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Interrogating Rosa Montero's Transition to Consensus: The Literary Interview as *Lieu de Mémoire*

Adrienne D. Banko

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INTERROGATING ROSA MONTERO'S TRANSITION TO CONSENSUS:
THE LITERARY INTERVIEW AS *LIEU DE MÉMOIRE*

by

Adrienne D. Banko

Bachelor of Arts
West Chester University of Pennsylvania, 2000

Bachelor of Arts
West Chester University of Pennsylvania, 2005

Master of Arts
University of South Carolina, 2011

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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Spanish

College of Arts and Sciences

University of South Carolina

2022

Accepted by:

Maria Van Liew, Major Professor

Francisco Sanchez, Major Professor

Rebecca Janzen, Committee Member

Andrew Shifflet, Committee Member

Tracey L. Weldon, Interim Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

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DEDICATION

To my father, Stephen L. Banko, Jr. Thank you for all the tough love and sage advice over the years.

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I cannot begin to express my thanks to Dr. Maria Van Liew for stepping up and becoming my advisor. Thank you for providing me with unlimited encouragement and patience. I truly do not think this project would be finished without your dedication and help. I am forever grateful.

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ABSTRACT

Looking from our 21st century viewpoint, the collection of interviews *España para ti...para siempre* (1976) and *Cinco años de País* (1982) can be seen as artifacts of the Spanish Transition to democracy and should be regarded as collections of “places of memory.” Many scholars chronicling the Transition and its impacts have positioned Rosa Montero as a prominent feminist writer of the period. However, her journalistic writing demonstrates her mediatic role as linchpin between the social and political transitions interwoven into the foundation of Spain’s democratic emergence from Francoism. These works were published at a particular moment of consensus in Spanish history when an immense fund of memory was dismissed due to the *Pacto de Olvido*. Reading these works and seeing the accompanying portraits of popular and influential individuals from our contemporary vantage point, one can begin to interrogate the trajectory of public opinion of the Transition as a kind of ideological reckoning. Rosa Montero’s contributions in the form of these literary interviews have helped form the identity of contemporary Spain and give voice to its history of becoming.

Rosa Montero is one of the first women writers to criticize the situation of women during the Transition. She became well-known during the last years of Francoism and the beginning of the Transition, and her fame continues today. In her work, Rosa Montero is concerned with a whole range of issues relating to sexual politics and the patriarchy. She writes about a gamut of issues, including reproductive health, cultural myths, sexual

taboos, workplace discrimination, domestic violence, and traditional family structures. Nevertheless, Montero makes it clear that she does not speak for all Spanish women because she is writing from a position of privilege as an educated, white, urban, heterosexual professional.

This project is not intended to be an exhaustive study of either the Spanish Transition nor the canon of Rosa Montero, but rather an analysis of how she participates in, influences, and presents the political and social transitions in Spain since the death of Franco. I argue that the works of Rosa Montero should be considered *lieux de mémoire* that contribute to the Spanish collective memory of the Transitional period in “radical” defiance of the "grand narrative" of the Franco regime.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CiU	Convergència I Unió
ETA.....	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna
GRAPO	Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre
PCE	Partido Comunista de España
PNV.....	Partido Nacional Vasco
PP	Partido Popular
PSOE.....	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
UNESCO.....	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPE	Unión del Pueblo Español

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE PARADOX OF REMEMBERING TO FORGET

Writing is the desired
remedy and feared malady of
memory.

- Ofelia Ferrán, *Working
through Memory*

Memory, especially collective memory, is the underpinning of social cohesion, and nothing is more instrumental in the formation of collective memory than *lieux de mémoire* ("places of memory"), as coined by Pierre Nora in his book *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1984). *Lieux de mémoire* are loosely defined as items supporting cultural memories (Carrier 39). These "places" are not necessarily topographical but rather focal points of shared emotional attachment (Carrier 39). In 1993, *lieu de mémoire* was defined in the *Le Grande Robert de la langue français* as: "a significant unit, either material or ideal, which the will of the people or the effect of time have turned into a symbolic element of a given community" (qtd. in Carrier 40). As described by Nora himself, *lieux de mémoire* are cultural expressions of collective memory that can include geographical regions, monuments, commemorative ceremonies, well-known personalities, political movements, professional institutions, or social habits (Carrier 39). As such, these *Lieux* are focal points of national heritage. Nora introduced the concept to better comprehend French national identity,

believing that national identity forms itself through these places of memory, rather than through objective history (Radstone 14).

Memories are complex productions shaped by diverse narratives and genres that include absences, silences, condensations, and displacements (Radstone 11). And to sort out their significance, distinctions must be made between individual memory, collective memory, and historical memory (Davis 866). Due to these complexities, a single homogeneous process of remembering or forgetting does not exist, with the past being continually written, rewritten, revisited, and revised. Things are forgotten, misremembered, and repressed (Kuhn 184). Nonetheless, memory plays a central role in the discursive construction of identity at both individual and collective levels because it is the place, understanding and definition of experiences over time and across generations. As outsiders looking in or as people directly linked to this established “place,” memory influences our relationship to the past and how that past impacts the present. Lastly, memory is not static, and continually evolves and means different things at different times (Radstone 3).

Lieux de mémoire crystallize themselves during a historical moment seen as a turning point, where a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory *has been torn*, causing a problem with the actualization of memory (Nora 7) as a form of reality. *Les lieux* anchor, condense, and express the core of our collective memory and can be symbolic, material, or functional (19). Created by the comingling of memory and history, these *lieux* develop at the moment when an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, but their locatability survives in the form of reclaimed objects beneath the gaze of critical history (12). In this sense, they reemerge in a present moment of contemplation.

For the purposes of this project, *lieux de mémoire* from the post-Francoist years of transitional efforts (1975-1985) serve as pragmatic tools for understanding the present-day political factors of memory and for constructing a canon of items supporting contemporary "Spanish" identity (Carrier 51). According to Pierre Nora:

In the first case, we lend a voice to things which have remained silent, giving meaning and life to something, which otherwise has neither meaning, nor life. In the second case, we dispel the familiarity of something whose meaning is all too evident, and thereby restored to the original strangeness to something, which has been handed down as a ready-made legacy of the past. (Qtd. in Carrier 50)

Understanding the function of *lieux*, as Nora describes here, oscillates between an uncritical identification with them and acritical interest in their deployments in the production of contemporary memory (Radstone 15). For all *lieux*, constructing a symbolic image of 'the past' requires a simultaneous deconstruction of previous interpretations of that image (Ferrán 37). In his famous article, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de Mémoire," Nora asserts:

If we were to stress the functional element, an array of *lieux de mémoire* would display themselves, ranging from those dedicated to preserving an incommunicable experience that would disappear, along with those who share it [...] to those whose purpose is pedagogical, as the manuals, dictionaries, testaments, and memoranda drafted by heads of families in the early modern periods for the edification of their descendants. (Nora 23)

Lieux de mémoire can be spectacular and triumphant, as is the case with the young Rosa Montero's literary-journalistic efforts to crystallize a multi-vocal fleeting moment of

confluence between Francoist and post-Francoist attitudes and behaviors. In some ways, *lieux* can be places of refuge, where one finds the living heart of memory (Nora 23). No matter the circumstances, the classifications of *lieux de mémoire* can be redefined *ad infinitum*. Ultimately, Nora defines the memory fostered by *lieux* in terms of an informal relationship between the creators and users of the memories and the sentimental and ethnological interest in the creation of them (Carrier 50).

Spanish philosopher Manuel-Reyes Mate calls for the creation of *lugares de memoria* in Spain in an effort to develop an active culture of memory that would adequately confront the traumatic experiences of the Civil War and the Franco dictatorship (Ferrán 100). According to Ulrich Winter, however, there has been a certain reluctance in Spain towards the idea of *lieux de mémoire* since there has never been a favorable time to have the discussion (Winter 22-23). Studies dedicated to *lugares de memoria* in contemporary Spain point out that a modification of Nora is needed (Jünke 14). In contrast with France, Spain lacks consensus about how to narrate the collective identity of the nation: “Al contrario que en Francia, los posibles lugares de memoria españoles están atravesados por las fisuras de diversas memorias colectivas: las memorias de las «dos Españas» por un lado y por otro de las múltiples naciones e identidades culturales” ‘Contrary to France, possible places of memory in Spain are traversed by fissures of diverse collective memories: the memories of the “two Spains” on the one hand, and on the other, multiple national and cultural identities’ (my trans.; Winter 23). Rosi Song insists that in post-Franco Spain, memories are specters of the past that continue to haunt the present (Song *Translation* 18). Overall, the concept of “memory” as locatable in Spain has become a paradoxical idea. It is always present yet conspicuously absent. The “crisis of memory” in Spain confirms a

lack of connection between subjective-personal memory and the official institutional memory of the country and its History (Song *Translation* 20). Spanish author Gregorio Morán states: "Desde los primeros días de diciembre de 1975 se inicia un proceso de desmemorización colectiva. No de olvido, sino de algo más preciso y voluntario, la capacidad de desmemoriado" 'From the first days of December 1975, a process of collective dismemorialization began. Not from forgetting, but from something more precise and voluntary, the capacity to forget' (my trans.; qtd. in Ferrán 143). Nora postulates that there is a discontinuity between past and present and between memory and history in 20th century France. In contrast, the situation in Spain is characterized by a *continuity* in which memory and history co-exist, mutually influencing each other (Jünke 14, *emphasis mine*). As Claudia Jünke points out: "The tricolor flag, the French Revolution, the storming of the Bastille is situated in the distant past" and serve as *lieux de mémoire*. In contrast, she continues: "In Spain, *lugares de memoria*, like the Civil War, the death of Francisco Franco, or the Constitution of 1978 are not part of a distant past with clear separation from the present. Instead, they are part of the living memory of the Spanish people" (Jünke 14). Currently, this living memory is challenging widespread notions of the Spanish democratic transitional period as a fixed commodity¹.

Studies of the memories of the Transition have shifted focus from the political to the social, hoping to narrate the behavior, values, and belief systems of the Spanish people during this period (Song *Translation* 6). The Spanish Transition to democracy, the Spanish Civil War, and the Franco dictatorship are all inexorably linked to questionable memory,

¹ The Movida Madrileña was a hedonistic counterculture movement subsidized by the then-liberal mayor Tierno Galván that took place in Madrid during the Transition to democracy. It is known for its adoption of punk and glam rock music, sexual permissiveness, and drug use. Eventually, the movement expanded to many other cities, notably Barcelona and Bilbao.

typically the scapegoat to explain and criticize any aspect of the current political or cultural situation in Spain (Song *Translation* 22). The historical memory debate in Spain has traditionally centered on the need for a more open history, inclusive of discordant voices and memories, which acknowledges the experiences of those who suffered and perished during the Civil War and the Franco regime (Song *Translation* 7). Winter emphasizes the difference between the relatively homogeneous French national memory campaign and the heterogeneity that characterizes memory culture in Spain: "Al contrario que en Francia, los posibles lugares de memoria españoles están atravesados por las fisuras de diversas memorias colectivas: las memorias de las 'dos Españas' por un lado, y, por otro, de las múltiples naciones e identidades culturales" 'Unlike in France, the possible Spanish places of memory are crossed by the fissures of various collective memories: the memories of the "two Spains" on the one hand, and, on the other, of multiple nations and cultural identities' (my trans.; qtd. in Jünke 14). Cleavages impacting Spanish historical memory exist on two level: Pro-Franco supporters of the Civil War and dictatorship versus the defeated (but ultimately victorious?) opposition and between the Spanish nation-state and its historical communities, like Cataluña, Galicia, and El País Vasco (Jünke 14).

Inevitably, historical memory has a counterpoint that is historical forgetting. During the Transition, all political players agreed that it was best to forget the past in order to avoid its repetition. The *Pacto de Olvido*² was the choice to ignore the past and to eradicate from collective memory the atrocities committed during the Civil War and dictatorship. Due to

² The Pacto de Olvido was an informal agreement that made any treatment of the past, such as the Civil War and the Franco Dictatorship, unnecessary and unwelcome, while promoting the re-construction of more inclusive democratic institutions.

this unwritten agreement, Spain has not confronted its 20th century history to its fullest³. To deny the role war, exile, dictatorship, and repression play in the transmission and formation of memories is to ignore their omni-presence and significance. The experiences and memories of the past continually interact with the present through recollection and transmission (Song *Translation* 135). The juxtaposition of cultural artifacts relating to the increasing acknowledgement of a collective amnesia presents us with a challenging paradox of remembering to forget and forgetting to remember.

Writing is the desired remedy and the feared malady of memory (Ferrán 105). It allows for the exploration of the mysterious, chaotic, and contradictory nature of experience. However, before a memory can be written down, there needs to be a desire to remember, and not everything is worthy of remembrance. According to Nora in his original premise, it is impossible to predict what should be remembered (Nora 14), but it is a truism that memory functions in the present (Carrier 42).

The act of looking from a 21st century viewpoint bears witness to two collections of interviews, *España para ti...para siempre* (1976) and *Cinco años de País* (1982), as artifacts of the Spanish Transition to democracy, which should be regarded as *lieux de mémoire*. Rosa Montero has positioned herself as a prominent feminist writer of the period, and her journalistic writing and novels make her a linchpin between the social, cultural, and political transitions taking place. *España para ti...* and *Cinco años...* are published at particular moments in Spanish history when an immense fund of memory officially disappears due to the *Pacto de Olvido*. Looking at these works from our vantage point in

³ Only recently have certain historical figures been held accountable for atrocities, such as the exhumation of Federico García Lorca's body from a mass grave to the more recent removal of Francisco Franco from the Valley of the Fallen (built by the political prisoners in post-Civil War Spain, many of whom died during its construction).

the 21st century, one can begin to trace the trajectory of public opinion of the Transition. These works help clarify how the multi-valent identity of contemporary Spain gives life to the histories leading to it precisely agreeing to discuss it publicly.

The return of democracy in Spain meant the return of freedom of speech. A revitalization of the arts coincided with the Transition because the democratic government realized that a free media and artistic production could be used to legitimize its governance (Blanco 118). In contrast, Francoist intellectuals understood that censored culture played an important role in national unification and political pacification (Graham and Labanyi 3). However, under the dictatorship, Spanish writers and artists, regardless of their talents, lived on the margins of society and were largely ignored by the Spanish public (Montero *Political* 317). During the dictatorship writing critically was a risky proposition due to strict censorship laws. According to Montero, it is a general rule that dictatorships lower the cultural levels of a country, especially in literature, because authoritarian regimes regularly discourage readership (Montero *Political* 317). The allegiance between Francoism and the Catholic Church stifled and suppressed artistic innovation and free thought of any kind. Under the Franco regime, traditional folklore and rural imagery was promoted, depriving many young intellectuals and youth-inspired cultural movements the space in which to grow (Graham and Labanyi 17).

During the Transition and under democracy, there was a "boom" of new writers. Each writer had his or her own personal style and according to Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi: "All cultural forms - whether lived practices or artifacts and performances - have an underlying narrative: culture can be defined as the stories people tell each other to explain what and where they are that culture is a site of power that is always negotiated

and contested" (Graham and Labanyi 5). It was during these "boom" years that literature gained prestige and became an influential form of public discourse (Blanco 118). By Rosa Montero's assessment:

Lo que pasa es que, el efecto en cuanto a después de Franco, después de la censura, puede haber una explosión literaria, no sólo de mujeres, sino de hombres, de todo tipo, un renacimiento literario, pues, eso no se da, porque son cuarenta años de censura y de autocensura, cuarenta años de embrutecimiento, y entonces la recuperación es lenta.

What happens is that the after Franco effect, after the censorship, there could be a "literary boom," not only of women but of men of all types, a literary renaissance. Well, that does not happen, because after forty years of censorship and self-censorship, forty years of brutalization, recovery will be slow. (My trans.; qtd. in Talbot 91)

Discrimination against women was rampant under Francisco Franco up until his death in 1975, leaving literature as perhaps the only vehicle of expression for women (Manteiga *Dilemma* 113). Such discriminatory practices did not disappear overnight, and women were not necessarily welcome participants in the Transition and continued to struggle with their conventional reality. While speaking with Lynn Talbot, Montero argues: "Una de las grandes búsquedas que tenemos las escritoras por delante es reconstruir o construir nuestros propios mitos literarios. Estamos utilizando en la literatura los mitos y los fantasmas de los hombres" 'One of the greatest quests that we [women] writers have ahead of us is to reconstruct or build our own literary myths. We are using the myths and ghosts of men in literature' (my trans.; qtd. in Talbot 93).

Rosa Montero is one of the first women writers to criticize the situation of women during the Transition. She became well-known during the last years of Francoism and the beginning of the Transition, and her fame continues today. Montero was born in the Madrid neighborhood of Cuatro Caminos on January 3, 1951. She studied psychology at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, but gradually became disillusioned with her chosen field. Eventually, she abandoned her studies in her fourth year. After leaving the Complutense, she enrolled in the Escuela Oficial de Periodismo and graduated in 1969, thus beginning her career in journalism (Brown *Journalist* 240).

At the start of her career, Rosa Montero wrote for diverse publications, such as *Boletín interno de Butano*, *Fotogramas*, *Hermano Lobo*, and *El País* (Amell *Odyssey* XV), and continues her career today of some forty-six years at *El País* as a columnist. In fact, Montero was the first woman to become editor-in-chief of the Sunday *El País* supplement, which made her the first woman to edit a newspaper section other than the society page (Myers 99). In addition to journalism, Montero has engaged in what she terms "other literary activities," such as working briefly in independent theater, writing a foreword for the 1982 Círculo de Lectores edition of *Anna Karenina*, translating, and writing a thirteen-episode television series (Brown *Journalist* 241). Rosa Montero has been a visiting professor at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, in addition to giving numerous lectures and readings at a number of universities and cultural institutions around the world (Brown *Journalist* 241).

In her work, Rosa Montero is concerned with a range of issues relating to sexual politics and the patriarchy, including reproductive health, cultural myths, sexual taboos, workplace discrimination, domestic violence, and traditional family structures.

Nevertheless, Montero makes it clear that she does not speak for all Spanish women, and is writing from the position of an educated, white, urban, heterosexual professional (Knights 223).

HISTORY IN THE MAKING: NEW POWER

Almost a half century ago, Spain was still ruled by a conservative dictatorship led by Francisco Franco, that caused the country to fall out of step with and remain isolated from the rest of Western Europe and its post-World War II democratic economies. Upon the death of Franco in 1975, Spain experienced rapid social, political, and economic changes. For Spain, the 20th century experience is a history of the struggle between liberal/conservative and modern/traditional, which is epitomized by the long-discussed discourse of *las dos Españas*. The concept of *las dos Españas* assumes that there is a persistent political and ideological struggle between the conservative, traditional right and the liberal, modern left. The division between the *dos Españas* culminated with the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the installation of Francisco Franco and his authoritarian regime that lasted until the death of Franco and Francoism⁴.

The Spanish democratic experiment actually began early in the 20th century, with the installation of the Second Republic in 1931. Spain instituted a new anti-monarchic democratic regime at a time when many European countries turned to authoritarianism. Prior to the Second Republic (1931-1939), Spain experienced accelerated economic growth and modernization, which was followed by rising expectations for improved conditions for all Spanish citizens (Payne *Franco* 3). From this prosperity, the Second Spanish Republic was born. However, the call for democracy was not based solely on this

⁴ There exists to this day a Spanish citizenry committed to Francoist ideals, but they are a minority.

prosperity. It was also the product of a long-term political crisis involving a corrupt monarchy, sudden world depression, and an intellectual renaissance (Jackson 3).

The Borbón Monarchy lost its authority and popularity with many segments of the Spanish population. According to historian Gabriel Jackson, one of the most dignified moments of the reign of King Alfonso XIII was the decision to leave Spain quietly and quickly in 1931, allowing the Second Republic to be proclaimed in the streets of Madrid in April of the same year (Jackson 7). During its eight-year span, the Republic experienced regular power shifts between the Right and the Left. Initially, the Left was in power and middle-class liberals and moderate socialists dominated the government and its policies, unpopular with more traditional-minded Spaniards. Almost immediately, they implemented broad-ranging social reforms. For example, they executed radical land reform policies, attempted educational reform, reduced the size of the army, and passed anti-Church legislation. The conservatives on the Right viewed these measures as an attack on their way of life. With their interests and ideals threatened thus, the landed aristocracy, the Church, the military, the monarchists, and northern Carlists conspired with the Falange⁵ to rally against the government.

The Constitution of 1931 established freedom of speech and freedom of association, allowed for divorce, removed special legal status for nobility, eliminated preferential treatment for the Catholic Church, including the banning of Jesuits from education, and nationalized public services, land, banks, and railways. The Constitution of 1931 also granted regional autonomy to Cataluña and the País Vasco. In 1933, suffrage

⁵ The Falange was an extreme nationalist political group founded in Spain in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera. The group was inspired by Italian fascism and called for a strong government and military, in addition to Spanish imperialist expansion.

was extended to women. However, these initial idealistic "bourgeois" reforms failed to satisfy the left-wing radicals and did little to improve the conditions of the lower classes.

As a reaction to these sweeping and controversial reforms, the Right gained a majority in the 1933 general elections and a series of weak coalition governments followed with one objective: eliminate the leftist reforms. However, in February of 1936, the Frente Popular⁶ regained power. This party, comprised of a coalition of liberals, socialists, and communists, continued implementing reforms solidifying the anger of the Right and becoming a harbinger for revolt.

On July 18, 1936, Republican resistance to a military uprising against the elected government, led by General Francisco Franco, plunged Spain into civil war between the *nacionalistas* and the *republicanos*. The Spanish Civil War was an uneven struggle with the Republic receiving little international support. Democratic countries, such as France and the United Kingdom, stood by idly. Initially, the Soviet Union provided much needed logistical aid to the *republicanos* until 1938, when it abruptly withdrew its support. Without the support of the richer industrial regions of El País Vasco and Cataluña, the Republic would have been doomed. These regions were strategically vital, but their support was limited (Ross 3).

The violent civil war raged for three years with the conservative *nacionalistas* receiving considerable supplies and manpower from fascist Italy and Germany. With this foreign support backing Franco's army and the aid of powerful Spanish conservatives, the *nacionalistas* forced the *republicanos* to surrender on April 1, 1939.

⁶ The Frente Popular was an electoral alliance of left-wing political organizations incited by Manuel Azaña to contest the elections of 1936.

Franco was a practicing Catholic seeking to restore traditional Catholic cultural institutions and practices in Spain as soon as possible. His foreign policy was strongly imperialistic and championed the importance of retaining the remaining colonies of the Spanish Empire. Domestically, Franco adopted a traditional social structure, while recognizing the need to expand the middle classes and to create a more proficient workforce through modern economic development (Payne *Franco* 11). In order to achieve these domestic and economic goals, Franco established a nationalist and corporative regime designed to foster industry and technology, while simultaneously maintaining a traditional hierarchical social system. Much can be said about Francisco Franco, but from the 1920s until his death, he held firmly to his convictions with relatively little change or modification (Payne *Franco* 11).

According to historian, Stanley Payne, the beginning of the Franco regime can be compared to that of the communist regimes in Russia and Yugoslavia, rather than the introduction of fascist rule in Italy or the Nazi regime in Germany (Payne *Franco* 17), which is paradoxical and ironic because Franco harbored a fierce hatred for communists, blaming them for all the maladies Spain experienced. Initially, Franco toyed with various forms of authoritarianism and considered Portugal as a possible model. The Estado Novo was a semi-corporative, rightist, authoritarian republic, but in contrast to the conservative ideas of Franco, the Portuguese model was considered too liberal (Payne *Franco* 11).

One word sums up the Franco dictatorship: pragmatic. Franco ruled Spain for so long that his regime went through many phases and changes, so his pragmatism is often confused with a lack of political convictions. However, Franco was astute enough to know that he needed to change course according to circumstance. In order to do so, Franco

needed to establish control through repression and fear. The harshest period of repression was 1939-1941, when the most Republican dissidents and sympathizers were prosecuted by military tribunals (Payne *Franco* 17). During this period, the legacy of the civil war was eradicated via repression, punishment, and vanquishing. Franco legitimized his rule with a law passed on January 30, 1928, declaring: "the Chief of State possesses supreme power to dictate norms of a general nature" (Payne *Franco* 15). In other words, Franco gave himself the power to govern personally and directly, bearing similarity to the upsurge in authoritarian tactics around the world today.

The initial closeness of Spain with the fascist powers in Germany and Italy led to international isolation after the Spanish Civil War and the Axis defeat in World War II. Ultimately, Spain was excluded from the Marshall Plan and its American-funded economic aid, which triggered recovery in the rest of Europe. By the virtue of necessity, Franco proclaimed an economic autarky that included self-imposed restrictions on the movement of people and goods across borders (Ross 4). As long as Franco remained in power, Spain remained isolated and was denied full incorporation into most international organizations. Spain did not become a member of the European Community, predecessor to the European Union, until 1986 (Richards 41).

The isolationist tendencies of Franco and his unwillingness to incorporate Spain into Europe proved to be economically disastrous by the mid-1950s. Spain was nearly bankrupt and living standards remained perilously low. Thus, Franco began to include *tecnócratas*⁷ into his government to improve the Spanish situation. These technical experts

⁷ Tecnócrata or technocrat is a professional specializing in any economic or administrative matter, who in the performance of public office, applies effective measures that pursue social welfare regardless of ideological considerations.

consisted mainly of lawyers and economists drawn from the conservative Catholic group Opus Dei⁸ (Ross 4). By choosing members of Opus Dei over those connected to the Falange, Franco demonstrated a shift in his thinking and began moving away from his negative fascist image. During the 1950s, isolation eased a bit. During this time, Spain signed an agreement with the United States to allow American military bases on Spanish soil. The *tecnócratas* introduced foreign trade, increased foreign tourism, boosted foreign investment, and allowed Spaniards to leave the country in search of employment (Ross 4).

The 1960s witnessed a drastic transformation in Spanish society. Spanish social classes became less rigid, and a new urban middle-class developed. Madrid was no longer considered the center of the Spanish universe (Pope 133). Socioeconomic modernization occurred and included such items as economic growth, expansion of education, and an opening to foreign influences that would ultimately help pave the way for political change after the death of Franco (Colomer 11). The reforms of the 1960s resulted in a prolonged period of economic expansion that lasted until 1974. However, this prosperity, in addition to continued repression, stifled any political opposition to the regime, which remained in exile or silenced until the *apertura*, or opening, of the post-Franco period.

During his first two decades in power, Franco used unrelenting violence in defense of Spanish unity and to create his vision of the Spanish nation. For Franco, the Second Republic destroyed the glory of Spain by forming the political parties deemed abhorrent actors of the period. For Franco, they were responsible for the polarization that had caused the Civil War. Thus, the Civil War was promoted as a religious "crusade" in the tradition

⁸ Opus Dei or the Prelature of the Holy Cross and Opus Dei is a Roman Catholic lay organization, whose members seek personal Christian perfection. It accepts the authority of the Church without questions and has been accused of cultlike practices and political ambition.

of the medieval Catholic Crusades. This rhetoric helped legitimize the military coup and the *nacionalista* victory. Nostalgia was the primary tool of propaganda that had highlighted and glorified the Reconquista (achieved symbolically and definitively in 1492), the "discovery" of the New World, and the rise of the Spanish Empire (Morcillo Gómez 52). The nostalgic Francoist rhetoric of a Catholic Spain full of glory validated the decision-making, laws, and political apparatus of the regime, which was out of step with the post-World War II Europe under reconstruction.

Essential to this rhetoric was the dichotomous narrative of the *dos Españas* modified to include a supposed opposition between the "true Spain" and the "anti-Spain." The "true Spain" consisted of Franco and his supporters, while the "anti-Spain" was everyone else, including communists, atheists, and *republicanos* (Jünke 8). Also forming part of the "anti-Spain" were the more industrial and more liberal localities on the coast, such as Barcelona, Valencia, Bilbao, and Málaga. These communities were considered heterodox and dangerous (Richards 39). The regions of Cataluña and País Vasco experienced a tremendous amount of discrimination because Franco viewed them as internal enemies. Thus, the regime attempted to stamp out their culture, identities, and distinct nationalisms. The País Vasco, in contrast with Cataluña, experienced a more militant reaction against the dictatorship with the formation of ETA⁹ (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) transforming Basque nationalism into a major and often violent political force (Ross 5).

Francoist ideology centered on the promotion of a singular language, history, and religion promoted through triumphalist rhetoric, propaganda, censorship, oppression, and

⁹ ETA or Euskadi Ta Askatasuna is a Basque separatist organization that used terrorism in its campaign for an independent Basque state.

violence. The suppression of the public sphere, paired with praise of the private sphere, linked the idea of private life, home, and family to the dictatorship (Radcliff 506). Family and its hierarchical structure were central to Francoism and contributed to the institutionalized sexism experienced by women as "part of their patriotic duty" (Agawu-Kakraba 67). Women were excluded from the workforce and preparing them for motherhood became a fundamental tenet of Francoism, which impacted and delayed the liberation of women for decades (Davies 15). The most important social institution for women in Francoist Spain was the Sección Femenina¹⁰, founded by the Falange in 1934 and directed by Pilar Primo de Rivera (Montero Rodríguez 42). Through the Sección Femenina, women were obligated to complete six months of social service that in reality served as nothing more than training for motherhood. Under Francoism, men were to be soldiers, scholars, or clerics, while women were to be wives and mothers. Hence, socialization and education occurred in different spheres that only converged with marriage and children because the traditional family was expected to serve the Church and build the nation¹¹.

The Francoist vision of Spain acknowledged the many heroic virtues of the Spanish people. However, the official discourse repeated ad nauseum the inability of Spaniards to live under a democratic regime without violence. "Los demonios familiares" 'the familiar demons' as Franco referred to the Spanish people, had uncontrollable passion, a tendency toward political fragmentation, and were unable to take criticism (my trans.; Aguilar and

¹⁰ The Sección Femenina is the female branch of the Falange and was one of the most highly organized groups for women in Spain. Its activities were based on highly conservative perceptions of the appropriate division of gender roles.

¹¹ With the onset of Spain as a popular tourist attraction, by the 1960s other modes of behavior and fashion began to infiltrate the country challenging the traditional beliefs of the Franco regime.

Humblebaek 151). Hence, Franco needed to have a plan that preserved authoritarian rule after his death. His plan centered on restoring the monarchy. The heir to the Spanish throne was Juan de Borbón, the son of King Alfonso XVIII, who did not appeal to Franco. As a solution, Franco chose the son of Juan, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, whom Franco carefully groomed to be head of state (Ross 5). Even though Juan Carlos would be king, the government machinery would remain firmly in the hands of loyal Francoists led by Luis Carrero Blanco. Francisco Franco was so confident in his arrangements and the survival of his regime that he famously asserted that matters were "atado y bien atado" 'tied and well tied' (my trans.; Ross 5). No one could have guessed that in 1973, ETA would blow up the car carrying Carrero Blanco, the only man Franco trusted with the office of Prime Minister. Thus, the plan to continue authoritarian rule was shattered. Today, historians and political scientists doubt the plan would have come to fruition had Carrero Blanco survived. Like many dictators before him, Franco mistook acquiescence with his repressive regime for full-hearted support (Ross 5).

When Francisco Franco died on November 20, 1975, the authoritarian political structure was still intact, but for how long? Spain was left with a legacy of repression, systematic discrimination, and violence. The death of Franco released built up tensions, and the continuation of a dictatorship became unthinkable (Ross 5). However, no single group could act individually to change the system or impose their preferred form of government (Colomer 14). Hence, consensus became the goal.

Governmental transitions allow for reassessment. In 1975, the challenge Spaniards faced was the total transformation and reinvention of Spain as a nation, with the goal of avoiding political polarization, radicalization, and violence, which occurred in the 1930s

with the Second Republic and the descent into civil war. Consequently, fear was an omnipresent feature of the Transition. There was the fear of another right-wing coup, fear of another civil war, and fear that democratization would be too controversial. The overwhelming fear led Spaniards to prioritize peace, order, and stability over justice (Davis 864).

After the death of Franco, there was a certain realist conviction that the old system would not function in the future and that its usefulness had expired (Bregolat 151). Hence, the four phases of normalization began, which included the change of a political system, legal change via a new constitution, generational change, and economic change (Montero *Political* 316). During the first phase, Franco loyalists wanted to continue with the same political system in place. In contrast, the opposition hoped for a clean break with the past. Both sides agreed that all efforts should be focused on consensus and preventing repetition of past errors (Aguilar 98). Consensus and negotiation, which had been absent during the Second Republic, became essential to the Transition, causing the process to be gradual rather than a radical break with the past.

The most outspoken participants of the Transition were the *aperturistas*, communists, and socialists. The *aperturistas* were an unorganized group that did not initially agree to a political change. Eventually, they realized that some form of democracy was necessary, but still remained loyal to the past (Ross 6). The socialists and the communists expected institutional reform to be accompanied by radical social and economic changes, and for many, their demands were loathsome (Ross 6). As Spanish historian Santos Juliá states: "The end of Francoism was not followed by the best of all possible worlds, but by a political system under siege from many powerful enemies" (qtd.

in León Solís 208). Some of those powerful enemies were the newly legalized political parties and trade unions. Many feared that the parties and unions would use their recently acquired freedom negatively to impact both the economy and the Transition (Bregolat 153). The hope was that the parties and unions would put the interests of the country ahead of their own. Without cooperation, the ratification of a new constitution and the consolidation of democracy would not be possible (Bregolat 154).

In theory, consensus produced many workable compromises, but it did not guarantee political stability (Radcliff 504), especially with the growing demands of the regional nationalist political parties. Spain was being devastated by left-wing and right-wing violence, and in particular Basque terrorism (León Solís 208). The Transition did not occur in a vacuum and the terrorist acts, worker strikes, and political demonstrations considerably impacted the agendas of the political elites (Song *Translation* 10). The radical Basque separatists and the extreme leftist parties both rejected the idea of reform as a path to democracy (Davis 866). Hence, the Spanish Transition to democracy was not the peaceful, idyllic process presented by many political scientists and historians today.

The entire transitional process included legalizing political parties, conducting free elections, creating an economic reform package, and ratifying a new constitution (Bregolat 151). The Constitution of 1978 was a historic step of the Transition and continues to be decisive in the coexistence of the national regions' contradicting viewpoints (Ben Ami 56). The new constitution provided for basic political and civil rights, which Francoism suppressed. For example, the Constitution provided for universal suffrage, freedom of speech, the right to association, the right to strike, and the formation of political parties. These fundamental rights promoted a new democratic citizenry (Radcliff 504). The

Constitution not only added rights, but simultaneously repealed many of the discriminatory Francoist edicts, including the legislation dealing with the social and political roles of women. The new constitution promised equal political, civil, and social rights. However, the emerging discourse on women was full of contradictions and conflicts. Under Francoism, women had a clear and well-articulated role as *ama de casa* (Radcliff 519). The Constitution of 1978 was negotiated through an exchange of votes and was finally ratified with ample consensus in December of that year (Colomer 16). Nevertheless, the ratification did not alleviate fears of violence or possible retaliation. Conservative military leaders who felt marginalized by the new document accused centrist Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez of treason and began to conspire with reactionary groups to organize a military coup (Colomer 16).

Eventually, a coup did occur on February 23, 1981, and failed after only seventeen hours. Also known as *el Tejerazo*, the coup was the result of a power struggle between democratic and anti-democratic interests, which were bound to consensus and reconciliation during the Transition (Jünke 9). At 6:20pm, Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina and 200 members of the Guardia Civil stormed the Cortes. At 1:15am the following day, King Juan Carlos I appeared on national television to reassure Spaniards that the crown would not tolerate any attacks on the democratic process (León Solís 209). With his speech, the King became a fundamental political symbol of the Transition (Bregolat 150). For Spanish essayist Ricardo García Cárcel, the failed coup attempt "has remained in the collective imagination of Spaniards [...] as the most transcendental day of our generation, the one in which our history could have changed" (qtd. in León Solís 221). Had *el Tejerazo* succeeded, Spanish history would have taken a turn toward the past. However, the failed

attempt demonstrated that the majority of the army supported the King and the Constitution, and a return to authoritarianism was unthinkable (Bregolat 154). February 23, 1981, has different meanings, connotations, and messages in Spanish collective memory. It is a reminder of the monarchical tradition and the Second Republic, in addition to acknowledging the new Constitutional-Monarchy in a nation which now included the once excluded national regions and new, younger political players.

The failed coup attempt provided a major victory for Spanish democracy. However, according to historian Shlomo Ben-Ami: "Una democracia puede considerarse consolidada cuando desaparece el temor a que alguno de los cuerpos o de las instituciones pretendan desafiar arbitrariamente las reglas del juego democrático" 'A democracy can be considered consolidated when the fear disappears of some institution trying to arbitrarily challenge the rules of the democratic game' (my trans.; Ben-Ami 55). The end of the "juego democrático" 'democratic game' (my trans.) came with the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)¹² victory in general elections in October of 1982. For the first time in Spanish history, one freely elected government was replaced by another of a different political persuasion without any significant challenging of legitimacy (Ross 9). The young Andalusian Felipe González came to power with an atmosphere of almost complete democratic "normalcy."

Although the Transition is remembered as *the* peaceful transition *par excellence*, more than 460 politically motivated deaths were registered from 1975 to 1980 with approximately 400 people dying in left-wing and right-wing terrorist acts (Aguilar 97). The success of the Spanish transition is indebted to the profound sociopolitical changes of the 1960s and the willingness to negotiate and compromise of the political elites (Radcliff

¹² PSOE or Partido Socialista Obrero Español was founded clandestinely in Madrid in 1879 and was one of the first European Socialist parties looking to protect the interests of the newly formed working class.

500). The interviews conducted with many of these political and popular figures are what Rosa Montero offers a newly minted democratic Spanish citizenry with the intention, perhaps, of inspiring an increasing Spanish readership.

This project is not intended to be an exhaustive study of either the Transition nor the canon of Montero, but rather an analysis of how she participates in, influences, and presents the political and social transitions in Spain just after the death of Franco. I argue that the early journalistic works of Rosa Montero can be considered *lieux de mémoire* that contribute to the Spanish collective memory of the Transitional period, while destroying the "grand narrative" of the Franco regime. In a sense, the suspicion captured in her two collections of interviews conducted during the post-Franco period encapsulate the reconfigurations of a future present in the historical present. Chapter two examines the role of the press during the Franco dictatorship and the Transition to democracy. I will discuss the "boom" of newspapers during the Transition with a special focus on *El País*. The role of "new" journalists will also be mentioned, leading into an introduction of Rosa Montero. Chapter three builds on the initial introduction of Montero with an analysis of her interview style and techniques. The interviews of *España para ti...para siempre* (1976) are analyzed. Also in Chapter three, I will argue that the interviews should be considered *lieux de mémoire* because of their documenting and archiving characteristics. Chapter four focuses on the collection of interviews *Cinco años de País* (1982), especially the methodology of Montero and her changing attitude towards interviews. The role of interviews as popular culture, the mediatization of the press, and the influence of the press on historic memory are discussed. Chapter five centers on photography and the photographic portraits that accompany the interviews in each collection. The chapter begins with discussion of Rosa

Montero as an "influencer" during the Transition and the role of the visual presenting a "new" image of popular and political figures. Lastly, chapter six is the conclusion, where I connect the generation of Rosa Montero to that of the generation born pre-September 11, 2001. Each generation experienced anxiety and anger at the previous generation. However, generation gaps are not necessarily a bad thing. I examine the interviews as an interrogation of reality written in "real time" that ultimately forms individual and collective memory and a *lieux de mémoire* that serves as a looking glass through which we can cock an ironic eye to memories of the Francoist past. As such, these transitional period interviews look towards a more "radical" future-present for Spain in a global context.

CHAPTER 2

THE SPANISH PRESS: IMPRESSIONS AND PRESSURES

Political culture is
unrelenting and oftentimes
political players are viewed as
satirized...caricatures of
themselves

- Francesc Martínez Gallego
et al. "Cultura profesionales
del periodismo político en
España"

Working under pre-1960s Francoism, Spanish journalists were expected to serve the regime and the public by helping to form public opinion. Anyone working in the media was expected to avoid sensationalist news which could possibly incite the public, nor were they "to distort" the news (i.e., deviate from official discourse). Rather, they were to maintain "the moral high ground," while also exalting the traditions and customs of the Catholic regime (Castro Torres 53). Under the La Ley de Prensa e Imprenta, the press "debe evitar las noticias que puedan suponer apologia o sensacionalismo de hechos delictivos o que vayan en contra de la moral y las buenas costumbres" 'was expected to reject the pressures that could alter their reporting or jeopardize their impartiality or goes against Good morals and customs' (my trans.; Castro Torres 53). The expectations of the regime were clearly outlined during the first two decades of dictatorial rule, but that did not stop

some publications and journalists from demanding freedom and making themselves the defenders of democratic values (59). These journalists and publications faced enormous consequences in the form of suspensions, closings, trials, fines, and disqualifications (Castro Torres 59). Such harsh treatment of pre-democratic journalists paved the way for "good relationships" developing between opposition politicians and "democratic" journalists later on during transitional developments (59).

Under Francoism, all public criticism of the regime was illegal. Nonetheless, criticism was published in underground, clandestine publications (Guillamet and Salgado "Introducción"). Until the 1960s, only official political communication was allowed and carried out by the one official political party and other permissible institutions (Martínez-Nicolás and Humanes 48), while thereafter, big transformations in the public sphere took place and Spanish citizens began to favor mass communication outlets as a means of staying informed. La Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 1966 coupled with newspapers and magazines eager to push the boundaries of this new law represented an important step in the evolution of reporting and the press (Zugasti *Franquismo* 44). According to Carmen Torres Castro, Manuel Fraga e Iribarne, who was the Minister of Tourism and Information at the time "se va a encontrar con dos presiones difícilmente conciliables: [...] los grupos periodísticos que luchaban por la plena aplicación de la ley y [...] los sectores más inmovilistas de Régimen que pedía una política férrea para entrar que la situación se les fuera de las manos" '[Fraga] is caught between two different points of view that are difficult to reconcile: [...] the journalistic groups fighting for full application of the law and [...] the most staunch sectors of the regime that demanded an ironclad policy to get the situation out of their hands' (my trans.; Castro Torres 42). By presenting the appearance of freedom,

the Franco regime was trying to reform itself from the inside out. However, for the press, the La Ley de Prensa offered an authentic change that ultimately allowed the press to play an important role during the Transition (Castro Torres 44).

In the 1960s, a radical change in the communication ecosystem allowed television to replace the printed press as the main source of information (Martínez-Nicolas and Humanes 48). During this period, television, in addition to the printed press, gained in influencing values, promoting beliefs, causing pleasure, and in many ways defining representation (During 66). For the politicians of this period, professional success required mastering television appearances as a means of influence and sustaining popularity (48). Although La Ley de Prensa liberated some aspects of the press, the most important liberalization did not come until a democratic decree on April 1, 1977, which removed the most punitive articles of La Ley de Prensa e Imprenta (Zugasti *Franquismo* 44).

On July 9th, 1974, Franco entered the hospital with phlebitis or inflammation of the veins. The Caudillo's hospitalization, along with the division among the various factions of the regime, gave the leftist opposition a chance to unify (Castro Torres 155). Francisco Franco passed away on November 20, 1975, and Juan Carlos de Borbón was proclaimed king on November 22, 1975. Following these events, all of the daily papers presented a mostly positive image of Franco and his regime (Zugasti *Franquismo* 46). However, behind this "approval" for the deceased leader and his government, Franco and *franquismo* were present, too, in the editorial pages and appeared regularly in articles expressing distinct views during the first years of the Transition (Zugasti *Franquismo* 52). Many believed that the institutions of the dictatorship would remain intact and survive the death of the Caudillo, while others feared there would be a new civil war (Guillamet and

Salgado "Introducción"). The press, in general, experienced a new phase of hope from 1976 forward (Castro Torres 208).

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE LANGUAGE OF DEMOCRATIC JOURNALISM

Throughout the Transition, the written press shared influence with other forms of mass communication, such as radio, movies, and television, but it is impossible to negate the influence of the written press during this period (Castro Torres 25) because radio and television remained more controlled and regulated than the press (Guillamet and Salgado "Introduction"). The editorials in the daily newspapers reported on the final moments of Francoism, while also offering a "new" vision of the future of Spain (Castro Torres 180). Before the official Transition to democracy began, however, a stage of "pre-Transition" occurred during which the press chided the regime and forced it to respond to criticism and to dialogue with the press (190). As a result, an important change occurred in journalistic language. The press no longer used coded or cryptic diction. Reporting became more direct with frequent references to the dictatorship (190). According to Spanish historian and journalist Mercedes Montero: the press "por una parte, desempeñaron el rol tradicional que hasta entonces les había sido vedado: mediadores entre políticos y la ciudadanía, el papel clásico de representante de la opinión pública antes de las instituciones" 'to some extent, they played the traditional role that until then had been forbidden: mediators between politicians and citizens, or the classic role of representative of public opinion confronted by the institutions' (my trans.; Montero et al. 294). It was amid this "pre-Transition" period that the press acted like the true guardian of change with a courageous and determined attitude imbued with democratic ideas. A less mediated press reported on the politics as well as the social situation and other "problems" at the time of the country (Castro Torres

190). The press offered a space for public debates and distinct opinions in the absence of a truly representative government, thus garnering the nickname "parlamento de papel"¹³ (180). The role of the press during the Transition would not have had such influence if not for the prior experience of severe censorship and confrontation with the regime (24).

In general, the role of journalism in political transitions is risky and complex and varies from country to country (Guillamet and Salgado "Introducción"). Throughout the Transition, the press continued to provide a forum for public and political debate (Zugasti *Franquismo* 43). The Transition was a complicated period with former members of the defunct regime keeping a watchful eye on the press. The *franquistas* did not want the press to break with the Francoist system of control and manipulation by the government without the ability to exercise true journalistic freedom (Hernández Márquez 16). Nonetheless, freedom of speech prevailed and many Francoists, like the soon to be elected Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez (1978-1982), would participate in restructuring national governance.

At the beginning of the Transition, the "old guard" newspapers failed to judge Francoism "too harshly" and thereby lost credibility. The established newspapers saw the bigger picture, which included peace and economic development as major priorities (Montero et al. 296). Throughout the Transition, pre-existing newspapers had to adapt or embrace change, and there was a "boom" of new newspapers with a number of editors and journalists willing to take greater risks (Guillamet and Salgado "Introduction"). The daily press became a political force to be reckoned with during the Transition: "su capacidad de

¹³ The press was in dialogue with diverse opinions before the Spanish constitutional monarchy was ratified in 1978, thus the term "paper parliament" refers to the influential powers of the printed press at the time.

penetración y de resonancia en la opinión ciudadana, y su influencia en las capas altas de la política, la sociedad, la economía y la cultura, que habitualmente presentan un mayor protagonismo decisorio en la vida pública" 'its ability to penetrate and resonate with public opinion, and its influence on the upper layers of politics, society, the economy, and culture, which usually has a greater decisive role in public life' (my trans.; Zugasti *Franquismo* 43). The press introduced new values, such as civil liberties, amnesty, regional autonomy, free elections, consensus, reconciliation, harmony, and co-existence to the Spanish public (Montero et al. 296). The press also introduced new political players, new political parties, and new unions (296). Not surprisingly, a close relationship between politicians and journalists developed (Seoane and Sueiro 125). As such, the Spanish press sought consensus during the Transition (Montero et al. 296), intervening in and influencing the daily press to help reach consensus (294).

For the first time since the Second Republic (1931-1939), Spain was experiencing "la cultura política participativa," 'participatory political culture' which allows citizens to participate in governing and decision making (my trans.; Guillaumet and Salgado "Introduction"). Although the leftist political opposition held a tremendous amount of sway during the transitional process, it was not strong enough, nor did it have a concrete plan of action to institute a total rupture with Francoism (Hernández Márquez 17). Transitional Spain continued to have a multitude of voices and opinions highlighted in the newspapers of the time. The *falangistas* had the newspaper *Arriba*. The *sindicalistas* read the newspaper *Pueblo*. The Christian *conservadores* favored *ABC*. The Christian *demócratos* preferred *Ya*, and the *centristas* and *sociodemocratas* favored *Madrid*.

THE BIRTH OF *EL PAÍS*

Freedom of the press was officially granted with the Constitution of 1978, whose Article 20 states: "todo español tiene el derecho a comunicar o recibir libremente información veraz, por cualquier medio de difusión" 'Every Spaniard has the right to freely communicate or receive truthful information by any means of broadcasting' (my trans.; qtd. in Zugasti *Franquismo* 44). Interestingly, the newly minted Spanish Constitution of 1978 was received less enthusiastically at the polls than La Ley para la Reforma Política (the Law of Political Reform). The hopes and expectations for democratization were so great that even minor setbacks compounded and led to a feeling of *desencanto* or disenchantment among the general public (Castro Torres 325). Nonetheless, although the new Constitution remains imperfect, it maintains great historical significance because it is the first Spanish constitution written through a process of consensus among political parties (325). Article 20 expands on freedom of expression with section 1.d, which states: "La ley regular el derecho a la cláusula de conciencia al secreto profesional en el ejercicio de estas libertades" 'the law regulates everything from the right-to-know to professional secrecy in relation to these freedoms' (my trans.; qtd in Castro Torres 337). Protection provided by the Constitution allowed for what José Carlos Arévalo y Miguel Bayón called "El nuevo boom de la prensa española" 'The new boom of Spanish press' (my trans.; qtd in Seoane and Sueiro *País* 71).

Throughout the period of the Transition, several new newspapers were created, but one giant obstacle was in the way of absolute freedom of expression. That obstacle was appointed Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro (1973-1976) and his aversion to mass media (Castro Torres 209). Arias Navarro's reluctance notwithstanding, there was an

evident dichotomy between the traditional press and the "recién llegada" 'recently arrived' or between the "viejos" 'old' and the "nuevos" 'new' newspapers (my trans.; Montero et al. 295). From the death of Franco until the first free general elections in June 1977, the independent press had one of its "most brilliant phases" (Castro Torres 209) with a majority of young editors leaning toward the political left. These young editors influenced new political orientations, while their work environment remained unstable (209). According to Zugasti: "El panorama fue inestable. Bastantes de las nuevas iniciativas tuvieron escasa vida y algunos periódicos tradicionales sufrieron serias dificultades para mantenerse" 'The panorama was unstable. Many of the new newspapers had short life spans and some traditional newspapers had serious difficulties trying to survive' (my trans.; Zugasti *Franquismo* 44). The reasons for this included the need to renovate the technology used in publishing, the high costs of production and personnel pay, the inability to adapt ideologically to the changing times, and the battle between new editors and the old guard editors with traditional opinions and habits (Zugasti *Franquismo* 44). Another important factor in the demise of so many periodicals was the economic crisis Spain experienced during the Transition (44).

Centrist Adolfo Suárez was elected to office in 1977, and during the first stages of his governance, the press was mercilessly scrutinized (Castro Torres 249). In this respect, the Suárez government was a major hindrance to actual reform (Seoane and Sueiro 139)¹⁴. Under the Suárez government, the new democratic press came under attack from the

¹⁴ For Carmen Castro Torres, the Spanish press badly needed to be reformed, but "todo ello debe primero terminar con las secuelas de la dictadura para conseguir una auténtica libertad de expresión y de información" 'the aftermath of the dictatorship must end in order to achieve true freedom of expression and information' (my trans.; Castro Torres 251).

censorship office and ultraright groups who committed terrorist attacks against press offices (250) because the journalists demanded open dialogue with the remains of the regime, the legalization of political parties, and the dismantling of the remains of the Franco dictatorship. The democratic press also advocated for the adoption of autonomous rule, amnesty, the freedom of the unions, and free general elections (Castro Torres 249). Although the democratic press was experiencing attacks from the right, it was also experiencing a moment of euphoria because readership was increasing. However, many topics still were considered off limits or held secret by the Suárez government (249). It became obvious that the influences of the National Movement¹⁵ press needed to be dismantled, but this was a delicate subject because of the possible economic repercussions this entailed. Many workers would be displaced and unemployed if the National Movement press disappeared suddenly (248). Another challenge facing the Spanish press during the Transition was the oversized army. During the first years of the Transition, the armed forces appeared frequently in daily newspapers (Castro Torres 263). The democratic press understood that tension existed between the army and the press, so numerous articles and editorials called for the military to help with the processes of reform (263), but some factions will try to overthrow the government in 1981.

One other regular feature in newspapers during the Transition was King Juan Carlos I. At the beginning of the Transition, the image of the King was not very positive (Seoane and Sueiro 130). The King of Spain was subjected to relentless scrutiny by the Spanish press (Martínez Gallego et al. Capítulo 4). According to Spanish historian Maria Cruz

¹⁵ Movimiento Nacional was the name given to a governing institution established by Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War. It was the only recognized political organization in Spain during the Franco years (1936-75).

Seoane: "La oposición de izquierdas le trataba con ironía; le veía como una marioneta, un títere, un pelele en manos de los franquistas" 'The opposition on the left treated him with irony seeing him as a marionette, a puppet, a straw doll in the hands of the Francoists' (my trans.; Seoane and Sueiro 131). Little by little, thanks to his attitude and to the image that he developed via the mass media, especially through the newspaper, *El País*, the King became a key player during the Transition because he was prudent, balanced, and in control of himself (Seoane and Sueiro 131). Although the King was the focus of many satirical articles and political cartoons, he remained relatively unscathed by bad press (Castro Torres 330). It has been speculated that a pact existed among the newspapers and reporters to leave the King alone. However, the answers were unanimous from surveyed reporters that a pact did not exist, but they "protected" the King because he played an essential role in the Transition (330). In the article, "La construcción mediática de la comunidad política. La prensa en la Transición española a la democracia," Mercedes Montero agrees that an "official" pact did not exist (Montero et al. 296).

Frequent kidnappings, investigations, fines, and sanctions all conditioned the evolution of the Spanish press from 1966 to 1977 (Castro Torres 25). Other conditioning factors included the economic crisis, terrorist attacks, and tension with the army (Seoane and Sueiro 178). However, the press is its worst enemy. It promoted the idea that consensus had been manipulated thus hurting the images of the politicians working towards transitional goals (Seoane and Sueiro 179). This feeling of *desencanto* or frustration and disillusionment advanced by the newspapers eventually influenced Spaniards in the late 1970s (Seoane and Sueiro 179). Spanish society began seeing the Transition as a failure of unresolved problems of unemployment, terrorism, economic crisis, and the question of

autonomies (Seoane and Sueiro 180). According to Seoane and Sueiro: "Hay siempre en las transiciones desde regímenes autoritarias a otros democráticos una etapa de decepción tras la explosión de las expectativas políticas suscitadas" 'In transitions from authoritarian regimes to democratic ones, there is a period of disappointment after the explosion of aroused political expectations' (my trans.; Seoane and Sueiro 180). For all the good that the press did to promote the Transition, it also contributed to the *desencanto* that overtook the country:

[La prensa] creó una opinión muy favorable a todo el proceso, ayudando al éxito de la transición, en otros, insistió en lo que consideraba aspectos negativos como la lentitud de los trabajos constitucionales, el secreto acordado por la ponencia o los pactos secretos que proporcionaron el consenso, contribuyendo con ello, de alguna manera a la desilusión."

[The press] created a very favorable opinion of the entire process, helping the success of the Transition. In other ways, it insisted on what it considered negative aspects, such as the slowness of the constitutional work, the agreed secrecy of reports, or the secret pacts that provided the consensus, which also contributed in some way to general disappointment (my trans.; Castro Torres 325).

Therefore, the Spanish press had to minimize its criticism of the government, especially since enemies of recent changes on the left and the right continually threatened to destabilize the country (Montero et al. 296). For writer Javier Escudero, the *desencanto* of the Transición was "una pérdida de Inocencia. Y, efectivamente, no es sólo políticamente,

es socialmente, humanamente" 'a loss of innocence; not only politically but also socially and humanly' (my trans.; Escudero *Entre* 339).

The newspapers of the Transition coexisted relatively peacefully (Montero et al. 300). However, not all of the newspapers were created equally. Each paper followed its own path with its own editorial slant (296). With the exception of the conservative *El Alcázar*, many of the newspapers had the same objective, which was to promote a new democratic government (Montero et al. 296). Some old guard newspapers hinted at the positive aspects and achievements of *franquismo*. These newspapers argued that the Francoist reality was *compatible* with a "new" and "desirable" democratic Spain. However, Francoism and democracy proved to be incompatible (Zugasti *Franquismo* 51). The editorials of the Transition consisted of three main themes. The first was the recuperation of public liberties. The second was obtaining amnesty. The third was the unique structure of each autonomous region (Zugasti *Franquismo* 45). The "new" periodicals, free of hindrances and previous agreements with the Franco regime, put more emphasis, ultimately, on supporting democracy (Montero et al. 296).

Nonetheless, there was strong opposition to these developments on the extreme right. Although the ultraconservative minority did not control a large portion of the Spanish papers, the newspapers it did control, such as *El Alcázar* and *El Imparcial*, were combative and influential in smaller circles (Montero et al. 302). In the early Transition, *El Alcázar* was the most important news organization of the extreme right, and it attracted readers nostalgic for Francoism and opposed to democratic reforms (Montero et al. 302). As the Transition progressed, *El Alcázar* experienced a steady increase in its sales (302). It was

dependent upon the Confederación Nacional de Combatientes¹⁶ led by the fascist José Antonio Girón (Zugasti *Franquismo* 44). The paper considered itself *the* defender of Spanish unity by being true to the doctrine and vision of Falange founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera. It also viewed itself as the defender of Franco and his regime (Montero et al. 302).

Another influential conservative Catholic paper of the Transition was *Ya*, which served as "spokesperson" for the democratic Christians and the Church hierarchy. The readership for *Ya*, which had been consolidated and solidified during Francoism, was predominantly the conservative middle class (Castro Torres 126). In the last years of Francoism, its editorials continually called for the political class to begin reforms that would drive progress to democratization. *Ya* defended democracy not from the posture of the center but rather from what it liked to call "la derecha civilizada" 'the civilized right' (*my trans.*; 126).

Of all the conservative newspapers, the most popular was, and still is, *ABC*, which was first published in January 1903 (Hernández Márquez 28). Traditionally, *ABC* aligned with and supported the monarchy (Zugasti *Franquismo* 44). For the first part of the Transition, the editorials of *ABC* defended the past while espousing suspicions about almost everything (Montero et al. 300). The readers of *ABC* were conservative, more than forty years old, and only had a high school education (Hernández Márquez 8). According

¹⁶ Confederación Nacional de Combatientes was a Spanish political organization founded during late-Francoism in November 1974 and formed part of the strategy destined to sustain the Franco regime beyond the death of Franco.

to Hernández, *ABC* was very doubtful about the Transition and its potential success because:

Se dudaba que hubiera un sistema alternativo surgido la voluntad popular que pudiera sustituir al régimen que garantizara la estabilidad social y económica. Se dudaba la capacidad de los partidos para organizar and garantizar la estabilidad social y política en la Transición. Se presumía que la mayoría de los españoles no contaban con la preparación suficiente para asimilar con madurez y participar en los sufragios con un voto razonado y encaminado a fortalecer el establecimiento de una democracia participativa.

It was doubted that there would be an alternative system that emerged from the popular will that could replace the regime and that would guarantee social and economic stability. The ability of the parties to organize and guarantee social and political stability in the Transition was doubted. It was presumed that the majority of Spaniards did not have sufficient preparation to assimilate with maturity and to participate in voting with a reasoned vote aimed at strengthening the establishment of a participatory democracy. (my trans.; Hernández Márquez 467)

A vast number of articles published in *ABC* during the Transition wanted democracy but without a clean break from Francoism (466). Nevertheless, one thing that *ABC* and its liberal counterpart, *El País*, could agree on was the need for an accord between the politicians and political parties that guaranteed a harmonious and stable Transition to democracy (Hernández Márquez 469). According to Baldemar Hernández Márquez, both

ABC and *El País* had clear stances on democracy, and both were in favor of democracy for Spain (465).

The first edition of *El País* was published on May 4, 1976, with the simple mission of: "Being faithful to the real country" (Seoane and Sueiro 84). The ideology and mission of *El País* was clearly stated in the first editorial written by Juan Luis Cebrián, which says:

Desde las fechas lejanas en que aun grupo de periodistas e intelectuales españoles se les ocurriera la idea de fundar *El País*, este soñado siempre así mismo como un periódico independiente capaz de rechazar las presiones que el poder y el del dinero ejercen de continuo sobre el mundo de la información.

From the far-off dates, when a group of journalists and Spanish intellectuals came up with the idea of founding *El País*, it has always dreamed of itself as an independent newspaper capable of rejecting the pressures that power and money continually exert on the world of information. (my trans.; Hernández Márquez 28)

The creators of *El País* came from the liberal middle class that wanted secular democracy to triumph, and according to Carmen Castro Torres, the newspaper was destined to be successful because its origins were completely different from any other Spanish newspaper of the time (Castro Torres 215). From its first edition, *El País* presented itself as a serious newspaper "todo letras, con mucha cita de intelectuales, sin concesiones fáciles a las grandes fotos y titulares" 'of installments with a lot of quotes from intellectuals without bowing down to sensational photos and headlines' (my trans.; Montero et al. 297).

El País experienced almost instant success. In just a few months it became an indispensable part of the Spanish journalistic landscape, and its notoriety expanded to other

large cities of Western Europe. No one during the Transition could ignore *El País* (Seoane and Sueiro 87). It was *the* most influential, best written, and most sold newspaper in Spain (87). The influence of *El País* was so substantial that "a derecha e izquierda, lo que diga *El País* de un partido o de un político - o de un escritor, o de un actor al día siguiente de un estreno - importa más que lo digan los demás" 'to the right and left, what *El País* says about a party or a politician - or writer, or an actor the day after a premiere - matters more than what others say' (my trans.; Castro Torres 125). For *El País*, the only political option was the Spanish Socialist Workers Party or PSOE (Montero et al. 297), which was demonstrated very clearly before the general elections of 1977 (Seoane and Sueiro 158). In fact, credit is often given to *El País* for boosting the image of future Prime Minister Felipe González in 1978, five years prior to his triumph in 1982 (158).

El País honed its leftist image, which many conservatives, including its own stockholders, deemed "rojo" 'red' (my trans.; Seoane and Sueiro 127). Originally, the *El País* stockholders wanted the newspaper to be the daily newspaper of the "civilized right" (127), but regardless of its image, from the moment of its birth, *El País* was designed to reform during democratization (Seoane and Sueiro 130). Politically, *El País* supported PSOE and believed that King Juan Carlos could and should play an important role during the Transition. *El País* believed the king could help modernize Spain before many of his critics did (133). *El País* wanted a clean break with Francoism (Hernández Márquez 466) and, ultimately, it was one of the most important instruments in the formation of political and social consensus during the Transition (Seoane and Sueiro 177). According to Seoane and Sueiro, *El País* wanted to be an independent newspaper:

Pero no neutral, sino beligerante en una serie de temas que, enumerada entre otros en contra de la pena de muerte, el terrorismo (incluido el del Estado), la política de bloques; a favor de derechos de la mujer, la separación Iglesia-Estado, la amnistía, las autonomías y una política familiar sexual moderna, y una sociedad libre y abierta.

But not neutral, except belligerent on a series of issues that included the death penalty, terrorism (including that of the Government), bloc politics, and was in favor of the rights of women, Church-State separation, amnesty, autonomies, agreeable and modern sexual politics, and an open and free society (my trans.; Seoane and Sueiro 215).

The readers of the newspaper were predominately young with a university education (Hernández Márquez 9). "La óptica de *El País* era obviamente de España en su conjunto, y su proyecto de convivencia pacífica de todas las ideas con la exclusión de la que incluyen la violencia para su realización" "The perspective of *El País* was obviously focused on Spain as a whole, and its project of peaceful coexistence of all ideas with the exclusion of those that include violence for its realization" (my trans.; Seoane and Sueiro 165). Baldemar Hernández Márquez points out the ambivalence of *El País* in his dissertation:

Se dudaba de la buena disposición del Gobierno para garantizar un proceso transparente y equitativo en la contenida electoral. Se veía con mucha desconfianza a la Ley Electoral, considerando que en su momento favorecería más a los afines a la política del Gobierno y que no se respetaría el sufragio de la voluntad popular.

There was doubt about the willingness of the government to guarantee a transparent and equitable process in the electoral content. The Electoral Law was viewed with great distrust, considering that at the time it might favor the allies of government policies more than it would respect the popular will for suffrage. (my trans.; Hernández Márquez 468)

Although *El País* was widely popular, that does not mean it did not have its critics. The term "nationality," which in Spain often applies to the "comunidades históricas" 'historic communities' or regions like the Basque Country and Cataluña, was not to the taste of the editors at *El País* (Seoane and Sueiro 168). Radical *catalanistas* believed *El País* was anti-Catalan. They also promoted the idea that the *anticatalanismo* expressed in *El País* was more dangerous than that of *ABC*. *Catalanistas* believed that *El País* "se presenta con una imagen progresista, de izquierdas, es más fino, hace «ciertas concesiones irrelevantes, cargadas de contrapartidas»" 'it presents itself as progressive and left-wing, but there is a fine line. It makes certain irrelevant compromises with payment' (my trans.; Seoane and Sueiro 165). But, in reality, the newspaper was the furthest thing from an *anticatalanismo* "visceral" (171).

El País also received fierce criticism from certain political parties as well. Spanish journalist Emilio Romero stated, "Su imagen no verdadera, está en una 'izquierda de ateneo,' tiene cierta porosidad para la información y para las opiniones de otros. Pero en su línea editorial es de un izquierdismo clásico - y a veces anacrónico - que atufa" 'Its image is not true. It is a «left of athenaeum. » It has a certain porosity for the opinions of others, but its editorial line is of a classic left-leaning ideology, and sometimes anachronistic, leftism that stifles' (my trans.; qtd. in Seoane and Sueiro 160). In particular, the communist

party was not impressed with the attitude of *El País* during the Transition (161). On many occasions, communist party leader Santiago Carrillo pointed out the militant public acts and the hostile attitude of the newspaper towards the communist party (161).

Accompanying the "boom" of newspapers during the Transition, there was a crop of new journalists, which acted as coparticipants, coauthors, and protagonists of democratization, in addition to being chroniclers and analysts of the era (Seoane and Sueiro 125). These *nuevos periodistas* were professionals educated in the Escuela Oficial de Periodismo and, in many cases, they were also university educated during the 1960s and 1970s and, as a result, belonged to the same middle or upper-middle class generation as the new political class of the Transition (326). Also, during the Transition, a large number of women, viewed as a novelty, formed part of the *nuevos periodistas* with many specializing in "la crónica parlamentaria y en el análisis político," 'the chronicling of parliament and political analysis' (327).

Of those female *nuevos periodistas*, one must recognize the contributions of Rosa Montero to the modernization of Spain and her influence on overcoming the stigma of Francoism (Ramos-Mesonero 6). Montero used critical journalism, including interviews and feature articles, as a tool to combat the continuation of Francoist memory. In the opinion of Sebastiaan Faber, "Como reportera intrépida, dispuesta a hacer preguntas directas y difíciles a los (ex)poderosos, Montero demostraba en qué consistía una ciudadanía crítica, valiente e independiente" 'as an intrepid reporter, willing to ask direct and difficult questions of the (ex)powerful, Montero demonstrated what a critical, courageous, and independent citizenry consisted of' (my trans.; qtd. in Pedrós-Gascón 55). From her position at *El País*, Montero fought for a just, caring, and tolerant society. Her

political orientation and her strong ties with the liberal paper *El País* seemed inseparable from her public image as a writer (Okanín 88). She used her contributions to *El País* to denounce patriarchal and sexist attitudes in the Spanish ruling class, in addition to Spanish society in general.

The journalistic career of Rosa Montero began when she was eighteen years old, when she began writing for a range of media outlets, including the Francoist newspaper *Pueblo* (Okanín 86). Her journalistic contributions are hardly ephemeral, and the impact of her work owes much to her political and feminist commitments (88). In a career that has spanned close to fifty years, she has won important prizes for her contributions to journalism, literature, and human rights (84). Some of the prizes include the Premio Nacional de Periodismo in 1980, Premio Derechos Humanos in 1989, and Premio Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid a toda una vida profesional in 2005 (84). Her role as journalist has allowed Rosa Montero far more control over her public persona, while at the same time, she is the product of her interaction with and representation of the media (61). For Rueda-Acedo, "Resulta curiosa la clasificación que se le otorga a Rosa Montero como periodista y novelista cuando en realidad desempeña un único oficio: el de escritora" "The classification given to Rosa Montero as a journalist and novelist is curious when in reality she performs one job: that of writer' (my trans.; Rueda-Acedo *Cuento* 605). As we shall see in the following chapter, Montero employs fictional strategies of writing to her journalistic goals, resulting in her most influential production of the Transitional period: the interviews

CHAPTER 3

ESPAÑA PARA TI...PARA SIEMPRE/SPAIN FOR YOU...ALWAYS

Cada uno sabe el papel que juega el otro, cada uno conoce las reglas, cada uno sospecha o sabe el juego, pero pretende ignorarlo. A mí jugar me gusta mucho.

Each one knows the role that the other plays, each one knows the rules, each suspect or knows the game but pretends to ignore it. I like to play a lot.

- Rosa Montero, *España para ti...para siempre*

By nature of being a type of media story in the hands of a “fictional writer” like Montero, the interviews in *España para ti...para siempre* (1976) provide images, discuss social stereotypes, and question unexamined norms in order to communicate - the memory of - political values. According to Simon During, the politics of representation can be broken down into two points: The first is the way that particular social groups are represented, especially in the media and the political gains to be won by critiquing such representations (During 23). Rosa Montero believes that “hay que tener un cuidado tremendo para no dejarse capturar como una polilla” ‘you have to be extremely careful not to get captured like a moth’ (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 162). Hence, she tries to

present the interviewee in the best possible light in the effort to not alienate the subject or the reader. The second point refers to the way in which representative politics can disempower specific interests and identities and reduce political agency, especially that of minorities (During 23). In the case of post-Franco Spain, a general mistrust of educated elites and of the press coincides with what Montero identifies as a non-reading citizenry: "Lo que pasa es que en este país se parte de una tradición de falta de costumbre lectora tremebunda; no se lee prensa, no se leen libros, no se lee nada" "What happens is that people in this country are not in the habit of reading, not the press, not books, they just don't" (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 155).

In general, the interview is the narration of an event by a person who has experienced it and from his or her viewpoint (Flores 147). From this vantage point, the interview is a privileged way of obtaining information in a professional context (147) and Spanish writer Robert Juan Cantavella comments on this approach in Montero's hands:

Rosa Montero es una excelente entrevistadora, una de la mejores de nuestro país. Si ha logrado llegar a este punto ha sido por su nutrida experiencia, por la plataforma desde la que realiza, por la exigente preparación y laboriosa escritura y, sobre todo, por su habilidad conservadora. Condiciones todas ellas que son básicas para desarrollar este trabajo de una forma sobresaliente.

Rosa Montero is an excellent interviewer, one of the best in our country. If she has managed to get to this point, it has been because of her rich experience, because of the platform from which she writes, because of demanding preparation and great pains with the writing, and, above all, because of her classic skill. All of these

conditions are basic to develop her work in an outstanding way. (my trans.; qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 180)

Montero subscribes to the idea of establishing professional distance, especially "cuando te dispones a redactar lo que ha sido el encuentro [con 'el otro']" 'when you get ready to write about how the meeting [with "the other"] has gone' (my trans.; qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 181). Cantavella adds that during interviews, Rosa Montero can change her attitude and tactics quickly, often mirroring the attitudes of interviewees ranging from intimate to shrewd, combative, or friendly (qtd. in *Miradas* 175). One thing is certain, no matter how contentious the interview, Montero always tries to present the person in the best possible light in published product. David Vidal explains:

[...] es un diálogo asimétrico, generalmente conflictivo, donde el rol de los participantes como conductores de la interacción no es parejo [...] nos encontramos más bien ante la construcción, por parte de la periodista, de un personaje, y más precisamente, ante la construcción de la voz de un personaje.

[...] it is an asymmetric dialogue, generally delicate in which the role of the participants drives the interaction unequally [...] we find ourselves before a character constructed by the journalist and, more precisely, before the construction of said character's voice. (my trans.; qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 85)

The result is a tension between the crafted image and the constructed voice of the interviewees, a tension between their professional and historical influences creating the groundwork for their image.

HOME OF THE LITERARY INTERVIEW

As we have explored at length in chapter one, by the mid-1970s, the press was a central building block of the revived public sphere as censorship declined. Although the Franco regime controlled the majority of newspapers and magazines, a small minority appeared in the early to mid-1970s with the explicit agenda of calling for and aiding a democratic transition. The democratic press allowed liberal elites an opportunity to share their ideas, filling the pages with “articles [...] propounding new political and theoretical ideas about constitutional and political matters on which to base the building of a new state” (Radcliff 503). Before the 1970s, there were few public forums to facilitate the circulation of liberal information, given state control of mass media. The new, democratic liberal media provided and contributed to the formation of a democratic citizenry by introducing the expectations of “democratic behavior.” Thus, the press played a major role in the creation of democratic political culture (503).

During the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), the rights of women expanded to include suffrage, but progress and the Republican women’s movement were interrupted by the Spanish Civil War and liberal-minded women experienced a long, oppressive hiatus under Francoism, while more traditional women thrived. In the late 1960s, the voices of women began to appear in magazines and to be heard on the streets and, understandably, the opinions of women became more frequent in public discourse after the death of Francisco Franco in November 1975 (Pagone 56). Thereafter, print journalism was no longer subject to state censorship, which allowed it to play a prominent role in shaping the evolving society. Through journalism, women could participate in public discourse making their voices heard on important issues, such as women's rights, abuses in prisons, or labor

struggles (56). Female journalists covered topics otherwise invisible to society and they did so with heavy doses of sarcasm and irony. Spanish literary journalism provided a space for women journalists to report cultural trends and social problems. Women journalists built a narrative about society and created a forum for individual, feminine perspectives. Female journalists used an antiquated form of media in a new and modern way.

Rosa Montero began her career in journalism in the late 1960s and has worked as a journalist for various types of media. She has worked for newspapers, magazines, and Televisión Española (Brown *Journalist* 240). Since 1977, she has worked exclusively for the well-respected Spanish newspaper *El País*¹⁷. At *El País*, Montero held various positions, including special correspondent travelling to the United States, Latin America, and the Middle East (240). Montero also was the first female editor for its weekend supplement. Montero is one of the most widely read Spanish journalists today and has influenced the political and social panorama of democratic Spain. Her writing raises awareness on a series of exigent themes by bringing to the forefront stories about everyday life that would otherwise be ignored (Escudero *Fantasmas* 344). Montero can be considered a cultural historian because her works provide an understanding of history through the lens of humanity because of her critical disposition. One of her most important critiques during the Transition was the lack of national unity (Pagone 57). Her outspokenness "tinged with sensitivity" has earned her the respect of peers, as well as the admiration of her readers. Nevertheless, many conservative Spaniards are offended by her

¹⁷ *El País* first appeared in May 1976 and quickly achieved canonical status. It became the dominant reference for the independent Spanish media with its center-left, Europeanist, and secular slant.

liberal views (Manteiga *Dilemma* 114). As a journalist, she writes with a candid and straightforward style and often times her writing is compared with that of New Journalism.

New Journalism emerged in the 1960s as a reaction to objective journalism that clearly separates facts from fiction (Cuartero Naranjo 53). However, the link between literature and journalism is not new and as James E. Murphy, Lennard J. Davis, and R. Thomas Berner state, “Literature and journalism have coexisted for at least four centuries [...] What we see today is perhaps only a polished and sophisticated version of what was done many times” (qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Cuento* 606). In 1973, Tom Wolfe and E.W. Johnson published their book *The New Journalism* giving this journalistic phenomenon a voice and relevance (Cuartero Naranjo 46). New Journalism was the product of many forces but cannot be considered a cohesive “movement.” It involves in depth reporting and attention to the most minute facts and details; the basic units of reporting are no longer who, what, when, where, why, or how, but rather whole scenes and stretches of dialogue (Murphy 10). This subjective journalism allows for the opinions and ideas of the writer to creep into his or her story or interview making the journalist as much of the story or interview as the subject.

Rosa Montero acknowledges Tom Wolfe and E.W. Johnson's *The New Journalism* (1973) as a significant development in general, but credits Mariano José de Larra¹⁸ and other literary journalists for influencing her because New Journalism did not arrive in Spain until the 1980s in a fragmentary way¹⁹. Numerous cultural critics attribute New Journalism

¹⁸ José Mariano de Larra was a 19th century Spanish writer best known for his satirical and critical essays on Spanish society, especially the customs and politics of the time.

¹⁹ *The New Journalism* is an anthology of journalism edited by Tom Wolfe and E.W. Johnson. The book is part manifesto for a new type of journalism and a collection of examples by American writers covering a variety of topics.

as Montero's primary influence in her "literary writing,"²⁰ when producing written interviews. But Montero herself has stated clearly on many occasions that Larra is of a direct influence since he used the same journalistic and literary techniques much earlier under the title of "literary journalism" (Cuartero Naranjo 44). Journalist José Acosta Montoro proclaims 1845 as the first moment "literary journalism" was publicly acknowledged in Spain (Parrat 134). It can be said that the Spanish press has always been more ideological and literary than its European or American counterparts, especially with biting satire commenting on current events and customs (Pagone 56).

For Spanish journalists, "literary journalism" lifts the constraints of straightforward writing, freeing the writer to focus on the details of the topic allowing him or her to communicate the complexities of the story to the reader (Pagone 57). Spanish journalists included various literary tropes into their writings, such as internal monologue, realistic descriptions, and vivid dialogues. They adopt a greater narrative presence in their writing. Journalism professor Ramón Salaverría links literary journalism to political life, especially for those who defined journalism as a "didactic literary manifestation, and who declared themselves incapable of placing journalism in any known literary or oratorical genre" (qtd. in Parrat 134). For Montero, "Ese tipo de periodismo es un género literario, un género equiparable a cualquier otro, a la poesía, el drama, la ficción, el ensayo. Puede alcanzar cotas de excelencia literaria tan altas como cualquier obra" 'This type of journalism is a literary genre, like any other genre, poetry, drama, fiction, essay. It can achieve heights of literary excellence like any other work.' (my trans.; qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 82). For writers like Leonor Arfuch, Miriam Rodríguez-Betancourt, and Albert Chillón, the

²⁰ Antonio Pedrós-Gascón, Joan Brown, and John Calhoun Merrill to name a few.

interview is an informative genre allowing for subjectivity, the use of multiple narrative techniques, and the rejection of the rigid, stereotypical structures of conventional journalism (Rueda-Acedo *Cuento* 609). The interview is closely linked to testimony allowing the interviewer to be placed in a socio-historical context (Flores 147).

Contrary to the common assumption that Montero adheres to the precepts of New Journalism, her interview with Sebastià Bernal and Lluís Albert Chillón published in 1985 in their collection, *Periodismo informativo de creación*, reveals otherwise: "Me parece que es un tipo de periodismo que no es nuevo, que puede ser tan viejo como el mundo y que, desde luego, por poner un ejemplo tópico, Larra podría hacer perfectamente igual" 'It seems to me a type of journalism that offers nothing new, which can be seen as old as the world and that, however, to use a well-known figure, Larra exemplifies perfectly' (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 157). As interviewee, Montero got a dose of her own medicine after stating: "Me encanta que no hayáis hablado de Nuevo Periodismo, porque es que me ha preguntado tanta gente del rollo ése" 'I love that you haven't brought up New Journalism, because so many have asked me about that stuff' (my trans.; 157), to which her interviewers responded: "Bien, Rosa, hablemos de Nuevo Periodismo, este tema que te molesta tanto" 'Well then, Rosa, let's talk New Journalism, this topic you hate so well' (my trans.; 165). In an effort to clarify her stance, Montero explains:

Es lo que conforma lo que se llama Nuevo Periodismo y creo que desde Larra es lo ha hecho mucha gente desde hace mucho tiempo. Y sin duda Hemingway, que no entra en el Nuevo Periodismo para nada, a mí el Hemingway periodístico es el que más me gusta. y novecientas mil personas más, vamos, que no es nada nuevo.

Conformists is what we call New Journalism and I think it's Larra who has influenced so many people for much longer. And without a doubt Hemingway, who has nothing at all to do with New Journalism. I like Hemingway as journalist along with nine-thousand other people much more. Let's be real, this is nothing new. (my trans.; 166)

MONTERO'S INTERVIEW STYLE

The two main types of written interviews are the informative and the literary. The informative interview is concerned with facts and current events using the statements of the interviewees as a starting point (Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 80). In contrast, literary interviews focus on the person being interviewed, and his or her merit. Typically, literary interviews are relegated to periodical supplements, such as the *El País Semanal* or *The New York Times Magazine* (81). The subject of literary interviews is someone famous of clear public interest. The publication is well aware of this interest, so the interview is of mutual benefit. However, the voice of the interview subject is mediated by his or her own interest in propagating their place in the public sphere (Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 72). Ample use of adjectives, rich metaphors, and an oral nature are hallmarks of the literary interview. Journalist David Vidal points out the importance of description in this type of interview, which can include describing the setting for the interview or the appearance of the interviewee, in addition to graphic supports such as photo-portraiture and illustrations (qtd. in *Miradas* 85).

Rosa Montero has said that she handpicked the interviews in *España para ti...para siempre* in an effort to include a panoramic vision of Spanish society in transition. To do

so, she selects former Francoists and folkloric artists, most of whom were born in the 1930s-1940s, with the exception of a few younger "influencers" closer to her own generation. Since the interviews are literary in nature, people are chosen for their merit, such as the renaissance man Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente, the Grand Prix champion Ángel Nieto, or one of the most popular Spanish film directors of the time Pedro Masó, poet and playwright Antonio Gala, and politician Pio Cabanillas Gallas. Almost every interview has a similar structure, beginning with the pedigree of the interviewee and a description of this person complemented by a black and white photograph occupying a page to itself. After this brief introduction, Montero delves into each interview.

Description is the hallmark of the literary interview and there is no shortage of description in the interviews in this collection. Rosa Montero is known for her abundance of adjectives and rich metaphors. In addition to providing information about the interview and the person being interviewed, the description of the setting provides a commentary. For example, the discussion with singer Manolo Escobar took place in "una cafetería impersonal y moderna porque Escobar se ha negado en redondo a hacer la entrevista en su casa" 'an impersonal and modern cafeteria because Escobar has flatly refused to do the interview at his home' (my trans.; Montero *España* 221). In contrast, Montero interviewed bullfighter Luís Miguel Dominguín "en la cama, en un dormitorio todo verde de lecho enorme" 'in bed in a totally green bedroom with a huge bed' (my trans.; Montero *España* 80). Although both interviews have an aloof tone, when it comes to the difficult questions Montero asks about Spanish politics or their personal lives, Dominguín has a warmth that Escobar lacks. Dominguín is also far less supercilious than Manuel Escobar. As one reads through the interviews, it becomes fun and easy to predict what the interview settings for

each person will look like. For example, is no surprise that former African safari guide and famed naturalist, Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente, "ha llenado su casa [...] de extrañas piezas africanas, de pieles de animales, de armas amazónicas" 'has filled his house [...] with strange African pieces, animal pelts, and Amazonian weapons' (my trans.; Montero *España* 170). However, other dwellings are pleasant surprises, like the "piso nuevo y muy caro en la mejor zona, que al lado hasta vivió un ministro y había guardias en la puerta" 'new and expensive apartment in the best neighborhood next to a government minister with guards at the door' of reporter and athlete Miguel de la Quadra Salcedo (my trans.; 27). Of course, when talking about the settings of the interviews, one cannot ignore the lack of a setting, which is seen with the Duquesa de Alba. Rosa Montero did not meet with the Duquesa, and that "interview" was completed through correspondence, questionnaires, and social secretaries.

The appearance of the interviewee is not without a certain amount of scrutiny from Rosa Montero. For these descriptions, she uses a variety of adjectives, some more complimentary than others. One thing can be said about her descriptions; they are blunt. However, the descriptions are truthful because any misrepresentations will be contradicted by the accompanying photographs. For example, while describing Real Madrid player and president, who resuscitated the flailing team after the Spanish Civil War, Santiago Bernabéu, Montero focuses on his larger-than-life personality, stature, and waistline. She describes him as "la corpulencia milagrosa" 'the miraculous girth' with a "cinturón kilométrico" 'a belt a kilometer long' y "tantos kilos de humanidad" 'so many kilos of humanity' (my trans.; Montero *España* 208). Other interviewees are described in less flattering terms, such as motorcycle Gran Prix champion Ángel Nieto, "de pelo pajizo, de

estatura de español medio de los antes (es decir, bajito), de cara difícil y llena de surcos" 'straw-haired, of average Spanish stature (that is, short), with a difficult face full of deep lines' (my trans.; Montero *España* 129), or Manolo Escobar who is "el prototipo del celtibérico tónico" 'the prototype of the clichéd Celtiberian man that uses "pastillas [sic] sobre su cara ancha y tupé, y camisas de tergal rosadas" 'pills [sic] on his wide face and a toupée, and pink polyester shirts' (my trans.; Montero *España* 219). The difference between the Bernabéu description and those of Nieto y Escobar is the amount of respect expressed through careful selection of descriptors. That is not to say that Montero disrespected any of the respondents. It is to say that she tolerated some subjects better than others, which can be seen through the line of questioning, her tone, and her nuanced descriptions, whether it is of the people, their pedigree, or the setting. With one of the few female subjects, her description of the singer Massiel probably won the Spanish pop star desirous fans. Massiel "lleva pantalones vaqueros muy apretados, unos pantalones que resaltan la anatomía [...] de generosas carnes [...] con mucho pelo flotando suelto, ese pelo largo, negro y hermoso" 'wearing very tight jeans that highlight her body [...] of generous flesh [...] with long, loose flowing hair, such long beautiful black hair' (my trans.; Montero *España* 137). Montero obviously admires the popular artist and describes her as "tan mujer española y tan aperturista, al mismo tiempo, una especie de puente racial hacia el futuro, un puente pintoresco" 'such a Spanish woman and so open-minded, at the same time a kind of racial bridge to the future; a picturesque bridge' (my trans.; Montero *España* 136).

Montero has moments of recycling the same adjectives over and over, such as "por excelencia" 'par excellence' when describing Adolfo Marsillach as *the* leftist intellectual (193), José Saenz de Heredia as *the* film producer of the Franco regime (147), and Gonzalo

Fernández de la Mora as *the* ideologue of the Franco regime (53). Montero also describes many of the interviewees as "triunfadores," 'winners' such as film director Pedro Masó (101) and motorcycle Grand Prix winner Ángel Nieto (127). Another term she commonly uses is "delfín" (dauphin in English) to describe the successor or heir apparent of something. For example, Camilo Sesto is the "el nuevo delfín de ídolo" 'the new teenage idol' (184) and "delfín buerovallejano" 'the successor to Buero Vallejo'²¹ to describe playwright Antonio Gala (my trans.; 67). Although there is repetition in adjectives, that does not mean the selection by Rosa Montero is unimaginative. While describing Santiago Bernabéu's "corpulencia milagrosa" 'the miraculous girth' and his "panzón como un Buda" 'potbelly like a Buddha' (208), one can clearly see Bernabéu as a larger-than-life figure dwarfing the furniture and trophies in his office. Montero herself admits that she is "muy barroca en todo, absolutamente barroca" 'very baroque in everything, absolutely baroque' because "cada adjetivo tuviera su razón de ser" 'each adjective has its reason for being' (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 164). Building on the originality of her adjectives, Montero also uses metaphors to describe the "large" personalities being interviewed. She calls Madrid Mayor Tierno Galván "el socialismo superviviente por definición" 'the definition of surviving socialism' (my trans.; Montero *España* 37).

Three people are involved in every interview: the interviewee, the interviewer, and the reader (Icaria 89). For Montero: "Cada uno sabe el papel que juega el otro, cada uno conoce las reglas, cada uno sospecha o sabe el juego, pero pretende ignorarlo" 'Each one knows the role the other plays. Each one knows the rules. Each one knows the game but

²¹ Antonio Buero Vallejo was a considered the most important Spanish playwright of the Spanish Civil War and the post-World War II generation. His works are realist and give voices to the downtrodden.

intends to ignore it' (my trans.; Montero *España* 230). The interviewer decides on question types and how to pose them to obtain answers. Montero believes: “La entrevista es una convención entre convenciones, uno va a hacerla representando el papel del entrevistador sagaz y el interlocutor representa el rol de entrevistado seguro de sí y un poco abrumadoramente coherente y compacto” 'The interview is a convention among conventions. One is going to play the role of the clever interviewer and the other person plays the role of confident interviewee, who is overwhelmingly consistent and boring' (my trans.; Montero *España* 230). The reporter establishes a rapport with the subject by starting with indirect questions and gauging what is important to the subject. Then, the interviewer focuses on the objectives of the interview (Flores 152). For Montero, it is clear from the first moment if the intended dialogue will go well. During her 1985 interview with Bernal and Chillón, Montero admits that there is a personal struggle to build rapport with her interviewees, because the interviewer tends to have a preconceived notion about the personality the interviewee:

Me caen bien o me caen mal por una serie de valores. Hay dos tipos de enjuiciamiento contra los que yo me planteo una lucha personal. Está el enjuiciamiento que puedas tener respecto a la función que esa persona está cumpliendo públicamente o a lo que representa, a lo que hace si tú crees que está bien o mal. En segundo lugar, se sitúa el terreno puramente de piel, el que una persona te caiga bien o mal en entrada.

I like them or I do not like them because of a series of principles. There are two types of judgments which I struggle with. There is the judgment that you may have regarding the function that this person is fulfilling publicly or what they represent;

or if you think what they do is right or wrong. Secondly, there is the gut feeling that you like or dislike the person from the get-go (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 162)

To help build this rapport, often times Montero will use an indirect question to engage the subject. This technique is used quite frequently in *España para ti...* and stands out in the conversation with singer Manolo Escobar. The entire interview is a bit tense, and Montero pushes him to talk about subjects he is not comfortable discussing, including his wealth and his position as a role model for his fans.

MONTERO. Porque tus seguidores ven en ti el ejemplo del triunfo personal.

Your fans see you as the example of personal success.

ESCOBAR. Sí, exacto, cualquiera de ellos puede aspirar al puesto que yo ocupo hoy, porque yo he sido albañil, mecánico, metalúrgico, por todos estos empleos he pasado.

Yes, exactly. Any of them can aspire to be in my position because I have been a bricklayer, a mechanic, and metal worker. I have held all these jobs.
(my trans.; Montero *España* 221).

Escobar is a guarded person, which we see in the fact that his interview was conducted in a café and not his home, his office, or his recording studio. He is trying to keep Montero at a distance. Another is example of indirect questioning in his interview is:

MONTERO. Manolo, tú tienes un público entusiasta, y, sin embargo, la crítica más o menos intelectual te suele poner fatal.

Manolo, you have an enthusiastic audience, but the critics, who are more or less intellectuals, are terrible to you.

ESCOBAR. Sí, algunos de ellos, no todos. Y algunos me ponen mal tal vez porque soy precisamente un producto del pueblo, porque no soy un intelectual, y juzgan entonces mis méritos son relativos

Yes, some of them, but not all. Some criticize me because I am a product of the people. I am not an intellectual and they judge my achievements as trivial. (my trans.; Montero *España* 222).

According to Montero, preparation is fundamental and the key to a successful interview: “Me lo leo todo y lo estudio para saberme muy bien todos los datos de forma que en el momento que el tío o la tía digan algo salga la fichita en la cabeza” ‘I read everything and study it to know all the information so well that when the guy or girl says something, the little file appears in my head’ (my trans.; qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 150). Thanks to preparation and memorization, Montero is able to use the information to argue, to counterattack, to goad, and to make a point, which are seen in several of the interviews in *España para ti*.... While speaking with conservative essayist Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora, Montero is argumentative, when she calls him a plagiarist in no uncertain terms and questions why his opinions have never changed over the years:

Don Gonzalo, leyendo sus declaraciones a lo largo de los años me sorprende observar que usted siempre mantiene los mismos principios, dice las mismas cosas, sostiene los mismos valores, con hermosas palabras, claro está, que todos sabemos que es usted Premio Nacional de Literatura por duplicado. La gente normalmente

va cambiando poco a poco con los años, evoluciona, desplaza siquiera unos milímetros sus creencias con el aporte de nuevos datos. ¿Cómo consigue usted esa calidad casi «marmórea» de pensamiento?

Don Gonzalo, reading your statements over the years, I am surprised to see that you always uphold the same principles, say the same things, maintain the same values with beautiful words. Of course, we all know you are the Premio Nacional de Literatura in duplicate. People normally change little by little over the years. They evolve. They shift their beliefs even a few millimeters with new information. How do you get that almost «marbleized» quality of thought? (my trans.; Montero *España* 63)

In that same interview, Montero also makes a point by calling Fernández de la Mora unqualified and asks him how he earned his position as Ministro de Obras Públicas under Franco. Most of the time, Montero uses the interviewees' own words to make her points and in the case of de la Mora, Montero leads up to a very pointed question:

Afirmó usted en una ocasión que los ministros españoles eran escogidos entre los primeros números de las oposiciones a los cuerpos más prestigiosos de la Administración, y usted consideraba esto como muy positivo, ya que se llegaba a Ministro «después de haber probado claramente y en competencia con los demás que se está entre los mejores profesionales». Esto suena muy lógico, pero me choca que se le nombrase a usted Ministro de Obras Públicas cuando puede ser usted un excelente profesional, sí, pero de Filosofía y Derecho. ¿Cómo concilia usted eso?

You state on one occasion that the Spanish ministers were chosen from among the top scorers of the competitive examinations for the most prestigious posts in the administration, and you considered this very positive since you became a minister «after having proven in competition with others that you are among the best professionals. » This sounds very logical, but it strikes me that you were appointed Minister of Public Works when you are considered an excellent professional in Philosophy and Law. How do you reconcile that? (my trans.; Montero *España* 58)

Another good example of counterattack by Montero can be seen in her interview with Francoist psychiatrist Juan José López Ibor. She and López Ibor are discussing children who stray, and he defines his idea of children going astray in the following way: "Imagínese que envió a un chico fuera que no estudia, que como no estudia dice que no le gusta la carrera, que se pasa años sin hacer nada...Eso es para mí un hijo que se desvía" 'Imagine I send a boy away who does not study and because he does not study, he does not like his major, so he spends years doing nothing...For me, this is a son who strays (my trans.; Montero *España* 162). Maybe it is because of her own career path or maybe it is because his statement reeks of classism, but Rosa Montero pushes the topic by asking: "Sin embargo, su hijo trabaja todo el día escribiendo, aunque la sociedad no admita esto como trabajo ya que no se le edita, ya que socialmente no es un escritor. ¿Sería también este un hijo «desviado»?" 'However, your son works all day writing, although society does not think this is work, since he has not been published. Hence, he is not a writer. Could this son also have gone «astray»?' (my trans.; Montero *España* 162). López Ibor responds that he would help his child achieve this goal but would also be afraid for the economic future of the child. Still not satisfied with his answer, Montero begins to ask about the hypothetical

writer, when López Ibor interrupts to say: "Pues como padre me resignaría" 'Well, as a father, I would give up' but he hopes that siblings would help the black sheep survive economically. He ends his interruption with the comment: "mis hijos están colocados y realizados" 'my children have jobs and are fulfilled' (my trans.; Montero *España* 162). Again, Montero is not satisfied with his comment and attacks the clear distinction López Ibor makes between *los chicos* and *las chicas* by interjecting an observation. She says: "He observado que usted parece hacer distinción entre los «chicos» y las «chicas», que «también son difíciles» que «también se puede hablar con ellas». Es una distinción que me da que pensar respecto a su idea de la igualdad" 'I noticed you seem to distinguish between «boys» and «girls» who «are also difficult», but you can at least «talk to them. » It is a distinction that makes me wonder about your idea of equality' (my trans.; Montero *España* 163). Once again, Rosa Montero has used an interviewee's own words and ideas to prove her point, which would not be possible without her keen preparation.

Last but not least, the preparation of Rosa Montero and her opinion of the person being interviewed comes into play when we talk about her technique of goading the interviewee. This technique is visible in the interview with Manolo Escobar, when Montero insinuates that he is blind to the fact that others in the world are not as successful or wealthy. She says: "Tú eres feliz porque eres un privilegiado en muchos aspectos, porque has triunfado, porque tienes dinero, popularidad, un trabajo que te gusta. Pero ¿no crees que no todo el mundo goza de tus ventajas? ¿Qué hay muchas cosas que no andan tan bien como tu vida?" 'You are happy because you are privileged in many ways because you have succeeded, because you have money, popularity, and a job that you like. But do you realize that not everyone enjoys your advantages? That there are things not going as well as your

life?' (my trans.; Montero *España* 222). Often times, Montero addresses the wealth of the interviewees, which is the quickest way to goad the interview subject. In the interview with Real Madrid president Santiago Bernabéu, Rosa Montero calls him "más negociante que deportista" 'more businessman than athlete' and points to the stadium bearing his name. To defend himself, he responds by stating:

¡Pero si esto no es mío! Este estadio es de Madrid. Yo compré los terrenos además a ocho pesetas el metro, fíjate. Si hubiera querido hacer negocio hubiera comprado mucho más. [...] Pero si yo no tengo dinero, de verdad, tengo una casita simple, hago una vida tranquila...mira, mira qué zapatos más viejos llevo

But that is not mine! The stadium belongs to Madrid. I bought the land at eight pesetas per meter, pay attention. If I had wanted to do business, I would have bought a lot more. [...] I really do not have money. I have a simple house. I have a quiet life...look, look at the old shoes I am wearing. (my trans.; Montero *España* 212)

The interview lets the reader become more familiar with the subject in question, especially the side(s) only divulged in the article (Icaria 89). For information gathering, the most important aspects are the professional trajectory and personal background, including education and family life, of the interviewee. The interviewer uses this information in question formation. Every interview in this collection has basically the same structure or outline. It begins with a brief introduction of the person, including the personal and professional pedigree of the interviewee. Next, are the physical descriptions of the person and the settings. It is only after this information has been covered that the interview begins. The tone of the pedigree depends on the person. Nonetheless, Montero tends to begin

interviews with a flattering tone, but ends with a sort of backhanded compliment, as is the case with Lola Flores. Here is a segment of her professional trajectory:

Y así la Lola, sorteando los escollos de la golfería de la vida, se convirtió en la Faraona, en la Flores nacional, una Lola fuera del tiempo y del espacio, tan surrealista e irrepetible que mientras España evoluciona, ella seguirá a lo suyo, tan al margen del contexto, convertida en la Musa de la Raza de los Alvarez Quintero²².

And so, Lola, dodging the pitfalls of life's street urchins, became the female pharaoh, Spain's Flores, a Lola out of time and space so surreal that while Spain evolves, she will continue to do her thing, so out of context, turning into a sort of breed or muse of the Álvarez Quintero brothers' (my trans.; Montero *España* 15).

Other times, the description of the professional and personal lives of the interviewees are less colorful and filled with more facts. For example, Rosa Montero calls playwright Antonio Gala "brillante, ingenioso, inteligente y harto izquierdoso" 'bright, witty, intelligent, and very leftist' but she also lists his educational background and jobs:

Se licenció en Derecho, Filosofía y Letras y Ciencias Políticas y Económicas. Después se pierde en algún que otro devaneo laboral, preparando oposiciones al Cuerpo de Abogados de Estado y abandonando al segundo ejercicio, dando clases después de Filosofía y de Historia del Arte, dirigiendo el Instituto «Vox»²³...En el

²² Serafín and Joaquín Álvarez Quintero were brothers who collaborated on almost 200 dramas depicting the life, customs, and speech of Andalucía.

²³ Instituto Vox is a private educational institute created in 1950 for different educational levels. Today it is one of the most prestigious and qualified national centers for technical and corporate education, especially those careers in the travel industry.

63 le dan el Premio Nacional de Teatro «Calderón de la Barca»²⁴ y desde entonces se dedica a la literatura de forma exclusiva, con poesías, relatos, ensayos, series de televisión, guiones para cine, obras de teatro, ganando, claro está, un par de docenas de premios.

He graduated in law, philosophy, political science, and economics. Then, he lost himself in a flurry of odd jobs, like preparing examinations for the Corps of State Attorneys, which he abandoned to teach philosophy and art history classes, and directing the Vox Institute...In 1963, he was awarded the Calderón de la Barca theater award and since then has devoted himself exclusively to literature, poetry, short stories, essays, television series, film scripts, and plays. Of course, winning a dozen awards. (my trans.; Montero *España* 65)

The types of interviews in *España para ti...para siempre* are considered literary rather than informative. However, interviews can be further classified as structured, semi-structured, or unstructured. A structured interview involves previously prepared questions (Flores 153), which can be seen with the interviews of the Duquesa de Alba and politician Pio Cabanillas Gallas. These two interviewees refused to speak with Montero without having a prescreened questionnaire and a promise that Montero would not stray from the listed questions. The semi-structured interview does not necessarily have a prepared and submitted questionnaire. However, the interviewer has prepared questions that can be adjusted for each respondent, including a topic guide with a list of objectives considered

²⁴ Premio Nacional de Teatro para Autores Noveles "Calderón de la Barca" was created by the Ministerio de Educación Nacional on March 16, 1950. It was aimed at authors who had not previously premiered work by a professional company. It is considered one of the most important awards of dramatic literature, aiming to recognize and reward the work of novice playwrights.

important and relevant. The semi-structured interview allows some freedom and flexibility (154), as can be seen with actor, playwright, and director Adolfo Marsillach. According to Montero: "Marsillach me sugirió por teléfono (sin demasiadas esperanzas temiéndose perdida la batalla de antemano) la utilización de un cuestionario, porque quiere ser preciso, y concreto, y riguroso cuando habla" 'On the phone, Marsillach suggested to me (without much hope, fearing he already lost the battle) to use a questionnaire because he wants to be precise, specific, and exacting when he speaks' (my trans.; Montero *España* 194). Although there was a questionnaire for the interview, Marsillach "habla extensamente" 'talked extensively' and the interview flows from topic to topic with Montero building and expanding on his answers. The unstructured interview lacks a questionnaire but includes an idea about the topics without any formal guide allowing for a tremendous amount of freedom. Less structured interviews allow the interviewee to express himself or herself in his or her own language, relating facts and experiences from his or her perspective, including information the interviewer may not have ever considered (Flores 155). A good example of an unstructured interview is Santiago Bernabéu. As Montero points out: "No se le puede hacer a don Santiago una entrevista como los demás, por la sencilla razón de que Bernabéu no se atiene a ningún juego, porque las normas las marca él" 'You cannot do an interview with Don Santiago like the other people, for the simple reason that Bernabéu does not play just any game. The rules are set by him' (my trans.; Montero *España* 209). Bernabéu begins the dialogue and dominates the interview. For professor and writer Alicia Rita Rueda-Acedo: "Las entrevistas de Montero tiene más valor literario o humano y no están necesariamente vinculadas con la actualidad del momento en el que fueron publicadas" 'The interviews of Montero have more literary or human value and are not

necessarily linked to the news of the moment in which they were published' (my trans.; Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 81). Rosa Montero inserts her own liberal viewpoint in the interviews via her challenging questions, descriptions of subjects, and descriptions of her interactions with the interviewees, which at the time was new and courageous in a “soft” news genre (Brown *Journalist* 241).

In the last chapter of *España para ti...para siempre*, Rosa Montero declares: “Diré, por último, que la entrevista me encanta, que es mi género preferido, que es simplemente un juego, pero en su más alto sentido, concediéndole a lo lúdico toda la importancia que en realidad tiene” 'Finally, I Will say that I love the interview. It is my favorite genre. It is simply a game, but in the highest sense, giving playfulness all the importance that it really has' (my trans. Montero *España* 230). The collection *España para ti...para siempre* is dedicated to well-known Spaniards during the Transition to democracy. In 1976, Spaniards were in the process of inheriting Spain from the centralized, authoritarian power that had functioned and survived, with democratic neighbors surrounding it, for almost forty years. Thus, the selected interviews included diverse spheres of Spanish society. The interviews include personalities from showbusiness to sports to politics, in addition to interviews representing the various Spanish autonomies. Lola Flores is *gitana*, Adolfo Marsillach is *catalán*, Miguel de la Quadra Salcedo is considered *vasco*, and Juan José López Ibor is *valenciano*. In the opinión of Montero: “La selección en principio es, como la propia España, un absoluto disparate” 'The selection is, in theory, like Spain itself, absolute insanity' (my trans.; Montero *España* 11). The diversity of interviewees presents a conciliatory vision, which Montero supports by saying: “No hay una Sociedad sin un debate público, sin un cambio de ideas, sin un cerebro colectivo” 'There is no society

without public debate, without an exchange of ideas, without a collective brain' (my trans.; qtd. in Escudero *Entre* 341). *España para ti...para siempre* creates a public debate and an exchange of ideas, but the selection of interviews needs to be questioned. Did Rosa Montero include Basques and Catalans because she felt obligated to include their voice after forty years of repression? Did Montero include Francoists because she did not want to appear to have a leftist, liberal agenda? Conciliatory can be defined as "intended to gain goodwill or to favor or to reduce hostility." There is a better word choice to describe the diversity of the interviewees, and it is "obligation." Rosa Montero had an obligation to include Spanish autonomies, Francoists, socialists, etc. in order to increase the public dialogue she sought.

The interviews of *España para ti...* are essay-like and address the political and social situation of transitional Spain, including politics, economy, censorship, societal values, social issues, religion, the generation gap, and Francisco Franco and the dictatorship. Montero chose these interviews because of their social, cultural, ideological, and political variety. According to her, the collection does not pretend to be a book of political interviews, and she clearly states in the introduction: "La entrevista política tiene una entidad, una profundidad, un rigor que no he buscado ni logrado en ninguno de los trabajos aquí presente" 'The political interview has an organization, a depth, a rigor that I have not sought nor achieved with any of the works present here' (my trans.; Montero *España* 13). When speaking of political interviews, one must keep in mind that those interviews are conducted with people seeking public office or already holding public office. The main trait of a political interview is that the interviewee is a member of the political elite and is a key player in policymaking. Since many of the interviewees are not involved

in politics (anymore), *España para ti...* technically is not a collection of political interviews. However, the interviews included in the collection are in fact political if we define political as "relating to or involving politics." It is important to keep in mind that when this collection was published, Spain was experiencing euphoria, change, renovation, harmony, and evolution. The interviews present and define this lively and vital moment.

One needs to keep in mind that *España para ti...para siempre* was published in 1976. Hence, one of the most pressing topics and most relevant to discuss was El Caudillo himself, General Francisco Franco, and the dictatorship. As one might suspect, there is a kaleidoscope of viewpoints with those being favorable and others critical, but of note is that the majority of the selected interviewees were of the same generation, born in the 1930s and 1940s. Of course, there are those who do not want to speak ill of the regime knowing that its key players continue to be key players in the intentionally inclusive Transition to democracy. For example, actress Lola Flores thinks Franco is a "gran persona" 'great person' because he brought such peace to Spain. She also believes he had a lot of responsibility and was well prepared (my trans.; Montero *España* 20). Expanding on the greatness of Franco, essayist and politician Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora believes that under Franco, Spain "ha llegado [...] a los más altos pináculos de la historia" 'has reached [...] the highest pinnacles of history' (my trans.; Montero *España* 55). Motorcycle racer Ángel Nieto also holds Franco in high regards. He says, "he respetado muchísimo" 'I respected him a lot' because he did great things for Spain (my trans.; Montero *España* 132). Singer Manolo Escobar denies being a Francoist. Nevertheless, he calls Franco "la figura más relevante de este siglo en España" 'the most relevant figure of this century in Spain' (my trans.; Montero *España* 225), and film director José Luis Sáenz De Heredia states that

as a man of the regime, he has "una enorme gratitud a la figura de Franco" 'a huge gratitude to the figure of Franco' (my trans.; Montero *España* 155). When the interviewees proclaim their respect for Franco or assert that Franco did great things for Spain, Montero never pushes for an explanation. She uses the statement as a segue into the next question or decides to address the political affiliation of the person. Why do these people respect Franco? How did Franco make Spain great? What did he improve? For those reading in the 21st century, an explanation would help readers to understand the mindset of these pro-Franco celebrities considered anachronistic in the now liberal democratic peninsula.

Other interviewees acknowledge some of the benefits of the Franco dictatorship, but also offer some criticism. For playwright Antonio Gala, the "autocratismo de Franco, con que ha mejorado económicamente al país, al prolongarse ha impedido el desarrollo" 'The autocratism of Franco improved the country economically, but prolonging it has impeded development' (my trans.; Montero *España* 69). Unlike naturalist Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente, Gala does not try to justify the Francoists and their actions. For Rodríguez de la Fuente: "Una buena parte de la élite histórica del franquismo tiene objetivas apasionadas y seguramente justificables posiciones políticas que derivan del hecho de haber vivido una cruzada, una confrontación bélica que, aunque ya debería estar olvidada." 'A good part of the historical elite of the Franco regime has passionate and surely justifiable political positions that derive from the fact they lived a crusade, a warlike confrontation that should already be forgotten' (my trans.; Montero *España* 177). The suggestion of forgetting is a bold one, which will ultimately happen with the Pacto de Olvido²⁵, but at this moment in

²⁵ The Pacto de Olvido is an informal agreement that made any discussion of the most difficult episodes of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime unnecessary and unwelcome. Spain did not seek justice, truth, or reconciliation after the death of Franco, but rather chose to forget and move on.

time, many are still leery of speaking against the regime. For example, film director Pedro Masó says: "Yo soy todo lo progresista y progresivo que se puede ser en el tiempo que vivimos. pero no soy un imbécil que para hacerme notar saca las cosas de quicio o va contra del Régimen" 'I am as progressive as one can be living in our time, but I am not an idiot to irritate, annoy, or go against the regime' (my trans.; Montero *España* 107).

When speaking about the truth, the truism is that there are two sides to every story and somewhere in between stands the truth. For these interviews, there are some pro-Franco, the "fence sitters," and the anti-Francoists, which are best represented by socialist politician Enrique Tierno Galván, who calls the dictatorship irresponsible. In his interview with Rosa Montero, he makes his argument for a break with *franquismo* by saying:

Es plena después de cuarenta años de una dictadura irresponsable (porque si buscásemos con atención en la historia podríamos encontrar ejemplos de dictaduras responsables), irresponsabilidad que se ha demostrado en la desmitificación instantánea de esta dictadura, ya que pocas veces en la historia de una dictadura habrá caído tanto sin que haya sucedido ningún hecho fundamental para ello aparte de la muerte de dictador. El caso es que esta irresponsabilidad infectó a todo el país, y esto hace que España sea la nación del «apenas»: apenas se trabaja, apenas se vive. Hay que romper este apenas y llegar a la plenitud. Que ya estamos todos cansados de que la clase dirigente en su mayoría sea apenas honrada. Hay que entrar en Europa sin el adverbio.

It is clear that after forty years of an irresponsible dictatorship (because if you look carefully through history, you would be able to find examples of responsible

dictatorships), this irresponsibility has been demonstrated in the immediate unmasking of this dictatorship. Few times in history has a dictatorship fallen so hard without having any fundamental event happen apart from the death of the dictator. The fact is that irresponsibility has infected the entire country, and this makes Spain the country of "hardly": Spain hardly works and hardly lives. This idea of "just barely" needs to be broken and the summit needs to be reached. We are all tired of the majority of the ruling class being barely honored. One needs to enter Europe without the adverb [hardly]. (my trans.; Montero *España* 43)

When asking about the dictatorship, Montero is naturally going to also ask about politics and the Transition. When asked such questions, quite a few of the interviewees respond that they do not want to speak about politics and others claim to know nothing about politics whatsoever. Bullfighter Luis Miguel Dominguín insists that "el torero no es de derechas ni de izquierdas, el torero es un bicho distinto a todo" 'the bullfighter is not from the right or from the left. The bullfighter is a different creature' because every time he steps into the bullfighting ring, there is a chance he may die. Hence, according to him, "no puede ser calificado como de derechas o de izquierdas, sino simplemente como un ser humano" 'cannot be described as right or left, but simply a human being' (my trans.; 85). When asked about his political leanings, former soccer star Santiago Bernabéu plays coy:

MONTERO. ¿Pero usted qué es, en definitiva?

But what are you ultimately?

BERNABÉU. ¿Yo? Manchego.

Me? Manchegan.

MONTERO. Ya. Políticamente hablando.

Oh sure. Politically speaking.

BERNABÉU. Yo no soy ni de derechas ni de izquierdas. Yo soy liberal con la educación, no liberal para que cada uno haga lo que quiera y ponga una pata aquí y otra allá. Liberal para que nadie sea desgraciado, porque yo no puedo soportar la desgracia humana.

I am not on the right or on the left. I am liberal with an education. Not so liberal that everyone does what they want being nose-y here and there. I am liberal so that no one is unhappy because I cannot bear human misfortune.

(my trans.; Montero *España* 215-216)

Unlike Santiago Bernabéu, who dodges the political affiliation question in a charming way, Ángel Nieto gets combative when asked about his affiliation with the Unión del Pueblo Español²⁶ and responds to the questions by saying: "Oye, ¿tú qué vienes a preguntarme? Yo corro en motos, ¿no? Pues, pregúntame de eso" 'Hey, why are you here asking me that? I race motorcycles. Well, ask me about that' (my trans.; Montero *España* 129). Nieto proves that he is the most apolitical of all the interviewees because he is unwilling to vote because he does not think he is able to elect anyone because he knows nothing (Montero *España* 133). The Duquesa de Alba also denies being political. However, earlier in the interview, she has an opinion on the monarchy when asked and calls herself a monarchist. She says:

²⁶ The Unión del Pueblo Español was a right-wing, conservative Spanish nationalist party founded in 1975. It existed for two years before merging with the Alianza Popular.

Bueno yo me declaro monárquica por sentimiento y también por convicción, porque considero que el régimen político que ofrece mayores garantías de continuidad dentro de los cambios. En canto al tipo de monarquía, para mí todas son respetables. La que yo quisiera para nosotros es una monarquía moderna, puesta al día, pero española y nada más que española.

Well, I declare myself a monarchist by emotion and by conviction because I consider it the political administration that offers greater guarantees of continuity within the changes. In terms of the type of monarchy, for me, they are all respectable. The one I want is a modern monarchy, updated, but still Spanish; nothing more than Spanish. (my trans.; Montero *España* 124).

In her interview, the Duquesa de Alba was also asked about the aristocracy and if it was ready to adapt to the changes in Spain. The Duquesa replied: "Creo que sí, que es imprescindible adaptarse" 'Yes, I think it is essential to adapt' (my trans.; 115).

Many of the interviewees have an opinion on what should happen in Spain, with the exception of Dominguín. He feels the situation in Spain is terrible and states:

Es lógico que después de cuarenta años en los que prácticamente no se ha opinado de política ni de nada de lo que pudiera pasar (bueno, siempre ha habido opinión, pero a niveles muy particulares) haya un desfase en la gente. Nos tenemos que mentalizar, hay que pensar que si nos queremos incorporar a Europa.

It is logical that after forty years which there was practically no opinion on politics or whatnot. Anything could happen. (Well, there has always been an opinion, but at very particular levels.) There is a difference in people. We have to mentally

prepare ourselves. We have to think about if we want to join Europe. (my trans.;
Montero *España* 81)

Dominguín clearly does not want Spain to become part of Europe because he says: "si hubieran viajado y hubieran visto cómo está no tendrían ganas de europeizarse" 'If they had traveled and seen how it is, they would not want to Europeanize (my trans.; Montero *España* 81). For naturalist Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente, the key to a successful transition is the Spanish people. He suggests: "Habría que canalizar al gran porcentaje del pueblo español que por edad o por circunstancias especiales no está incluido en la élite franquista ni en la oposición, que es donde se encuadran" 'It would be necessary to channel the large percentage of the Spanish people who, due to age or special circumstances, are not included in the Francoist elite or the opposition, which is where they need to fit in (my trans.; Montero *España* 177).

In order to gather the support of those marginalized from the two political poles of Francoism and the opposition, one needs to develop a system which will guarantee and protect the rights of individuals. In order to do this, socialist Tierno Galván seeks to establish "una democracia burguesa" 'a bourgeois democracy' (my trans.; 44). Even Manolo Escobar supports the protection of individual rights. In fact, he supports "toda clase de Libertad, pero, eso sí, a partir de cierta edad, de cierta madurez en la persona, que unos alcanzarán a los diecisiete años, otros antes o después" 'all kinds of freedom, but after a certain age and a certain maturity in the person, which some will reach at the age of seventeen; other sooner or later' (my trans.; Montero *España* 224). It is the individuals that concern playwright and director Adolfo Marsillach. Although he does not think another civil war is possible, he does believe "una confrontación violenta [...] sí la veo terrible y

possible en la España actual" 'a violent confrontation [...] I do see it as terrible and possible in the Spain of today' (my trans.; Montero *España* 198). Considering he was right (El Tejerazo of 1981), he believes that "tenemos que mantenernos lo bastante lúcidos y prudentes (sin tener que renunciar a nuestras posturas, claro está) como para evitar esto" 'we have to remain clearheaded and prudent enough (without having to give up our stances, of course) to avoid this' (my trans.; Montero *España* 198) about which he was also correct. Marsillach also believes that democratization does not happen overnight and that it begins with fixing the economy (Montero *España* 197). Tierno Galván summarizes it best when he says: "Y para ponernos de acuerdo con el tiempo político que tiene que rectificar el Estado, la Iglesia, la clase dirigente...el pueblo no, ya que el pueblo sólo tiene grado de víctima y la necesidad de rectificación sólo alcanza a los verdugos" 'and to put ourselves in agreement with the political momento, the State, the Church, and the ruling class have to change...the people do not, since the people only have the role of victim and the need for rectification only reaches the tormentors' (my trans.; Montero *España* 43).

One theme that does come up in several interviews is the idea of the ruling class. Santiago Bernabéu believes that Spain has suffered tremendously and that "nadie debe utilizar un cargo privilegiado para sacar provecho para sí" 'no one should use a position of privilege to profit for themselves' (my trans.; Montero *España* 211). Is Bernabéu ridiculing the Francoists in power? Is he mocking the key players of the opposition seeking power? This is a moment when Rosa Montero should have asked a follow up question getting Bernabéu to expand on what he means. In contrast, Manolo Escobar believes "hay políticos preparados y fuertes en el gobierno actual que reúnen los suficientes méritos como para formar un gobierno duradero. Es el tiempo el que debe decirlo esto" 'There are prepared

and strong politicians in the current government who have enough merit to form a lasting government. It is time for someone to say this' (my trans.; Montero *España* 225). The fact that there are so many Francoists in the current government, leads to criticism from Antonio Gala. He thinks that "las izquierdas no tienen ninguna opinión en el gabinete actual, que parece un cuadro de honor de un colegio de jesuitas" 'the left has no voice in the current cabinet, which looks like an honor roll from a Jesuit college' (my trans.; Montero *España* 69).

One person who is dead set against democracy is Fernández de la Mora. In his interview, he criticizes democracy, which in turn leads to criticism of the Second Republic, the United States, and the European Community²⁷. Fernández de la Mora "no quiere que la democracia coja a España" 'does not want democracy to fuck Spain' (my trans.; Montero *España* 55). He continues his anti-democracy rant by explaining:

Yo soy partidario de reformar únicamente aquellas instituciones que funcionan mal. Lo del inmovilismo no es de recibo. Con ese argumento se invalidaría la historia entera de los Estados Unidos, cuya Constitución vigente es la secular de la Independencia. La agitación constante no es una virtud, salvo en las moléculas gaseosas. Lo deseable es moverse hacia lo mejor. No soy ni retromovilista, ni movilista universal. Soy partidario de continuar la más eficaz movilización²⁸ de las energías sociales para el progreso, que es lo que ha hecho nuestro Estado. Me

²⁷ The European Community was an economic association formed in 1957, which consisted of the European Economic Community (EEC), European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). Eventually, the European Community morphs into the European Union.

²⁸ Mobilism is the belief that nothing is fixed, and everything changes.

opongo a que nos movamos hacia atrás, hacia el vacío, o en todas direcciones, porque lo primero es retrógrado, lo segundo es suicida y lo tercero demencial.

I am in favor of reforming only those institutions that work badly. The immobility thing is unacceptable. With this argument, the entire history of the United States would be invalidated. Constant agitation is not a virtue, except in gaseous molecules. The desirable thing is to move towards the best thing for Spain. I am neither a retro-mobilist or a universal mobilist. I am in favor of continuing the most effective mobilization of social energies for progress, which is what our State has done. I am opposed to moving backwards into the void or in all directions because the first is old-fashioned, the second is suicidal, and the third is insane (my trans.; Montero *España* 57).

Later in the article, he doubts the benefits Spain would receive by joining the European Community. He also believes that Spain will not be allowed to join because it recently rejected Greece: "[E]l reciente rechazo de Grecia demuestra que la homologación democrática no es suficiente y que para ser admitido hace falta los datos contables resulten favorables para los miembros del club. Los Estados no suelen regalar nada. El tema del Mercado Común hay que plantearlo y resolverlo con números y no de ideologías" "The recent rejection of Greece shows that democratic approval is not enough and that in order to be admitted it is necessary to have accounting data that is favorable to the club's members. States usually do not sugar coat anything. The issue of the common market must be raised and resolved with numbers and not ideologies. (my trans.; Montero *España* 59).

Some think that Spain will go through difficult times before things improve. Others believe that a transition is crucial and that there is hope for a bright future. Of course, there are those against the concept of a transition at all. However, most of the interviews highlight the feeling of euphoria mentioned by Rosa Montero in the prologue of *Espana para ti...* Dominguín speaks of the difficult times Spain will face. He believes that "estamos en una situación que no es nada fácil, sé que tendremos pasar por años bastante sombríos y confusos hasta que la gente se mentalice" 'We are in a situation that is not easy at all. I know that we will have to go through dark and confusing years until people are aware' (my trans.; 87). Conservative politician Pio Cabanillas echoes this sentiment in his interview, when he says, "No es un momento fácil. Hay que cambiar rompiendo la corteza de muchos usos anteriores y crear fórmulas de mayor presencia comunitaria" 'This is not an easy time. We have to change breaking the thick skin of previous customs and create a symbol with more community presence' (my trans.; 96). Even popstar Camilo Sesto, who views himself as a centrist, believes that is "un momento difícil" 'a difficult moment' and that the "futuro será positive, solo hay que darle tiempo al tiempo," 'the future will be positive, you just have to give it time,' which is difficult with the Spanish character of wanting everything immediately (my trans.; 186). Sesto makes an important point that Spaniards need "ese tiempo para adquirir cultura política, para saber que es lo que queremos, para exigir y también para comprender lo que nos dicen" 'time to acquire political culture, to know what we want, to demand, and to also understand what they tell us' (my trans.; 186). After forty years of dictatorship, Spain lacks a political culture, especially one that allows for a multitude of voices and opinions, in addition to the freedom to choose. With that ability to choose, there comes great responsibility, which is why

Tierno Galván calls for "una oposición con «gentileza»" 'an opposition with kindness' (my trans.; Montero *España* 41). The most riveting opinion about the Transition comes from Olympic athlete and television reporter Miguel de la Quadra Salcedo, who was not in Spain when Franco died. He states, "[M]e enteré de la muerte de Franco a primeros de diciembre y quizás por esta perspectiva temporal he podido ver mejor la transición, el cambio España está realmente cambiada, llena de esperanzas" 'I found out about the death of Franco at the beginning of December, and perhaps because of this temporal perspective, I have been able to see the Transition better. The change. Spain has really changed.' (my trans.; Montero *España* 33). Since he was in the Himalayas, he was viewing everything happening in Spain as an outsider from a different perspective than the other interviewees, who were living the moment in the country.

According to journalist David Vidal, Montero has the ability to “mezclar la prosopografía y la epopeya: lo que comienza siendo una simple descripción física sugiere y la categoría moral del personaje en una transición, delicadísima, sutil, brillante” 'mix prosopography²⁹ and epic: what begins as a simple description suggests the moral category of the character in a transition, very delicate, subtle, brilliant (my trans.; qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 140). Montero uses descriptions to present the interviewee in a different light, or as more than the stereotyped image by presenting the private side the person that is normally hidden. As mentioned, many of the interviews take place in the homes of the interviewees, and nothing is more intimate than a home. In the case of Dominguín, he was "en la cama en un dormitorio todo verde de lecho enorme, con puertas de cristal una

²⁹ Prosopography is a study that identifies and relates a group of persons or characters with in a particular historical or literary context.

terraza" 'in the huge bed in an all-green bedroom with glass doors and a terrace' (my trans.; 81). In contrast the interview with Manolo Escobar took place "en una cafetería impersonal y moderna" 'in an impersonal and modern cafeteria' (my trans.; 221) because he refused to have the interview in his house. He was "celoso de su intimidad, ansioso de guardar para sí, fueras de miradas ajenas algo tan privado como es la casa de uno" 'jealous of its privacy and eager to keep out of the sight of others something as private as the home' (my trans.; 221). Many times, the dwellings match the personality interviewed and other times they are a stark contrast to the public person. Naturalist and broadcaster Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente "ha llenado su casa [...] de extrañas piezas africanas, de pieles de animales, de armas amazónicas" 'has filled his house [...] with strange African pieces, animal pelts, Amazonian weapons' (my trans.; Montero *España* 170). The Pio Cabanillas interview was completed through a questionnaire, but Rosa Montero needed to drop off the questionnaire at his office. Although an office is not the home of someone, an office often times still demonstrates to the world who the person is, and no one would suspect that the most liberal of the Francoists would have a "flamante y muy enmoquetada oficina en la Avenida del Generalísimo, una oficina de modernísimo y culto ejecutivo" 'brand new and very carpeted office on Avenida del Generalísimo, a very modern and cultured executive' (my trans.; Montero *España* 94). In most cases, it is after the descriptive introduction that the conversation begins. Each interview is accompanied by a black and white photograph of the interviewee. These pictures play an important role in reader reaction because they develop and emphasize the personality of the subject and his or her physical appearance. Rosa Montero says: "El personaje, por su parte, cuenta con privilegio de decidir cuando te da la entrevista, dónde y, lo que es fundamental, durante cuánto tiempo" 'The interviewee,

for his part, has the privilege of deciding when to give the interview, where, and what really matters is for how long (my trans.; qtd. in Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 180).

Rosa Montero is a skilled interviewer and employs a variety of techniques, but most often she uses the indirect, unstructured format, which allows the subject to express himself or herself freely. This lack of traditional question-answer will last the entire interview as long as the interviewee is a willing, active participant, which is not always the case as seen with Pio Cabanillas. If questions are necessary, Montero will begin with the most innocuous questions and gradually build to the most polemical, such as direct, demanding political questions. As one can surmise, the most demanding and contentious questions Montero asks in *España para ti...* deal with Francisco Franco, his regime, and the Transition. For example, Montero asks actress Lola Flores point-blank, "¿Qué opinas de la figura de Franco?" 'What do you think of Franco?' (my trans.; Montero *España* 20). While speaking with Antonio Gala, Montero asks him, "¿Es que no hay intelectuales de derechas en España?" 'Are there right-wing intellectuals in Spain?' (my trans. Montero *España* 71). As if that question alone is not controversial enough, the answer Gala gives is recalcitrant: "El Régimen ha contado con el apoyo de pocos intelectuales" 'few intellectuals have supported the regime' (my trans.; Montero *España* 71). Last but not least, Rosa Montero asks about the Spanish people and their preparation for freedom and democracy. She questions several interviewees about the Spanish people. Many of the interviewees respond true to their pedigree, ideology, and place in Spanish society, but others shock you with their answers. One example of a shocking answer that is a liability for the interviewee comes from Manolo Escobar.

MONTERO. Y el pueblo español, ¿está maduro para esa libertad?

And the Spanish people, are they mature enough for that freedom?

ESCOBAR. No demasiado. Por una serie de circunstancias, el pueblo español empieza madurar ahora. El pueblo no tiene idea de lo que son las asociaciones ni nada por el estilo.

Not too much. Due to a series of circumstances, the Spanish people are beginning to mature now. The people have no idea what society is or anything like that. (my trans.; Montero *España* 224)

One must keep in mind that Escobar is a singer who depends on the Spanish people to prosper economically. He needs people to buy his records and to watch his television show. He needs the Spanish people, so it is interesting that he chooses to insult them.

Montero pushes the interviewee to answer questions, or talk about topics, he or she does not want to address. One should not be surprised that the most common topic that was off-limits for many interviewees is politics, with Ángel Nieto and Massiel claiming their ignorance on the subject. Others flat outright refuse to answer questions, as in the case of Pio Cabanillas and his almost blank questionnaire prior to the spoken interview. For every disagreeable question Rosa Montero asked, Cabanillas leaves it blank, so in the transcription, Montero wrote "sin respuesta" 'no comment' in those spots (my trans.; *España* 98). According to Professor Alicia Rita Rueda-Acedo, with this type of aggression, "...se aprecia cierta ironía y mala intención por parte de Montero" 'there is a certain irony and naughtiness on the part of Montero' (my trans.; Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 145). If this hostile strategy does not work, Montero will change her tone and adopt the strategy of putting words into the mouth of the subject, making her the protagonist of the interview.

In the introduction of *España para ti...*, Montero states “He de aclarar que en ningún momento he pretendido ser objetiva porque la objetividad no existe, pero además porque en una prensa monocolor, la objetividad del periodista me parece una auténtica inmoralidad” 'I must clarify that at no time have I tried to be objective because objectivity does not exist, but also because in a mono-colored press, the objectivity of the journalist seems to me a real immorality' (my trans.; *España* 13).

LET'S ASK PIERRE NORA

There is always a "before" and an "after" when talking about history and memory. Almost every approach to memory concerns itself with realia, or the *things* in their immediate reality (Nora 23). When speaking of memory there is an emphasis on keeping everything or to preserve every indicator of memory - even if we are unsure what the memory is. When looking at *España para ti...para siempre*, one has to ask is this hoarding of memories seen in the interviews? Rosa Montero is asking the interviewees questions that are important and relevant to a time and place, uncertainty, and re-construction. Through these interviews and this collection, she is creating an archive that highlights the mindset of a cross-section of Spanish society during the early stages of the Transition. However, it is important to ask if every interview and interviewee are worth remembering? There also tends to be pressure to produce archives (Nora 14), especially during important historical moments, like the death of Franco and the transitional period. Nonetheless, Rosa Montero was not forced to produce a collection of her interviews. In the prologue of *España para ti...*, she states: "Este libro ha surgido un poco a impulsos de la euforia editorial que parece haberle entrado al país en los últimos meses" 'This book has emerged a bit from the publishing euphoria that seems to have entered the country in the recent months' (my trans.;

Montero *España* 9). Even as memory of the Transition disappears, there is an obligation to collect remains, testimonies, documents, images, speeches, or a visible sign of what has been. For journalists of the transitional period, it was not a sense of obligation that allowed them or even forced them to collect artifacts of history. They were merely doing their jobs.

The press has four great functions in burgeoning democracies. First, to serve as a source of information for the citizens. Second, to act like a watchdog keeping a close eye on the political and economic elites of the country. Next, to mediate the citizens and the political players in the country. Lastly, to stand up for certain causes (Casero-Ripollés *Periodismo político* 21-22). This burgeoning dossier can be called upon at any point to furnish some proof of anything that forms part of History (Casero-Ripollés "Introduction" 13).

A POLITICAL MOMENT, BUT...WHAT ABOUT SOCIAL ISSUES?

History recalls the Transition as 'a political moment.' However, the Transition also included a social transition, which is not necessarily addressed in the great tomes of the period. In her interviews, Rosa Montero bluntly asks the interviewees about social issues, including divorce, birth control, abortion, societal values, religion, and the generation gap. For conservative essayist Fernández de la Mora: "Desde enero de 1974 la situación no ha cesado de deteriorarse en lo económico, lo social y en lo político. Y no hemos tocado fondo" 'Since January 1974, the situation has not ceased to deteriorate economically, socially, and politically. We have not hit bottom' (my trans.; Montero *España* 55). Luckily, most of the other interviewees do not take this negative view of Spanish society. In fact, the values most revered by the interviewees are traditional. For example, Pio Cabanillas

cherishes "humanidad, justicia, honestidad y belleza" 'humanity, justice, honesty, and beauty' (my trans.; Montero *España* 98), while the Duquesa de Alba tells Rosa Montero: "la base de mi vida es mi familia, mis hijos, mi casa, mi marido mientras vivió" 'the basis of my life is my family, my children, my house, my husband, while he was alive' (my trans.; Montero *España* 120). The interviews presented in the book slide between conservative and liberal personalities, but one thing many interviewees share is their belief in God. Some are practicing Catholics, others believe but do not attend Mass, and others merely consider themselves spiritual. Thus, proving society has not decayed as much as Fernández de la Mora believes. However, he may not be pleased with the contemporary views of his compatriots concerning extramarital affairs, birth control, abortion, divorce, and education.

The most intriguing opinions about society come from motorcycle racer Ángel Nieto, who says that "las relaciones extramatrimoniales le parecen bien siempre que no haya hijos, que eso es un lío" 'extramarital affairs seem fine as long as there are no children; that is a mess' (my trans.; Montero *España* 134). To do his opinions justice, it is necessary to include the entire passage as written by Rosa Montero:

Y qué a él le encanta el matrimonio. Y que está a favor de divorcio, que vivir con alguien al que no se quiere es absurdo. Y que la píldora le parece bien [...] que el mundo está lleno de gente, aunque él quiere tener hijos, claro está. Y que el aborto no le gusta nada. Y en cada respuesta buscaba mi refrendo a la cuestión: «¿y a ti qué te parece?», «¿no crees?»

And that he loves marriage. And that he is in favor of divorce because living with someone you do not love is absurd. And that the pill seems fine [...] the world is filled with people, but he still wants to have kids, of course. And that he does not like abortion at all. And in each answer, he sought my endorsement of the question with «What do you think? » or «Do you not think? » (my trans.; 134).

When asked about religion, he replies: "Sí, soy creyente...Hombre, no voy a Misa todos los domingos, pero creo en Dios, claro soy católico, seguro" 'Yes, I am a believer...Man, I do not go to Mass every Sunday, but I believe in God, of course. I am Catholic for sure' (my trans.; 134). He claims to be Catholic, yet clearly his some of his views are contrary to Catholic dogma. Fernández de la Mora would be alarmed that a man who was affiliated with the UPE and supporter of Franco could support such liberal ideas as divorce and the birth control pill.

The Duquesa de Alba considers herself "una mujer de mi tiempo, moderna y llana" 'a woman of my time, modern and modest' (my trans.; Montero *España* 115). However, her answers to the questions posed by Montero on the interview questionnaire differ from the idea of a "modern" woman.

PREGUNTA. ¿Es usted partidaria de la píldora anticonceptiva?

Do you support the birth control pill?

RESPUESTA. Yo no me meto en lo que hacen los demás ni en lo que piensan. De mí puedo decirle que nunca la he tomado, y la prueba de ello está en que tengo seis hijos...

I do not get involved in what other people do or what they think. I can tell you that I have never taken it, and the proof of this is that I have six children.

PREGUNTA. ¿Y el divorcio?

And divorce?

RESPUESTA. El divorcio es siempre triste y mucho más cuando se tienen hijos.

En caso de no tenerlos encuentro lógico cuando el matrimonio no logra entenderse. Pero de todos modos habría que pensarlo mucho.

Divorce is always sad and much more when you have children. In case of not having them, I find it logical when the marriage fails and the couple do not understand each other, but anyway it would take a lot of thought.

PREGUNTA. ¿Qué opina del aborto?

What do you think about abortion?

RESPUESTA. Me parece espantoso porque es matar a un ser humano, y para esto no hay disculpas.

It seems horrible to me because it is killing a human being and for this there are no excuses.

PREGUNTA. ¿Y de las drogas?

And drugs?

RESPUESTA. Me inspiran compasión las personas que llegan a ella, unas por desgraciadas, otras por fracasadas.

I feel compassionate about the people who come to that, some unfortunate and other failures. (my trans.; 119)

One topic where the Duquesa is liberal is education. When speaking about the education of her children, she says: "En la orientación de su educación soy partidaria de darles máxima Libertad, para que ellos escojan lo que deseen" 'In the direction of their education, I am in favor of giving them maximum freedom, so that they choose what they want' (my trans.; 119).

Quite a few interviewees believe that education is key to making Spain a stronger, better country and to making the Transition successful. One fierce critic of education in Spain is psychiatrist Juan José López Ibor. In his interview, he criticizes the university system in Spain:

La Universidad...ah, está masificada. En España por ejemplo hay médicos en ciernes como para llenar los Estados Unidos además de nuestro país. Falta también una necesaria protección a la vida del universitario para que este pueda dedicarse a investigar una vez terminada la carrera. Falta en definitiva una visión general, una perspectiva. Aquí nos encerramos en los programas de la UNESCO y no nos damos cuenta de que estos programas educativos están hechos para el Congo, por ejemplo, y no para España, que es un país con peso histórico y con una determinada configuración. A esta falta de visión general por parte del Estado se suma la de los padres.

The university...ah, it is overcrowded. In Spain, for example, there are enough doctors in the making to fill the United States, as well as our country. There is also a necessary protection for the life of the university student, so he can dedicate is definitely missing. Here we are locked into UNESCO programs, and we do not realize that these educational programs are made for the Congo, for example, and not for Spain, which is a country with historical weight and with a certain configuration. Added to this is a lack of general vision on the part of the State, which gets lost on the parents. (my trans.; Montero *España* 161)

For López Ibor, freedom is the ability to send a child outside side of Spain to study. For him it is "una prueba de libertad extraordinaria" 'a test of extraordinary freedom' (my trans.; Montero *España* 161). Another proponent of education is Santiago Bernabéu, who says, "Soy partidario de los maestros de escuela, que tienen la llave de la educación de los países" 'I am a supporter of schoolteachers, who hold the key to education of countries' (my trans.; 210).

ARCHIVING THE PAST/PRESENT

In the classical terms, the three main producers of archives were the powerful families, the Church, and the State (Nora 14). The archive records memories creating a deposit. Today, everyone and anyone can begin an archive. Thus, an archive has a life of its own. It is a function of its own recording, in addition to being a secondary memory. According to Nora, the contemporary, indiscriminate production of archives is the acute effect of a new consciousness that attacks historicized memory (14). The archive is the keeper of lost memory: "Modern memory relies entirely on the materiality of evidence, the

immediacy of sound, and the visibility of image" (Nora 13). Materiality means that the piece of evidence, in this case, the interview, has importance or great consequence, but this point is disputable. Can personality interviews be considered an item of great consequence? Does the interview of pop singer Camilo Sesto hold the same weight as the interview with Madrid mayor Tierno Galván? Was anything groundbreaking or of great importance said in these interviews? Examining the interviews from the 21st century viewpoint and as an outsider, it becomes difficult to distinguish between novel revelations and common knowledge. However, immediacy and visibility both form part of the interviews. Interviews of celebrities relate to the here and now of the conversation taking place. They are ephemeral because irrelevance can strike at any moment. Again, looking at the interviews from the viewpoint of our century, I can declare some of the interviews as highly irrelevant, but that does not mean they do not form an important part of the cultural and political archive of the Transition, since inclusivity and consensus are hallmarks of Spanish democracy. Lastly, the interviews were written to attract public interest because the interviewees were prominent *at the time*. For Pierre Nora, what began as writing ends as high fidelity and tape recording (Nora 13), which is exactly how Rosa Montero archived her interviews before typing and publishing them.

Emphasis on the past creates practices that reinforce dominant, conservative, historical discourses, while simultaneously presenting a nostalgic longing for an idealized, unproblematic past (Ferrán 46). Unintentionally, Rosa Montero does this through the inclusion of so many *franquistas* in the collection. Yes, she does include opposition viewpoints. However, the weight of opposition leader Tierno Galván cannot counterbalance that of six pro-Franco interviews because in reality three other opposition

interviews do not carry the leverage that hyper liberal Tierno Galván does. Although the interviews break down into six pro-Franco, four opposition and eight apolitical/unknown ideological stances, as a group the interviews do not contain a nostalgia for *the* past. Of course, there are always exceptions, but overall, *the interviews are looking forward to a brighter future for Spain*. Historical memory, according to Professor Joan Ramón Resina, is a specialized recollection based on research and documentation, which should be "treated as witness of events and must be scrupulously reconstructed before their meaning and validity can be formally established" (qtd. in Song *Translation* 20). Each interview presents a specialized recollection of the Transition. Montero does her research and documentation in order to produce the best interview possible forming the specialized recollection. Montero tapes each interview and listens to it several times before beginning to write. She scrupulously reconstructs each conversation. Historiographical accuracy is important to the act of remembering and ideological manipulation is frequent in representations of the past (Song *Translation* 125). Returning to the question of manipulation, one must ask if ideological manipulation is present in the interviews? The interviewer is not the only player in this game of manipulation. The interviewee can try to manipulate not only the readers, but the interviewer herself. The question of manipulation is important because - who is manipulating whom? What ideology is winning the jockeying for position?

Memory does not exist separately from knowledge because it constitutes a historically specific cultural knowledge (Swanson 111). Memory creation is historically specific and ever-changing and the break between older and newer memories may be less absolute than it appears (Radstone 18). It is important to recognize, as Andreas Huyssen does, that the emphasis on the past can have very different political implications (qtd. in

Ferrán 46). Memory is associated with coherent, bounded, and sovereign subjectivity (Radstone 3). For French philosopher, Gaston Bachelard:

Memories are motionless and the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are. To localize a memory in time is merely a matter for the biographer and only corresponds to a sort of external history [...] For knowledge of intimacy, localization in the spaces of our intimacy is more urgent than determination of dates. (qtd. in Swanson 123)

Emphasis on the past allows memory practices to present alternatives to the dominant views of the past, especially the memories of the previously marginalized (Ferrán 46).

Personality has memory. An individual constantly constructs and reconstructs himself/herself, which means he or she privileges certain experiences as relevant, creates himself/herself from them, and discards everything else as irrelevant (Haug 157). For that reason, "social consciousness" is continually reconstructed corresponding to a displacement of authority over collective consciousness. Professional historians and the traditions they uphold bow to journalists and public opinion (Carrier 44). The cultivation of public opinion, by way of mass media, cannot be dissociated from the awareness of time (44).

Collective memory is not simply a form of narrative memory. Rather, it is the "language" that enables memory to be transmitted and easily understood (Bennett 29). French writer Charlotte Delbo believes collective memory describes the socially or popularly understood framework where History is written (qtd. in Bennett 29). She states that common memory is how events are rendered intelligible and pegged to a common or

established frame of reference, so they can be communicated to, and readily understood by as general audience (Bennett 28). For Delbo, writing History in the language of common memory is socially important (qtd. in Bennett 29).

Considering the role of individual and collective memory in making history, can the collection *España para ti...para siempre* be considered *lieu de mémoire* that supports a particular (national) cultural memory? *Lieu de mémoire* is not necessarily a geographical place and can include geographical regions, monuments, well-known personalities, commemorative ceremonies, political movements, professional institutions, or social habits. In her interviews, Montero includes representatives of the Spanish "periphery," El País Vasco and Cataluña. Hence, the geographical regions are included. The people being interviewed are well-known and embody numerous political movements, professional institutions, and social habits. *Lieu de mémoire* crystallizes during a particular historical moment of "break" with the past, which is exactly what occurs upon the death of Franco. This *lieu de mémoire* lends a voice to things which have remained silent, while dispelling the familiarity of something (heard, perceived, remembered). The interviews here do both. Montero presents oppositional voices and viewpoints formerly stifled under Franco. She presents the private side of the interviewees, which may contradict the public persona of the person visible in tabloids and on television. Lastly, *lieu de mémoire* is a significant unit (either natural or ideal), which the will of the people have turned into a symbolic element of a given community. In the case of Rosa Montero and *España para ti...para siempre*, collective *lieux de mémoire* are symbolic ingredients in the Transition to democracy. In her mode of "radical" inclusivity, Rosa Montero has come to represent leftist beginnings of the

young democracy, and the interviews have become artifacts capturing the spirit of this transitional time.

CHAPTER 4

CINCO AÑOS DE PAÍS: THE RELUCTANT COLLECTION

La entrevista me parece un género efímero, ceñido a lo actual, que pierde peso específico con el paso del tiempo.

The interview seems to me an ephemeral genre limited by the present and which loses specific influence with the passage of time.

Rosa Montero, Introduction to *Cinco años de País*

By the time *Cinco años de País* was published in 1982, a lot had changed in transitional Spain, including the attitude towards the interviews of Rosa Montero, which she explains in a conversation with Sebastià Bernal and Lluís Albert Chillón:

Cuando empecé a trabajar en *El País*, que todavía era colaboradora, me llamaron para hacer entrevistas. Y me pasé unos años haciendo una entrevista cada domingo, una cosa horrorosa; me pedían constantemente entrevistas y entrevistas, hasta que me tuve que parar y decir que no quería hacer tantas, que me apetecía hacer otras cosas. Cuesta salir de esos encasillamientos.

When I started working at *El País* as a collaborator, they called me to do interviews, and I spent a few years doing an interview every Sunday, which was horrible. They constantly asked me for interviews and interviews, until I had to stop and say that I did not want to do so many; that I wanted to do other things. It is difficult to get out of those pigeonholes. (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 160)

In the introduction to *Cinco años del País*, she states: "La entrevista me parece un género efímero, ceñido a lo actual, que pierde peso específico con el paso del tiempo" 'The interview seems to me an ephemeral genre limited by the present that loses specific influence with the passage of time' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 7). Her job as a reporter allowed her to influence public perception of current events and news, as well as the image of the interviewees, and the collective and historical consciousness of the Spanish public during the Transition. Nonetheless, the structure and style of her interviews did not change. Although she says, "Estoy un poco aburrida de ellas," 'I am a little bored of them' Montero thinks interviews are still beautiful because "puedes darle una estructura como de cuento con un protagonista principal al que le pasan cosas: una entrevista arranca de una manera distinto" 'you can give it a story-like structure with a main character to whom things happen. An interview starts in a distinct way' (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 160). Since Montero considers interviews a type of fictional narrative, they continue to emulate short stories with an introduction, climax, and denouement. Montero continues to make generous and metaphorical use of adjectives, which allows the reader to visualize the setting and the interviewee perfectly. As for all her interviews Rosa Montero is prepared, using her research wisely and efficiently, which allows her to maintain absolute control when recounting the discussion. In many of her introductory paragraphs, Montero includes

some sort of anecdote concerning the interviewee or detailing the experience of the encounter (Rueda-Acedo *Miradas* 170).

By 1982, Rosa Montero had changed her view of interviews and admits: "La verdad es que no soy muy partidaria de los libros de entrevistas" 'The truth is, I am not a big fan of interview collections' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 7). *Cinco años de País* is a collection of previously published interviews that occurred between 1976 and 1982, including interviews from the entire transitional period with most completed between the first free, democratic general elections of 1977 and the PSOE win in the 1982 general elections. Although Montero was opposed to another book of interviews, she finally agreed:

Y entonces pensé que sí, quizá tenga algún sentido publicar un puñado de entrevistas realizadas a lo largo de los pasados cinco años, en ese quinquenio particularmente significativo y denso de la historia de este país, a modo de somera revisión de nuestra historia reciente, esa historia que vamos olvidando con la misma velocidad con que la hacemos.

And then I thought that yes, perhaps it does make some sense to publish a handful of interviews conducted over the past five years; in that particularly significant and dense five-year period in the history of this country, as a brief review of our recent history. A history that we are forgetting at the same pace as we make it. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 8)

In this manner Montero presents the collective "story" of historical players as part of a complex "coming of age story" called *democratic Spain*. Hence, she selected the twenty interviews she believed best represent Spanish political and social life during this period.

The interviews in the book are republished exactly as they were presented in the *El País* supplement:

Todos los textos se ofrecen tal cual se publicaron en su momento, sin retoques con los mismos cortes que sufrieron por entonces, bien por necesidades de espacio, o por negociación reñida con el entrevistado - una norma *El País* es enseñarla al personaje antes de publicarla o en algún caso aislado, por circunstancial censura³⁰.

All texts are offered as they were published at the time, without retouching, with the same cuts that they offered at the time either due to space needs or due to close negotiation with the interviewee - a rule of *El País* is to show the subject the interview before publishing it, or in some isolated cases, by circumstantial censorship. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 8)

The selections also appear in chronological order. Thus, they relate to particular moments in the Transition. *Cinco años* begins with Gregorio López-Bravo, who represents the Franco regime, and the book closes with Carlos Hugo de Borbon and his unsuccessful fight for the Spanish throne. These two men are "perdedores" framing the new political climate represented here. For Montero: "López-Bravo y Carlos Hugo son dos perdedores, cada cual, en su estilo, y creo que delimitan la temporalidad de esta colección de entrevistas con la justeza de dos paréntesis" 'López-Bravo and Carlos Hugo are two losers, each in their

³⁰ In order to avoid the attention of the censorship office and the Franco regime in general, many writers and journalists practiced self-censorship, which means that they censored their own speech or expression by choosing not to say something, report a story or give an opinion. Often times writers and journalists choose to self-censor due to intimidation, pressure, and threats to reputation and personal safety.

own way, and I think they define the temporality of this interview collection with the dependability of two bookends.' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 8).

Once published, these interviews converted "popular supplemental news" into a piece of literature that will remain a fixture of transitional Spanish history. The context of the interview, along with the characteristics and relevance of the person interviewed are now fixed as *lieux de mémoire* (Rueda-Acedo *Cuento* 609), whose content has become a philosophy of the everyday (Escudero *Fantasma* 345). For French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, modern everyday life emerges in the emptiness of a rootless social order designed primarily to produce economically (qtd. in During 28). Nonetheless, everyday life remains a space where During considers "people have a residual capacity to act freely and where political domination diminishes." (During 28)

Though rejected in part by Montero herself as having value, these collections are now part of the national archive as a time capsule of progressive "radical" representation of multicultural, multi-attitudinal Spain coming into constitutional being. According to Pierre Nora, for there to be a sense of the past, a chasm had to intervene between the "before" and the "after" (Nora 16). For Spain that chasm was the death of Franco. Every previous historical or scientific approach to memory, whether national or social, has concerned itself with *realia*³¹, with things in themselves and in the immediate reality (Nora 23). In his article, "Between Memory and history: Le lieux de Mémoire," Pierre Nora asserts: "The imperative of our epoch is not only to keep everything, to preserve every indicator of memory- even when we are not sure which memory is being indicated - but

³¹ Realia are objects and materials from everyday life that can be used as teaching materials or aids.

also to produce archives" (14). Thus, as memories disappear, members of society feel obligated to collect testimonies, documents, images, speeches, and any visible signs of what has been (13). The conversations documented in the collection *Cinco años de País* are an example of this societal archiving. The archive has gone from a mere depository of information to being responsible for memories and remembering, just as the interviews bear the responsibility of archiving and remember a specific point in time for the Spanish people. The archive adds to life - itself a function of its own recording - a secondary memory, a prosthetic-memory³² (Nora 14). The archive has become the deliberate and calculated, especially because of the immediacy of the chronicling of the published interview and the visibility of the image chosen and frozen in time (13). The question of the relationship between memory and authenticity and recognition is currently being exposed in relation to three modes of memory: representation, affect, and practice (Radstone and Hodgkin 12). What began as writing ends as high fidelity and tape recording, which can be seen in the interviewing and writing procedures of Rosa Montero:

Una vez acabada la conversación, inmediatamente transcribo la cinta y ya tengo veinte folios escritos a un espacio. Cojo esos folios, que me los sé de memoria porque ya he oído la cinta dos veces, y los pongo al lado de la máquina. Entonces, empiezo a pensar lo que me ha parecido la persona y voy escribiendo a medida que se me van ocurriendo cosas; se va tachando y rehaciendo hasta que terminas.

³² Prosthetic memories are not formed from the lived experience of a person. Rather, they circulate publicly and are experienced with the body of a person as a result of an engagement with a wide range of cultural technologies. Although they are not organically based, they become part of the personal archival experience that informs the subjectivity of person, in addition to their relationship to the present and future tenses.

Once the conversation is over, I immediately transcribe the tape. I already have twenty pages written. I gather these pages, that I have memorized, because I have listened to the tape twice, and I put the pages next to the typewriter. Then, I think about how the person appeared to me. I write things as they occur to me. Things get crossed out and rewritten until it is finished. (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 163)

Memory does not exist as a separate realm from authorized domains of knowledge but is itself constituted through historically specific cultural knowledges (Swanson 111). Although figurations of memory are historically specific and changing, the break between older and newer figurations of memory may be less thoroughgoing than it appears (Radstone and Hodgkin 18). It is important to recognize, as Andreas Huyssen does, that this emphasis on the past can have very different political implications (qtd. in Ferrán 46). Memory is associated with coherent, bounded, and sovereign subjectivity (Radstone and Hodgkin 3). For French philosopher Gaston Bachelard:

Memories are motionless and the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are. To localize a memory in time is merely a matter for the biographer and only corresponds to a sort of external history. [...] For a knowledge of intimacy, localization in the spaces of our intimacy is more urgent than determination of dates. (qtd. in Swanson 123)

In a sense, these conflicting voices collected by Rosa Montero through fictional strategies of storytelling and reporting on these encounters do not determine the collective national identity of Spain, *per se*. During this transitional period of social and political

rearrangement, the collection of interviews deliver to the reader a sense of success and failures premised on the relationship between past and present as one of a constant negotiation of the facts and fictions of the collective self-consciousness sense of self and of its influencers, whose voices are "stuck in time," while their influences continue to be mediated by the time-space continuum of their collective bias towards the future in perpetuity. Emphasis on the past may manifest itself in memory practices that present welcome alternatives to dominant views of the past from the vantage point of previously marginalized perspectives (Ferrán 46). According to Catalan writer Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, British philosopher Gilbert Ryle perceived memory "como un punto de vista del pasado y considera la memoria como una acción u operación gracias a la cual mantenemos una creencia sobre la verdad de las experiencias pasadas o al menos de las más necesarias o determinantes" 'as a point of view of the past, memory is an action or operation thanks to which we keep a belief about the truth of past experiences or at least the most necessary or determining ones' (my trans.; qtd. in Vázquez Montalbán 242). Contrasting Ryle is British polymath Bertrand Russell who thinks: "La memoria debía considerarse como un punto de vista del presente en el que la memoria es la simple convocatoria psíquica de una experiencia pasada" 'Memory should be considered a point of view of the present in which memory is the simple psychic summons of a past experience' (my trans.; qtd. in Vázquez Montalbán 242). For Joan Ramón Resina and Ulrich Winter:

Siguiendo las huellas de una memoria antaño «viva» pero ahora absorbida por la «Historia,» la historiografía de los lugares de memoria articula los puntos de fuga de identidades precarizadas o directamente cuestionadas una vez desleído el

horizonte nacional, que hasta hace poco determinaba conceptos como «tradición» o «memoria histórica».

Following in the footsteps of a memory that was once "alive" but now absorbed by "History," the historiography of places of memory articulates the vanishing points of precarious or directly questioned identities on the national horizon, which until recently determined concepts as "tradition" or "historical memory." (my trans.; Resina and Winter "Prólogo" 9)

A historiographical anxiety arises when history assigns itself the task of tracing "alien impulses" within itself and discovers that it is the "victim of memories which it has sought to master" (Nora 10). Yet the emphasis on the past may also arise in practices that reinforce dominant conservative, historical discourses by effectively presenting a nostalgic longing for an idealized, unproblematic past, such as that generated by an increasingly powerful "heritage industry" (Ferrán 46). Historical memory, according to Joan Ramón Resina, is a specialized recollection based on research and documentation, which should be "treated as witness of events and must be scrupulously reconstructed before their meaning and validity can be formally established" (qtd in Song *Translation* 20). "Memorial patrimony" points to a distinctive quality of contemporary memory associated with all memorial symbols rather than to the distinguishing contents of memories or symbols of a specific community. Historiographical accuracy is important to the act of remembering and ideological manipulation is frequent in representations of the past (Song *Translation* 125). According to historians Natalie Davis and Randolph Starn, any invocation of memory should be subject to the following questions: Who is producing the memory? Where? In what context? Against what? (qtd. in Song *Patriotismo* 226). In the case of Montero, she

presents her "encounters" as stories or his-her-stories with a fictional structure thereby eluding the burden of *accuracy* of memory (though she says she has memorized the *cintas/tapes* by transcribing them). According to Spanish cultural historian Jo Labanyi:

Si no entendemos los procesos que determinan y obstruyen la transmisión del pasado a través de las generaciones, es imposible crear una conciencia histórica que permita a los individuos y a las colectividades asumir un compromiso personal con la historia.

If we do not understand the processes that determine and block the transmission of the past across the generations, it is impossible to create a historical consciousness that allows individuals and communities to make a personal commitment to history (my trans.; Labanyi *Cine* 159)

According to Labanyi, the historians that regret the national amnesia in Spain propose documentation of ignored *facts* and *events*, rather than rely on memory (my emphasis; Labanyi *Cine* 158). However, those responsible for the recent proliferation of testimonies have not been historians. It has been the journalists and the documentary filmmakers bringing lost stories and memories to light (Labanyi *Cine* 158). The newly defined "social consciousness" corresponds to a displacement of the authority over collective consciousness from professional historians to journalists and public opinion, invited to participate in the process of fixing the present as it becomes the past (Carrier 44). Collective memory, according to Maurice Halbwachs, demonstrates the symptoms of a sociopolitical structure because its production depends on a social context that participates in the mechanisms of concrete sociopolitical structures (qtd. in Song *Patriotismo* 226). In

the article "La deconstrucción de la memoria. El argumento perverso sobre la represión franquista" by historian and politician Agustí Colomines, he poses the question: "¿Quién tiene la potestad de fijar estas perspectivas colectivamente?" 'Who has the power to determine these perspectives collectively?' (my trans.; Colomines 218) and the answer he gives come from the ideas of Spanish writer Salvador Cardús i Ros: "La posibilidad de fabricar una memoria social es una potestad genuina de cualquier manifestación del poder" 'The possibility of manufacturing a social memory is a genuine demonstration of power' (my trans.; qtd. in Colomines 218). Colomines continues to elaborate on Cardús i Ros by adding: "Lo que ya no advierte del hecho que la memoria colectiva de los vencidos siempre tiene dificultades para trascender y se convierte al menos inicialmente en patrimonio de las minorías resistentes" 'What one no longer realizes is that collective memory of the defeated always has difficulty moving on and, at least initially, becoming the heritage of resistant minorities' (my trans.; qtd. in Colomines 218). Collective memory is represented in *España para ti...para siempre* and *Cinco años de país* through the contrasting and conflicting opinions, lives, identities, voices, and images of transitional Spain making history a form of heritage that, in part, offsets the damage of heritagization produced under Franco to defy the multi-vocal reality that freedom of the press begins to engage with more openly.

HISTORICAL MEMORY AND THE PRESS

During political transitions, journalism tends to be engaged and complex, especially depending on the country (Guillamet and Salgado Introducción). The Spanish press in particular is generally forgotten, however, in discussions and studies of the Transition (Zugasti *Legitimidad* 143), but the importance of its role should not be neglected. According to Catalan communication professor Andreu-Casero-Ripollés, without

informed and politically savvy citizens a democracy cannot be sustained (Casero-Ripollés *Periodismo político* 21). He further explains that the political knowledge of the Spanish citizens of this period came from the press when journalists became allies of the politicians striving for democratic shifts and, together, they fought for the establishment of democracy in Spain (*Periodismo político* 32). In this manner, journalists promoted and, at times, facilitated political change and together with politicians established the content and limits of public debate in post-Franco Spain (*Periodismo político* 22). For Casero-Ripollés, "El periodismo pierde su capacidad para llevar a cabo su tarea de perro guardián" 'Journalism loses its ability to carry out its job as a watchdog' (my trans.; *Periodismo político* 27), due to its informal alliance with key political figures. In an interview from 1985, Rosa Montero comments on the state of the late transitional press by saying:

La prensa está en crisis ahora, pero crisis ¿con respecto a qué? Con respecto a las postrimerías del franquismo, que fue cuando se produjo el «boom»³³ entre el setenta y el setenta y siete. Pero antes de eso no había nada tampoco, no se leía, estaba la prensa del movimiento³⁴ subvencionada por el Estado que tiraba poquísimo.

The press is in crisis now, but a crisis with respect to what? With regard to life after Franco, which was why the "boom" occurred between 1960 and 1970. Before that there was nothing. nothing was read, but there was the press of the Movement

³³ With the arrival of democracy, there was a so called "boom" of the new Spanish novel, as a number of new writers, especially women writers started to publish. However, this "boom" was not a coherent movement with each writer writing in his or her own style.

³⁴ Movimiento Nacional is the name given to a governing institution established by Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War in 1937 and was abolished in 1977.

subsidized by the State that printed very little. (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 155)

The interviews in *Cinco años de País* (1982) are interviews of personality, which some would consider "fluff" relegated to the weekend supplement of *El País*. Nonetheless, the collection includes interviews from some of the heaviest hitters of the Democratic Transition, in addition to lighter interviews with popular figures, like the folkloric movie star-gypsy flamenco singer and dancer Lola Flores, "El Rey de Amor" 'King of Love' like Camilo Sesto, and 1968 Eurovision Song Contest Winner for "La, la, la" María de los Ángeles Felisa Santamaría Espinosa, professionally known as Massiel. Normally, the transitoriness of much popular culture is linked to specific generations, and often massified popular culture is directed at youthful consumers. Although some of the interviews here are linked to popular culture and the generational *zeitgeist*, they are not transitory. Rather, they are important artifacts of Spanish democratic transitional history or *lieux de mémoire* encapsulating the changing views of the Transition. Therefore, they have a tremendous cultural *and* historic value, such as the interview with PSOE Secretary General, Felipe González, who will become the longest serving Prime Minister of Spanish democracy of the post-Franco era. The value of the interviews comes from the historical interviewees, such as Sección Femenina (of the Movimiento) leader Pilar Primo de Rivera, and the insight about the Transition they provide to asynchronous readers (i.e., future), especially for those who did not experience the Franco regime and who are far removed from this particular point in time. The interviews also have value because they form part of the early evolution of Rosa Montero as a writer. Her interviews are structured as oral histories and memories, and although she is a paid journalist to do a job, she can be considered a

"historian" because she researches, compiles, and chronicles opinions into narrative texts that serve to synthesize the past.

For cultural studies today, cultural texts, such as this published collection, are representative of a social forcefield constituted unevenly by power flows, status hierarchies and opportunities for many kinds of transportation, identification, and pleasure (During 6). After all, the past that we remember is, to a large degree, the past that is organized and "collected" with commercial interests in play so that we invest in the remembering. As such, cultural memories, such as these narrativized interviews, have become increasingly bureaucratized and commercialized and, as During emphasizes, drawn into the heritage industry (57). However, not all cultural memory is subsumed into institutionalized heritage. One particularly important and interesting form of popular cultural memory, which has resisted what could be called "heritagization,"³⁵ is a generational memory organized by decades. Each decade has its own set of assigned or selected images, moods, mix of nostalgia and/or a counter-nostalgia of relief at having 'managed to get past that' (58). In fact, I would argue that the Transition is a decade long experience beginning with the death of Francisco Franco on November 20, 1975. Although historians and political scientists tend to agree that the Transition ended with the general elections in favor of the left-leaning Socialists in October 1982, some scholars that suggest the (Late) Transition was actually completed in 1986 upon Spain entering the European Community. Using 1986 as the end of the democratic Transition, it can be said that the decade (1975-1985) presented a particular set of images, moods, nostalgia, and counter-nostalgia, which is presented

³⁵ Heritagization is the process by which heritage is socially and culturally constructed. Various pasts are created in the present to address a contemporary need, issue, or circumstance, allowing for the discussion about protecting, conserving, and restoring heritage.

through the panorama of interviews compiled in *Cinco años de País* (1982). Normally, these popular "decade memories" fade and specifics dissolve into amnesia, but as Simon During points out, decade memories that have been recorded or represented often express anxieties and self-understanding of the present moment of their contemplation (During 59). The interviews in *Cinco años...* definitely present the anxieties of the Transition and their importance (then and now) as highlighted by the questioning of the success of the democratic transitional decade in Spain today.

Overall, the master narrative of Francoist national pride and duty providing "guidance" on how to be a good member and participant of "Spanish" culture and society loses credibility upon the death of the dictator, leaving notions of human progress and "liberation" up for debate as witnessed in journalistic and literary narratives of the Transitional decade. Organized discussions of cultural memories, nostalgia/counter-nostalgia help resist and correct the false representations of "outsiders" of this period of rapid shifts and changes. As Montero is well aware, the formalization of cultural memory has political resonances in poor and marginalized communities, while regional communities with a strong sense of local national unity, roots and traditions are able to resist the "heritage industry"³⁶ as representative precepts of the Movement (one culture, one language, one nation) of Franco through oral histories, memories, research, and writing³⁷ (During 59).

³⁶ The heritage industry manages the historical sites, buildings, and museums of a particular place with the aim of encouraging and increasing tourism. "It confers a certain visibility, status, and solidity on a community. It becomes, in sum, a ground of identity" (During 59).

³⁷ The Constitution of 1978 included room for willing autonomies to distinguish themselves from the Central State, with Section 2 guaranteeing the right to self-government and Section 3 protecting the linguistic modalities of Spain as a cultural heritage that shall be respected and protected.

Under Franco, the press was expected to uphold the message of the regime. The freedom of speech, with certain limitations, enjoyed by the press in 1975 was gaining ground already in the previous decade. According to journalism professor and author Ricardo Zugasti:

La nueva Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 1966, junto con un empujo de algunos periódicos y revistas por ir ampliando los márgenes informativos y editoriales que el Gobierno permitía de forma discrecional, habían significado un paso importante hacia el cumplimiento de la labor de la prensa: informar a ciudadano de lo que ocurre y proporcionarle orientaciones interpretativas de los hechos.

The new Press and Printing Law of 1966 along with a push from some newspapers and magazines to expand the informational and editorial margins, which the government allowed in a discretionary manner was an important step towards the fulfilment of the work of the press: inform citizens of what is happening and provide interpretive guidance on the fact. (my trans.; Zugasti *Papel* 54)

One example of this development is the newspaper *Pueblo*. Although it was property of the only legal trade union under the Franco regime, Sindicato Vertical³⁸ was associated with a conservative ideology, and it provided a substantial training platform for many of the journalists who would take part in the process of renovating the Spanish press during the Transition (Okanín 86). The opinion columns of *Pueblo* were regarded as a forum for dissident journalists because the columns allowed writers a chance to *insinuate* criticism of the regime (86). From 1966 onwards, the Spanish press held a special status with the

³⁸ The Sindicato Vertical or Organización Sindical Española was the central and only legal trade union during the Franco Dictatorship from 1940 to 1977.

regime and became an important part of the intense public debate of the first years of the Transition (Zugasti *Papel* 65). The feeling of the (transitional) press of Rosa Montero is as follows:

A mí me parece que la prensa es un barómetro bastante fiel de lo que es un país en su conjunto. En ese sentido, creo que el que haya muy poca prensa y el que se lea muy poco define este país, como lo define el tipo de prensa que existe.

It seems to me that the press is a fairly faithful barometer of a country as a whole. In that sense, I think the fact that there is very little press and very little reading defines the type of the press that exists. (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 156)

Rosa Montero blames low readership on the press of the Franco era with its "pintoresca España" 'picturesque Spain' (my trans.; qtd in Bernal and Chillón 155) or a portrait of an idealized country built by the propaganda of the Franco regime. Montero poses the question:

¿Cuándo empezaron a proliferar las revistas? En las postrimerías del franquismo, cuando la situación estaba en ebullición y había una avidez de la gente para saber qué pasaba en este país, tratar de reencontrar su propia identidad.

When did magazines start to proliferate? In the aftermath of the Franco regime, when the situation was boiling and there was an avidity of the people to know what was happening in this country, to try to rediscover their own identity. (qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 155)

The death of Franco and the proclamation of Juan Carlos³⁹ as the king of Spain allowed the press to be more "daring" in pursuit of "real" freedom of press (Zugasti *Papel* 54).

During the Transition, there are three distinguishable types of newspapers when viewed from political and ideological viewpoints. The first group are those associated with Francoism, such as *Alcázar* and *El Imparcial*. The second group consists of newspapers that are considered center-right, like *ABC*, *Ya*, *Arriba*, and *Pueblo*. The last group can be classified as centrist or left center and consist of *Informaciones*, *El País*, and *Diario 16* (Zugasti *Papel* 55)⁴⁰. The two groups of newspapers that grew were those of the ultra-right and the center-left, commensurate with the two political parties that would come to dominate national elections by the 1980s - the Partido Social del Obrero Español (PSOE) and the Partido Popular (PP).⁴¹ The new newspapers played an important role in reflecting and creating more diverse public opinions according to shifting social and political reality (Zugasti *Papel* 66). The newspapers of the ultra-right tried to capitalize on nostalgia for the Franco regime to counter the unstable political, economic, and social situation in Spain during the Transition, while *El País* and *Diario 16* gained their success by publishing new political and cultural voices (Zugasti *Papel* 55). The political bias of Rosa Montero is clear, however, as she describes *Diario 16* as a *diario amarillo* 'yellow newspaper' (my trans.;

³⁹ Official recognition of the succession of Juan Carlos happened in 1969. However, Juan Carlos was tight-lipped about any future plans, but as the health of Franco deteriorated, he began to give clearer signals regarding the future, with him being proclaimed king on November 22, 1975.

⁴⁰ Regional-national newspapers are not included in this assessment due to their more local readership and nationalist concerns along the lines of *la patria chica* so common in Spanish cultural self-identification (John Hooper, *The New Spaniards*, 1995).

⁴¹ Partido Socialista Obrero Español and Partido Popular have been the two most dominant Spanish political parties from the Transition until the present. PSOE was founded clandestinely in Madrid in 1879 and was one of the first socialist parties founded in Europe. PP is the 1989 rebranding of the Alianza Popular, which was an alliance of conservative parties during the Transition. The politics of the PP are conservative and right wing.

qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 156), which refers to an approach to journalism presenting little or no legitimately researched news, while using eye-catching headlines for increased sales⁴², while describing *El País* as a paper that "intenta abrirse a otros temas, pero no demasiado no todo lo que podría; pero cuandolo ha hecho se ha abierto a un tipo de reportajes más literaturizados" 'El País tries to be receptive to other issues, but not too much, not as much as it could; but when it has done so, it has been receptive to a more literary type of reporting' (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 156). The articles of *El País* are not the only *elementos literaturizados* that they published. The interviews of Rosa Montero are extremely literary in structure and narrative style. According to Zugasti: "La prensa fue un actor cuya conducta y cuyos mensajes se basaron en una razonable moderación, y no en una demagógica agitación" 'The press was an actor whose conduct and messages were based on reasonable restraint; not demagogic agitation' (my trans.; Zugasti *Papel* 65). Also, Zugasti goes on to claim that the discussion and presentation of the recent past, such as the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent dictatorship, were not taboo themes during the Transition. During the interviews conducted for *El País* and later collected in *Cinco años...*, Montero presses her subjects to talk about sensitive subjects, such as Franco and the regime, the Spanish Civil War, and religion, including Opus Dei⁴³. Just as in *España para ti...para siempre* (1976), Montero also pushes her respondents to answer questions and discuss the Transition, the role of women, motherhood, and feminism, in addition to other social issues, such as birth control, divorce, abortion, and

⁴² Techniques used in yellow journalism include exaggeration, scandal mongering, and sensationalism.

⁴³ Opus Dei, or officially Prelature of the Holy Cross and Opus Dei, is a Roman Catholic lay and clerical organization whose members seek Christian perfection. Members of Opus Dei served as technocrats under Franco "taking care of the business" of the authoritarian regime, eventually replacing the Falange as the right hand of Franco.

education. Nonetheless, in this second collection, new topics of discussion are presented including homosexuality, the death penalty, student protests, and the role of the press and journalists in the newly democratic state.

In contrast with *España para ti...para siempre*, Montero asks interviewees about the Spanish Civil War allowing for both *nacionalista* and *republicano* viewpoints. However, not all of the interviewees were asked about the civil war. Rather, specific interviews, such as those with philosopher José Luis Aranguren and pharmacist Faustino Cerdón, provide the reader with versions of how the war played out from different sides of the conflict: Aranguren fought for the Nationalists and thus on the winning side, and his life after the war would differ greatly from that of Cerdón, who fought for the defeated Republicans. Nevertheless, their memories are that of the humanity of the situation rather than of the fueling ideologies. Faustino Cerdón describes the start of the civil war for his family:

Cuando comenzó la Guerra civil estábamos la familia en Extremadura, en la finca que vivíamos. Al producirse el alzamiento militar me dirigí al pueblo, que es cabeza de partido, a informarme de lo que sucedía, y al regreso mi padre, cuya ideología era conservadora, me contó que el sindicato del pueblo inmediato había decidido interrumpir los riegos hasta enterarse de la situación, pero haciendo una excepción con él, al que el sindicato en masa le segó y transportó la mies a la era y se retiraron sin cobrar nada. Al día siguiente decidió no dejarse ganar en generosidad, y donó la finca al sindicato, privando a la familia de un medio principal de subsistencia. Y emigramos así a Madrid, de este modo pasional.

When the Civil War began, my family was in Extremadura on the farm where we lived. When the military uprising occurred, I went into town to find out what was happening. When my conservative father returned, he told me that the union of the town immediately decided to interrupt the irrigation until he paid, but they made an exception for him. Then, the union reaped and transported the harvest without charging anything. The next day he decided not to let himself be beat by [their] generosity, so he donated the farm to the union and denied his family our main means of survival. And, thus, we emigrated to Madrid in this dramatic way. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 110)

José Luis Aranguren describes his life during the war:

Hay muchos para los que la guerra fueron los mejores años de su vida, porque llevaron antes una vida sumamente prosaica y después también, mientras aquellos fueron los años heroicos. Bueno yo no tuve años heroicos, estaba en el cuartel todo el tiempo, y podría haber permanecido allí hasta el final de la guerra, pero llegó un momento en que pensé que tenía que hacer algo, de modo que con un chico que murió y que era mi mejor amigo en el cuartel, me fui al frente, pero allí hice un triste papel, porque me pusieron a conducir camiones en seguida y luego porque me puse enfermo muy pronto.

There are many for whom the war was the best years of their lives, because they lead an extremely common life before it. Those were the heroic years. Well, I did not have heroic years. I was in the barracks all the time and could have stayed there until the end of the war, but there came a time when I thought I had to do something,

so with a boy, who was my best friend in the barracks that ended up dying, I went to the front. There I played a sad role because they made me drive trucks right away.

Then, I soon became very ill. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 194)

Aranguren admits that he did not experience the worst of the war. He was not wounded, nor was he taken prisoner by Republican troops. According to him: "De modo que no tengo ninguna hazaña en mi vida, y esa manifestación es mi única gloria a nivel convencional y estoy orgulloso de ella" 'So I have no great feats in my life and that appearance [on the frontline] is my only glory on a conventional level and I am proud of it' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 194). Although Cordon was jailed for a year and a half during the *posguerra*, he does not sound bitter: "El sufrimiento de un prisionero es exactamente percibir que la vida está en la calle, que la vida transcurre a margen de uno" 'the suffering of a prisoner is the same as noticing life in the streets, because life takes place on the margins' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 111) referring to his experience not being much different from that of the Spanish people during the *Años de Hambre*.⁴⁴ As a scientist, Cordón, also talks about the outcome of the war impacted the academic life of Spain. He states: "Es de conocimiento general que al fin de la guerra civil una Universidad todavía pobre expulsó gran proporción de sus mejores miembros, de los muchos murieron o huyeron de España" 'It is common knowledge that at the end of the Civil War a university, that is still indigent, expelled a large number of its best members many of whom died or fled Spain' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 109).

⁴⁴ Los Años de Hambre was the period between 1939 and 1951 when Spain experienced unprecedented food scarcity and misery. Starvation, disease, ration cards, and the black market dominated. The Franco regime blamed these tough times on the disasters of the Civil War, international isolation, and a persistent drought, thus avoiding any responsibility.

Although Francoist politician Manuel Fraga Iribarne was only a teenager when the Spanish Civil War began, he says he supported Colonel José Moscardó during the Siege of the Alcázar in Toledo⁴⁵, but he cannot support the Francoists that continue to live in the Spain of the 1930s or 1940s.

Yo soy un gran admirador de los hombres que se encerraron en el Alcázar para defender a España. Yo soy muy poco admirador de los hombres que se han encerrado en un periódico llamado *El Alcázar* para defender no los intereses de la España de hoy, sino de lo año treinta, o el año cuarenta, que, en mi opinión, eran enormemente respetables entonces, pero que hoy no lo son.

I am a great admirer of the men who locked themselves up in the Alcazar to defend Spain. I do not admire the men who have locked themselves up in a newspaper called *El Alcázar*. They do not defend the interests of Spain today, but of the 1930s or the 1940s, which, in my opinion, were enormously respectable then, but today they are not. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 101)

The viewpoint of Fraga highlights the changing mindset of some Francoists, which becomes important during the Transition because personal political survival required changing with the changing times. Shifting mindsets also played an important role in reaching consensus and ultimately the success of creating a democratic government. Ironically, the Nationalist mindset of the 1930s (socialist) and the 1940s (Fascist-Capitalist) is not what Spain needs "now" to regain its former glory on the global stage as

⁴⁵ The Alcázar in Toledo had no strategic value. However, it was symbolically important to Spaniards. From July 21, 1936, to September 27, 1936, it was the site of one of the bloodiest sieges during the Spanish Civil War due to the civilian casualties.

a competitive culture and economy among other well-established democratic European countries.

Just like in *España para ti...para siempre* (1976), Montero directly asks the interviewees about Franco and the Franco regime in this collection. Similar to this first collection, there are pro-and anti-Franco viewpoints, but as we will see, she will interrogate *the war* and post-war years in these later transitional period conversations, as well. *Cinco años...* begins with the *franquista* Gregorio López-Bravo, who served as the minister of Industry and Foreign Affairs under Franco and was a member of the Alianza Popular⁴⁶ during the Transition. During the interview, Montero calls López-Bravo "el ministro preferido de Franco," 'the favorite minister of Franco,' which he denies, but does admit that he does consider himself "muy honrado, honradísimo por ello" 'very honored, very honored for it' because Franco was a person who "mereció una gran confianza" 'deserved great trust' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 19). However, López-Bravo does agree that he served "con absoluta lealtad al regimen anterior" 'with absolute loyalty to the previous regime' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 13). In her interview with "el político femenino por excelencia del Régimen," 'the female politician par excellence of the Regime,' Pilar Primo de Rivera, Montero clearly disagrees with the governing ideology fueling the mission of Primo de Rivera in founding the Sección Femenina⁴⁷ that she established early during the Franco regime, yet Montero has a great deal of admiration for her, especially when she says: "Doña Pilar, intuyo, ha sido traicionada por la historia" 'Doña Pilar, I suspect, you have been

⁴⁶ Alianza popular was a conservative post-Franco electoral coalition founded in 1976 that later evolved into the Partido Popular.

⁴⁷ The Sección Femenina was the female branch of the fascist Falange Española, whose activities were based on the highly conservative ideas involving the appropriate division of genders. It was one of the most highly organized organizations for women in the history of Spain (Maria Van Liew, *Democratic Women: Gender, National Discourse, and the Cinema of Post-Franco Spain*, 1997).

betrayed by history' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 23). Montero tries to push Pilar Primo de Rivera to break with her Francoist stance: "Escribió usted en el cuestionario «aquellos puntos en que algunos momentos pudieran no estar de acuerdo» con Franco. ¿Cuáles son?" 'You wrote on the questionnaire «there could be some things we agreed on and some we did not» with Franco. What things?' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 28). However, Primo de Rivera immediately counterattacks:

En un principio no nos cayó bien la unificación, aunque después se llegó a una coordinación perfecta con los tradicionalistas. Pero lo que no quiero dar ahora la imagen de que he estado en contra de Franco. He estado y estoy de acuerdo con él. Esto es algo que quiero decir bien claro.

At first, we did not like the [national] unification, although afterwards, we became perfectly coordinated with the traditionalists, but what I do not want is to now give this image that I was against Franco. I agreed and I still agree with him. This is something I want to state very clearly. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 28)

Other pro-Franco interviews include bullfighter Luis Miguel Dominguín, Francoist politician José Manuel Lara and engineer Rodolfo Martín Villa. For Dominguín: "Franco habría sido el más inteligente de toda una generación de españoles" 'Franco probably would have been the most intelligent Spaniard of a whole generation' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 61). Dominguín continues his praise for Franco by stating: "Yo he tenido una gran admiración por él y lo mantengo. Ahora: se ha muerto. Y como yo no lo puedo revivir, porque no soy Dios, pues...Si lo pudiera revivir lo reviviría, desde luego, y no nos vendría mal" 'I had great admiration for him and I still do. Now: he has died. Since I cannot revive

him, because I am not God, well...If I could revive him, I would, of course, and we would all do well by it' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 61). For Dominguín, who played coy in his interview in *España para ti*, is convinced that life was better under Franco because "había menos bombas y más seguridad" 'there were fewer bombs and more security' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 61). In contrast to the zeal of Dominguín, López-Bravo, and Primo de Rivera, José Manuel Lara acknowledges his own Francoist past and tries to distance himself from Franco by saying: "Yo he sido y soy franquista porque me acuerdo de la España del treinta y seis. Pero he dicho varias veces que creo que Franco debió haber dado paso a todo esto siete u ocho años antes de su muerte" 'I have been and I still am a Francoist because I remember the Spain of thirty-six. As I have said several times, I think Franco should have opened the way for the seven or eight years before his death' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 35). However, the Francoist with the most pragmatic outlook on the death of the dictatorship is conservative politician and engineer Rodolfo Martín Villa because he believes that "la gente no se da cuenta, quizá, o no quiere dársela, de que el sistema político de Franco era fundamentalmente Franco, y muerto él como institución el tema caía por su peso" 'People do not realize, or perhaps do not want to acknowledge that the political system under Franco was fundamentally Franco, and when he died as an institution, Francoism fell under its own weight' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 178).

The most powerful anti-Franco interview presented in *Cinco años de País* is that of Felipe González, charismatic Secretary General of PSOE, and Prime Minister of Spain from 1982 until 1996. Montero does not directly ask Felipe González about Franco per se, but he voluntarily discusses the opposition to Francoism and how that fight was much easier at the beginning. He states:

Pero lo más curioso de todo esto es que al empezar la lucha contra el franquismo, que era más fácil, es decir, que era menos compleja, aunque tuviera más costes en algunas cosas, pues yo era una especie de absoluto creyente en los valores de la razón, creía que había que someter todo a ese imperio de la razón que se aplicaba en un proyecto determinado de lucha política.

But the most curious thing about all this is that when the fight against Franco began, it was easier. That is, it was less complex, although it came at a higher price. Since I was a kind of absolute believer in the values of reason, I believed that everything had to submit to the empire of reason subjected to a certain project of political struggle (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 165)

However, the political fight against Franco and Francoism did not die with him. The Resistance continued into the Transition to democracy, as expressed in this second collection of discussions presenting facets of a continued struggle, as seen through the "pragmatism" of Martín Villa and the commitment of Felipe González to "reason." Despite the death of Franco, his legacy remained an ideological threat, especially in terms of surges in violence and the possibility of another civil war⁴⁸. This threat loomed large even as Francoist institutions were being dismantled by a coalition of architects building new democratic foundations and resuscitating exiled political parties, such as PSOE (socialist) and PCE (communist), alongside numerous regional-national parties, such as the CiU (Catalan Nationalist Party) and PNV (Basque Nationalist Party). Understandably, the

⁴⁸ On February 23, 1981, Colonel Antonio Tejero and 200 members of the Guardia Civil held the Spanish Parliament at gunpoint during a coup attempt known as El Tejerazo. During this coup attempt, King Juan Carlos gives a speech on Spanish television saying that any attacks on the democratic process will not be tolerated. After a night of negotiations, Tejero surrenders. For video of El Tejerazo go to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pcc0_8i0CYs.

opinions and viewpoints of the interviewees span numerous ideologies: There are pro-monarchy and anti-monarchy voices, supporters of the ultra-conservative Alianza Popular, and defenders of Basque terrorists. There are those who believe Spaniards cannot govern themselves and others who believe the dominant capitalist economy and membership in the European Community are key to the future success or downfall of Spain. Then, there are those who describe the uniquely Spanish political process of reform, such as engineer and politician Rodolfo Martín Villa, who briefly outlines major points of the Transition:

Habría que analizar las sucesivas etapas del proceso político último. La primera, la ley para la Reforma Política, era una etapa que había que concluir. Comprenda que desde la pretensión de una imagen política a mí me hubiera sido rentable salir en aquel momento. De alguna manera la situación no era tan criticada en el campo del orden público como lo es ahora; había habido algunos éxitos espectaculares, que podían haber sido fracasos espectaculares, pero fueron éxitos...

One should analyze the consecutive stages of the last political process. The first was the Law of Political Reform, which was a stage that needed to end. Understand that from the pretensions of political image it would have been profitable for me to step down at that time. Somehow the situation was not as criticized in the field of public order as much as it is now. There had been some speculative successes that could have been spectacular failures, but ended up successful (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 184)

His soliloquy continues with mention of the increasing assassinations committed by ETA⁴⁹ and how Spain was entering a new phase that "tenía que culminar en la Constitución" 'had to end with a new constitution' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 184), which represents the inevitability of progress and social evolution despite so much lingering potential for failure.

The ratification of a new constitution in 1978 is the culmination of many pieces falling into place because of the hard work of many political players, including King Juan Carlos I. There are voices and viewpoints that need to be considered, but nothing is more important to the successful implementation of a new constitution than the belief that the citizens can rule themselves. Unfortunately, many thought that Spaniards were incapable of self-rule and maintaining a democracy. Franco himself believed this to be true, especially for the culturally and linguistically diverse Spanish autonomies. For former president of the Generalitat de Catalunya (1939-1954), Josep Tarradellas, it is not that the people of Cataluña are somehow genetically or mentally incapable of self-rule, it is that "Nosotros no hemos gobernado nunca, y Castilla hace cuatro siglos que gobierna. *Aquí la gente no sabe gobernar...*" 'We have never governed. Castilla has governed for four centuries. *Here people do not know how to govern*' (my trans., emphasis mine; Montero *Cinco* 207). Unlike the prior collection *España para ti...para siempre*, this volume is inclusive of minority voices, especially those of the peripheral Spanish autonomies. One such voice is that of Basque nationalist Juan María Bandrés. During his interview, Montero discusses how he is blamed for many of violent Basque terrorist acts: "Lo cierto es que le

⁴⁹ Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) literally translates as "Basque Homeland and Liberty" and is the Basque separatist organization in Spain that used terrorism in its fight for Basque independence.

han achacado a usted todo últimamente desde el ametrallamiento de Cisneros⁵⁰, al atentado de Barajas⁵¹, pasando por el secuestro de Rupérez⁵². Aunque, en todas estas ocasiones usted manifestara públicamente su desacuerdo con los hechos" "The truth is that you have been blamed for everything lately from the machine-gunning of Cisneros to the attack in Barajas, to the kidnapping of Rupérez. Although on all these occasions you publicly state your disagreement with the facts' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 218). This frank and open discussion of the terrorist attacks of ETA was not present in the previous collection of interviews though they were occurring. This collection allows for a more open discussion of sensitive topics, often seen as almost taboo in polite society. This later transitional collection is distinct from the first because it presents "both sides" of the Spanish Civil War and the "minority voices" of the peripheral autonomies, who, by this time, have attained distinct levels of constitutional autonomy from centrist rule (only).

THE RELUCTANT COLLECTION: THE NARRATIVE INTERVIEW AS CULTURAL LENS

As an engaged study of the cultural climate of the transitional period, this project celebrates and critiques both anthologies of weekly interviews by Rosa Montero as cultural artifacts stemming from the democratic Transition in Spain. Montero has been recognized

⁵⁰ Gabriel Cisneros is a Spanish politician and attorney who helped write the laws pertaining to Basque autonomy. He fought off two ETA kidnappers and was shot in the stomach and leg in the process. To learn more, see *Maestros de la Transición* by R.L. Blanco Valdés and the Gabriel Cisneros obituary in *The Independent* on August 21, 2007.

⁵¹ Adolfo Suarez Madrid-Barajas Airport, referred to as "Barajas" in shorthand

⁵² Francisco Javier Rupérez is a Spanish politician, diplomat, and writer who formed part of the opposition to Franco. In 1979, he was kidnapped by the Basque group ETA and held for a month.

as a force to be reckoned with and by popular demand, rather than her own free will, compiled this second collection. According to Montero:

La verdad es que no soy muy partidaria de los libros de entrevistas. [...] Por ello me había resistido a editar antes de estos trabajos - a excepción de un volumen publicado en 1976 y que consistía en un conjunto de entrevistas realizadas expresamente para el libro, lo cual es otro cantar [...] Sin embargo, en esta ocasión, cuando mi editor me propuso sacar un libro de entrevistas, se me ocurrió revisar con cierto escepticismo mis trabajos de los últimos años.

The truth is I am not a big fan of interview books. [...] That is why I resisted editing these works before - except for a volume published in 1976, which consisted of a set of interviews carried out expressly for the book, which is another story [...] However, on this occasion when my editor asked me to put out an interview book, it occurred to me to review with some skepticism my work of the last years. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco 7*).

The title *Cinco años de País* is a play on the word *país/País* because it is not only the name of the newspaper which originally published the interviews, *El País*, but it is also a reference to the country and its first five years of the Transition to democracy. There are three debates in the field of cultural studies relevant to this "playful" project. The first debate explores culture and politics as inextricable. The second interrogates the mutual influence of economic structures and cultural formations. Lastly, we have the debate over the role of individual experience in cultural studies analysis (During 34). According to Simon During in his critical introduction to the discipline, the aim of cultural studies is not

necessarily to democratize but to liberalize, which means to articulate an understanding of culture within the contexts of individual and group liberties, while taking into consideration overcoming restrictions imposed by repressive prejudices, social hierarchies, and economic inequities (42). Hence, when discussing and analyzing the interviews in *Cinco años de País*, one must keep in mind the new liberties and freedoms individuals and groups are wielding at the time in opposition to one another as the democratic transitional period raged on. The prejudices of the Franco regime are being re-examined and questioned, especially when examining the relationships with the autonomous communities of Galicia, País Vasco/Euskadi, and Cataluña/Catalunya, in addition to scrutinizing gender "norms" and divergent nationalist histories. The social hierarchical norms of Francoist Spain are thus being dismantled by some of the same agents who support(ed) them, as evidenced in the "freedom" to discuss the process openly under the nascent democratic regime. In a sense, it is the opposite of the Spanish Civil War, in that freedom of speech during the Transition requires collaboration with former (ideological) nemeses.

In applying the lens of cultural studies, one must understand the term "culture" as a set of transactions, processes, mutations, practices, technologies, and institutions out of which things and events, such as movies, poems, or sporting events, are produced, experienced, lived out, and given meaning and value in different ways within an unsystematic network of differences and mutations from which constructions of Spanish culture emerges (During 6). Objects, such as songs, television program reruns, and movies, often exist in some ill-defined zone between the contemporary and the historical where the past is not placed in museums or academized (55). The interviews in *Cinco años* exist in this ill-defined zone between the contemporary and the historical, leisure, and politics.

Although they have not undergone the process of formal historization, the interviews narrate the "cultural history" of the Transitional mindset, with Montero acting as narrative-journalist-historian by recording, interpreting, and writing these historic conversations. For cultural studies pioneer Raymond Williams, "ordinary culture," as observed by Montero in the interviews, can provide a space for forms of collective experience capable of undoing the social status quo (qtd. in *During* 69), which in the case of this later transitional period, is in a state of flux or perpetual "undoing."

One way to undo the status quo is through cultural populism, an idea that proposes popular culture as not merely the opposite of high culture⁵³ but also counter to a dominant culture presiding over the cultural diversity of a nation (like Spain). Thus, championing popular cultural practices and attitudes, as Montero does in "interpreting" these discussions, has political value in the dismantling of monolithic "Spanish Culture" as emphasized, imposed, and advertised (tourism, for example) during the Franco regime. Popular culture inverts the various traditionally elitist accounts of high culture, which regards itself as a bulwark against trivial mass culture (28). By the 1960s the high culture canon had lost certain dominant functions, ceding to the tastes of tourists and "ordinary" citizens. High culture is no longer capable of maintaining rigid social hierarchies or to guiding contemporary cultural production, which begins to "appropriate" and adapt, rather than defer to historical canon (*During* 196). *During* further explains that popular culture often displays its intelligence by developing new styles to appeal to new audiences, and "has become segmented into a myriad of forms, genres, audiences, tones, styles, and

⁵³ High culture are cultural aspects considered superior and typically associated with and consumed by the elites of society, such as the well-educated or wealthy.

purposes and can no longer be talked about as a monolith" (198, 200). It is in this spirit that Spanish readership embraces the multi-faceted voices of transitional Spain through the interviews conducted and narrativized by a young female journalist like Montero.

COMBINING ELITE POWER WITH POPULAR CULTURAL COMMERCE

A large part of the Transition was focused on the type of government Spain should have. Francisco Franco believed he had established the goal of *continuismo* beyond his death by choosing Luis Carrero Blanco⁵⁴ to further promote the brand and by installing Juan Carlos de Borbón as his monarchic successor. Of course, there were supporters and opposition to re-establishing the Spanish monarchy⁵⁵. Spanish businessman and politician José María Ruíz Mateos, believed that Juan Carlos was the man for the job and the figure to lead Spain after the death of Franco. He explicitly states this sentiment in discussion with Montero:

Efectivamente, soy monárquico por convicción, en el entendimiento de que la Monarquía tiene, sobre otros sistemas políticos una serie de ventajas que pueden permitir mejor el desarrollo de una vida comunitaria libre apacible, solidaria y próspera. En estos momentos, el rey Juan Carlos es el ejemplo fehaciente que justifica mi convicción. Con respecto a mi devoción por el generalísimo Franco, va unida a la obra que realizó y que la historia enjuiciará debidamente.

⁵⁴On December 20, 1973, at 9:35am, Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco, the heir apparent of Franco, was killed by a bomb planted by ETA on Calle Claudio Coello in Madrid. Hence, the plan for *continuismo* was thrown into disarray.

⁵⁵ The Spanish Monarchy was disenfranchised in 1931 with the Second Republic and re-instated in 1969 by Franco, who ultimately was a monarchist.

Indeed, I am a monarchist by conviction, in the understanding that the Monarchy has, over other political systems, a series of advantages that can better allow the development of a peaceful, solidary, prosperous, and free community life. At this time King Juan Carlos is the reliable example that justifies my conviction. Regarding my devotion to Generalissimo Franco, it is linked to the work that he did, and that history will duly judge. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 70)

In stark contrast to the praise of Ruíz Mateos for the institution, communist activist Santiago Carrillo is not a supporter of Juan Carlos as king. He responds to an inquiry by Montero of the last time he was mistaken, to which he responds:

¿La última vez...? Pues creo que la equivocación última más importante ha sido mantener la idea de que Juan Carlos iba a ser un continuador de la Monarquía del Movimiento. La preocupación de que Juan Carlos fuese la prolongación del régimen franquista y mi condena de esa monarquía de manera muy severa, hasta que en la práctica he visto que las cosas no eran como yo pensaba.

The last time...? Well, I think that the most important last mistake has been to believe that Juan Carlos was going to be a monarchical continuation of the Movement [Francoism]. I was concerned that Juan Carlos would be an extension of the Franco regime and I severely condemned his monarchy until in practice I saw things were not as I thought them to be. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 85)

King Juan Carlos was placed in a difficult spot because he would never be conservative enough for those supporting *continuismo*⁵⁶ and the Catholic-monarch traditions it held as fundamental to Spanish national identity. He would also never be liberal enough for those wanting a complete and total break with Francoism, but Don Juan Carlos, known as "Juan the Brief" by his doubters, surprised everyone. Spain is a constitutional monarchy, and the king is a political and cultural figurehead with more power and influence than his counterparts in Europe, and King Juan Carlos was a democratically-minded and key capitalist architect of the restructuring of Spanish political and social structures during the Transition. He was the embodiment of a united Spain and of Spanish culture, so he needed to maintain good relationships with all the political players of the Transition, including foreign investors, such as the United States⁵⁷, but it was the attempted military coup in February 1981 that allowed him to find the voice with which he spoke to and defended all democratically-minded Spaniards for the siege, thus proving that Spanish democracy was not going to fail as long as it included historical artifacts and was established, through diminished institutions of past moments of "glory."

A major theme of any political transition is: What type of government should we have? However, the type of government is also driven by economics and quite a few of the interviewees, such as self-presumed successor to the throne, Carlos Hugo de Borbón⁵⁸,

⁵⁶ *Continuismo* is a political situation where the person or people in power is prolonged without any indication of change or renewal.

⁵⁷ On June 2, 1976, King Juan Carlos I addressed the Congress of the United States. His speech included vows of friendship, promise of authentic liberty for all Spaniards, assurance of cooperation with other countries, and resoluteness that the Spanish monarchy had new purpose.

⁵⁸ Carlism is a political movement in Spain aimed at establishing an alternative branch of the Borbón and was a major political force in Spain from 1833 until the end of the Franco regime in 1975. In 1952, the father of Carlos Hugo de Borbón publicly laid claim to the Spanish throne and was ignored by Franco. In 1957, his father declared him Prince of Asturias, which also fell on deaf ears.

believe a stable economy is key to a successful transition. De Borbón states that one must recognize that the fundamental problem is that: "la existencia de una problemática de fondo y que la democratización de este país va a depender en gran parte de que superemos o no la crisis económica" 'the existence of a problems with funds and the democratization of the country will depend to a large extent on whether we overcome the economic crisis or not' and for him there is "cierta urgencia en atacar este problema desde una perspectiva que permita realmente estudiarlo" 'a certain urgency to attack the problem from a perspective that allows us to really study it' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 256).

The divergent voices in *Cinco años de País* are distinct from those of *España para ti...para siempre*. In fact, *Cinco años...* presents a much broader vision of not only the Transition, but of Spanish life and the generation gap in preparation for the reality of democracy, freedom of speech, women's and gay rights, autonomous states within the state, etc. The interview topics are "edgier" than in *España para ti....* For example, Montero broaches subjects that are absent in the first collection of interviews; about homosexuality, adultery, the death penalty, and student protests to name a few. In her interview with businessman and politician José María Ruíz-Mateos, Rosa Montero asks him point blank what are "valores irrenunciables de unos principios esenciales," 'inalienable values of one of the essential principles' to which he responds: "Pues valores morales: la familia, la educación, la formación religiosa, el orden, la disciplina, las buenas costumbres..." 'Well, moral values: Family, education, religious training, order and good traditions' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 70). Montero deftly uses his own words from her pre-interview questionnaire to bring his convictions to light so that, ultimately, their anachronistic tone speaks for itself. She says: "Y dice en el cuestionario: «Soy católico convencido y,

efectivamente, gran simpatizante del Opus Dei, porque entiendo que facilita una sólida formación cristiana» 'And you say in the questionnaire: «I am a committed Catholic and, indeed, a great supporter of Opus Dei, because I understand that it facilitates a solid Christian formation»' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 72). Though religion continues to play an important role in revealing the cultural practices in *Cinco años de País*, the politically fraught Opus Dei dominates the discussion of religion with Montero pushing members to discuss the organization even if it makes them uncomfortable. A prime example of this unwillingness to discuss Opus Dei due to its conservative economic, political, and cultural ties with the Franco regime, and the desire to appear *in sync* with the times, occurs during her interview with Gregorio López-Bravo and her decision to include a telling description of his resistance to the question:

MONTERO. En el setenta y tres, y en una entrevista que concedió a Tico Medina para ABC⁵⁹, confirmó usted llevar veinte años en el Opus. ¿Sigue usted dentro, supongo?

In seventy-three, and in an interview, you gave to Tico Medina for ABC, you confirmed that you had been in Opus for twenty years. You are still a member, I suppose?

(Y cierra el micrófono y pregunta si la pregunta se considera verdaderamente fundamental, que si no prefería dejarlo. 'And he covers the microphone and asks of the question is considered truly fundamental. If not, he would prefer not to answer it.')

⁵⁹ ABC is a conservative newspaper, which continues to have a "religion section" to the present day.

The interview continues:

LÓPEZ-BRAVO. Ratifico que pertenezco al Opus Dei desde hace bastantes años.

I confirm it. I have belonged to Opus Dei for many years.

MONTERO. ¿Y por qué es algo tan polémico?

And why is it so controversial?

LÓPEZ-BRAVO. Creo que lo que tiene de polémico es su propia simplicidad. Es una cosa tan natural que un tema que afecta a la relación del hombre con su Dios sea sencillo, que los que no toman la molestia de estudiar lo que realmente es el Opus Dei no pueden comprender que *se trata simplemente de una asociación que tiene fines exclusivamente espirituales*.

I think what is controversial about it is its own simplicity. It is such a natural thing. An issue that affects the relationship of man with his God is simple and those who do not bother to study what Opus Dei really is cannot understand that *it is simply an association that has exclusively spiritual end*.

(emphasis mine, my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 16)

The Opus Dei membership of Lopez-Bravo is also mentioned in the interview with former Minister of the Interior (1976-1979) Rodolfo Martín Villa who comments on this membership and the suspicion that he too was part of the organization:

Hombre, lógicamente en aquel momento un director general de Industria con López-Bravo tenía que sufrir un poco la sospecha, la presunción de que tenía que ser del Opus, presunción con la que yo entré en el ministro de Industria, ya que di

por bueno que allí todos menos yo eran del Opus, o sea que... Que eso quede perfectamente claro. Luego comprobé que sólo lo eran algunos, los menos, no sé si el ministro y otro más solamente.

Man, logically, at that time, a general director of industry under López-Bravo experienced some suspicion; the presumption that he had to be from Opus, a presumption with which I entered the Minister of Industry. I accepted that everyone except me was from Opus or whatever.... Let that be perfectly clear. Then I verified that only some were, at least the minister and another (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 179).

In his interview, Martín Villa states that Opus Dei has very little influence on him because it is not how he views life or religion. He admits he respects the members of Opus Dei and that he has friends who do belong, but he clarifies: "Yo diría que incluso desde la admiración de lo que supone la iniciativa Opus, porque la verdad es que para un católico español es hoy una de las pocas ventanillas que permanecen abiertas, y eso hay que reconocérselo [...]" 'I would say that with admiration for what the Opus initiative entails, because the truth is that for a Spanish Catholic today it is one of the few windows that remains open, and that must be recognized [...]' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 180).

Another controversial topic absent in *España para ti...* is the Spanish death penalty. Though a divisive topic, one proponent is the bullfighter, Dominguín.

MONTERO. De modo que es usted un ferviente partidario de la pena de muerte.

So, you are a strong supporter of the death penalty.

DOMINGUÍN. Por supuesto, pero absolutamente a favor. Y lo malo sería que nos llegasen a poner en una situación tal que tuviésemos que tomar las medidas por nuestra mano. Si van a matarme indudablemente me tienen que pillar distraído.

Of course. Absolutely in favor. A bad thing would be if they put us in such a situation that we had to take measures into our own hands. If they are going to kill me, they undoubtedly have to catch me distracted. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 62)

In contrast with the viewpoint of Dominguín, Basque lawyer and politician, Juan María Bandrés "ha defendido a cerca de diez personas con petición de pena de muerte" 'has defended about ten people with posible death sentences,' which he considers a "gran responsabilidad" 'big responsibility' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 222). According to the description of Montero: "Bandrés, desde entonces, ha bordeado y bordea el riesgo: riesgos físicos, riesgos de atentados, riesgos de represalias" 'Bandrés since then has verged on and bordered on risk: physical risk, risk of attack, and risk of retaliation' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 222).

Just as new topics were discussed in interviews, in this collection Rosa Montero included interviews that criticize her as a person and journalist, in addition to the Spanish press in general. For example, Manuel Fraga Iribarne becomes quite agitated with Montero over the types of questions she is asking, especially after she calls him "un hombre muy a la defensiva" 'a very defensive man' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 104). He responds: "Mire, señorita, usted está en su papel y yo en el mío, y, por tanto, si usted me preguntase si a mí

me gusta pescar o la música, decir eso hubiera tenido sentido. Mientras usted mantenga ese tipo de preguntas, que yo no he rechazado ni una, no puede negarse a que yo las conteste como las estoy contestando" 'Look, Miss, you are in your role and I am in mine. If you had asked me if I like fishing or music, that would have made sense. As long as you keep to these types of questions, which I have not rejected, you cannot disapprove at how I am answering them' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 104). Catalan politician Josep Tarradellas criticizes *El País* for mislabeling him and his political affiliations. He goes on a tirade not allowing Rosa Montero to respond to his claims or questions. He says: "[Ellos] han dicho muchas cosas, la gente no tiene en cuenta que no soy de nadie, no tengo diputados, no tengo partido, soy si acaso de Tarradellas y mis intereses son los del país" '[They] have said many things. People do not take into account that I do not belong to anyone. I do not have deputies. I do not have a party. Perhaps I am Tarradellas, and my interests are those of the country' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 203). Like Tarradellas, Bandrés criticizes the press, and not just *El País*. He criticizes the entirety of the Spanish press for ignoring the Basque problems. In fact, he states: "La prensa que de modo sistemático y reiterado trata con un auténtico desenfoque los problemas vascos" 'The press systematically and repeatedly lacks clarity and focus while dealing with Basque problems' (my trans.; Montero *Cinco* 217).

The theory of mediatization argues that the media shapes and frames the processes and discourse of political communication, in addition to the society in which the communication takes place. Politicians needed to adapt to the changing times and the shift to mass media that occurred in the 1960s, which meant adapting to new language and media formats to effectively communicate with their constituents and citizens in general (Casero-

Ripollés *Periodismo político* 23). One of the effects of mediatization is the professionalization of political communication. Politicians suddenly had spin doctors, press secretaries, experts in public relations, and marketing experts serving as a filter conditioning and limiting the access journalists have to them (*Periodismo político* 23-24). According to Casero Ripollés: "Un filtro que condiciona el acceso directo potencian la propaganda más que la información y suponen una influencia negativa en la autonomía profesional de los políticos" 'A filter limits direct access and enhances propaganda more than information, and has a negative influence on the professional autonomy of politicians' (my trans.; *Periodismo político* 24). In addition to the limited access to politicians, the press started to orient itself towards the market and to attract a larger audience. The press began putting profits before public service and contributing to democracy (*Periodismo político* 25). This switch of gears caused changes in the political information presented in newspapers. Slowly the article became more sensationalist reporting on the trivial aspects of the lives of politicians, including their personal lives rather than focusing on policy and political climate.

Common or collective memory is not just a form of narrative memory essential to an individual, but rather it is the language that enables such memories to be easily transmitted and understood. Common memory is socially important, if not vital, because it is the site where history is written (Bennett 29). It is possible to link the ideas of research fellow and managing editor of the Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society Peter Carrier to this description of common memory. For him, the importance of the historical present is a consequence of the increasingly effective mass media (Carrier 44).

In his articles "Places, politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," Carrier states:

The cultivation of public opinion via the mass media is therefore indissociable from the modification of people's awareness of time and space in the form of acceleration (acute awareness of the passage of time) and globalization (the bridging of distances between events and spectators). (44)

As Nora reminds us, the less memory is experienced collectively, the more it will require individuals to undertake to become "memory-individuals" themselves (Nora 16). Personality has a memory, which means an individual constantly constructs himself or herself, itself anew from history. Thus, according to Carrier: "Each generation identifies itself in opposition to the previous or succeeding generation; indeed, the very existence of a generation is synonymous with an identity or collective memory which draws a temporal boundary between itself and both the past and future" (45). This personal road to self-creation as a form of remembering parallels the clash and clang of competing political ideologies framing, if not determining, the lives and attitudes of popular personalities under scrutiny here in the hands of narrative-journalist-reluctant interviewer, Rosa Montero. In tandem, the selected voices and her unique form of narrative journalism produce indispensable *lieu de mémoire*.

CHAPTER 5

PHOTOGRAPHY: THE INEFFABLE STORY

Photographs turn the past into an object of tender regard, scrambling moral distinctions and disarming historical judgments by the generalized pathos of looking at time past.

-Susan Sontag, *On Photography*

Photography satisfies once and for all our obsession with realism.

-Andre Bazin, *The Ontology of the Photographic Image*

In her famous treatise *On Photography* (1977), Susan Sontag suggests the task of all photographers is to record a disappearing world while employed by those hastening its "disappearances" (79). In the case of the individual portraits accompanying the published interviews in *España para ti...para siempre* (1976) and *Cinco años de País* (1982), these photographs quickly become artifacts from specific moments and intentions during the democratic transitional period. Accompanying these "disappearances" is "un fenómeno de aparición de muchas escritoras mujeres a partir de los finales de los sesenta y principios de los setenta" 'a phenomenon starting in the late 1960s to the early 1970s during which women writers begin to appear' (my trans.; Montero qtd. in Talbot 90). When asked if it is

easier to do interviews as a woman, Montero replies: "Depende. A mí eso me sirvió cuando empecé, que era joven y parecía mucho más joven todavía: con una cara de gilipollas podías formar preguntas absolutamente terroríficas y te contestaban, pero ahora hace muchos años que ya no me sirve" 'It depends. That worked for me when I first started. I was young and looked much younger. With the face of an idiot, you can ask absolutely terrifying questions and they would answer you...but now, this has not worked for me for me for a while' (my trans.; qtd. in Bernal and Chillón 161). In a sense, Spanish writer Francisco Umbral who, in this "Presentación" of the first collection, understands the power of the youthful appearance and experience in achieving success of Montero, and compares her to Alice in Wonderland (Wonderland being Madrid of the 1970s): "Es la conciencia contracultural de los veinte años - Rosa siempre tiene veinte años - interpelando al austero y letárgico establecimiento. Es la rosa de los futuros tiempos" 'It is that counter-cultural conscience at twenty - Rosa will always be twenty - interpolating the austere and lethargic establishment. She is the Rosa/rose of the future' (my trans.; Umbral 8). Nonetheless, a Rosa/rose with thorny questions that can help clarify what she deems "ideologías sin necesidad de...leer entre líneas" 'ideologies freed from the necessity of reading between the lines' (*España para ti* 205).

Over the years, the public perception of Montero as a feminist in response to her own explicit and controversial articulation of feminist concerns in her work has been replaced by the perception of her as a committed writer and progressive journalist (Okanín 147). As such, the success and popularity of Montero as someone with a clear social perspective, which cannot be pinned down to her being a woman, as many critics have

attempted, such as literature professor Eunice D. Myers⁶⁰. Montero does not want to be the feminist poster child of any ideology. However, one cannot forget that Montero relates to the world as a white, intellectual, liberal woman born under a Catholic dictatorship who started her writing career during the democratic transitional period and who continues living and working under a firmly established democracy. This situation informs her journalism and the *constitution* of her public image. Spanish writer and literary critic, Anna Caballé suggests: "Rosa Montero has become the representative cliché of the liberal, progressive, and feminist woman that was born in Spain after the Transition. That is the price you pay for the popularity she enjoys for having worked as a journalist since *El País* was founded in 1976" (qtd. in Okanín 87). When asked about her own political slant, Montero states:

Y me consider progresista. No sé si de izquierdas. [...] me considero progresista, palabra que creo sigue teniendo sentido, y me quiero considerar radical. Radical es la palabra con la que más me siento compenetrada. *Si me tengo que definir de alguna manera, me definiría como radical* y para mí, radical es, *justamente*, querer ir a la raíz de las cosas, no ser conformista, no contentarte con sentarte sobre tus propias ideas, ser constantemente inquieto, intentar aprender algo más de la realidad, intentar buscar siempre un paso más de allá: un poco más de justicia, un poco más de sensatez, un poco más de libertad para todos.

I consider myself a progressive. I do not know if I am on the left. I consider myself a progressive, a word that still makes sense [to me]. I would consider myself radical

⁶⁰ Eunice D. Myers in her essay "The Feminist Message: Propaganda and/or Art? A Study of Two Novels by Rosa Montero" acknowledges that Montero's treatment of female sexuality is well done, "though the justification for the inclusion of some of the material is sometimes questionable" (p103).

because radical is the word, I feel most empathetic with. *If I have to define myself in some way, I would say I am a radical.* For me, radical is precisely wanting to get to the root of things; not being conformist, not content with sitting on your own ideas, being constantly restless, trying to learn something more from reality, always trying to go a step beyond with a little more justice, a little more good sense, a little more civility, a little more freedom for everyone (emphasis mine, my trans.; qtd. in Escudero *Entre* 340).

As a "radical", high profile, and enormously popular writer in Spain, Rosa Montero is tasked by her employers at the national left-leaning newspaper, *El País*⁶¹, with interviewing well-known influential residents of a disappearing world. In carrying out this task, she is one of many hastening the disappearance of the Francoist past and post-Franco transitions cradling her burgeoning career and freedom to walk through the looking glass...

PORTRAITS OF VANISHING CITIZENRY

American photographer and former director of photography at the Museum of Modern Art John Szarkowski observes: "A skillful photographer can photograph anything well" (qtd. in Sontag 129). Like a journalist with the written word, the photographer is supposed to gaze on the reality of others with curiosity, detachment, and professionalism with the intention of unmasking hypocrisy and ignorance (Sontag 55). Traditionally, the

⁶¹ Antonio Francisco Pedrós-Gascón explains that in its inception, *El País* was the main point of reference to understand the accelerated modernization that Spain experienced around the death of Franco: "Diferente es la distancia ideológica que separa el periódico que se creó a comienzos de la Transición - orgullosamente izquierdista - y el actual conglomerado mediático al que pertenece, más pragmáticamente alegado al liberalismo de mercado." 'Distinct from the ideological distance that separates the journal created at the beginnings of the Transition - proudly left-leaning - and the media conglomerate today under which it functions, more pragmatically aligned to market liberalism' (my trans.; Pedrós-Gascón 54)

photographer is regarded as a discerning, non-interfering, observer, much like conventional anthropologist (Sontag 89), but in post-Franco Spain, photographers are expected to create interest in the mundane. In reality, Sontag explains, the photographer appropriates and condemns the subject being photographed, while preserving and revering the "truth" about *the subject that they see* (emphasis mine, Sontag 64). Supporting this notion, American photographer Minor White states: "The photographer projects himself into everything he sees, identifying himself with everything in order to know it and to feel it better" (qtd. in Sontag 116).

The difference between the photographer as an individual artist-creator and photographer as an objective recorder seems blatantly obvious because no two people take the same photograph of the same item or person. Thus, an impersonal, objective image provides evidence that photographs are not only of what is there but of what a person chooses to frame. Not all photography can be considered "real" because photographs can be retouched, tampered with, or have a false caption thus falsifying reality (Sontag 86). The less doctored, the less crafted, the more naïve a photograph is, the more authoritative it is likely to be (52). Therefore, typically, many 20th-century photographers prefer black and white images, such as is the case in the two collections of interviews, thought to be more respectable and more tactful than color images. Black and white photographs are considered less voyeuristic and less sentimental (128) and thus, more reliable historically. In the introductions of *España para ti...para siempre* and *Cinco años de País*, Montero states that none of the written interviews have been adapted or edited. They are printed the same way that they originally appeared in *El País* supplement. Hence, one can assume that

the interview photographs have not been altered either, which poses the question: Is the photography of the Transition innocently observant of reality or manipulative of the same?

PHOTOGRAPHS, PUBLIC IMAGE, POWER

Each interview in *España para ti...* and *Cinco años...* is accompanied by a black and white portrait or snapshot of the interviewee. As graphic support to the narrative interviews under here, some of the photographs are, like a well-fitted costume for the new era, a "perfect fit." Socialist-democrat politician Tierno Galván is pictured wearing glasses and a dark suit and tie commensurate with the gravitas of his role in the restructuring of the Spanish State. Former Francoist politician Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora is also pictured in a dark suit and tie to invoke the serious role he, too, plays in the de/re-constructing of Spanish society. In contrast to the buttoned-up image-role of the politicians, the "snapshot" of singer Massiel appears casual. She is wearing jeans while sitting crossed legged on a sofa. Playwright Antonio Gala also appears "relaxed" in his photograph wearing a dark colored turtleneck sweater. Film director Pedro Masó is wearing a button-down shirt with several top buttons undone, allowing us a view of some chest hair. The clothing and appearance of these interviewees is important because these "costumes" represent their personalities and their pedigrees. For example, Massiel is a famous, divorced Spanish singer who is considered a polemical person, to which she responds:

Yo no voy dando escándalos por la vida. Lo que pasa es que la gente tiene muy pocas preocupaciones, y además no acepta lo natural, todo tiene que ser rebuscado, falso, sofisticado. [...] Lo que pasa es que hay una especial predilección en la gente para analizar todo lo que haga yo o cualquier personaje extremadamente popular.

I am not paying attention to the scandals. What happens is people have very few things to worry about, so they do not accept the truth. They believe everything that is far-fetched, false, and cynical. There is a special impulse to analyze everything that I or any other celebrity does. (my trans.; qtd in Montero *España* 138)

Hence, her casual look of jeans and sitting cross legged is a statement of non-participation in "caring" what others think of her "glamorous" but less political career of a singer. In contrast, Antonio Gala, and Pedro Masó are both very intentionally wearing casual outfits which represent their more "bohemian" artistic careers of playwright and film director. In contrast, the politicians Tierno Galván and Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora are both confined to conservative suits. The political affiliation of each man does not matter, but their positions of power call for a more buttoned up appearance to emit a sense of consistency with the overall (national) commentary and narrative.

Several interviews are accompanied by "action shots" of the personality, in part as a means of offsetting a "lack of control" in terms of the narrative Montero creates from the recorded conversations. Thus, for those concerned with the outcome, there is great emphasis on the photographic image as a means of offering a positive "first impression" on the reader. In the case of the Duquesa de Alba, the interview was conducted entirely through a questionnaire to ensure no spontaneity was allowed. Hence, the picture of the Duquesa is of her outside talking to her daughter. Obviously, it was selected by a member of her staff to portray her in the best light and to keep a tight grip on her "active" public image. Apparently, the Duquesa was unwilling to meet with Montero in person due to the profanity Montero often uses in her interviews. Also, it is very difficult to "control" the narrative Montero creates. Thus, for those concerned with the outcome, there is a great

emphasis on the photographic image as a means of offering a "first impression" on the reader. Another action shot present in *España para ti...* is that of the bullfighter, Luis Miguel Dominguín. Unlike the Duquesa, he was a willing participant in the in-person interview. In fact, Rosa Montero was invited into his personal space, namely the bedroom while he convalesced. During his interview, the famous bullfighter was not feeling well and was in bed and his handlers did not want a picture of him ill and in bed to accompany the conversation, so an action shot of Dominguín in the bullfighting ring was chosen. Do these pictures leave the viewer with the same impression today as they did with the viewer in 1976?

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF TRANSITIONAL POPULARITY

One can hardly imagine a published interview without an accompanying portrait because photography is a fundamental part of print journalism, especially that of magazines and newspapers. Photography and journalism go hand in hand because photographs supplement and enhance the written text. Photographs draw the attention of readers to particular information, which means impressing upon them important ineffable points. Photographs also provide proof of certain events, in addition to transporting the reader to a particular moment in time, especially with these published interviews. Often times the public views the photography as a complement to the news, but in reality, the photograph is news in and of itself. Photo-portraiture is an endorsement of the crafted news that Rosa Montero is trying to convey, while "entertaining" the reader with silent cues about contradictions, even paradoxes of the present moment. As these photographs and

interviews were published in a pre-Internet/pre-virtual world, the dependence on print "originals" makes the Transitional period seem all the more tangible and real⁶².

According to French philosopher Roland Barthes, photography is unclassifiable (Barthes 4), with many considering it an uncertain art, while Sontag, views photography as a means of situating oneself in the world by relating to it with detachment (Sontag 119). Photography has many uses, with some being more narcissistic than others. Ultimately, it is an instrument that detaches the photographer and the framed subject-object from the world (167). Barthes assigns photography three objectives in its (re)framing of the reality it plunders: to do, to undergo, to look (Barthes 9). These objectives make photography "dangerous" by allowing the image many liberties through its various functions, such as informing, representing, surprising, and provoking (28). For French film critic Andre Bazin, photography is the most important event in the history of the plastic arts⁶³ (Bazin 9), which is why the photographs accompanying the narrative-interviews of Montero are an essential component of the montage created to explore the transitional context in motion. The interview provides much information about a person, but the interviewee can try to spin the interview or manipulate the interviewer. In contrast, a photograph offers static exposure of expression and setting. The personality of an interviewee or subject becomes clearer when caught on film, no matter if the photograph is candid or staged. One can see some expression of historical "truth" about an interview subject in his or her picture. These photo-portraits are also snapshots of a particular historical moment in Spain. Many of the

⁶² No digitized versions of the collections *España para ti...para siempre* or *Cinco años de País* are available.

⁶³ Plastic arts are art forms that involve modeling or molding, such as sculpture and ceramics, or art involving the representation of solid objects with three dimensional effects.

people interviewed and photographed helped shape the democratic Transition. They are key players in the creation of the Spanish democracy that exists today. However, questions remain. Are the photographs observational or manipulative of "the truth?" Via the carefully selected images, are we seeing reality as past or the present as a fabrication.

NEW USES, NEW ASSIGNMENTS

In its inception, photography centered on the notable, but soon, by a familiar reversal, the "notable" became whatever was photographed (Barthes 34). Photography has the ability to make clichés out of unique objects, and make clichés into distinctive, vivid artifacts (Sontag 175). It also alters and enlarges the notions of what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe (3). Seemingly, no moment is more important than any other. Everything and everyone can be photographed. However, once framed and printed, individuals, items, and events are given new uses and assigned new meanings, going beyond the distinctions of beautiful/ugly, true/false, useful/useless, and so forth (Sontag 174). These transgressive possibilities bring us back to the debate about high/low, elitist/popular culture. Photography can be commended for reconciling the avant-garde with commercialism, as well as *transforming art into cultural and historical documents* (emphasis mine; Sontag 131). The photographs that accompany the interviews are not kitschy or vulgar. They do not patronize. However, it can be argued that several of the photographs can be considered *insincere*. For example, in *Cinco años de País* the photograph of Montserrat Caballé tries to frame the diva as more relatable and less "vicious" than she is "known" to be, and although some interesting photographic techniques are used like *chiaroscuro* on Carlos Hugo de Borbón, many of the photographs are straightforward, sometimes candid portraits while others are action shots. It can be

argued that the photographs are commercial because of their mass publication in the newspaper, *El País*, but in tandem with the narrative interviews, they are both cultural and historical artifacts that reveal and/or shape some attitudes, values, and goals characterizing the Spanish Transition to democracy.

The photo as a cultural document has a unique trajectory in Europe, initially historically picturesque, focusing on the "important" and the beautiful (Sontag 63) which appealed to the tastes of the *zeitgeist* and of the elite supporting this in power. According to Sontag, early European photographers assumed society stable "by nature," and "aimed for neutrality and praise (63, 65). This shifted to the extremes of propaganda under the Franco regime in pursuit of one (unifying/oppressive) vision of the country and its "culture," but in post-Franco Spain, the interview photographs in *España para ti...* and *Cinco años...* do not aim for neutrality and praise. The political slant of Rosa Montero is present in every photograph selected to accompany the interviews. For more progressive interviewees, like Socialist politician Felipe González or singer Massiel, the chosen photographs are flattering. For others like Francoist politician José Manuel Lara and conservative film director Pedro Masó, they are simply unflattering. It is easy to compare the interview photographs with American photography, which is extremely partisan. According to Sontag, Americans considered themselves experts on "reality" and the inevitability of change and have been less convinced of the permanence of any basic social arrangements (63). Hence, American photography has a more summary and less stable connection with official history than its European counterparts. Yet, the interview portraits of transitional Spain are intimately connected to a multi-vocal, ideologically diverse "national" memory of the recent past and engagement with the shifting present moment of

democratic adjustments. In this sense, the photographs and the interviews found in *España para ti...* and *Cinco años...*, are more in line with the American norms of photography described by Sontag, at least up to the 1970s, as "more predatory, yet hopeful, when dealing with geographic and social realities" (63). The photographs accompanying the interviews are predatory in their treatment of many of the subjects, in addition to being hopeful. The photographs show beauty, while confronting the "ugly" realities of Spain during the Transition. Sebastiaan Faber in his summary assessment of Montero's contributions says: "En los años de la Transición, en suma, las entrevistas de Montero llegaron a desempeñar una función no sólo informativa, sino *performativa* y ejemplar" 'During the transitional years, in sum, Montero's interviews came to fulfill not only an informative function, but also *performative* and exemplary' (my trans.; Faber 322). Faber says that one voice tends to dominate her novels of the transitional period, whereas her journalistic contributions in the form of these incisive interviews are more "complex and interesting" due to her role as political and cultural mediator in the dialogues (322).

According to Susan Sontag, one of the chief activities of a "modern" society is producing and consuming images in a manner that grants the visual extraordinary powers to *determine* reality. These images are coveted substitutes for first-hand experience and eventually become indispensable to the health of the economy, the stability of the polity and the pursuit of private happiness (Sontag 153). At the end of the Spanish Civil War (1939), the graphic arts were heavily influenced by a huge wave of patriotism, by the army, and by the autarky in power for the first years of the dictatorship (Pantoja Chaves). These entities included photography as propaganda to promote a Spain that really did not yet exist. In 1938, Interior Minister Ramón Serrano Súñer was aware of its influential powers

and proposed a censorship law impacting every type of publication, show, and work of art (López Mondéjar 183). The Franco regime carefully controlled its image through the censorship office, which promoted the "pureza de las costumbres y [...] los valores del Movimiento Nacional"⁶⁴ 'the purity of the customs and [...] the values of the National Movement' (my trans.; López Mondéjar 183). During the postwar period, a national Roman Catholic orthodoxy was obsessed with morality, which in conjunction with the censorship office, targeted items that spoke out against the fundamental principles of *franquismo*. Thus, artistic expression and photographic output during the postwar period focused on the folkloric images of bucolic reality, the exaltation of "the Spanish race," selected cultural traditions, and the Spanish imperial past (López Mondéjar 178).

REMEMBERING NATIONAL "UNITY"

Following the postwar years, as the regime settled into place, the photographic agenda of Francoism continued praising "the Spanish race" and select traditions, but it also began promoting Spanish unity under one language and one religion, meaning Castilian Spanish and Roman Catholicism (Pantoja Chaves). This photographic agenda excluded the historic nationalities present in Spain, such as the Catalans and the Basques, whose languages and cultural traditions were outlawed. Photography during the Franco regime was a hodgepodge of styles, but the themes remained constant. The regime favored pictorialism⁶⁵ to portray its "triumphant spirit." Ironically, pictorialism was also the best

⁶⁴ Movimiento Nacional is the name given to a governing institution established by Francisco Franco during the civil war in 1937 and was abolished in 1977. Its mission was to confirm the monolithic unity of the nation, leadership, and Catholic morality.

⁶⁵ Pictorialism is a movement or technique of photography emphasizing artificial, often romanticized, visual qualities

style to portray the misery and poverty experienced in the *Años de hambre*⁶⁶ of the 1950s. Due to the relative isolation of the Spanish Peninsula, the popularity of pictorialism survived longer than in any other European country (Pantoja Chaves). Incidentally, pictorialism not only contributed to the image of the Franco regime because it was the photography style of choice, but it also became a product of it because it was virtually the only type of photography produced (López Mondéjar 180). Many of the photographers of the era were focused on hiding and cleaning up the less picturesque reality of Spanish life under Franco with less prestigious photographers relegated to capturing rural peasant life (López Mondéjar 181-183)⁶⁷.

Photography during the Franco era was limited by the impoverished cultural life in Spain, caused by official censorship. Spanish photographers, isolated from foreign influences, were rewarded professionally if they were loyal to the dictatorship (Pantoja Chaves). However, the *apertura* of the 1960s brought radical changes to the customs and social landscape of the country. Tourism became the top industry thanks to the advertising campaign "Spain is Different"⁶⁸, spanning most of the 20th century but consistently focusing on rural customs to attract tourists. During the 1960s, Spain experienced increases in wealth due to international companies establishing factories in the country. The new foreign presence helped bring about a photographic revolution with documentary-style photography becoming more popular at this time (Pantoja Chaves). Pantoja Chaves

⁶⁶ *Los años de hambre* were the post-war years (1940s-1950s) where hunger ran rampant in Spain, especially because Spain was excluded from the US Marshall Plan for reconstruction after World War II.

⁶⁷ Joaquín Pla Janini and José Ortiz Echagüe were the most influential photographers of the Franco era (Publio López Mondéjar, *Historia de la fotografía en España* 181).

⁶⁸ The slogan "España es diferente" first appeared in the 1930s but was translated into English in the early 1960s by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, then Minister of Information and Tourism. The slogan was designed to lure tourists to a country promising beautiful beaches, dramatic flamenco shows, sun and oranges. The slogan was used well into the 1980s.

explains that documentary style photography allowed curiosity about "normal" life and encouraged spontaneity prompting the production of images of a Spain "forgotten" by the official rhetoric of the dictatorship (Pantoja Chaves). He highlights photographers like Hermes Paro, Pedro Menchón, Paco Ontañón, and César Lucas, who expanded beyond the documentary style trend to create quality photojournalism, nonetheless, with limiting censorship norms (Pantoja Chaves). These photographers competed against official regime photographers by producing images that contradicted the official narrative with a modern and refreshing attitude. The work of Pato, Menchón, Ontañón, and Lucas present a fight to renovate and rejuvenate Spanish photography, moving it from the *salones oficiales*⁶⁹ and putting it in the streets, emulating the documentary style of international photographers (Pantoja Chaves).

⁶⁹ Salones oficiales were official exhibitions of photography designed to encourage new artists and to help them exhibit their art.

PHOTOJOURNALISM⁷⁰ IS DIFFERENT

Although documentary style photography and photojournalism have many things in common, it is important to highlight the differences between the two forms of framing reality. Documentary style photography provides images that are meant to serve as historical documents of a political or social era. In contrast, photojournalism is designed for short-term consumption and audience involvement because the pictures are published in newspapers, which are seen as ephemeral with its short-term intention and consumption. Both documentary style photography and photojournalism seek to show "truth" without manipulating the image. Both styles collect, edit, and present. However, photojournalism is key to the contextualization of the events or subject within the frame. It should be kept in mind that photojournalism should be relevant, timely, objective, narrative and aesthetically *interesting*. The images accompanying the interviews of Montero are timely and relevant because they have meaning in tandem of the published record of events of the Transition to democracy in Spain. Although Montero may have personal opinions about the people she interviewed, the photographs chosen to accompany the interviews are fair and accurate representations in both content and tone *of the moment*. Lastly, the images that accompany the published interviews combine with other news elements to make verifiable facts relatable to the viewer/reader. The most important and significant benefit

⁷⁰ Photojournalism is a form of journalism that employs images in order to tell a news story. These photographs should focus on the faces of the subjects. The subjects should be in actions or doing something interesting because pictures of people shaking hands or receiving awards tend to bore the audience. With photojournalism, it is important that the subject is always in focus. Other principles of photojournalism include getting in close on the subject, finding unusual angles, avoid obvious posing, and to go beyond the cliché. Most importantly, the photograph should be suitable for any type of audience.

of photojournalism is its ability to push for social change by *illustrating* the key social issues, and political or popular figures of the moment.

The death of Franco in November of 1975 set off a cultural transition that influenced young photographers, who wanted to offer a new image of Spain; one that was less traditionally "Spanish" and more liberal, progressive, and aligned with the European and international trends of modernity (López Mondéjar 251). The anti-Franco spirit of many activists allowed for "un nuevo arte más «artístico», decorativista y complaciente" 'a new art that is more artistic, decorative, and complacent' (251). In his book *La historia de fotografía de España* (1997), Publio López Mondéjar clarifies: "El espíritu colectivo y militante por los fotógrafos en los años 70 fue siendo gradualmente anulado por un marcado individualismo, propio de la exacerbada competencia impuesta por los mandarines del nuevo orden internacional y por sus vicarios indígenas" 'The collective and militant spirit of the spirit of the 1970s was gradually replaced by a marked individualism typically exacerbated by the competition imposed by the new international order elites and their indigenous priests' (my trans.; 252). During the 1980s in Spain, a new, more intimate documentary photography developed, with photographers like Koldo Chamorro, Enrique Sáenz de San Pedro, and Cristóbal Hara (255, 258), who were political and experimental photographers with a focus on the cultural symbols of Spain and how they play with and influence the contrasts between rural and city life.

The production of images provides a visual ideology or a sense of national self that expresses elements in transformation. Thus, a change of images is an impetus for social change (Sontag 178). Umberto Eco once said, "La respuesta postmoderna a lo moderno consiste en reconocer que, puesto que el pasado no puede destruirse- su destrucción

conduce el silencio- lo que hay que hacer es volver a visitarlo, con ironía, sin ingenuidad"

'The postmodern response to the modern consists of recognizing that since the past cannot be destroyed, its destruction leads to silence. What you have to do is revisit it with irony and without naivety.' (my trans.; qtd. in López Mondéjar 251). Instead of destroying the past, like previous artistic movements of surrealism⁷¹ and dadaism⁷², photography during the Transition abolished any type of moral social responsibility that photography previously had in shaping social norms (López Mondéjar 251). The avant-garde movements of the 1970s and 1980s were more pragmatic and less idealistic than those of the past, especially the prior humanist and documentalist trends of the 1950s and 1960s (251), as can be seen in the photographs of Chamorro, San Pedro, and Hara with their crudely portrayed portraits of Spanish society and its customs. Photography of the Transition had a disposition towards plagiarism upon revisiting the past and appropriate older forms and styles, such as photomontage⁷³, and mixing them with newer techniques and styles with the intention of *including the past in the reimagining the present* as more self-conscious and, at times, celebratory of unusual juxtapositions (251). In a sense, the combination of the narrative imagery of Montero combined with the journalistic photo-portraits results in a tense montage of the new multivalent national image Spain had of itself. Of note is that the second collection moves beyond Spanish borders to include three international figures in the selection of voices-images that is "Spain today"⁷⁴. Rather than

⁷¹Surrealism is the principles, ideal, or practice of producing fantastic or incongruous imagery or effects in art literature, film, or theater by means of unnatural or irrational juxtapositions and combinations. It was also an artistic movement founded by André Breton in Paris in the 1920s.

⁷²Dadaism is a movement in art and literature based on deliberate irrationality and negation of traditional artistic values.

⁷³Photomontage is a composite picture made by combining several separate photographic images.

⁷⁴ I intentionally chose not to include close scrutiny of the international conversations in order to maintain focus on the evolution in Spanish citizenry and their opinions.

offer an alternative version of Spanish history, this sort of transitional photojournalism allows established cultural icons to forge a shared narrative of contemporary Spain that is inclusive, not dismissive of the recent past. In the second collection, the narrative expands towards a more globally located sense of the local that is late transitional Spain.

INTENTIONED JUXTAPOSITIONS

Photographic trends come and go, but one thing remains certain: a photograph provides undeniable proof that something happened. For Barthes: "Every photograph is a certificate of presence" (Barthes 87). Photographs record, diagnose, and inform (Sontag 133) and are often regarded as a way of "knowing things" (93). The photographs that accompany the interviews in *España para ti...para siempre* and *Cinco años de País* complement, confirm and, perhaps, contradict the information provided in the written interview. It is easy to see the connection to the contentious Montserrat Caballé interview and the smug look the opera diva has in her interview portrait. The observer can *see* things left unsaid by both Rosa Montero and the interviewee in the transcription. According to Ed White, the press photograph "is not simply a product or a channel, but also an object endowed with a structural autonomy" (White 14). While the world around it continues to evolve, the photograph remains a stable artifact accompanying the written interview (Metz 85). Of note, the interview photographs are snapshots of the Spanish Transition despite the fact that most of the subjects were born in the 1930s-1940s. Yet, the interviews hold the ideological details of the conversive moment due to the youthful interrogator-narrator framing the conglomerate photo-narrative montage. The black and white portraits or action shots are of major political players, celebrities, and athletes. They may or may not be relevant today, but they will be forever immortalized in the pages of these collections,

much like the traditional Catholic cemeteries displaying static photo-images of now deteriorated bodies. The world continues evolving around these time-capsule images that have frozen "key players," forever 'young' and chronicled. Combined, the interviews and photographs provide a rich portrait of the ideas and attitudes of the "forever twenty-year old" Montero and the subjects of her photo-narrative Wonderland.

"ALL PHOTOGRAPHS ARE INTERESTING AS LONG AS THEY ARE OLD ENOUGH" - SUSAN SONTAG, *ON PHOTOGRAPHY*

As an outsider looking at the Transition with 21st century eyes, it is difficult as a United States citizen to assume what emotions the Spanish public felt at the moment of publication. One can infer that although time has passed and memories have softened, the photographs of certain interviewees can evoke a reaction even *now*. The most important part of photography is figuring out how to convey an emotional message, and good photographs affect the viewer when they impact our emotions and resonate at a deeper level than the timeline. Thus, photography and the new daily newspapers of the transitional period often play a dual role as "the quintessential art of affluent, wasteful, and restless societies, in addition to being an indispensable tool of the new mass culture" (Sontag 69). Photographs can change viewpoints, shake beliefs, educate, and inspire. They can evoke our innermost emotions, such as fear, anxiety, and memory. We can imagine that a *madrileña* may react differently to the actor Adolfo Marsillach than a fellow Catalan would. A southern Andalusian will react differently to the Lola Flores interview than say, a northern Basque person. Nevertheless, given enough time, many photo-narrative montages develop an individual aura about them. However, it can be said that the photographs of *España para ti...* and *Cinco años...* have developed a collective aura

because they together form part of a distinctive atmosphere of transition and introspection surrounding a given time period, but photographs are in constant negotiation with the context in which they are made (or "taken"), as well as in dialogue with the present moment of the scrutinizing gaze. Hence their message goes on indefinitely while its reception may shift and change. What is consistent in the interview photographs under scrutiny here? Past choices and their impact on the present moment. In this manner, the photos allow us to see the future. One question that begs to be asked is: Are any of the photographs from *España para ti...para siempre* and *Cinco años de País* iconic?

These photographs of a specific historical moment allow us to live vicariously through the subjects because they provide instant access and participation in the history preserved within the framework (Sontag 75, 109). The photographs allow me (us) to live vicariously through them as we scrutinize their relationship to and juxtaposition with the written framework of the context and meaning of the spoken interviews narrativized by Montero. While she has framed the spontaneity of discussions with fictional techniques to enliven their contexts, the photographs serve as a freeze-frame of the moment and leave the person open to interrogation. The photographs thus provide me (us) instant participation in a historical moment that is far removed from my (our) own temporal-spatial existence and cultural *zeitgeist*. As such, they are now part of my (our) reality and quite "real" to me (us).

One can argue that this diverse collection of snapshots of an era are those of a literal and metaphorical Transition. The "real" object-subject in this interview framework can be experienced as a letdown in comparison to their iconic, symbolic meaning (Sontag 147). Thus, the photography provides a comforting reality making the photograph an aid for

understanding and tolerance (111). During the Transition, the political and social goal was consensus, as can be seen through the variety of viewpoints presented in the collections *España para ti...* and *Cinco años...*, which is no easy feat. The interviews provide the ideological viewpoints of those interviewed, while the photographs exhibit them as fallible contradictory humans. One can strongly disagree with the conservative opinions of the former Minister of Information and Tourism, Pio Cabanillas, but his photograph with crumpled shirt and tie demonstrate that he is "human." In this case, the hidden truth is the everchanging utility-memory of the Transition and how Spaniards think about and see themselves.

Photographs, as well as autobiographical and biographical writing, play a part in living memory production. They offer the past, while reaching into the present (Kuhn 183). British photographer Jo Spence acknowledges the status of photographs as cultural artifacts. They suggest and carry meanings, which deal with both aesthetic and cultural conventions, as well as unsullied "truth" about their subjects (184). Photographs often "speak" silence, absence, and contradiction more than presence, truth, or authenticity. In memory production, photographs can also be used to question identities and memories. They can be used to repress old knowledge, while simultaneously generating new knowledge (Kuhn 184). Much like the Franco regime used photography as propaganda to promote its agenda, it can be said that *El País* and Rosa Montero used photographs to accompany the interviews as a form of propaganda promoting their "radical" leftist agenda. Therefore, some of the images play into assumptions about the personality more than dispel them, and the photographic images, far from being transparent renderings of a pre-existing reality, embody coded references to help construct realities (183). Hence, the inclusion of

photographs is complicit with other techniques of fictional reality employed by the author in each interview not only helps form memories of the present moment, but also serves as a form of memory manipulation with ramifications for the future. What kind of reality is Montero trying to construct with photograph selection? One can easily question the interviews as "truth" about the person and we can see that Montero questions some of their identities by asking about political convictions or opinions on social issues under reconstruction and/or debate by the architects of a new constitutional democracy. In the case of the pop singers included in the collections, she questions their relationships with fans and if the image portrayed in public is "truly" the person behind the commercially successful image. From the vantage point of the 21st century, one can easily question the "truth" of the interviews, the identities presented, quotations, and/or the memories evoked by the interviews as a mere construction of reality, justified as true since it is chronicled and thus remembered.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the collection *Cinco años de País* ends with the interview of Carlist pretender to the throne Carlos Hugo de Borbón. The professional portrait portrays an extremely wily and would be grifter, an aura emphasized by the lighting. He is a balding middle-aged man wearing a white shirt and dark colored tie, the standard "uniform" of the day for politicians. You can only see his head and shoulders, and he is the only person or object in the picture. The side eye glance, poor dental hygiene, unnerving grin, and abnormally skinny neck make him appear eccentric. It is only after reading his interview that one realizes Carlos Hugo de Borbón was a minor political player during the Transition, relying on his birthright and name as a manner to support and

legitimize his political escapades while alienating many Spanish politicians, especially those of his own party. He was, indeed, a "perdedor" on all fronts.

In contrast, Spanish actress Miriam de Maeztu and her photo-portrait offers a genuine simplicity with no pretense or ulterior motives. She is one of the few women included in the interview collection snuggled in the middle of the book. Her seated image is captured in a full body frame allowing plenty of space to "be herself." No other objects or predictable fashion statements overtake her relaxed but direct gaze. She is the antithesis of ultra-conservative Pilar Primo de Rivera because, as Montero points out in the interview introduction:

Hace ya un mes de la salida, de esa primera semana de libertad tras el comienzo de la pesadilla, hace ya tanto tiempo, aunque en realidad solo fue en diciembre, en diciembre, sí, nueve meses ya, nueve meses multiplicados por el estupor angustiado del proceso, por esa morosa y densa cotidianeidad carcelera.

It has been a month since she left the nightmare of prison, although it seems so much longer. It was only in December. In December, yes, nine months multiplied by the anguish of the process, due to the difficult and boring daily life of jail. (my trans.; Montero *Cinco años de País*)

De Maeztu was known for her outspokenness against the Franco regime and participated in the GRAPO⁷⁵ hunger strike. She was also a Catalan actress with Els Joglars⁷⁶ in

⁷⁵ GRAPO or Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre was a Spanish clandestine group with Marxist-Leninist leanings active during the 1970s and 1980s. It is anti-capitalism and anti-imperialist opposing the membership of Spain in NATO or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The group has not been active since the early 2000s.

⁷⁶ Els Joglars is a theater group founded in Barcelona in 1962 and is known for its social and political commentary.

Barcelona and was arrested and jailed for her part in the political play *La torna*⁷⁷ in December 1977. In her photo-portrait, she has a very relaxed posture and is sitting with her legs crossed on the floor. The room is dirty and the wall behind her looks stained. Her clothing is casual and almost disheveled, and her hair is tousled. She has a tired expression on her face, and you can assume this woman has seen and lived through events no one should ever have to experience. Despite her tired expression, you can tell she is young and a contemporary of Rosa Montero. Unlike the other interviewees in the collection *Cinco años... de Maeztu* does not have the same level of notoriety. Nevertheless, her picture is important because she forms the "heart" of the collection being located in the middle of the book just as she gave her "heart" to the political opposition. She provides a feminist and feminine perspective to political outspokenness not seen previously among the *El País* interviewees. The photo-portrait makes us want to hear her story.

Sontag believes many people are anxious when they are about to be photographed; not because they fear being violated, as some non-western subjects do, but because they fear the disapproval of the camera (Sontag 85), which could be the fault of unflattering cinematic effects, or the projection of an unacceptable reality linked to the moment captured in the time capsule element of these interviews. For Barthes, each time he is photographed, he invariably suffers from a sensation of in-authenticity, or that of being an impostor (Barthes 13). Barthes believes that the photograph is not an accurate portrayal of himself because the image is "heavy, motionless, and stubborn" (Barthes 12). In contrast, he believes his true self is "light, divided, and dispersed" (12). Barthes continues: "Now,

⁷⁷ *La torna* tells the story of the last days of Georg Michael Weizel (also known as Heinz Chez) who was one of the last "agarrotados" of the Franco regime or those killed by strangulation.

once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes I constitute myself in the process of 'posing.' I instantaneously make another body for myself; I transform myself in advance into an image" (Barthes 10). For Barthes, the portrait-photograph is a closed field of forces, of four image-repertoires that intersect. These image-repertoires oppose and distort each other. In front of the lens, Barthes believes the subject becomes four people at one time. There is the person we think we are, the person we want others to think we are, the person the photographer thinks we are, and the person the photographer uses to exhibit their art (13). Hence, Barthes asks: "To whom does the photograph belong?" (13). In the normal rhetoric of the photographic portrait, positionality impacts the reality of the photograph: facing the camera signifies solemnity, frankness, the disclosure of the essence of the subject (37). That is why frontality seems right for de Maeztu and Montero, young professional "radical" women who are working (and sacrificing) for understanding and changing minds with an eye on the status quo. Most of the interviewees in these collections prefer to be depicted in motion, or in a context that "speaks" louder than the "honesty" of a pure frontal shot of the "real" person.

For Barthes, photojournalism, such as we have with the published collections of Rosa Montero, is worthy of analysis because at first glance it appears to be purely denotative or a simple "mechanical analogue of reality," in which the denotation "fills" our interpretation and "leaves no place" for connotation (White 17). The conspiracy of the photographs and the written interviews have produced transitional artifacts, which have withstood the test of time and are available for perpetual consumption. Through the publication of the collections of interviews, the transitional past is a continual presence in the present as a post-rhetorical success confronted by the visual "baggage" of the

photographs as real evidence of the truth of the democratic experiment in action. The direct clarity of shots like Montero's photobooth shots accompanying her introduction to *España para ti...para siempre* and de Maeztu's unpretentious exhaustion in her own "forever twenty" portrait return our 21st century gaze in an act of youthful defiance of living lives determined by past or future generations.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: GENERATIONAL CONSENSUS

Si no entendemos los procesos que determinan y obstruyen la transmisión del pasado a través de las generaciones, es imposible crear una conciencia histórica que permita a los individuos y a las colectividades asumir un compromiso personal con la historia.

-Jo Labanyi, "El cine como lugar de memoria en películas, novelas y autobiografías de los años setenta hasta el presente"

'If we do not understand the processes that determine and block the transmission of the past across the generations, it is impossible to create a historical consciousness that allows individuals and communities to make a personal commitment to history.' (my trans.; Jo Labanyi *Cine* 159)

It only seems fitting to conclude with a series of photobooth snapshots presented at the very beginning of the first collection, *España para to...para siempre* (1976). As Pedrós-Gascón describes in his admiration of her candor and courage in facing us with such intrepid trepidation, one can see the different poses and attitudes of the “forever young” Rosa Montero as a mirror of the transitional period as they both look forward while

interrogating the past. In the first picture her head is angled; her expression either that of nervousness or insecurity. In the second she brings a cigarette to her mouth with the left hand, head still tilted but somewhat more relaxed. In the third shot, she moves the cigarette away from her mouth, head still at an angle, but she has an impish grin. Is this the smirk of self-confidence? Or a look of self-satisfaction due to the tobacco? In the last photograph, Montero stares directly at the viewer-reader with confidence, holding the cigarette further away from her body and appearing centered and ready (Pedrós-Gascón 55-56). This series of pictures is the distillation of Montero's process of preparation for conversations with *ex-poderosos* / 'former power-players' of the Franco era, of her peers, and of the rapid succession of democratic transitional moments of fear and expectation and disenchantment in Spain (1975-1985).

The first phase of the Transition was tinged with a certain amount of doubt (represented by the tilted head), and insecurity and nervousness (represented by Montero's expression). In the second phase of the Transition, doubt still permeated (as seen with the head still at a tilt), but there is a sense of relief, which is provided by the successful democratic steps in Spain, such as the general elections of 1977 and La ley de Reforma Política. Doubt continues in the third photobooth shot, as it was in the later Transition, but there is a smile of self-confidence or self-satisfaction provoked by these mini successes. The tobacco can be likened to the successful reforms, and to the eventual peaceful transition of power to the hands of Felipe González/PSOE win in October 1982 after the final gasps of an attempted military coup in 1981. Finally, Montero looks forward with confidence, cigarette to her side, coinciding with the hard work of key political players, the Spanish press, and Spanish citizens during the latter Transition. Montero's final look of

confidence and preparedness is reminiscent of that of Spain upon its admission into the "clubs" of the West such as the European Community and a referendum on continuing with NATO in 1986, becoming an official member by 1992.

In these photographs, Rosa Montero is representative of a younger generation of artists, writers, and professionals seeking a radically different present-future for Spain. Although she is far removed from the horrors of the Spanish Civil War, she has inherited the memory of such as well as remnants of the harshness and atrocities of the Franco regime, and it goes without saying that there is value in recognizing how collective events affect the experiences of individuals, which the interviews of *España para ti...para siempre* and *Cinco años de País* do. During the Transition, Spanish society lived in a world threatened by minority group terrorism from both the political right and the left, as well as by global economic crisis. For Montero's generation, the power struggle was dominated by an "old guard" which seemed hopelessly entrenched due to the longevity of Francoism. In many ways, this generation is not so different from young United States citizens born in the decade leading up to the September 11, 2001 attacks. This generation of young adults have only known a world threatened by terrorism, war, school shootings, economic collapse, racial inequities, a growing wealth divide, and the existential peril of climate change. As Karla Vermeulen explains: "I hope we can be more understanding of why people in this generation are often anxious and angry about the world they are inheriting instead of reflexively comparing their situations with those of past generations" (Vermuelen). Although this statement is speaking of a specifically American citizenry, this statement can be applied to the younger members of Spain's transitional period. There was

anxiety, there was *desencanto*, and there were comparisons to and even ironic evocation of the previous generations in the effort to avoid their “mistakes.”

Differences between generations have always existed and the differences have become more distinct and marked due to the pace of innovations in communication technologies. But according to Professor Jennifer Wisdom: "We would all benefit if the media focused on how cross-generational collaboration and generational distinctions can improve society, rather than their roles in fostering culture wars" (Wisdom). Hence, the interviews of *España para ti...para siempre* and *Cinco años de País* still have something to offer this post-September 11th world. Although Montero considers the interviews as "agua pasada" 'a thing of the past', they are also "un espejo de la época" 'a mirror of the period' (qtd in Galán). As such, these time capsules contain inter-generational conversations that a brave young professional crafted into revelations of ideological hubris and humility, political adjustments for greater inclusivity, and creative evolutions/solutions that wink at the past as a general consensus of the transitional period emerges as it looks forward with constitutional confidence.

As Jo Labanyi states: Si no entendemos los procesos que determinan y obstruyen la transmisión del pasado a través de las generaciones, es imposible crear una conciencia histórica que permita a los individuos y a las colectividades asumir un compromiso personal con la historia” ‘If we do not understand the processes that determine and block the transmission of the past across generations, it is impossible to create a historical consciousness that allows individuals and communities to make a personal commitment to history’ (my trans.; Jo Labanyi *Cine* 159). I hope to have made my commitment to understanding the role of the past in the present clear in the form of this in-depth

investigation of a relationship of mutual impact, whereby all involved, past or present, dead or alive, inspire each other to discuss and to create an inclusive citizenry.

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APPENDIX A

ESPAÑA PARA TI...PARA SIEMPRE INTERVIEWEES

LOLA FLORES (1923-1955)

- Spanish singer, actress, dancer, and businesswoman
- From Jerez de la frontera
- Referred to a "La Faraona"
- Considered an icon of the gypsy and Roma community in Spain
- Performed flamenco, copla, and chotis
- Appeared in more than 38 films from 1939 to 1987 with her debut being in *Martingala*
- Also starred in Mexican films
- Working class: Father owned a bar and mother sewed clothes

MIGUEL DE LA QUADRA SALCEDO (1932-2016)

- Spanish reporter and Olympic athlete
- Born in Madrid but always recognized as Basque-Navarre
- Nine-time Spanish champion in the javelin, hammer, and discus
- 1962 to 1963: Worked as a botanist for the Colombian government in the Amazon region
- Reporter for TVE

ENRIQUE TIERNO GALVÁN (1918-1986)

- Spanish politician, professor, lawyer, and essayist

- Mayor of Madrid from 1979 to 1986
- Fought for the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War
- Wrote over 300 books
- Chosen to write the preamble to the Constitution of 1978
- First leftist mayor of Madrid after four decades of Franco rule
- Supporter of the Movida

GONZÁLO FERNÁNDEZ DE LA MORA (1924-2002)

- Spanish essayist and politician
- Represented the Galician region of Pontevedra in the Congreso de los Diputados for the Alianza Popular from 1977 to 1979
- Father was a colonel in the judicial army under Alfonso XIII and mother was descended from a minister of Isabel II
- Spanish consul in Frankfurt and cultural advisor in Athens
- Minister of Public Works in Spain and director of the Escuela Diplomática
- Monarchist leanings and conservative background
- Considered a great thinker of the Spanish political right

ANTONIO GALA (1930 -)

- Spanish poet, playwright, novelist, and writer
- Born in Castilla-La Mancha, but moved to Córdoba and is considered Andalusian
- Written in a wide variety of genres, including journalism, short stories, essays, television scripts, poetry, opera, and theater
- Publicly defied leftist political views during the transition and not linked to a specific political party

- 1978: Called for Andalusian autonomy
- 1981: President of the Spanish-Arab Friendship Association
- Current president of the International Theater Institute

LUIS MIGUEL DOMINGUÍN (1926-1996)

- Spanish bullfighter
- Became a matador in 1941 and was extremely popular during the 1940s and 1950s
- Socialite with friends like Picasso and lovers like Eva Gardner
- 1955: Married actress Lucía Bosé
- Engaged in bullfighting rivalry with his brother-in-law, Antonio Ordóñez, that was chronicled by Ernest Hemingway in *The Dangerous Summer*

PIO CABANILLAS (1923-1991)

- Spanish jurist and politician
- Held various cabinet posts and served as a deputy in the European parliament
- Member of the Consejo del Reino, which was the highest advisory board in Francoist Spain
- Instrumental in drafting the Ley de Prensa e Imprenta of 1966
- Viewed as a reformist during late Francoism

PEDRO MASÓ (1927-2008)

- Spanish director, producer, and scriptwriter
- Former chief of production at Estudios Chamartín
- Founder of Pedro Masó Producciones Cinematográficas, which has produced major commercial success in Spain
- Created Escorpio Films

- Also had a successful television career

DUQUESA DE ALBA (1926-2014)

- María del Rosario Cayetana Fitz-James Stuart y Silva
- The only child of the 17th Duque de Alba and the 9th Marquesa de San Vicente del Barco
- Held forty hereditary titles and according to the *Guinness Book of World Records* was the most titled aristocrat in the world
- Flamenco and bullfighting were two of her passions
- Voted into the *Vanity Fair* International Best Dressed List Hall of Fame

ANGEL NIETO (1947-2017)

- Spanish professional Grand Prix motorcycle racer
- One of the most decorated grand prix motorcycle racers of all time
- Operated a grand prix motorcycle racing team
- Provided commentary on Spanish television for Grand Prix motorcycle races
- Was hit by a car while riding his motorcycle in Ibiza and died from his injuries several days later

MASSIEL (1947-)

- María de los Ángeles Felisa Santamaría Espinosa
- Spanish pop Singer
- Won the Eurovision song contest with the song *La, La, La*
- Replaced singer-songwriter Joan Manuel Serrat as the Spanish representative at Eurovision because he wanted to sing in Catalan and Franco would not allow it
- Also performed in theatrical productions

JOSÉ LUIS SAENZ DE HEREDIA (1911-1992)

- Spanish director and screenwriter
- Began his career under the direction of Catalan, surrealist director Luis Buñuel
- Francoist
- Held various official positions during the Franco regime, including the director of the Escuela Oficial de Cine de España
- Cousin of Falange founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera
- Official filmmaker of the regime

JUAN JOSÉ LÓPEZ IBOR (1906-1991)

- Spanish psychiatrist
- Opposed to the Freudian method of psychoanalysis
- Founded *Actas españolas de psiquiatría*, which is a bimonthly peer-reviewed medical journal covering psychiatry
- Created the López Ibor Clinic in Madrid
- Was president of the World Psychiatric Association

FÉLIX RODRÍGUEZ DE LA FUENTE (1928-1980)

- Spanish naturalist and broadcaster
- Best known for his television series *El hombre y la tierra*
- Was a personal falconer of the King of Saudia Arabia
- Was a photographer and safari guide in Africa
- Signed the founding charter of the Sociedad Española de Ornitología
- Was a lecturer and writer who contributed to environmental awareness in Spain
- Died in a plane crash in Alaska while filming a documentary

CAMILO SESTO (1946-2019)

- Camilo Blanes Cortés
- Spanish singer, songwriter, and music producer
- Nicknamed "El rey de amor"
- Sold around 50 million records worldwide
- Recorded in English, Catalan, Italian, German, Japanese, and Portuguese
- Formed part of the pop groups Los Dayson and Los Botines
- As a composer he wrote songs for Angela Carrasco, Miguel Bosé, Lucía Méndez, and others
- Grammy nomination for Best Latin Recording in 1976
- Starred as Jesus in *Jesus Christ Superstar* in Madrid, which he funded entirely
- Has a total of 52 number one hits
- Was inducted into the Latin Songwriters Hall of Fame

ADOLFO MARSILLACH (1928-2002)

- Spanish actor, playwright, and theater director
- Catalan descent
- Was a driving force behind classical theater during the Transition
- Known for his collaborations with radical playwright Alberto Miralles
- Was director of the Teatro Español de Madrid
- Son of antinationalist journalist Luis Marsillach
- Father of Spanish actresses Blanca Marsillach and Cristina Marsillach

SANTIAGO BERNABÉU (1895-1978)

- Spanish soccer player who was one of the most important Real Madrid players of all time
- Was president of Real Madrid from 1943 to 1978

- Fought for the Nationalists during the Spanish Civil War
- Met with Ernest Bedrignans and Gustav Sebes to create a loosely constructed exhibition tournament that would eventually evolve into the Champions League

MANOLO ESCOBAR (1931-2013)

- Spanish singer famous for the Andalusian copla
- Also did some acting and performed in multiple musicals
- Was one of the few Spanish artists that has his own company and show

APPENDIX B

CINCO AÑOS DE PAÍS INTERVIEWEES

GREGORIO LÓPEZ BRAVO (1923-1985)

- Spanish politician
- Minister of Industry and Minister of Foreign Affairs under Franco
- Member of the Alianza Popular during the Transition
- Retired from politics in 1978 in protest of the Constitution of 1978
- Member of Opus Dei
- Served in the Congreso de los Diputados

PILAR PRIMO DE RIVERA (1907-1991)

- Sister of Falange founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera
- Daughter of Spanish dictator General Miguel Primo de Rivera
- Head of the Sección Feminina of the Falange
- Supported the ascent of King Juan Carlos I

JOSÉ MANUEL LARA BOSCH (1946-2015)

- Spanish media executive and businessman
- CEO of Grupo Planeta since 2003 and Atresmedia since 2012
- Catalan
- Served as a board member of the Banco Sabadell Atlántico

- Also served as the president of UTECA, which is the association of Spanish commercial broadcasters

LUIS MIGUEL DOMINGUÍN (1926-1996)

- Spanish bullfighter
- Became a matador in 1941 and was extremely popular during the 1940s and 1950s
- Socialite with friends like Picasso and lovers like Eva Gardner
- 1955: Married actress Lucía Bosé
- Engaged in bullfighting rivalry with his brother-in-law, Antonio Ordóñez, that was chronicled by Ernest Hemingway in *The Dangerous Summer*

JOSÉ MARÍA RUÍZ MATEOS (1931-2015)

- Spanish businessman and politician
- Began exporting wine to England and eventually founded the conglomerate Rumasa
- Owner of the Rayo Vallecano soccer team
- Founded the Ruíz Mateos foundation to promote cultural activities, especially in the visual arts, music, and literature
- Formed his own political party and was elected to the European parliament in 1989
- Charged with tax evasion by the Spanish government and imprisoned for currency smuggling, fraud, and tax evasion
- Was a member of Opus Dei but was expelled from the group in 1986

SANTIAGO CARRILLO (1915-2012)

- Spanish politician
- Served as General Secretary of the Partido Comunista de España
- Exiled during the dictatorship

- Embraced Eurocommunism and democratic socialism
- Was a member of the Congreso de los Diputados from 1977 to 1986
- Asturian
- Participated in and was jailed for a failed leftist coup in 1934
- Participated in the Paracuellos Massacres during the Spanish Civil War but denied any knowledge

MANUEL FRAGA IRIBARNE (1922-2012)

- Spanish professor and politician
- Founder of the Partido Popular
- Served as Minister of Information and Tourism, the Spanish ambassador to the United Kingdom, Minister of the Interior, Second Deputy Prime Minister, and President of the regional Galician government
- Also was a member of the Congreso de los Diputados y el Senado
- Helped write the Constitution of 1978
- Played a major role in the revitalization of the Spanish tourist industry with the "Spain is different" campaign
- Authorized the execution of political prisoners under Franco
- Served as a member of the European parliament

FAUSTINO CORDÓN (1909-1999)

- Spanish biologist and pharmacist
- Communist
- Was detained at the end of the Spanish Civil War and spent time in several concentration camps

- Always on the periphery of Spanish academia during the Franco regime due to his politics and critical attitude towards the official science of the time
- Founded and directed the Departamento de Investigación en el Instituto de Biología y Sueroterapia (IBYS)
- Directed the Instituto de Biología Aplicada (IBA)
- Created the Fundación para Investigación Teórica y Aplicada sobre Biología Evolucionista (FIBE)

AGUSTÍN GARCÍA CALVO (1926-2012)

- Spanish philologist, philosopher, poet, and playwright
- Chair of Classical languages at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid
- Was expelled from Complutense and Spain for supporting student protests against the Franco regime in 1965
- Spent his exile in France, where he was appointed professor at Lille University and Collège de France
- Worked as a translator for the exiled Spanish publishing house Ruedo Ibérico
- Following the death of Franco, he returned to Complutense where he taught until his retirement in 1992

MYRIAM DE MAEZTU (1951 -)

- Spanish film actress
- Acted with the theater group Els Joglars
- Sentenced to two years in prison for insulting the Army in the play *La Torna*
- Spent time in the Yeserías prison in Madrid

FELIPE GONZÁLEZ (1942-)

- Spanish lawyer, professor, and politician
- Secretary General of PSOE from 1974 to 1997
- Spanish Prime Minister from 1982 to 1996, making him the longest serving prime minister to be freely elected
- Served in the Congreso de los Diputados
- Lost the 1977 general election to Adolfo Suárez

RODOLFO MARTÍN VILLA (1934-)

- Spanish engineer and politician
- Was head of the SEU, which was the university syndicate of the Spanish Falange movement
- Served various government posts, including civil governor of Barcelona, Minister for Trade Union Relations, Interior Minister, and First Deputy Prime Minister
- As part of the Franco regime, he was accused of giving orders to kill 5 Argentine workers during a labor strike in March 1976 in Vittoria

JOSÉ LUIS ARANGUREN (1909-1996)

- Spanish philosopher, essayist, and professor
- Fought for the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War
- Associated himself with *falangistas* that distanced themselves from Franco
- His ideas evolved into Marxism and Neopositivism
- Became critical of the regime and participated in the 1965 student protests
- Removed from his post at the Universidad de Complutense de Madrid but remained active writing and working at foreign universities

JOSEP TARRADELLAS (1899-1988)

- Spanish politician
- Given the title First Marqués de Tarradellas by King Juan Carlos I
- Was Secretary General of the Republican Left of Cataluña (ERC)
- Exiled to France after the Spanish Civil War
- Refused to return to Spain after the death of Franco without reassurance from King Juan Carlos I that Cataluña would have autonomy

JUAN MARÍA BANDRÉS (1932-2011)

- Spanish lawyer and politician
- Basque nationalist and human rights defender
- Voted against the Constitution of 1978 because it did not meet Basque expectations
- Defender of ETA and deputy for the party Euskadiko Ezkerra

MONTSERRAT CABALLÉ (1933-2018)

- Spanish opera singer
- Her voice was noted for its purity, precise control, and power
- Developed a reputation for being difficult and pulling out of performances
- Was a Goodwill/UNESCO Ambassador and established a foundation for needy children in Barcelona

CARLOS HUGO DE BORBÓN (1930-2010)

- Duke of Parma and head of the House of Borbón-Parma from 1977 until his death
- Carlist pretender to the throne
- Sought to change the political direction of the Carlist movement
- Alienated many Carlists by the mid-1960s by approaching Franco directly about the Spanish throne

APPENDIX C
PHOTOGRAPHS



FIGURE C.1 SANTIAGO BERNABÉU

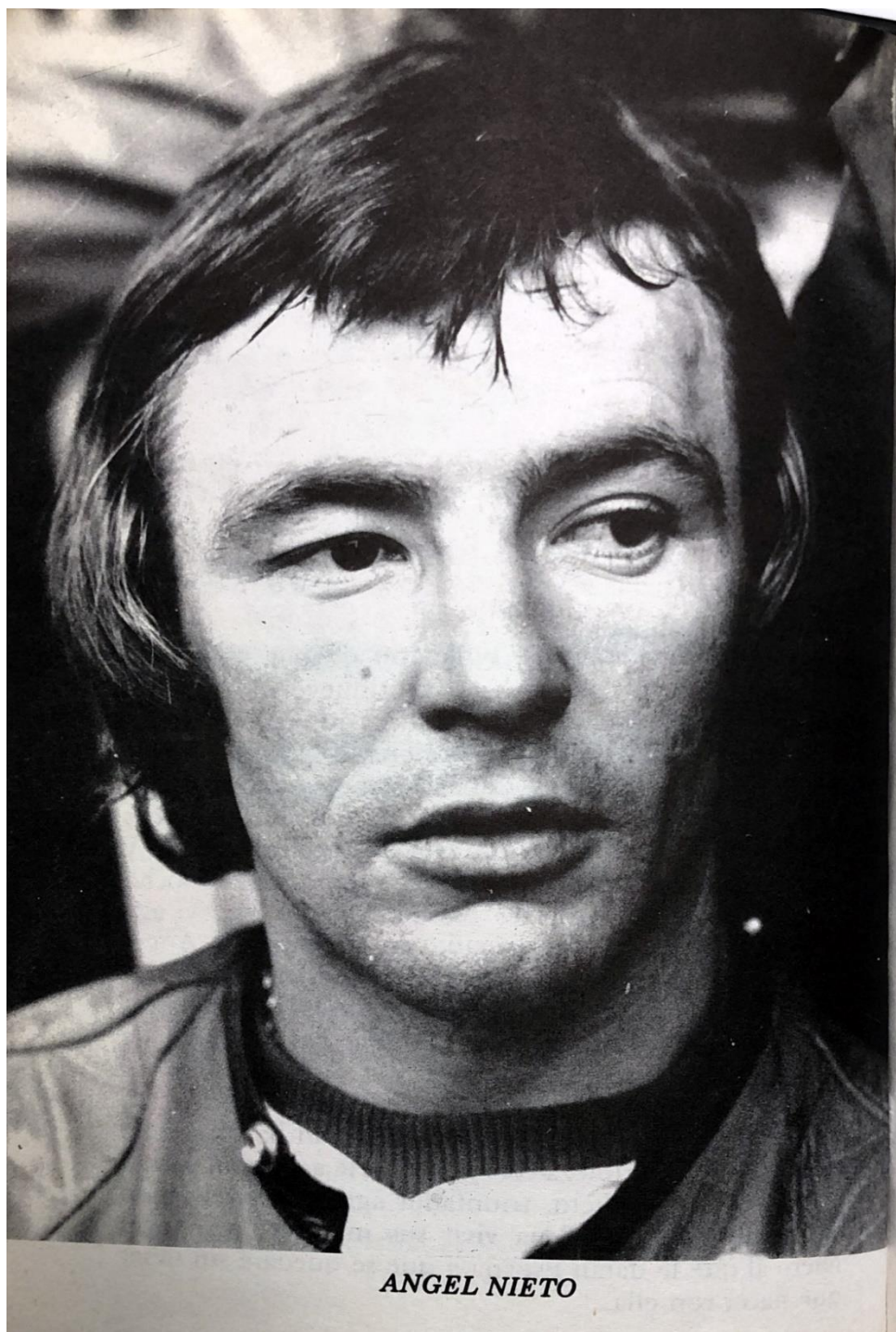


FIGURE C.2 ÁNGEL NIETO



FIGURE C.3 MANOLO ESCOBAR



FIGURE C.4 MASSIEL



FIGURE C.5 TIERNO GALVÁN



FIGURE C.6 GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE LA MORA

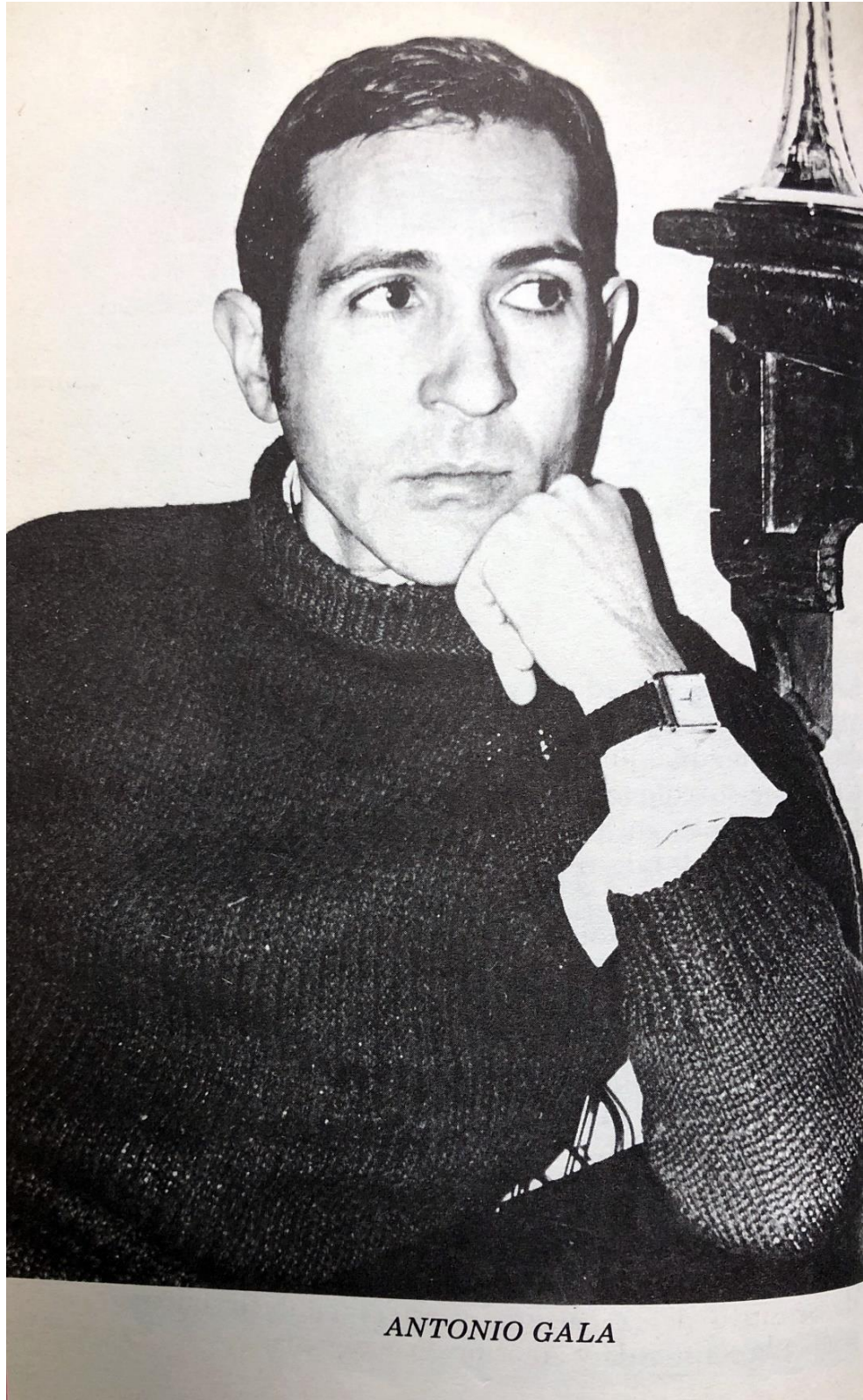


FIGURE C.7 ANTONIO GALA

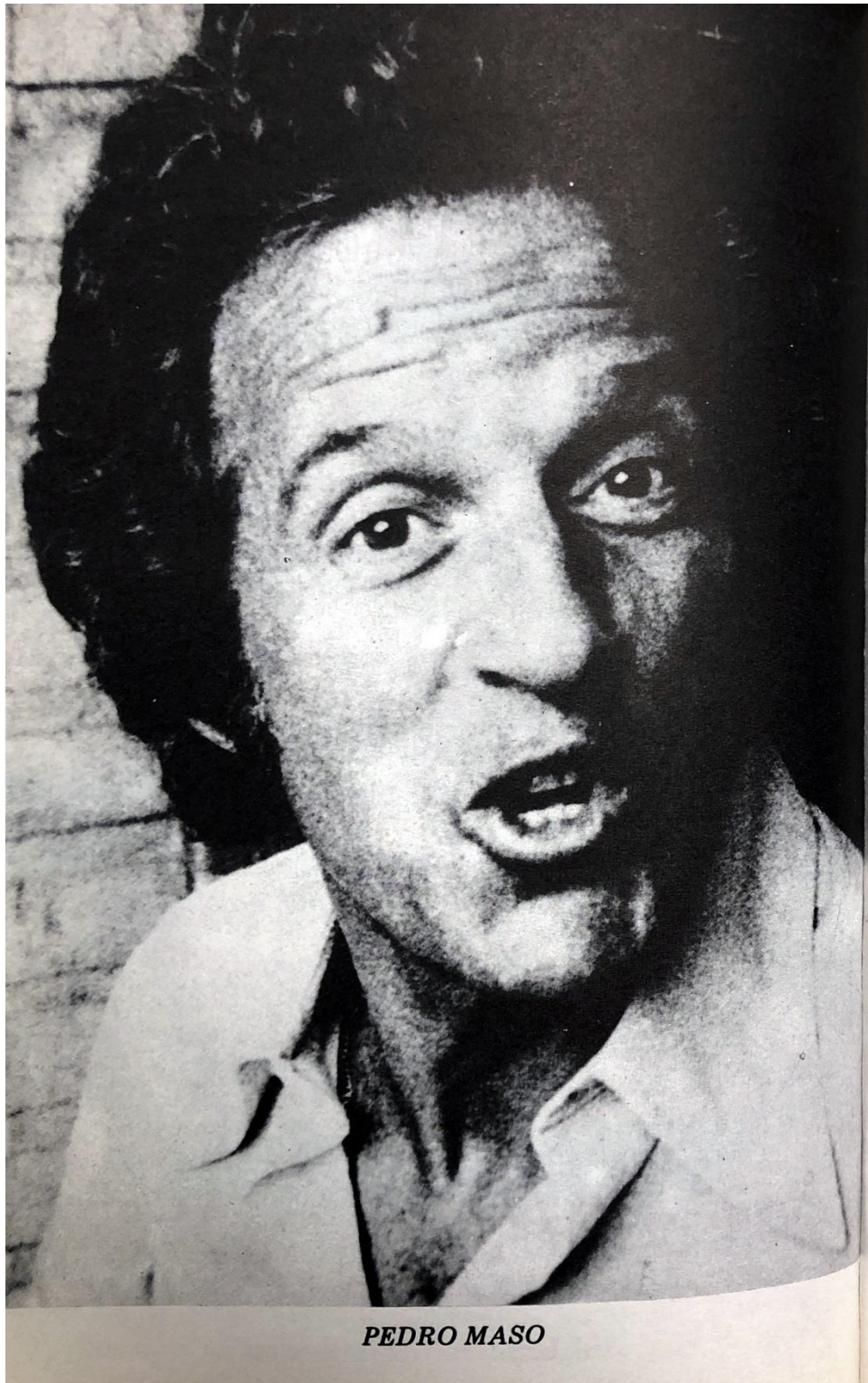


FIGURE C.8 PEDRO MASÓ



FIGURE C.9 LUIS MIGUEL DOMINGUÍN

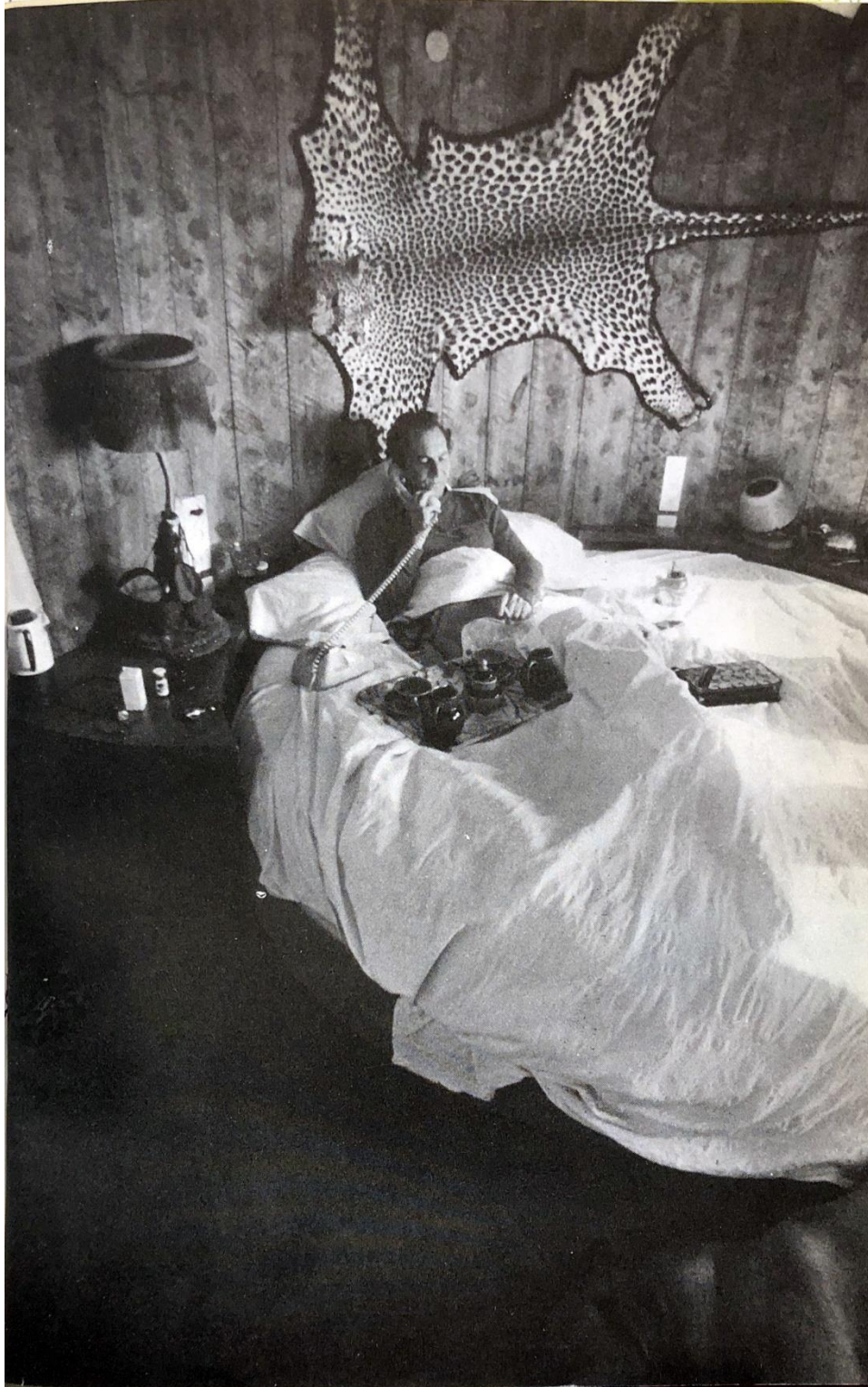


FIGURE C.10 LUIS MIGUEL DOMINGUÍN

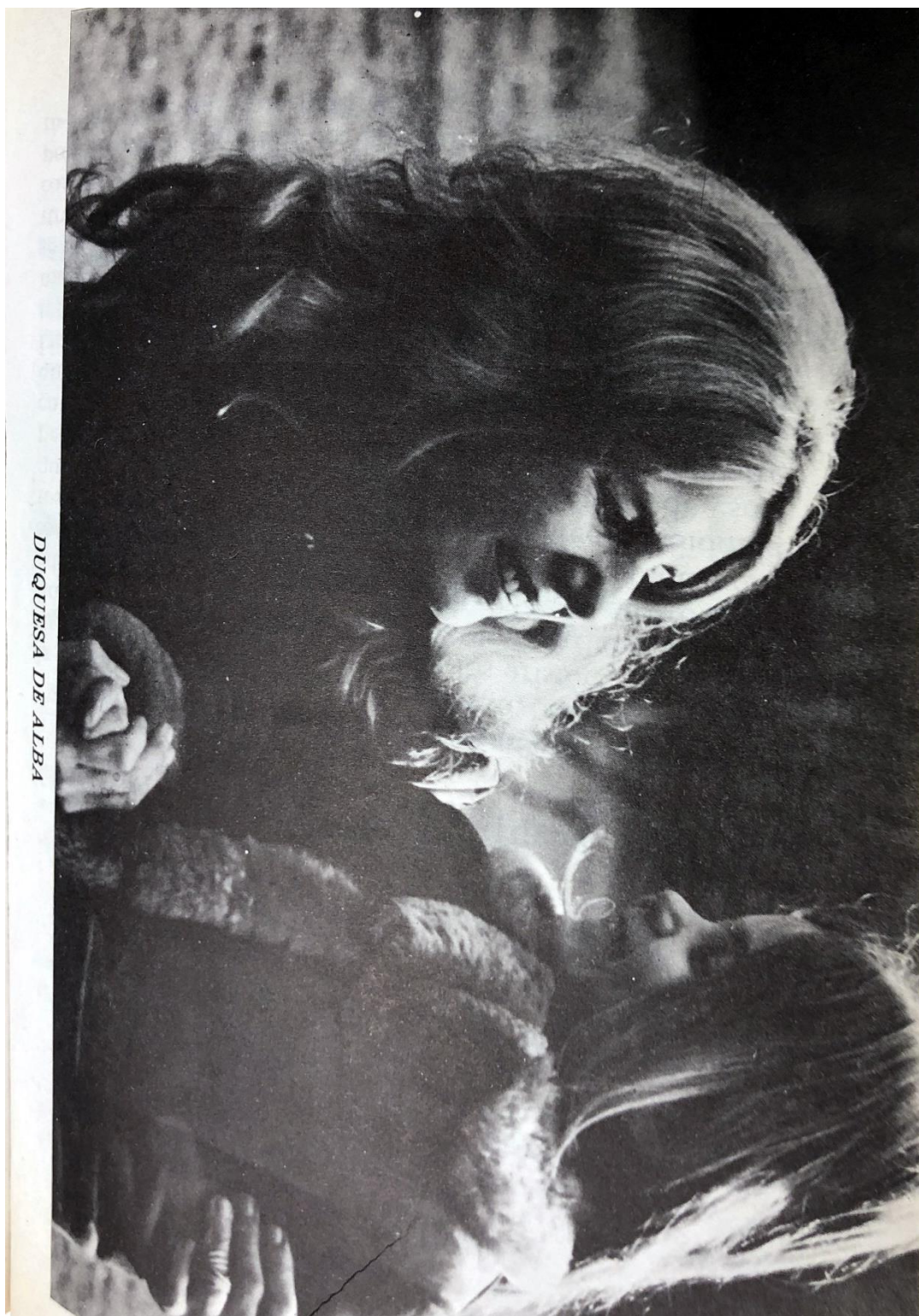


FIGURE C.11 DUQUESA DE ALBA



FIGURE C.12 MIRIAM DE MAEZTU



FIGURE C.13 PILAR PRIMO DE RIVERA

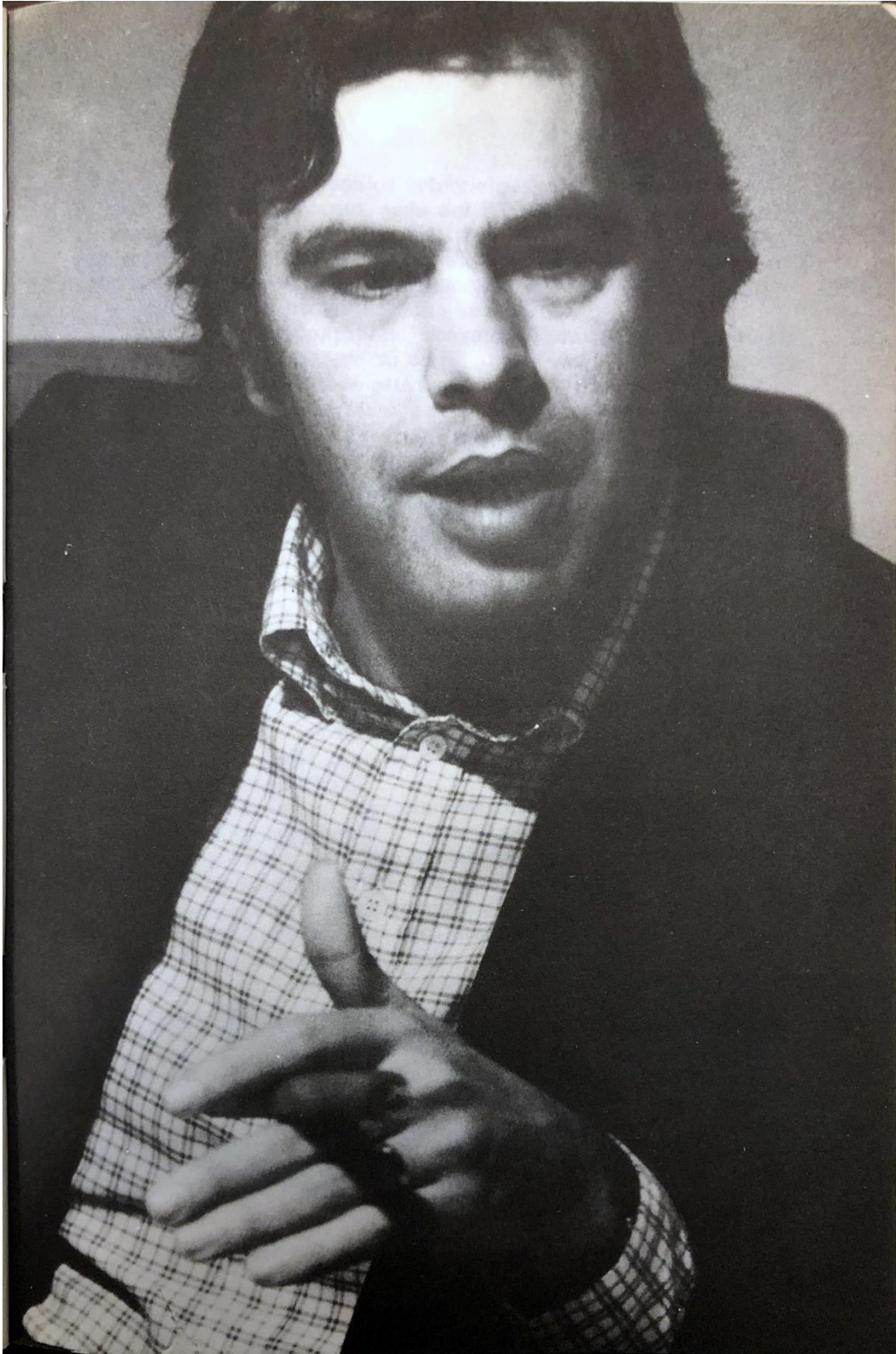


FIGURE C.14 FELIPE GONZÁLEZ

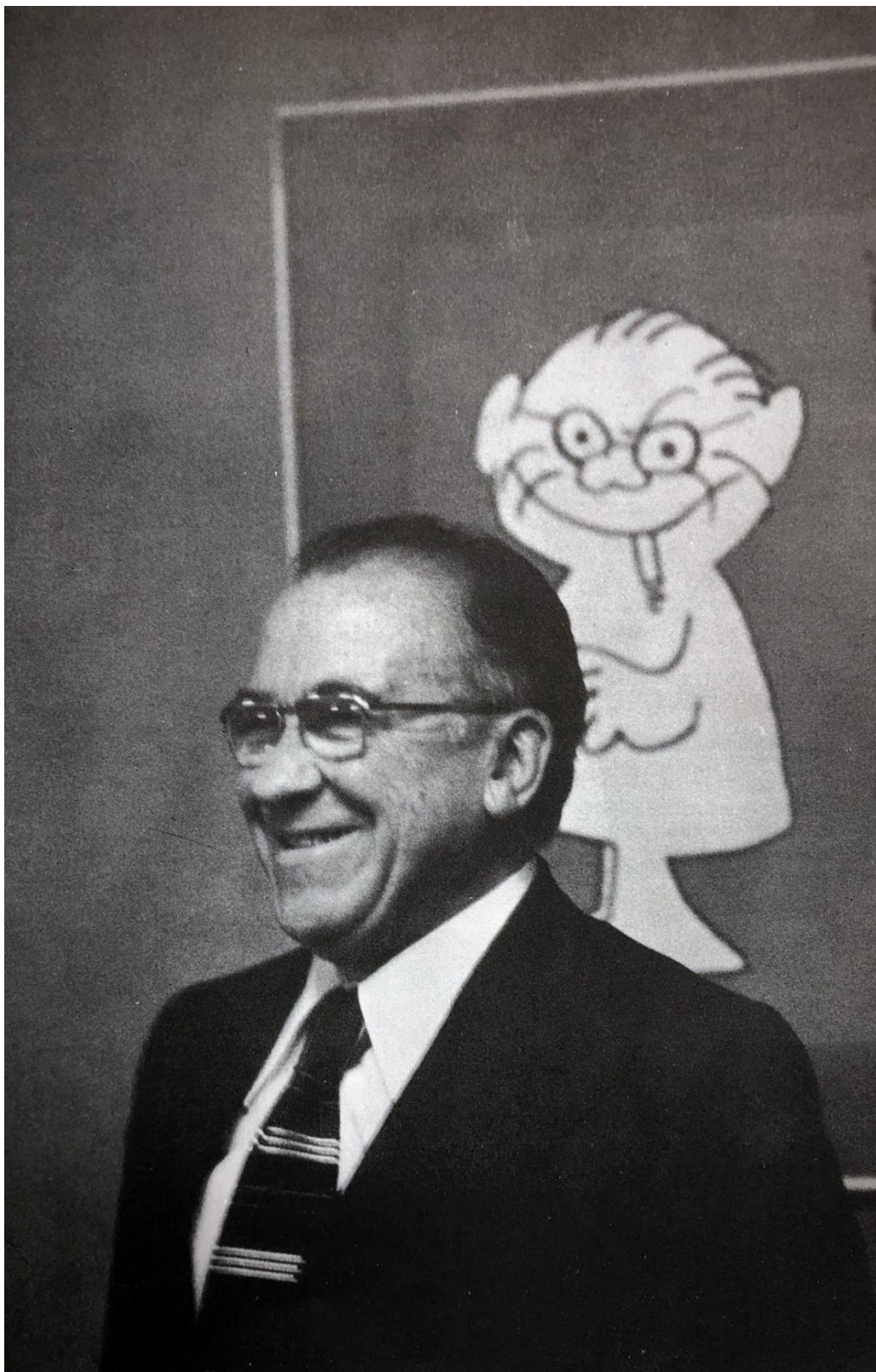


FIGURE C.15 SANTIAGO CARILLO

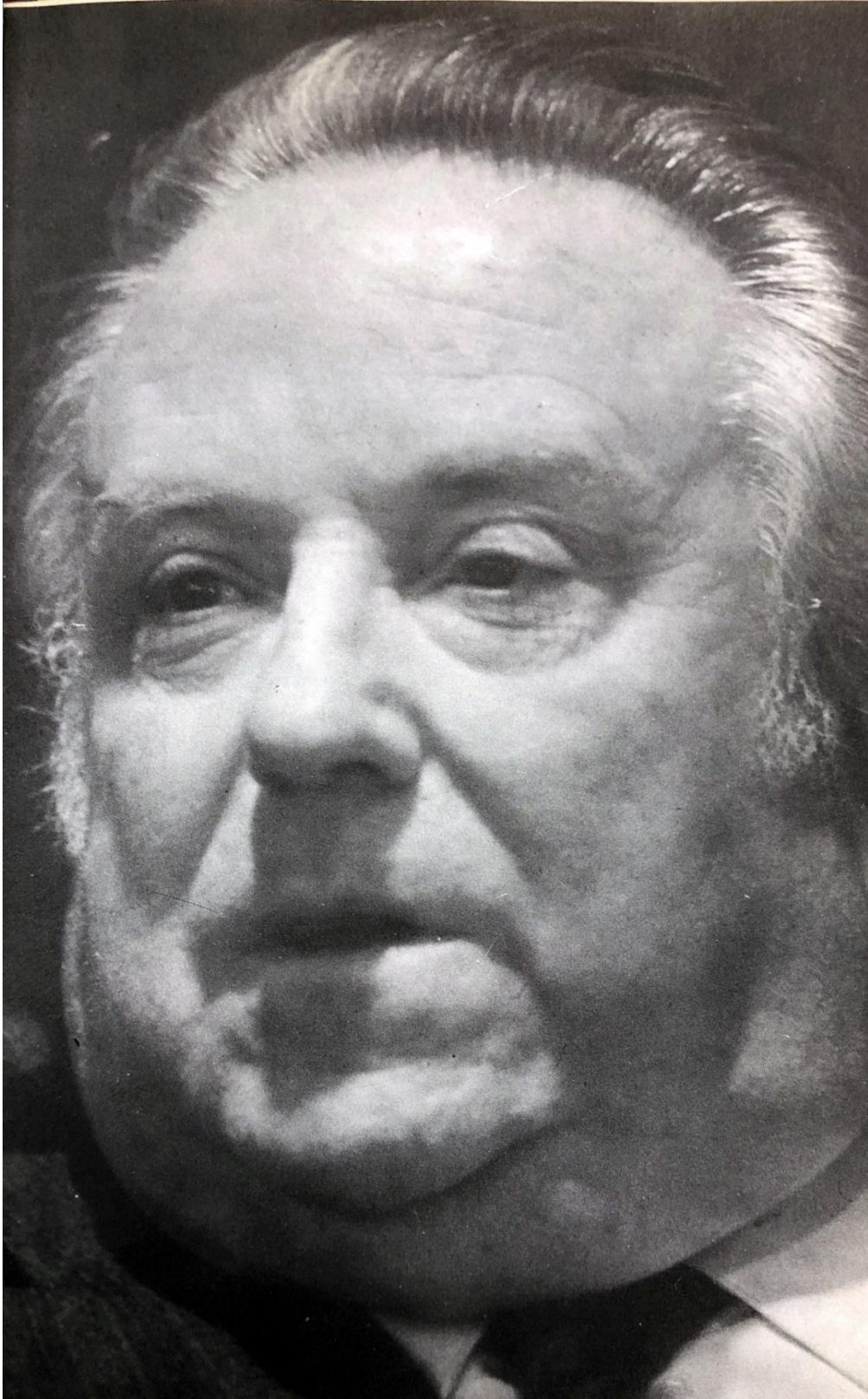


FIGURE C.16 JOSÉ MANUEL LARA

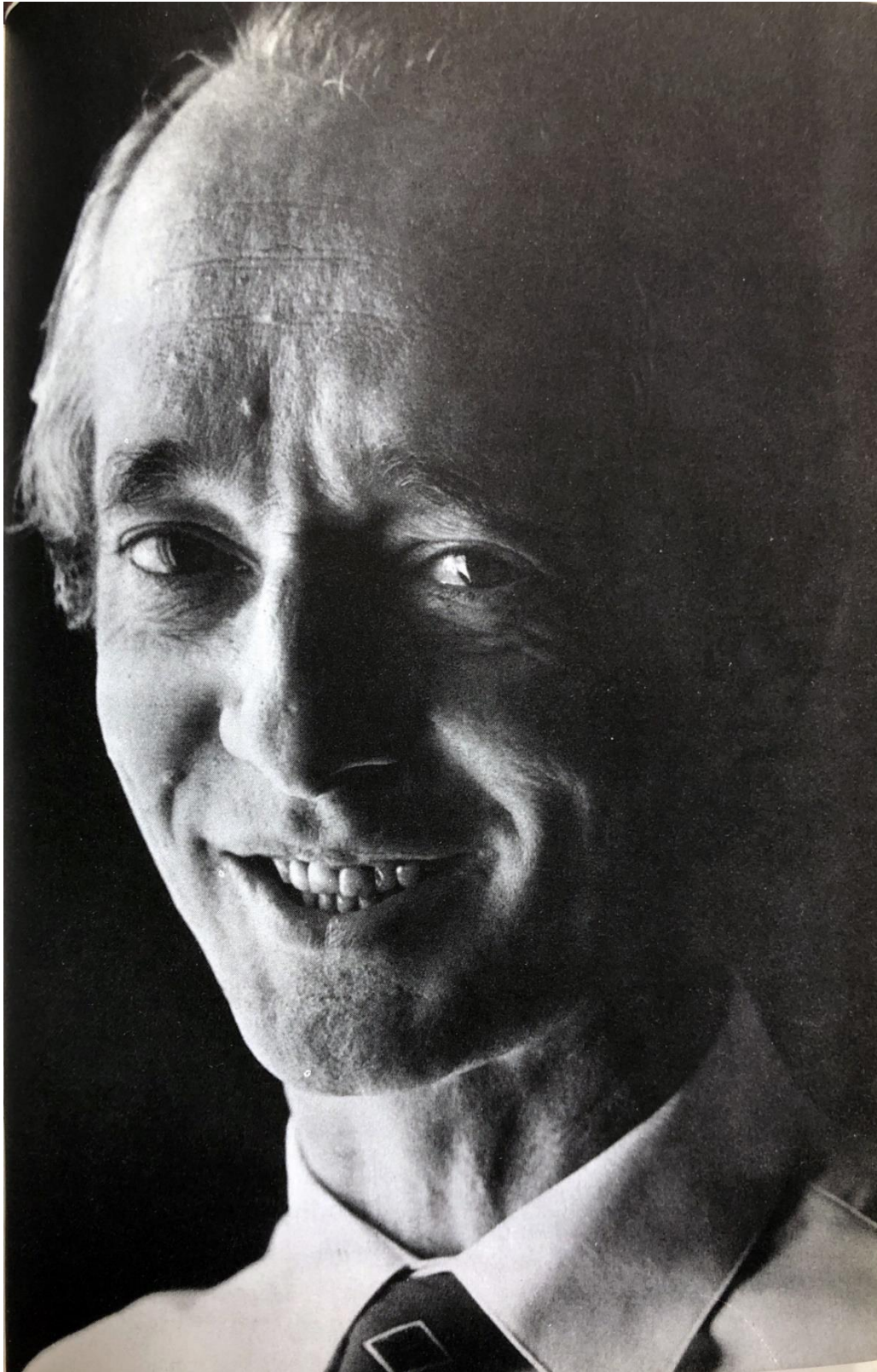


FIGURE C.17 CARLOS HUGO DE BORBÓN

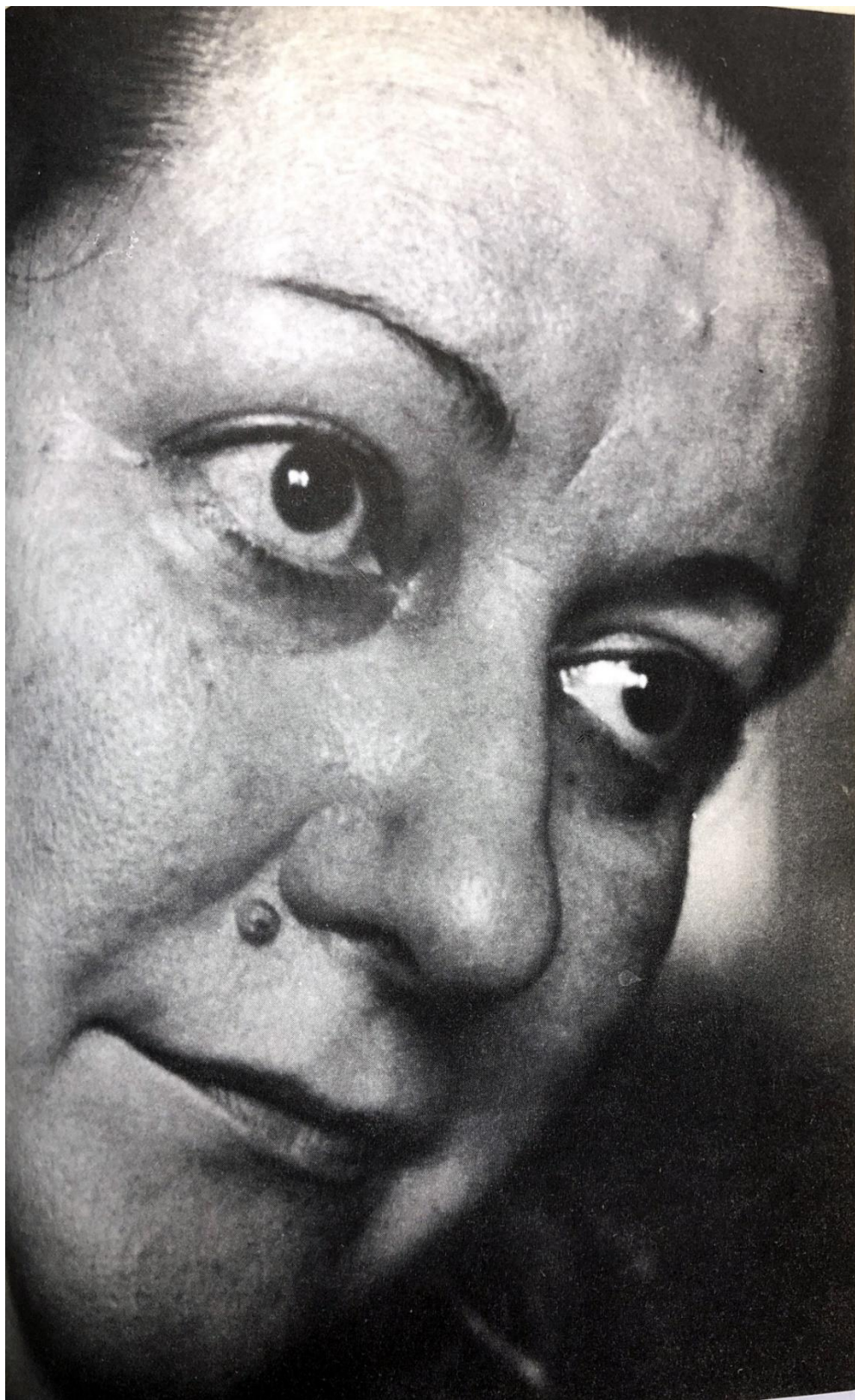


FIGURE C.18 MONTSERRAT CABALLÉ



FIGURE C.19 PIO CABANILLAS



Rosa Montero

FIGURE C.20 ROSA MONTERO