the tourist's own standard of living at home.

Shaw and Williams note that Spain was one of the first locations to offer this type of mass tourism, which occurred primarily on the warm Andalusian beaches of the Costa del Sol.⁹⁶ In this case, the mass tourism model was not simply about recreation and pleasure for the tourists; it had political implications as well. The tourist resort became a location that was seemingly immune from the state of Spanish

⁹³ The Fordist economic model involves the standardization of mass production and mass consumption.

⁹⁴ Gareth Shaw and Alan M. Williams, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces* (London: SAGE Publications, 2004), 115.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 115.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 222.

politics and the social problems that the local population still endured under the repressive regime. Foreigners in Spain who restricted their movement to the confines of the packaged resort experience could enjoy the sun and the beaches and not be forced to confront the political reality of the very nation that was offering them an escape from their daily work life. Annabel Martin contends that it was not only tourists who could enjoy the resort and ignore the Franco regime, but the local Spaniards could also take advantage of the fantasy of the vacation space. For Spaniards with enough disposable income to afford to vacation at the same resorts as foreign tourists, Martin claims that they experienced what she terms as the “Cinderella syndrome.”⁹⁷ The “Cinderella syndrome” allowed Spaniards a brief escape into a fantasy that they could live like the tourists from liberal democratic Europeans nations as they shared in the consumption of the hotel, the beach experience, and a brief period during which they could leave behind the worries of Spanish society that existed beyond the limits of the vacation space.

Encountering Foreigners

While the modernization of architecture, infrastructure, and amenities in the tourist areas was one way in which progress and development impacted how some Spaniards lived, the great influx of foreign, mainly European and American, tourists into these spaces had an even greater influence on the values and lifestyles of the local population. In particular, clothing fashions became less conservative, taste in

⁹⁷ Annabel Martin, “Miniskirts, Polka Dots, and Real Estate: What Lies under the Sun?” in *Spain Is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity*, ed. Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella (Toronto: Lexington Books, 2008), 222.

music increasingly favoured pop music, and attitudes towards sex and relationships were more liberal. After opening the borders to foreign money and visitors, the conservative regime and their traditionalist supporters could do little but condemn the changing behaviours of the new Spanish society.

The general process of cultural exchange is not specific to “el desarrollo” in Spain but a common feature of globalization. To understand how this trans-cultural phenomenon operates, it is necessary to look into the work of tourism theorists and their analyses of the cultural impacts that tourists create when venturing into a foreign country. Most relevant to the interaction between Spain and its more developed neighbours is the work of Harry G. Matthews. Writing in the 1970s, only a decade after tourism became a major industry in Spain, Matthews analyzes the ways in which tourism becomes an arena of cultural and political tension within less developed and smaller nations. In large developed countries, tourists have little impact on the already established, progressive liberal democracies where trends and policies are leading the world rather than catching up with other societies. In the developing world, this is not the case. Matthews notes that in tourist regions where international tour companies operate, the home country of the tourists sets the terms of their clients’ experience and establishes a standard that is reflective of the tourists’ country not the host country.⁹⁸ Additionally, for nations that look to tourism to provide a substantial portion of their economic base, tourism service is much more than an industry; in some cases, it becomes a way of life. Matthews points to particular cases in Barbados and a small Basque village to analyze and demonstrate how tourism

⁹⁸ Harry G. Matthews, *International Tourism: A Political and Social Analysis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1978), 10.

massively changed the lifestyles and social structure of this nation and this community, respectively. In these examples, everyone in the community, from senior politicians to small business owners, has a stake in the success of attracting a steady flow of incomers and successfully catering to their desires and expectations. In a sense, tourists become part of these communities' daily existence, thus, leading the locals to adapt to their imported values and cultural identity.

While the economic activities of the local community were intentionally reoriented to conform to international standards of comfort and modernity, for individuals, changes in personal habits and mentalities didn't occur for the benefit of the tourism industry; Spaniards' adoption of new attitudes and fashions, such as bikinis, in the 1960s happened as a natural response to witnessing the customs of wealthier, more cosmopolitan visitors. Shaw and Williams describe this "cultural symbiosis and assimilation" as the "demonstration effect."⁹⁹ In this paradigm, tourists serve as a model for a desired lifestyle that the locals consciously or unconsciously try to emulate by changing their clothes, values, and attitudes. This process occurred in Spain during "el desarrollo" and at an accelerated rate within the tourist zones, which were less constrained by many of the conservative social pressures in other areas of the country as they attempted to reproduce an impression of the more liberal beaches of the tourists' home nations.

Popular Film Responds Social Transformation

⁹⁹ Shaw and Williams, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, 173.

The cinema about “el desarrollo” provides a visual testimony to this rapid change in the material culture of Spanish society and to the reorientation of values. These films often construct a dichotomy between old Spain and modern Spain, between pastoral traditions and globalized patterns of behaviour and style. The ongoing process of change is symbolized through shots of high-rise construction in Madrid in *La gran familia* and *¡Cómo está el servicio!*, as well as, massive hotels and resorts in *El turismo es un gran invento* that allude to the internationalization of architecture and the influx of capital. At a more individual level, the transformation is seen more literally through changes in the way that protagonists dress and the activities they engage in when they first arrive at a resort or city compared to later in the films once they have adapted to their new settings. These changing habits reflect the powerful influence that European and American cultures wielded in Spanish society once the doors were opened to foreign tourists and businesses. Despite the efforts of conservative factions to minimize Spaniards’ embrace of foreign and modern lifestyles, the appeal of wealth and liberal ethics was more powerful than the moralizing, conservative religious authorities. As much as “el desarrollo” was about the economic internationalization of the country, the cinema about “el desarrollo” projects the idea that the internationalization of Spanish culture was an equal if unintentional consequence. In *El turismo es un gran invento*, this is manifested in the protagonist’s infatuation with modern amenities and the prospect of change.

“Paleto” Cinema

Both of the films discussed in this chapter contain protagonists from traditional backgrounds who see the opportunities that “el desarrollo” offers them as a possibility to change their own circumstances by taking risks in unfamiliar settings. Upon their arrival in the modern spaces of Spain, Benito and Vicenta experience a sense of estrangement and alienation even though they are still within their own country. This motif is manifested through comical situations in which the characters fail to comprehend or interact appropriately with modern customs, devices, or settings. While these problems are dealt with lightly, they also reveal a social disconnect between two distinct groups of people living within the same nation and the privileges that urban Spaniards enjoy but which are denied to those in rural areas. These characters’ unfamiliarity with modern life reflects a segment of the population that is being left behind and increasingly marginalized rather than included in “desarrollismo”.

Due to this narrative focus, *El turismo es un gran invento* and, to a slightly lesser extent, *¡Cómo está el servicio!* can be grouped within the comedic subgenre as the “paleta” film. This type of film is characterized by its rural to urban plot and themes. The “paleta” film typically follows a rural-based Spaniard, often one that has never experienced life beyond their village, as they travel to the city for the first time. This circumstance serves as the source of much of these films’ humour; the uneducated rural-dweller is depicted as painfully out of place in the city and unable to cope with modern amenities. These situations, of course, are not dwelt with seriously but through slapstick humour and farce.

The humour of these “paleto” films often comes at the expense of the rural protagonist; however, the theme of urbanization is presented both positively and negatively, while the seemingly ridiculed pastoral lifestyle is honoured as noble and moral. The star of *El turismo es un gran invento*, Paco Martínez Soria, performed in several “paleto” films including the most popular film from this period, *La ciudad no es para mí* (Dir. Pedro Lazaga, 1966). His grandfatherly characters were based on rural stereotypes but presented through a sympathetic and likeable personality. For example, in *El turismo es un gran invento*, his character of Benito is exaggeratedly naïve and uncultured, which creates comical situations wherein misunderstandings between himself and modern urbanites lead to a humorous ridiculing of the rural mayor. In this regard, the “paleto” films often present the old, rural man in a patronizing, if not condescending, way. Nevertheless, the “paleto” protagonist must utilize his rural charms, values, and sensibilities to provide the resolution to the films, thus, demonstrating that there are still lessons for the modern world that can be taken from traditional Spain. Thus, despite the “paleto” films’ satirization of the usually poor and uncouth rural characters, this subgenre conforms to the conventions of the cinema about “el desarrollo” through their positive appraisal of conservative, pastoral values.

While the “paleto” protagonist is usually associated with an older male figure, in *¡Cómo está el servicio!*, Vicenta embodies several characteristics of the “paleto” hero. First, her appearance immediately marks her difference. She does not wear well-tailored business attire or form fitting dresses. Instead, she is adorned in frumpy, mismatched peasant clothing, the female equivalent of Benito’s peasant beret and

vest. Secondly, she is extremely superstitious, a trait that she exhibits when she refuses to work in an apartment that overlooks a cemetery. Thirdly, her traditional values prevent her from assimilating into the fast paced and lively lifestyle of Madrid. The final and most important aspect of Vicenta that she shares with other “paleto” characters is that she relies on her rural instincts and morals to solve her urban problems. Thus, Vicenta is one of the only examples of a female “paleto” protagonist, which is unsurprising given that the actress who played Vicenta, Gracita Morales, is remarkable for headlining several comedies in a male dominated genre.

The fact that the “paleto” protagonist is from a rural background and that the films end with a celebration of pastoral virtues, however, does not result in a condemnation of the modern, urban settings of the city and the tourist zones. Following the model of other films about “el desarrollo”, *El tursismo es un gran invento* attempts to create a conservative-oriented balance between modernity and tradition. Urbanization and progress is demonstrated in these films through the rapidly growing cities and tourist zones and the modern individuals who belong to these types of spaces. These modern spaces represent the new and increasing wealth and prosperity of Spain in contrast to the rural settings that are aligned with the nation’s past. The urban lifestyle is not positioned as essentially immoral but overly controlled by liberal and foreign influences that need to be tempered with traditional morals. This political statement within the “paleto” films reinforces the Francoist political philosophy of liberal economic growth built on the foundation of the hardworking traditional Catholic families.

El turismo es un gran invento

El turismo es un gran invento is preoccupied with the notion of a rapid and significant transformation of both Spain's built landscape and its urban culture towards a much more international standard of development and values. The film begins with a montage of images displaying beaches and coastlines as the pop song "Me gusta hacer el turismo" ("I like touring") celebrates the joys of escaping to the seaside and affirms the positive attributes of tourism. This credit sequence is designed to showcase, firstly, the pop song then, secondly, the idyllic postcard scenes that Spain's relatively new international tourism industry has to offer both foreign visitors and the film's domestic audience. In regards to the latter group, the lyrics of the upbeat, jazz-infused song present the possibility of seeking relief from their hard work to treat themselves to the natural gifts that the country is blessed with as seen in the lingering shots of the calm blue water and sunny beaches.

In an odd transition, the peaceful and restful vision of Spanish tourism is immediately followed by a fast paced montage of the excesses of Spanish tourism that does not offer the same allure as the idyllic sequence showing images of Spain that look like postcards. If the first segment serves as a sort of advertisement for a Spanish vacation, the second plays much more like a promotion for the greater economic benefits of tourism as an industry. The narrator in this second segment does not mention relaxation on the Spanish shores; instead the rapidly edited scene depicts the success of Spain's tourism project and points to the crowded beaches and international tourist centres as evidence that the nation is becoming well-recognized for its resorts. There is much less focus on Spain's natural beauty and more attention

given to all of the aspects of tourism as an industry; cars, boats, and planes are shown bringing new travelers to the country, while shots of hotels display the progress the industry has brought to Spain. Many of these types of shots are shown in fast motion and through the use of zoom-ins, adding to the sense of excitement and great activity that is occurring around the rapidly growing industry. The most important aspect of Spanish tourism that this segment highlights is internationalization, which is explicitly presented through the multiple shots of European flags and foreign languages on signs at hotels, campgrounds, and money exchange shops. Succeeding this montage, which depicts the large foreign presence in the resort areas, are several shots of construction cranes and partially built high-rise hotels; this combination of images points to the importance of foreign investment and spending in the development of Spain's tourism industry and overall economy.

This second part of the opening sequence focuses more closely on the economic and cultural aspects of the tourism industry. The most important analysis of this scene with respect to my argument is offered by Justin Crumbaugh who indicates that this particular sequence is constructed in the style of the government produced "Noticiarios y Documentales", or "NoDos" (news and documentary reels). First produced in the early years of the Franco's regime, these newsreels were required to be played to audiences in cinemas before the main feature. "NoDos" featured current events and the latest activities of Franco from a perspective meant to glorify the achievements of the regime and present the nation in a positive light. Crumbaugh suggests that *El turismo es un gran invento* imitates these "NoDos", which would have preceded the screening of the film itself, thus blurring the

distinction between the official government propaganda and the actual film. He writes, “The same panoramic shots, reverse zooms, male voice-over narration, often even the same style of musical soundtrack, all share in the same celebration of the tourist boom.”¹⁰⁰ Both the film and the regime’s propaganda emphasize the government’s role in implementing the growth of the tourism industry and the resultant prosperity.

Given the immense place that tourism occupied in the Spanish economy and social consciousness during “el desarrollo”, it is unsurprising that this industry became the subject of songs and films of the period. The plot of *El turismo es un gran invento* focuses on the plight of one inland, rural village called Valdemorillo that finds itself increasingly left behind as the cities and the coasts experience new possibilities and prosperous futures. In many ways, the film can be read as an allegory for “el desarrollo”. The backwards, isolated, and impoverished village seeks to engage with the international community in order to repair its broken economy and move with the rest of Europe towards modernity and wealth. In this narrative, the mayor of Valdemorillo, Benito, represents the liberal financiers who transformed the economy despite objections from the reactionary establishment. Distressed by the loss of his young citizens to opportunities elsewhere, the optimistic and visionary Benito determines that the solution for Valdemorillo’s declining fortunes is to transform his community into a tourist resort. This leads Benito and his assistant, Basilio, to spend time at a new tourist resort on the coast in order to research what their village will need in order to become a successful vacation spot.

¹⁰⁰ Justin Crumbaugh, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain’s Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009), 28.

Upon arriving to the seaside resort where they will conduct their research, Benito and Basilio immediately become disoriented and reveal themselves to be out of place in the newly constructed resort. The first individual that the pair encounters is a man dressed in North African clothing who is unable to communicate with them in Spanish when they approach him asking for help in finding their hotel. Their bewilderment with his garbs and language create an image of these two men's cultural displacement within their own country since the tourist seems to be more at ease in this space than the mayor and his assistant. Their estrangement is further demonstrated when the two men explore their hotel room within the modern, high-rise hotel. In a scene that comically exaggerates Benito's lack of knowledge about contemporary technologies, he is seen falling into a closet when he mistakes a sliding door for a wall, and then he burns his hand when he cannot properly operate the sink's faucet. This scene suggests that Valdemorillo lacks many of the common devices that are taken for granted in the more developed settings of the city and the tourist zones. Quickly, Benito and Basilio find themselves thoroughly enjoying this lifestyle when they are waited on attentively at the poolside restaurant and later go to the nightly musical performance the hotel offers to their guests. This strengthens their resolve to bring tourism to their village in order to share all the pleasures and comforts of modern Spain to the others, who only get glimpses of this foreign way of life through Benito's postcards and photographs.

The cultural impact of globalization is represented through the attitudes and behaviours of the protagonists. Shaw and Williams' concept of the "demonstration effect" is exemplified in the way that Benito and Basilio change their dress and habits

to become internationalized. Benito and Basilio first come to the tourist resort dressed in their shabby rural peasant clothing. However, the two characters attempt to shed the markers of their rural identities when they lounge by the pool of their hotel where people in this vicinity seem to all be foreign women in bikinis. Although they are now out of their old suits, the outfits that they do don hardly allow them to assimilate with the other vacationers. Basilio appears as though he has never swum before as he wears a red long sleeve shirt, a bandana around his neck, and a floppy yellow hat. Meanwhile Benito stands out almost as much in his bright outfit, especially since he leaves on his beret even while wearing swim shorts and a floral shirt. While the “demonstration effect” suggests that one group’s emulation of another culture eventually leads to a cultural homogenization, in this case it is clear that these male characters efforts to become more modern is limited to a superficial imitation of what they perceive to be modern style and customs. the fact that their outfits are poorly assembled and mismatched reaffirms the idea that these characters are hopelessly lost in the modern spaces of the nation and that the divide between urban and rural Spain is one that cannot be completely bridged. Martin’s examination of the social impact of tourism on Spaniards suggests that tourist spaces were only supposed to provide a temporary escape into foreignness rather than create permanent changes of values and lifestyles.¹⁰¹ Thus, Benito and Basilio’s inability to assimilate serves to demonstrate the incompatibility between being a ‘good Spaniard’ and foreign cultures.

In contrast, the Spanish female characters of the film never adopt any modern or liberal behaviours, yet are contrasted with the foreign women. This points to a

¹⁰¹ Martin, “Miniskirts, Polka Dots, and Real Estate,” 222.

discrepancy between what was acceptable behaviour for men and for women regarding the adoption of liberal values. In Spanish society during “el desarrollo”, much of the rhetoric surrounding the threat of liberalism was directed towards female morality. Specifically, conservative forces in the country, particularly the bishops, constructed the concept of “la sueca” (the Swedish woman) as a major threat to families, Catholic virtues, and the morals of the country.¹⁰² “La sueca” became a common feature within the cinema about “el desarrollo” and was presented as any ambiguously foreign women who dressed in bikinis or other outfits that conservative Spaniards considered to be overly revealing for Spanish women. In one manner, the presence of these characters in popular films allowed for sexualized images of women to be shown on screen. As these women were also depicted as foreign and were socially understood as examples of how Spanish women should not dress or act, their presence on screen was not so threatening as to be censored. In any case, bikini-clad beach-goers, both foreign and local, were a common sight at many of Spain’s beaches and, thus, it would not have been shocking to see images of these women in films centred around tourism.

In *El turismo es un gran invento*, this convention is demonstrated through the group of female singers, called the Buby Girls, that Benito and Basilio befriend at their resort and who later travel to Valdemorillo to support Benito and his town. These characters offer no threat to the moral stability of the characters and only act in a helpful and positive way. In contrast, the women of the village, who all dress in dowdy peasant clothing and resent the young foreign women, are antagonistic

¹⁰² Pack, “Tourism and Political Change,” 60.

towards Benito and try to stop him from changing the town. This dynamic complicates the conventional idea of the liberal “sueca” as immoral and the conservative Spaniard woman as noble. This ambiguity supports the film’s suggestion that attracting foreigners on their own terms is important for Spain’s tourism industry while demonstrating that Spanish women are still responsible for protecting their families from harmful foreign values.

The character of Pilar is situated between these two competing models of femininity as she occupies the role of a traditional young woman in a small rural town who is determined to escape from the village to experience the excitement of modern Spain. Although she has never left Valdemorillo, she is enamoured with the idea of going to Barcelona where she imagines that she will have opportunities to enjoy her youth, something that the village cannot give her. Her uncle Benito promises her that he will bring all of this excitement to Valdemorillo so that she will not have to leave her family and her home. The commitment that he makes to Pilar, fuels Benito’s determination to modernize his community by turning it into a tourist zone.

This dynamic of maintaining family and community while moving towards a modern future speaks to the film’s appeal for a compromise between traditional values and progressive economic policies. However, the film’s message does not always entirely align with the mission of the protagonist. In several incidents, his desire to completely transform Valdemorillo is characterized as misguided. This chapter has already identified that Benito’s poorly assembled resort attire is not simply an indication of the character’s lack of a sense of fashion, it signifies an inauthentic and superficial understanding of modern culture. This idea of Benito as

well intentioned but misguided emerges again in an interaction he has with Pilar upon returning from the resort. After amusing the young woman with stories of his adventures in tourism, Benito presents her with a bikini, or, as he calls it, a “bikinini”. Pilar’s expression does not suggest that she is particularly enthused to receive the gift, but her bewilderment seems to arise from the unfamiliarity with the garment. While she claims that she knows about bikinis, she also states that she couldn’t possibly wear it around the village due to the fact that there is not a beach in the area but mostly because the other women would not approve. Given that Pilar previously admitted to never having left Valdemorillo, it is likely that she has in fact never seen another woman wear a bikini in real life.

Benito’s decision to give a bikini to Pilar enforces the notion that he lacks a certain comprehension of the social and cultural complexities of the modernization of Spanish society. The bikini was joined to the idea of “la sueca” and thus carried serious cultural connotations. For Benito, the bikini is simply a piece of clothing that he commonly saw worn at the beach resort. However, it also represented a challenge to the conventional notions of Spanish female identity. The figure of the European woman was more sexually liberated, educated, and independent in contrast to the traditional Spanish idea of the woman as the “ángel del hogar”. Thus, it can be argued that the bikini is not simply controversial for the amount of skin that it allows to be exposed, but rather, for the its cultural implications of liberal social values that posed a threat to the traditional gender roles and the traditional family. Even four years after the film’s release, nearly half of the Spanish population deemed skimpy

bathing suits to be morally hazardous.¹⁰³ Therefore, Pilar's declaration that she appreciates the gift, but it isn't possible for her to wear it in Valdemorillo given the conservative culture that still dominates the town, suggests that even she is more cognizant than Benito of the significance of modernity beyond the superficial changes. His objective of preserving the community of Valdemorillo while imposing upon it the material attributes of modernity simultaneously indicates some desire to mitigate complete change, but also, an unawareness that a transformation of Valdemorillo will render the community unrecognizable. The quixotic quest of receiving government support to turn Valdemorillo into a zone for international tourism is short-sighted because Benito has only considered the material changes such a project would bring, including jobs, money and new buildings. He has not taken into account the more impactful cultural implications of these changes that threaten to disturb the values and sense of community that most citizens in Valdemorillo treasure.

As the guardians of traditional values and the main opposition to the modernization of Valdemorillo, the women of the town function as Benito's antagonists. At a narrative level, the film constructs these characters as unlikable, uptight, and petulant in contrast to the sweet, good-natured personality of Benito. This dichotomy clearly establishes the fact that audiences should identify with and root for Benito in his noble attempts to save his village. The antagonistic actions of the women, which become impediments to Benito's plan are, therefore, presented negatively. For example, Antonia, the leader of the female community in

¹⁰³ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 165.

Valdemorillo, acts with an angry determination to remove Benito as mayor and put her husband in that position so that she can bring an end to Benito's grand ambitions and return normalcy to Valdemorillo.

However, this does not necessarily designate Antonia or the other women as the villains of the film. Given that the repeated instances of Benito's ignorance about modern society complicates the argument for the transformation of Valdemorillo, in their opposition to Benito, the women act more as a balance to his ambitious vision than as enemies to the main character. Since their values and vision for Valdemorillo run contrary to those that Benito attempts to bring to the village, from a thematic level, their disapproving responses to the actions of Benito and Basilio can be understood as natural rather than unreasonably severe. The women's opposition to Benito's mission is first revealed in a scene when the group is gathered around a photograph in a newspaper. The picture shows Basilio embracing the lead singer of the Buby Girls at the beach resort. This greatly upsets his wife, so the other women gather to support her and to express their disapproval of this behaviour. For them, protecting the village from becoming a tourist zone is grounded in traditional morality. This image of Basilio already suggests to them that opening up to foreign tourists and their moral values will threaten their own families and value system. This reaction corresponds to Matthews' idea that, for some, "visibility through contrast", leads not to an embrace of foreign values, but an ideological rejection of tourism.¹⁰⁴ Antonia expresses her opposition to the behaviour she sees in the tourist resort to her husband and the other men, but they do nothing since they all trust

¹⁰⁴ Matthews, *International Tourism*, 45.

Benito's decisions to do what is best for the community. Thus, Antonia is forced into a position where she believes that she must take action on her own to depose Benito in order to protect the community from moral threats.

Her schemes eventually come to fruition but not before Benito successfully receives government approval to turn Valdemorillo into a tourist zone. However, the town is not transformed into a typical resort with large hotels, pools, and modern amenities. Instead, Valdemorillo is declared a "parador", a term given to small towns that were preserved to showcase a pastoral image of Spain to a niche market of tourists seeking history and culture rather than beaches and sunbathing. The "paradores" embody the Francoist philosophy regarding "desarrollismo" that married the country's past traditions with an economy that opened itself up to the international market. By turning to the "parador" as a solution, the film offers an optimistic and conservative outlook on the benefits of "el desarrollo".

This ending represents the compromise between embracing the government's liberal economic policies and its conservative social policies. It can also be read as a compromise between Benito's grand ambitions and Antonia's desire to maintain her traditional village. Even though Benito had envisioned Valdemorillo as becoming an internationalized tourist spaces with high-rise hotels, expensive restaurants, and few signifiers of a traditional Spanish cultural identity, Benito himself is almost the personification of a "parador" and what it attempts to achieve. In the tourist resort, Benito becomes well liked and popular among the young female foreign tourists not for his ability to adapt to their modern sensibilities but for his charming naïveté and

rustic personality. These traits are so appealing to the Buby Girls that they travel to Valdemorillo in order to see Benito and spend time exploring his community.

This type of situation provided the reasoning upon which the policy of creating “paradores” was developed and implemented. Thus, while “paradores” were one part of the tourism industry that is typically characterized by the tourist resorts, the two tourist spaces depicted in the film represent divergent values. As shown in the opening “NoDo” segment in the film and through Benito and Basilio’s vacation, the beach resorts exist in a milieu that stands apart from the rest of the country. These spaces embody the culture of Northern Europe much more than Spain. This is evident in the shots of Swedes filling the pools, Benito’s unfamiliarity with the food, and the sound of English proliferating the soundtrack. These traits create international zones that are not only designed to accommodate international tourists, but also, to erase signifiers of a Spanish identity.

The designation of Valdemorillo as a “parador” allows the village to resist the process of “McDonaldization” that typifies spaces created through mass tourism, thus, saving the town from losing its own history and identity. Instead, these are the very aspects that are reinforced and commodified to attract a smaller group of tourists who enter Spain hoping to obtain an authentic experience of the nation. According to Pack, the “paradores” were a source of national pride for Francisco Franco, who often appeared at inauguration ceremonies for new “paradores”.¹⁰⁵ This type of tourism is complicated, however, by another form of commercialization. Rather than selling the familiar and comfortable, “paradores” sell the stereotypical image of bucolic Spain.

¹⁰⁵ Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship*, 155.

This dynamic provides new significance for the depiction of much of the material culture in Valdemorillo, particularly objects associated with its agrarian identity. The first shot of the film following the “NoDo” style scene, and thus the film’s introduction to the plot, is a close-up of a large, stone farm roller that is attached to a wooden shaft. This image is the establishing shot of Valdemorillo and is shown throughout the film when the story returns to the village.

The initial purpose of the image of the roller, in addition to establishing Valdemorillo as a primarily agricultural village, is to mark a clear distinction between the tourist resort and the small village. The “NoDo” segment positively presents the excitement and growth of the beach resorts, but this sentiment is immediately halted when the scene cuts to the image of the roller. The juxtaposition of these images characterizes the archaic agricultural tool and rural villages in general as inferior to the modern space of the international resort. This establishes Benito’s mission to transform Valdemorillo as heroic and almost necessary as the village appears to be dying due to its inability to advance alongside other regions of the country. The contrast between the resort and the village suggests that modernization is hope for the survival of the community.

However, the introduction of the notion of the “parador” complicates this particular theme of the rural as increasingly irrelevant, which dominates *El turismo es un gran invento* until the final scene of the film. As Valdemorillo has been designated as a “parador”, the objects that represented the death of the village, such as the agricultural apparatuses and rustic buildings, now represent its survival and are

imbued with significant value. The success of the “parador” in attracting tourists rests entirely on the promotion and adherence to the material culture of the rural past.

The final scene of *El turismo es un gran invento* depicts the official inauguration of Valdemorillo as a “parador”. Throughout the brief sequence, several stereotypical images of traditional Spanish culture are presented. The old town with its stone façades fills the background while the entire community gathers around a priest who is performing a blessing to make the designation official. All of the women, with the exception of Pilar, wear traditional lace veils and gloves. Their animosity towards Benito has now been forgotten and Antonia is one of the first characters to congratulate Benito for saving the village. The scene also closes with a group playing guitars while several couples participate in a traditional dance. It is clear that Valdemorillo has embraced its future as a tourist space where traditional Spanish culture and values will be preserved rather than erased thanks to foreign tourists whose cultural curiosity does not pose a moral threat to the community.

¡Cómo está el servicio!

In the final moments of *El turismo es un gran invento*, the film offers a model of compromise, in the form of the “parador” for how traditional culture can defy the process of internationalization in the modern and globally-oriented arena of tourism. This paradigm is repeated in *¡Cómo está el servicio!* within the modern space of Madrid. This film, which was released in the same year as *El turismo es un gran invento*, demonstrates how it is possible to resist the loss of traditional values in an urban setting that is overwhelmingly influenced by European and American lifestyles.

¡Cómo está el servicio! depicts a situation that the previous film alludes to but never shows: young people who are forced to leave their town or village in order to find employment in one of the major industrial cities. In this case, the protagonist, Vicenta must relocate to Madrid to take work as a domestic servant. Unlike Pilar, she is not enthusiastic about experiencing the lifestyle of a modern urban location. Instead, it seems that a life in the city is her only option for survival and even the life that she can create there, as a low paid domestic servant, will be difficult and demeaning.¹⁰⁶ To escape the dying rural and agricultural past of Spain, Vicenta must sacrifice a part of her own humanity and individual worth to try to assimilate into the new economy and earn a living in the city. This theme is presented throughout the film in her interactions with her employers, but it is most explicitly presented in the introduction of the film. Like *El turismo es un gran invento*, *¡Cómo está el servicio!* begins with a short sequence that provides commentary on the major preoccupation of the film that remains separate from the narrative.

The animated introduction that immediately precedes Vicenta's first appearance in the film criticizes the popular phenomenon of the period that brought many young women to the cities to make low wages in an occupation that was seen as characteristically female. The film suggests that Vicenta and the many women in her position are like modern slaves through an animated segment and its corresponding narration. It describes the history of slavery, at several points in time through crudely drawn static animation. The sequence begins with a humorous cartoon showing two cave men but then moves on to real instances of slavery that range from the building

¹⁰⁶ Female migrants usually had less education than men, so they ended up accepting low wages in cooking or cleaning positions (Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 106).

of the pyramids to the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The cartoon then transitions to the live-action film through a graphic match of the image of a female African slave standing on a boat and shot of Vicenta standing on a street in Madrid.

This dramatic comparison suggests that the economic and social transformations of “el desarrollo” have created a situation in which young women from rural backgrounds are linked to a global history of exploitation. This exploitation of young women in the film often leads to situations in which their morals and integrity are challenged. Due to her strong attachment to her traditional identity and values, Vicenta experiences difficulty finding work in a home that she feels comfortable in because of the odd and sometimes illegal activities of her employers. In many of these cases, she is subjected to demeaning work and treated poorly by her employers, revealing a downside to Spain’s rapid urbanization during which millions of rural Spaniards migrated to the city to compete for low paying work. Through Vicenta, the film exposes the hard work and indignities that young workers faced in trying to claim a piece of their nation’s prosperity.

The most serious perpetrator of the exploitation of young women is Vicenta’s cousin, Manolo. To Vicenta, he acts as a guardian by finding her employment, protecting her from unscrupulous employers, and providing her with support and advice. He also finds domestic servant positions for many other young migrant women, but he does not provide them with the same respect and care that he offers his cousin. Instead, he takes advantage of their naïveté and desperation for his own personal benefit. In addition to having sexual relationships with the women, he takes a portion of their earnings. These two aspects of Manolo’s exploitation of women

offer another comparison to domestic servitude: prostitution. In contrast to slavery, this comparison is more gendered, as both prostitution and domestic servitude are conventionally associated more strongly with females than males. The young women that Manolo manages all dress in maid uniforms that are low-cut on top and have high hemlines. These costumes reflect the liberal attitudes towards female sexuality that arose as a product of urban modernity due to the profound influence of European social values and material culture that was quickly being adopted in the internationalized spaces of cities like Madrid and Barcelona. These women willingly endure Manolo's treatment because he offers each of them the same promise of marriage and a traditional domestic life. Manolo's scheme comes to an end in the last scene of the film, when the women get their revenge after discovering that he had been deceiving all of them.

The setting of the girlfriends' confrontation of Manolo, which occurs in the partially constructed high-rise apartment where Manolo has promised to make a home with each of the women, also carries cultural connotations. Manolo is very much a creature of the modern city. Both his business and his personal life are built upon the exploitation of vulnerable young women from the countryside who struggle to survive in the city and still value traditional ideals, such as marriage and domesticity. Thus, the sexual relationships that the women have with Manolo are not an indication of their liberal sexual values, but rather, in their attempts to please the man that they each think will become their future husband, they have all come to resemble "la sueca". Many of his girlfriends dress in revealing outfits and all of them are unknowingly engaged in uncommitted sexual relationships. In these regards, Manolo

has transformed each of them from a traditional Spanish woman into a more modern one. However, this appearance of modernity is not genuine. Their actions and dress are more of a reflection of a type of modernity that Manolo has imposed upon them and not a true indication of the women's core values, which still very much adhere to traditional conventions of gender roles and family life. When they confront Manolo in the construction site of the apartment building, they reclaim a sense of their own values and identity and vanquish the source of their immorality. The apartment building that is being built alongside hundreds of others in Madrid in this period represents the false promises of modernity and this scene combats the philosophy that replacing traditional values with modern ones will lead to prosperity. Thus, *¡Cómo está el servicio!* offers a clear criticism of the social changes that were consequences of the economic policy decisions that facilitated "el desarrollo".

The similarities and differences between Manolo's girlfriends and Vicenta highlight the struggle between urban modernity and traditional cultural values. The girlfriends came to Madrid for the same reasons as Vicenta and probably come from similar socio-economic backgrounds. Thus, they serve as an example of the person Vicenta may become if she loses her value system and conforms to the modern values that are prevalent in her new surroundings. From the first moments of the film, Vicenta is challenged and tested in her ability to both resist moral compromise and endure the difficulties of life in Madrid.

The first image of Vicenta sympathetically displays her lost and confused state after having just arrived to the big city from her rural home. Her costume in this shot is on display from head-to-toe as she is frontally displayed in a long shot with the

iconic Madrid Atocha train station behind her. This image of two symbols of Spain's past, the historic train station and the rural woman, is quickly intruded on by the realities of the modern city. Vicenta's ensemble is comprised of faded, well-worn pieces and old luggage. In contrast to the outfits worn by Manolo's girlfriends, she is much more conservatively dressed with her buttoned-up cardigan, long frumpy skirt, and the provincial scarf that covers her head. This costume marks the distinction between her traditional identity and the culture of Madrid. In the same way that Benito and Basilio were completely out of place at the beach resort, Vicenta is like a foreigner in a strange land even though she is in her own country. If Vicenta's way of life and identity are challenged, there is not sympathy to be found in bustling, forward looking Madrid.

The diminution of Vicenta's humanity is projected in this sequence when the protagonist encounters the harsh, busy city. The scene begins with a medium shot of Vicenta that displays her suitcase and rural clothing to signal to the fact that she is newly arrived in the city from a much less urban setting. This is followed by a close-up of her facial expression that reveals feelings of fear and a sense of being lost. The character is established as out-of-place in the urban environment and ill equipped to deal with her new social setting due to the growing differences between modern Spain and pastoral Spain. As she enters the crosswalk to navigate her way across the busy road in front of her, the camera angle changes from a close-up of the woman to a high angle extreme long shot. Despite being in a pedestrian crosswalk, none of the vehicles yield to Vicenta as she attempts to make her way across the street. The other individuals waiting to cross, who appear to be urbanites given their more modern

attire, seem to understand this dynamic of the traffic as they make no attempt to cross the road while there is any car in sight, which further isolates Vicenta as an uninformed outsider who is not accustomed to the social norms of Madrid. The small figure of Vicenta within the frame amongst the much larger vehicles present the impersonal nature of the city and, in particular, the drivers who are unconcerned about Vicenta's well being. The distance of the camera from the character, which prevents the viewer from seeing her face and reactions during this moment, further strips Vicenta from her identity and self-worth, two attributes she struggles to hold on to against the strong current of more modern and international influences prevalent in the modern city.

The most significant challenge to Vicenta's struggle to maintain her values and ideals comes from the increase of foreigners in her midst. Longhurst notes that, for most migrant workers, life in the city often came at the expense of sacrificing their rural roots.¹⁰⁷ The degrading treatment of the protagonist almost acts as a warning to rural workers that the city is an inhospitable place. Vicenta's experiences of rejection and alienation continue throughout the film as she encounters individuals of economic and national backgrounds that are completely unfamiliar to her. The characterization of urban settings as international, thriving centres is established through the use of foreign languages and the presence of individuals who enjoy disposable incomes and opportunities for leisure. Through Vicenta's job, *¿Cómo está el servicio!* explores the homes of wealthy madrileños who can take advantage of the cheap labour provided by domestic servants. In one of the first homes that she is

¹⁰⁷ Longhurst, "Culture and development," 19.

shown working in, Vicenta serves the Spanish wife of an American soldier who is stationed in Spain. This position of Vicenta as a servant to an American military couple on Spanish soil recalls the historical influence of the United States in the industrial development of Spain. In order to transform the predominantly agricultural economy into an industrial one in the 1950s, the Spanish state relied on loans from the United States government,¹⁰⁸ who saw Spain's anti-Communist government as a natural ally during the Cold War. In exchange for American capital, the country provided land on which the Americans could build military bases. This marked the beginning of the process through which Spain would open itself up to the outside world and allow foreigners to have a large and visible presence throughout the domestic economy and society at large.

The case of the American military bases serves as a strong example of how certain spaces within the nation were becoming less Spanish and more international; the bases acted as American enclaves in the middle of Spain. This notion of internationalized spaces within Spain is exemplified by the inside of the military wife's home, which is constructed as a visual representation of the United States' influence; the wife does her best to recreate an image of an American home through the décor that is comprised of American flags, taxidermy, and a portrait of President Lyndon B. Johnson. Furthermore, the use of the English language signifies Spain's more cosmopolitan focus. Vicenta's employer, who demands to be called 'Señora,' invites other military wives to her home to chat, drink, play cards, and plan events; during such gatherings the women converse in a mix of English and broken Spanish

¹⁰⁸ Carr, *The Spanish Civil War*, 281.

often discussing life back in the United States. Vicenta herself is expected to speak English when she answers the telephone but demonstrates her lack of knowledge of the foreign language. Her humourous and failed attempts to communicate in English further demonstrate the cultural divide between the global culture being created in major cities and in tourist zones and the pastoral rural culture.

The military wife takes pride in being able to take advantage of many opportunities that the modernization of Spain has provided her. In addition to declaring to Vicenta that she is an educated woman and extremely proud to be married to an African-American man, the film presents her as very sexualized. In addition, her profession as a prostitute clearly defines her in opposition to the notion of the “ángel del hogar”. A promiscuous woman was seen as dangerous for stepping “outside their ‘natural’ sphere” of devoted wife and mother.¹⁰⁹ When she first appears on screen, she is wearing a very short negligee. In fact, all of the outfits that she wears throughout the film are revealing. In these ways, the static and thoroughly unpleasant ‘Señora’ is characterized as having been transformed into a modern American woman, which further supports the film’s argument that foreign values are corrupting and immoral.

In contrast, Vicenta is clearly established as a model of the good, traditional Spanish woman. Throughout the film, her attire is conservative and feminine; her long skirts and long sleeve shirts or jackets prevent the character from being sexualized even in her romantic storyline. As in *El turismo es un gran invento*, foreign women and Spanish women are clearly defined as distinct and opposing.

¹⁰⁹ Grugel and Rees, *Franco's Spain*, 119.

However, in *¡Cómo está el servicio!*, there is no ambiguity regarding the moral superiority of Vicenta over her internationalized female employer. Not only does she dress provocatively, she is she rude, demanding, and condescending to Vicenta. Despite her employer's behaviour, Vicenta continues to work in her household.

While Vicenta is willing to endure mistreatment in her job, she is unwilling to compromise her morals. Upon discovering that 'Señora' works as a prostitute on weekends, Vicenta decides to leave her position. Although she is now surrounded with morally corrupt people and situations in her new location, Vicenta never allows her innocence to be challenged throughout the film. According to Triana-Toribio, pastoral Spain is marked by a "positive moral code in danger of being lost, especially in terms of gender roles".¹¹⁰ This means that, as a symbol of rural Spain, Vicenta remains something of a one-dimensional character, but one that demonstrates the appropriate values that conservative Spaniards would have envisioned for a Spanish woman.

Leaving the military wife's household allows Vicenta to attempt other assignments, which eventually leads her to become the domestic servant of Dr. Cifuentes. Unlike the previous home that she worked in, which replaced any markers of Spanish culture with Americana, the apartment of Dr. Cifuentes presents an alternative version of traditional Spanish culture to the pastoral village. The Cifuentes' are wealthy upper class Spaniards who are not recent migrants to Madrid. Thus, the mise-en-scène of their home reflects a traditional urban Spanish society. The extensive heritage of the family is made evident in the old tapestries, the ornate

¹¹⁰ Triana-Toribio, *Spanish National Cinema*, 77.

furniture, the paintings depicting historical scenes, and the heirloom silverware. This traditional space becomes a sanctuary for Vicenta after her estranging experiences in the bustling streets and while working for her previous employer. Carr and Fusi Aizpura propose that, despite their extremely different socio-economic backgrounds, wealthy Spaniards and lower class rural Spaniards shared similar social values, including a belief in traditional gender roles and family dynamics.¹¹¹ For the first time since arriving in Madrid, Vicenta finally feels comfortable and is able to thrive in her work.

Like the “parador”, Dr. Cifuentes’ apartment offers a compromise between the urban-oriented economic reality of “el desarrollo” and the conservative social values of traditional Spain. Vicenta is able to gain permanent acceptance into this world when she falls in love with and marries the son of Dr. Cifuentes, who is also a doctor. Like Vicenta, Dr. Cifuentes, Jr. is uncomfortable with urban modernity. This is reflected in the scene when the two characters go on a date to a club. The fast paced editing and tempo of this scene recalls Vicenta’s arrival in Madrid when the frantic street overwhelmed her. In club, the rock band’s exaggeratedly cacophonous tune and the performance art of people throwing paint on large sheets of paper creates a disconnect between Vicenta and Madrid. Amidst the harsh soundtrack, there is a rapid succession close-ups of paint-covered hands and various parts of musical instruments. The dynamic editing is matched by the frenetic dancing of the club-goers. In stark contrast to this lively scene is the conservative couple sitting uncomfortably united in their inability, or unwillingness, to adapt to new trends.

¹¹¹ Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi Aizpura, *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy* (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 85.

It is not until slower, more traditional music is played does she finally dance with the young doctor. Thus, not only does Vicenta reject liberal moral values, she cannot embrace any European or American influences. Through these attitudes, her character represents a reaction against social change and turns to values belonging to the era prior to “el desarrollo” to find contentment. Her personal and professional struggles are finally resolved at the end of the film when she marries the doctor, thus creating a space in the urban setting that accommodates the lifestyle she wants. Although this ending seems to provide an unrealistic conclusion, it offered an acceptable social situation to the large majority of Spaniards who still saw the home as the proper place for women.¹¹² While *¡Cómo está el servicio!* reveals some of the social problems of “el desarrollo”, these struggles are settled through a commitment to the traditional institution of marriage. Despite the critical tone of the film, this easy resolution supports the idea that the flaws of urban modernity can be alleviated through conservative values and traditions.

El turismo es un gran invento and *¡Cómo está el servicio!* both present narratives of Spanish cultural difference in the form of traditional values that are set against the strong impulse of international standardization during “el desarrollo”. Each film demonstrates the unnaturalness and un-Spanishness of the resort and the urban setting, respectively, and proposes that happiness is found in traditional ideals of the Spanish town and conservative gender roles. In *¡Cómo está el servicio!*, there is a definitive rejection of all foreign influences. However, in *El turismo es un gran*

¹¹² Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy*, 202.

invento, the tourism industry is not criticized, nor are the tourists who financed much of Spain's economic development. Rather, the "parador" is presented as a wishful alternative to the need to adapt to European customs and attitudes. In each case, these films offer an unrealistic, reactionary fantasy of Spain maintaining its cultural difference and not becoming European while still benefiting from rapid development and new wealth.

Conclusion

Though a diverse corpus of cinematic work, the cinema about “el desarrollo” presents a consistent ideological vision of conservative Spain’s ideal social reality during the 1960s. Economic growth was heralded as a great success of the Franco regime; however, Spaniards also had the responsibility to resist the temptations of modern Western society, which were the undesirable consequence of development. For each film evaluated in this thesis, it is shown that the tidy endings offer a compromise between traditional social values and economic progress. This reading of popular Spanish cinema of the 1960s confirms the widely held opinion among Spanish film scholars, which argued that these films are conservative in nature and adhere to the political and social ideologies of the state. However, this thesis has demonstrated that the pro-Francoist themes and narratives presented in the cinema about “el desarrollo” are precisely the grounds upon which this cinema should be examined. By analyzing the ideological underpinnings of these films, scholars can approach these films as historical artifacts that embody the opinions of conservative filmmakers on the period of “el desarrollo”.

This thesis situates the cinema about “el desarrollo” within a history of the Franco government’s social and political control over the country. Chapter one outlines the political and social historical scholarship that informs the context in which the cinema about “el desarrollo” was produced. In the 1940s and 1950s, the militaristic policies of the regime created a closed society in which the state used fear to enforce compliance with the non-democratic government. Meanwhile, control

over the social habits of individuals was left in the hands of the Church, who became a powerful ally in the state's attempt to create families who subscribed to traditional social values. Additionally, government propaganda, the suppression and control of media, and isolation from foreign influences furthered the Francoist objective of building a homogenous state and of gaining its support. The thesis argues that these mechanisms lost some of their relevance when the economic reforms of the late-1950s opened the nation to foreign investors and, most importantly, to tourists. The new economic model and social reality required a reorientation of how the state influenced its people.

Chapter two indicates that television and film were important tools for the Franco regime in shaping the minds and attitudes of its citizens. The analysis of *La gran familia* reveals how both of these mediums presented the social values of Catholicism and consumerism as complementary. An adherence to both of these philosophies strengthened the regime as the Church offered a measure of social control while consumer activities bolstered the developing market economy. *La gran familia* provides a strong case for the influence of the government in popular Spanish cinema, as the film received a subsidy that was obtained by including Francoist ideals within the motifs and narrative of the film.

However, even the films about “el desarrollo” that did not receive the National Interest award exhibit an ideological perspective that combines traditional values with the consumer ethics of the new economy. *El turismo es un gran invento* praises the mass tourism industry for fueling the economic boom, yet proposes that Spanish viewers can take advantage of this phenomenon while still maintaining their

old values and behaviours, rather than adopting the lifestyles of the Northern Europeans who presented new ideas and customs to the locals they interacted with in the tourist zones. Likewise, *¡Cómo está el servicio!* proffers that the physical modernization of urban spaces does not have to lead to the modernization of social and cultural values. The character of Vicenta provides an example of a new migrant to the city who successfully fights to maintain her traditional values despite the liberal influences that surround her. As in *La gran familia*, these films present social models for the possibility of moving forward economically while holding on to the values that the Francoists enforced through the Church.

This thesis confirms the socially conservative nature of the cinema about “el desarrollo”, but this represents only a first step towards how this body of films can be investigated further. The two aspects of this thesis that can be drawn upon in future analyses of popular Spanish films from the 1960s are, firstly, the intellectual relationship between the narratives of these films and the socio-economic agenda of the Franco regime during “el desarrollo” and, secondly, the moral themes that are shared across the different films. By analyzing other popular Spanish films produced in the 1960s, it is possible to expand the corpus of the cinema about “el desarrollo” beyond the three films explored in this thesis.

Further research can begin with a study of the other cinematic works by the directors of the three films investigated in this thesis, since, as the careers of each demonstrate, this group of filmmakers shared certain values and perspectives. An examination of the careers of Fernando Palacios, Mariano Ozores and Pedro Lazaga reveals that each found their greatest success working within the reactionary

comedies that emerged in the 1960s and persisted during the transition to democracy after the death of Franco.

Palacios spent much of his early career working as an assistant director. His work includes participation on the popular and critically successful film *Marcelino pan y vino* (Dir. Ladislao Vajda, 1955), which is one of the most well known examples of Spain's religious cinema. He achieved greater success as a director later in life helming popular comedies, such as two "Marisol" films, *Marisol Rumbo a Rio* (1963) and *Búsqueme a esa chica* (1964), and the first two films in the series of *La gran familia* films: *La gran familia* (1962) and *La familia y uno más* (1965). Just as he was establishing himself as a prolific and successful director of popular Spanish comedies, his career was cut short by his death at the age of 49 in 1965.¹¹³

Bernard P. E. Bentley notes that Mariano Ozores often made commentaries on contemporary social issues underneath the humourous plots of his films.¹¹⁴ In *Contemporary Spanish Cinema*, Barry Jordan and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas firmly position Mariano Ozores as a conservative filmmaker whose perspective on Spanish values and society remained steadfast after the death of Franco and well into the 1980s. Just as *¡Cómo está el servicio!* longs for the pre-"desarrollo" era, the authors claim that Ozores' later films were nostalgic for the Franco period and even anti-democratic.¹¹⁵ However, Ozores is perhaps most recognized for his role in the development of the Spanish sex comedies,¹¹⁶ which transitioned from their focus on

¹¹³ Bernard P. E. Bentley, *A Companion to Spanish Cinema* (Rochester, New York: Tamesis, 2008) 167.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 202.

¹¹⁵ Barry Jordan and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas, *Contemporary Spanish Cinema* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 65.

¹¹⁶ David Barba, *100 españoles y el sexo* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés Editores, 2009), 35.

sexually frustrated males in the final years of the dictatorship to more explicit depictions of sex in the period of transition to democracy. Throughout his long career, Ozores's work has embodied the changes in society yet maintained an ideological commitment to the patriarchal and nationalistic tendencies of Francoist Spain.

In terms of filmmakers whose careers evolved alongside the Franco regime, perhaps there is no better example than Pedro Lazaga who worked in every decade of Franco's rule, from the 1940s until his death at the end of the 1970s. Over this period, he made nearly 100 films yet, as Sally Faulkner notes, he has been insufficiently studied.¹¹⁷ However, an examination of Spanish media reveals diverging views on this prolific director. At the beginning of his career, his sporadic outputs were critically successful but failed to attract large audiences. After a period in the late-1950s of directing historical propaganda films about the Spanish Civil, he became much more productive in the 1960s after turning his attention to popular comedies.¹¹⁸ This work divided filmgoers between those who viewed Lazaga as the inventor of the Spanish comedy and those who believed his films reinforced Francoist idealizations of history and society.¹¹⁹

This thesis argues for a different perspective from which to analyze the cinema about "el desarrollo". Rather than dismissing these films for their conservative tendencies and lack of artistic merit, the value of studying popular cinema can be determined by situating the films and their themes within a larger

¹¹⁷ Faulkner, *A Cinema of Contradiction*, 49.

¹¹⁸ Augusto Martínez Torres, "Ha muerto el director de cine Pedro Lazaga", *El País*, December 1, 1979, accessed January 26, 2013.
http://elpais.com/diario/1979/12/01/cultura/312850803_850215.html.

¹¹⁹ Diego Galán, "Pedro Lazaga: la fiel infantería", *Triunfo*, December 8, 1979, 54.

cultural and historical context. In this way, the thesis shows the popular cinema was used to influence its audience to adopt values and lifestyles that supported the most powerful groups in society. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly, the analysis of popular film and film in general can reveal perspectives and ideas about a particular moment in time that are embodied in the narratives and themes of a film.

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