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**A citizens' portrait
Spanish citizenship in Francoist posters (1936-1945)**

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MA Programme Euroculture Declaration

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Signed *Paula O'Donohoe*

Date May 29, 2017

Table of Contents:

	<i>Preface</i>	4
I	Introduction.....	5
II	The Franco Regime.....	10
	<i>The Civil War and the Regime</i>	10
	<i>The citizens of the Franco Regime</i>	17
III	Political Propaganda.....	23
	<i>Theoretical Approach</i>	23
	<i>The Francoist Propaganda</i>	30
IV	The Francoist Posters.....	38
	<i>Symbolism of the Francoist Propaganda</i>	42
	<i>The citizens' portrait</i>	48
V	Conclusions.....	61
VI	Bibliography.....	65
VII	Appendices.....	68
	<i>Appendix 1: Classification of the Posters</i>	68
	<i>Appendix 2: Quantification of the Posters</i>	74
	<i>Appendix 3: Posters</i>	76

Preface

This thesis is submitted for the Erasmus Mundus Master of Arts in Euroculture, the basis of which is an analysis of the visual propaganda of the post-war years in Spain. Yours truly has a Bachelor degree in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, specialised in visual culture and memory studies. I was engaged researching and writing this thesis from November 2016 to May 2017, during my stay at the University of Groningen (Netherlands) and the Universidad de Deusto (Spain).

I would like to thank my supervisors, Leyre Arrieta and Martin Elbel, for their time, comments and guidance throughout this process. To my colleagues and friends, it was always helpful to debate ideas and problems with you.

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I hope you enjoy your reading.

M. Paula O'Donohoe Villota

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I Introduction

The twentieth century in Spain is characterised by a civil war and the totalitarian regime that followed it. Thus, since the beginning of the war in 1936, until 1975, Spain was under the control of the general Francisco Franco. Much has been said about these years. Just considering the academic production, there is a multitude of books and articles that explore its appearance, its evolution and characteristics, the experiences of the war, etc. It may sound hard to believe that we still need to do more research about it. But this production mainly considers social and political aspects, leaving behind the cultural. Thus, if you want to know more about the life of the Spaniards and how citizenship was at that time, there are still certain unknown aspects of the Regime. On the other hand, nowadays, we are witnessing a memory boom in Spain. More academics are focusing on the experiences of the citizens and are looking into the more cultural aspects of the Regime. However, due to the novelty of this cultural change, there are still certain aspects that need to be further explored.

Since its very beginning, the Francoist Spain became national, Catholic and Falangist, focused on the defence of the ‘true’ Spanish traditions through political repression and the control of the civil society. It was based on an official cultural system based on the victory of the Civil War and aimed at a re-Catholicization and re-Hispanicization of the society. One of the multiple means that the Regime developed to achieve this goal was propaganda. The introduction of propaganda meant the introduction of filters in the daily reality. Hence, propaganda played a fundamental role on the settlement of the regime as it helped to define it, to establish a maximum control over all means of communication and had a direct impact on public opinion. It was based on one meaning, simple, superfluous, stereotyped messages linked to the regime and its socio-political context. It was endeavoured to create symbolic and imaginary spaces by showing a conciliatory reality established by the new government, which did not coincide with the reality of the post-war years. Thus, it was developed into a mean of indoctrination that represents the structural violence, as it unleashes repression and censorship, with a great impact on all Spaniards’ identity.

In 1975, with the end of the Regime, is the period of the transition to democracy. However, it did not mean an end to the ideological, cultural and social system established by the Regime, it meant a follow-on. Even though the political system changed from a totalitarian dictatorship to a democracy, the society needed a long time to adjust to this

new democracy. Therefore, the socio-political and ideological system established in the first years of the Regime still has influence nowadays, it has changed its appearance but the content remains almost untouchable. This is why it is fundamental for us to know the impact of the Francoist propaganda to understand our actual society. However, it would be almost impossible to develop an analysis of all the means of the propaganda apparatus, films, books, censorship, art... Thus, I have chosen to focus on posters as there are accessible in the collection of the National Library in Madrid and in some on-line databases. I have also chosen them for their peculiarities, as they mix text and images, written and visual language. And, furthermore, because they were displayed in public and private spaces so the citizens were continuously exposed to them.

Almost forty years of Regime are too many for developing a good analysis on the time given to develop the thesis. Consequently, I will focus on the First Francoism, between 1936 and 1945. I have made this choice as the propagandistic activity started the same day of the uprising in July 1936, and because the end of the Second World War in 1945 meant a restructuration and reconstruction of the Regime in order to adapt to the new international environment. In addition, after the war, the Regime needed to define itself and win adepts as fast as possible. Thus, it coincides with the more active years of the propaganda apparatus.

The goal of my thesis is to know the impact of the posters made by the official Francoist apparatus on the Spaniards' identity through an aesthetic and iconographical analysis. How they depicted the citizens of the time and how the established boundaries between the 'good' citizens and the enemies of the Regime. Thus, my research question is: what image of the Spanish citizens is depicted in the posters made by the official propaganda of the First Francoism (1936-1945)? In my sub-questions, I will consider: what is political propaganda? what are the main characteristics and elements of the First Francoism? which written and visual language do posters use? what strategies for indoctrination are in the posters? what symbols and myths can we find in them? what message do they reproduce? who was a Spanish citizen during the Franco Regime?

Therefore, my main purpose is to know the 'we' depicted in the Francoist posters. I will answer my research question and sub-questions by analysing the main gaze reproduced and produced, considering the multiple viewpoints that appear from the watchers and the watched, and from who is seen and who is not. I consider the posters as a cultural production, therefore, their contexts of production and reproduction are linked and cannot be considered separately. Thus, together with the visual analysis, I will

develop an analysis of the specific context of the propaganda apparatus within its wider context of the Franco Regime. In addition, the visual will be my subject and method as I will perform a simultaneous collection and analysis of the posters. Hence, I will develop a research of the Francoist posters through a visual analysis approach based on an interdisciplinary and inter-methodological research.

In order to develop an accurate research, my methodology will be interdisciplinary. First of all, the contextualization of the posters, their embeddedness in the wider culture. I will develop this contextualization through a critical reading of the literature on the topic, always considering the posters as part of the culture where their meanings are accumulated and transformed, and where their own cycle of production, circulation and consumption take place. The posters become representations, the outcome of a process of attaching ideas and giving meaning to our experience of the world within the context of viewing and producing, as well as a place for processes of recognition and identification.

I will analyse the work of different authors, starting with the tremendous analysis of the Franco Regime that Biescas and Tuñón de Lara develop in their book *España bajo la dictadura franquista*¹, as they cover all the economic aspects and developments as well as the different periods of the cultural production and censorship. To complement their work, Cazorla Sánchez² develops a unique work by analysing the Regime through the narratives of those who lived it, however, he is mainly focused on the Republican experience. But not only Spanish authors have considered this period of the recent history. Payne³ developed an in-depth analysis of the Regime and the Civil War in his book *The Franco Regime*. Thomas⁴ developed a colossal investigation of the Civil War, considering all the personalities involved as well as all the battles. On the other hand, Tremlett⁵ developed a curious work on the hidden past of the country through the eyes of the tourists that travelled around. However, what this books and articles leave behind is an extensive consideration of the propaganda and its influence, but taken together they compensate their gaps and I believe that they will allow me to develop a strong context for my research.

¹ José Antonio Biescas and Manuel Tuñón de Lara. *España bajo la dictadura franquista:(1939-1975)*. Editorial Labor, 1980.

² Antonio Cazorla Sánchez. *Fear and progress: ordinary lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*. John Wiley & Sons, 2009.

³ Stanley G. Payne. *The Franco Regime, 1936–1975*. University of Wisconsin Pres, 2011.

⁴ Hugh Thomas. *The Spanish Civil War*. Random House Digital, Inc., 2001.

⁵ Giles Tremlett. *Ghosts of Spain: travels through a country's hidden past*. Faber & Faber, 2008.

This contextualization will be important not only for the analysis of the posters but for the consideration of political propaganda as it belongs to a specific historical moment. I will follow the same methodology for it, a critical and analytical reading of existing literature on the topic. There are different scholars that have considered propaganda from diverse fields. For example, Clark⁶ considers it linked to the study of art, Pizarroso⁷ develops a historiography of propaganda, Lasswell⁸ analyses its political symbols and myths.... However, there are similar tendencies within their theories. Most of them consider the same or similar elements and add something new to the definition. Some authors develop a general theoretical framework of propaganda, which can be extended with more specific theories of symbols and myths.

Once I have established the historical and cultural context and the theoretical framework, I will develop the visual analysis of the posters. This analysis will be divided into different steps: the aesthetics and the symbolism. The first one is linked to the poster itself, to what we see at first sight. In order to analyse this pure aesthetic characteristic, I have developed an in-depth and detailed description of the posters. In addition, I have classified them considering the characteristics of production, such as year, author and size, in order to make them more accessible and facilitate the further analysis. This classification can be found in the first appendix.

The second step, the symbolic analysis, is linked to the images within the posters. I have developed a direct analysis of the posters together with an open-viewing one in order to understand the process of production and the perspectives of the makers. This analysis lets me determine what image of the Spanish citizens is being promoted by the government through the propaganda apparatus. In addition, I have used an iconographical approach to find out about the circumstances of reproduction and to observe the interplay between the context and the visual representation, therefore, to know the accuracy of what is being depicted in the posters. For this, I have analysed the representations, interactive and compositional meaning together with the iconographical and iconological symbolism.

The structure of my thesis will follow the logic of the topics and methodology. Thus, the next chapter will be dedicated to the historical contextualization of the Civil War and

⁶ Toby Clark. *Art and Propaganda*. Everyman Art Library, 1997.

⁷ Alejandro Pizarroso Quintero. "La historia de la propaganda: una aproximación metodológica." *Historia y comunicación social* 4 (1999): 145-172.

⁸ Harold D. Lasswell. "The theory of political propaganda." *The American Political Science Review* 21, no. 3 (1927): 627-631.

the Regime. The third chapter will be the theoretical framework of political propaganda, my aim is to achieve an operationalised definition that I can use for the analysis of the posters. In addition, I have included an analysis of the propaganda apparatus considering what was mentioned in the previous chapters. The last chapter will be focused on the analysis of the posters, it is divided into the analysis of the symbolism of the Regime that can be found in those posters and the results of my analysis. I have not considered the responses of the posters at the moment as it is highly difficult to know them because of the novelty of the topic and the course of time. As I have mentioned before, only now we are witnessing a cultural change, thus, there are not many sources that consider the experiences of the citizens of the Regime. And those who do consider them leave behind the impact of propaganda, especially of posters. In addition, these are events that took place over seventy years ago so there are not accessible witnesses to interview. Consequently, we can only guess or get to know the long-term impact.

I am aware of my personal position and how my gaze is determined by my identity as a Spanish citizen, however, I consider that this will allow me to identify Spanish cultural elements and symbols within the posters making easier the analysis of the posters.

In addition, I consider that this research is relevant not only in academia but outside it. As I have mentioned, the Transition did not mean the end of the already established mentality. I do not think that my thesis will, all of a sudden, change our mentality. But I hope that, at least, it will help us to understand why we think like we do, to delve into the imaginary of the actual Spanish society and the influences that our recent past have on how we live and think.

II The Franco Regime

The Civil War and the Regime

This chapter will be mainly focused on the historical contextualization of the general socio-cultural and political precedents, development and evolution of the Civil War and the first years of the Franco Regime, from 1939 to 1945. In addition, I will mainly focus my analysis on those elements that help to understand the broader topic of this work.

The nineteenth century was a time of repeated civil wars⁹ and major costly colonial wars¹⁰. These struggles revolved around the basic problems of the Spanish society and failed to produce a sense of national unity and nationalism. The elitist liberalism provoked a process of democratisation that opened a new series of profound conflicts¹¹. But it also marked the beginning of mass politics and expanded the political sphere to include new issues of popular welfare and social legislation. In addition, regional nationalism grew as a political expression due to the Spanish disaster of 1898, which meant the end of the remains of the Old Empire and symbolised the failure of modern Spain as a state and as a system¹². Furthermore, the monarchy never grew into a feasible symbol of the community; the Church became an ultraconservative reactionary force against liberalism, and the army turned out to be a conservative state within the state which viewed itself as the incarnation of the national will. The new ruling class was an agrarian oligarchy, kept in power thanks to a manipulated electoral system that excluded peasants and the proletariat. Therefore, at the turn of the twentieth century, Spain was not one country but a number of countries and regions marked by an uneven historical development, and a dominantly backward agrarian nation¹³.

On 1923, the army moved decisively and General Miguel Primo de Rivera took power with a program based on the suppression of the class struggle, an ideology of constitutional liberalism, and the slogan ‘Monarchy, Fatherland and Religion’¹⁴, which later on would inspire Franco. His government turned to be the first modern organic authoritarian dictatorship in Spain with a strongly identified right-wing Catholicism. The new military directory had to deal with problems such as attempted subversion, the

⁹ 1821 to 1823; 1833 to 1840; 1869 to 1870. In Stanley G. Payne. *The Franco Regime, 1936–1975*. University of Wisconsin Pres, 2011.

¹⁰ 1810 to 1825; 1868 to 1878; 1895 to 1898; 1919 to 1926. In Stanley G. Payne. *The Franco Regime, 1936–1975*. University of Wisconsin Pres, 2011.

¹¹ Payne, *The Franco Regime*..

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ronald Fraser. *Blood of Spain: an oral history of the Spanish Civil War*. Random House, 2012.

¹⁴ ‘Monarquía, Patria y Religión’.

stalemate of Morocco, administrative corruption and national political reform¹⁵. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship collapsed in 1930, together with the Spanish monarchy which comprised its legitimacy when it recognised the dictatorship.

The fascist party gained shape at this time, the Spanish Falange, years later would become one of the main Francoist supports. Its leader was José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the dictator, and its ideology was that of national syndicalism. Thus, it was conceived as a revolutionary movement that would achieve the socioeconomic program of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism under a dictatorial nationalist state¹⁶. The next municipal elections of 1931¹⁷, were aimed to return to the pre-dictatorship legislation but the significant majority of the republican party was taken as a plebiscite against the monarchy. On April 14, the King Alfonso XIII left the country and the Second Republic was established, this period is one of the most controversial and mythicized of twentieth century Europe¹⁸.

In a context of an international economic crisis and flourishing fascist states, the task of the Second Republic was to bring into being what a hundred years of history could not achieve: to develop a modern capitalism without a proletarian revolution. The Second Republic began peacefully with great social acceptance, but within three years it provoked the most striking example of political decay and polarisation in Europe breaking down into a massive counter-revolutionary civil war¹⁹. Spain was in a weak position to make a Republic work, and it turned out to be the breakdown of the parliamentary forces, the failure of a reform effort, and the basis for a rightist conspiracy. Spain had become a free, open and democratic country permitting maximal expression and mobilisation, at the same time that it remained backwards and undeveloped economically²⁰. In addition, it was marked by disintegration²¹. The tension was rising, the Left saw fascism in every action of the Right, and the Right smelt revolution in every left-wing move²². In consequence, during the months preceding the war, agrarian strikes followed each other,

¹⁵ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

¹⁶"Falangism." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. *Encyclopedia.com*. (May 23, 2017). <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/falangism>

¹⁷ Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*.

¹⁸ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*.

²² Paul Preston. *We Saw Spain Die: Foreign Correspondents in the Spanish Civil War*. Hachette UK, 2012.

and street violence and political assassination became commonplace, breaking down into a fully polarised conflict.

On July 18, 1936, a military *pronunciamiento*²³ took place. It was an unsuccessful reckless coup by a small number of military conspirators. But what was initiated as a coup, became a civil war and adopted a character of a war of masses in a couple of days²⁴. Their revolt failed in more than half of the territory but succeeded in organising armed camps that could be coordinated into a major movement, a full-scale civil war.

The war turned into the major violent revolution in West Europe during the twentieth century²⁵, and the only pluralistic, genuinely multi-ideological violent revolution. The civil war was an uncivil war²⁶. Many cruel acts were committed and legitimised. Civilisation was measured on the will to defend one's ideals to the death. Atrocity followed atrocity, and under one man orders, another man could be killed. It was a fratricidal war that tore families apart, a bloodbath that pitted brother against brother and neighbour against neighbour²⁷.

There would be two big factors between the two sides that would, eventually, decide the conflict: the African Army and the help of the fascist powers. At the beginning, it was conceived as a Republican rising with the aim to replace the Republic with a military directory, and culturally, emotionally and spiritually supported by its identification as a crusade. However, its sudden escalation into a total civil war expanded the conflict. It became a major international issue where the major European forces took part, becoming the testing ground for arms and strategies later used in the Second World War.

By Autumn 1936, the now-called Nationalist zone was subject to a cultural counter-revolution of unprecedented proportions. Religious revivalism and nationalism were the basis for the restoration of traditional values and attitudes, Spanish 'true' traditions were upheld as the guide for a country that had lost itself. The Catholic Church permeated every aspect of the Spanish Nationalist Culture²⁸

'This is our final leitmotiv. To be what we were after the shame of what we have been. To kill the old soul of the liberal, decadent, Masonic, materialist and the Frenchified 19th century and to impregnate ourselves with the spirit of the imperial,

²³ *Pronunciamiento*: takes the initial form of pressure, manipulation or outright insurrection. It was not necessarily aimed at immediate military occupation or overthrew the government per se, but simple at rallying broader military or political support to effect changes in personnel, policies or the regime. (in Stanley Payne, page 12).

²⁴ Ismael Saz. "El primer franquismo." *Ayer* 36 (1999): 201-221.

²⁵ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

²⁶ Fraser, *Blood of Spain*.

²⁷ Tremlett, *Ghosts of Spain*.

²⁸ Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*.

heroic, sober, Castilian, spiritual, legendary and chivalric 16th century” Federico Urrutia, in Payne p. 119.

The new radicalization of the war demanded a determined political structure and definition, being its key political element the Falange. The Junta de Defensa Nacional, formed to coordinate the military effort and to develop an administrative state apparatus at the beginning of the conflict, was no longer enough. The leader of the revolution was supposed to be José Sanjurjo, based on his leadership of an abortive revolt in 1932, however, a fiery plane crash on July 20 left the rebellion without a leader²⁹.

On September 29, 1936, the Junta appointed General Francisco Franco de Bahamonde as the Head of Government of the Spanish State and Generalísimo of the Armed Forces³⁰. Between 1936 and 1945, the New Regime is built and put together in the national and international context. It has to be put in context with the other European totalitarian regimes, as most of them shared an anti-liberal and anti-Marxist character, the negation of the basic values of the century, their legitimation as national revolutions and the social, political and institutional structures of power. This New State is born from the ashes of the Civil War and made use of a distorted image of the past to legitimise itself and its future. Memory and culture became political weapons. The end of the civil war closed an epoch in Spanish history, as nearly all its main actors were dead or in exile, and many ideals and institutions had also been swept away³¹.

The first government is one of coalitions³²: the military and the order for the Army, education and justice for the Church, economic for the technocrats, and the social and only legal political party to the fascist party, the Falange. In April 1937, Falange became the single party combined with the other supporters of Franco, the traditionalists, and changed its name to FET y de las JONS³³. This combination was aimed to the creation of a para-fascist, unitary, totalitarian and authoritarian regime based on a kind of historical-cultural legitimacy incarnated in the personae of Franco³⁴. At the same time, the Catholic Church became the domestic pillar of the Regime. Catholic faith and Spanish ideology

²⁹ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

³⁰ Fraser, *Blood of Spain*.

³¹ Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*.

³² Saz, "El primer franquismo."

³³ Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista – Traditionalist Spanish Falange and of the Syndicalist Nationalist Offensive Junta.

³⁴ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

became inseparable, fully subscribing to a traditional ideology that stressed a special national relationship with Catholicism and a unique religious mission for the country³⁵.

Thanks to the new statutes of the party, Franco gained all the political powers and only answered in front of God and History³⁶. The new developments produced a rigorous and punitive dictatorship determined to carry out a political and cultural counterrevolution, to suppress all signs of opposition and establish the dominance of the winners. The Franco Regime has been considered as a para-fascism, a counter-revolutionary regime where power is held by the traditional and military elites but which adopts a populist façade, and a series of instruments of organisation and control typical of fascist regimes³⁷. Under the slogan '*Ni un hogar sin lumbre, ni un Español sin pan*'³⁸, the citizens believed in the new Caudillo³⁹ and embraced a naïve hope thinking that after all, it could not be as bad as the war.

After the victory of 1939, Spain faces a major task of reconstruction and development. To the absolute victory of the war, an equally absolute national reconstruction should follow⁴⁰, organised under a broadly totalitarian concept of unity and continuity⁴¹. However, it was complicated by the long-term effects of the depression and the growing international crisis of the outbreak of the war in Europe. Between 1936 and 1945, the Regime is built and shaped by the national and international context⁴². However, the social and economic history of the Regime is more complex because it includes the transformation from an essentially agrarian country in 1939 to a modern, urban one in 1975⁴³.

In the 1940s, Franco decided that Spain must carry out a reconstruction on the basis of economic self-sufficiency. Aimed to meet the country's basic needs primarily from domestic resources within four years, with six more years to achieve the full reconstruction and development. The ultimate goal was to achieve an efficient trade-off

³⁵ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

³⁶ Article 47 of the 1939 Statutes: "El Jefe Nacional de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS, supremo Caudillo del Movimiento, personifica todos los Valores y todos los Honores del mismo. Como Autor de la Era Histórica donde España adquiere las posibilidades de realizar su destino y con él los anhelos del Movimiento, el jefe asume, en su tarea plenitud, la más absoluta autoridad. El Jefe responde ante Dios y ante la Historia."

³⁷ Saz, "El primer franquismo."

³⁸ 'Not a home without stove, not one Spaniard without bread'.

³⁹ In Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 118 – Caudillo: classic Castilian term for leader that dated from the Middle Ages. In the 1930s, it has a fascist flavour as the Spanish equivalent of Duce or Fueherer.

⁴⁰ Gonzalo Redondo. *Política, Cultura y Sociedad en la España de Franco*. Eunsa, 1999.

⁴¹ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

⁴² Saz, "El primer franquismo."

⁴³ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and progress*.

between self-sufficiency and the international division of labour. However, this new policy was full of loopholes and it provoked an arbitrary and unrealistic set of costs and prices. Austerity and self-sacrifice were necessary, with a correspondent growth of *estraperlo*⁴⁴ and black market at all levels of the economy, establishing a corruption system of its own. In consequence, to talk about the first years of the Regime is to talk about hunger, misery and extreme socio-economic conditions⁴⁵. For most of the citizens, the post-war years were worse than the proper war, the years from 1940 to 1943 meant more than 200.000 deaths from malnutrition and diseases and the acutest shortages and suffering for most of the population. At the same time, the 1940s were the resacralization of all public affairs and institutions as well as a life of extremes. Prostitution flourished yet Spanish society was the most prudish of Europe.

The New State was built up from repression, the revenge for the bloodshed of the ‘martyrs’ and the cleaning of Spain. Political violence was already a thing when the war started, as well as during the years of the conflict. From the very beginning, both bands blamed the other. The Red Terror, the Republican, was disorganised and spontaneous. The White Terror, the ‘National’, was systematic, open, cold, continuous, centralised and systematic⁴⁶. The repression was an act of policy. Francoist repression should, therefore, be understood as an ideologically motivated and preventive policy of violence. Its immediate aim was to physically eliminate all of those who could threaten the overriding goal of eradicating the republican order⁴⁷. It was part of the process of cleaning up, the *limpieza*, ridding Spain of noxious freemasonry, Marxism and Jewry⁴⁸. It was a disciplined policy of the new authorities and a part of their programme of regeneration. The new culture of victory was its legitimation, and the Civil War was then considered as a conflict between the ‘true’ Spain and the ‘anti-Spain’, dividing the country in two. The social classes helped in its maintenance and became the guards and informers of moral, political and social behaviours. The border between the Spaniards and the anti-Spaniards was a product of the dehumanisation of the Republican enemy, appealing to its monstrous behaviour and aspect. Class and ideology were taken as a product of biological differences, as a consequence the Republicans were considered as socially inferior,

⁴⁴ Illegal trade of blocked articles by the State or subject to taxes.

⁴⁵ Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco. "El secreto del consenso en el régimen franquista: cultura de la victoria, represión y hambre." *Ayer* (2009): 245-268.

⁴⁶ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

⁴⁷ Antonio Costa Pinto and Aristotle Kallis, eds. *Rethinking fascism and dictatorship in Europe*. Springer, 2014.

⁴⁸ Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*.

degenerated and resentful individuals. There was only left open a single and unacceptable door for political opposition: take the arms and start a second civil war.

To confront the Regime meant automatic state violence⁴⁹. Anyone could be a victim of this repression: activists, opposition, families of the victims... Until September 1975, they were the victims of death penalties for felonies of rebellion, jam-packed jails, concentration camps, eugenic experiments, exile and political executions. It will never be possible to know the exact scope of this repression, few records were kept, some were destroyed for political prudence in the 1940s and the surviving ones are in really bad conditions.

The culture of the victory becomes the channel through which the State negotiates with society⁵⁰. A culture which was coherent and repressive. In this ideology, the values and culture of the New State are being legitimised⁵¹. From 1941 onwards, the new Falangist leaders make special emphasis on the genuine Spanish, Catholic and traditional character of the movement. All these new changes, with their limits, show that the regime and its dynamic were firmly established in the developing processes between these years⁵². Thanks to them, the New State demonstrated a surprising ability to adapt to the changing international context while maintaining its original features⁵³.

The effect of this repression in the citizens can hardly be exaggerated. Millions of Spaniards were forced to accommodate their ideas, vocabulary and expectations to the new reality. The Spanish citizens became individualistic and only trusted their own private institution, the family. It was a society that unwillingly but passively accepted the New State, afraid and insecure of itself in hands of ruthless men who used collective pain to preserve his power manipulating the past, erasing their memories⁵⁴. A society where amnesia and half-truths coexisted, and where those who had lost everything in the war, now believed in the Regime.

Internationally, Spain was considered as the last fascist regime in Europe. If the Regime wanted to survive it needed fundamental changes to provide more juridical content and some basic civil guarantees. At the end of the Second World War, Franco faced the most fundamental turning point in the life of the regime⁵⁵. The new goal was to

⁴⁹ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and progress*.

⁵⁰ del Arco Blanco, "El secreto del consenso en el régimen franquista".

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Saz, "El primer franquismo."

⁵³ Costa Pinto and Kallis, eds. *Rethinking fascism and dictatorship in Europe*.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

create the Spanish version of the Rechtsstaat, an authoritarian state administration based on law.

By the 1950s, the Regime had taken its mature form. The autarchy policies finished in 1959, with the stabilisation plan, the brainchild of the Opus Dei⁵⁶'s technocrats, restored the order after the economic chaos of the previous decades. The living standards finally improved and Spain finally entered international organizations⁵⁷, and the door for the future economic boom is opened⁵⁸. The last twenty-five years of the Regime were of a pace development that reoriented social psychology, attuning the society to common consumerist and hedonist cultures of the 20th century. It was the period of the construction of a 'cosmetic constitutionalism'. The new line was to present the regime as a limited system of government bounded by law⁵⁹.

The citizens of the Franco Regime

Even though, I will analyse in-depth the image of the Spaniard through the analysis of the posters, in this part of the chapter I will analyse more general ideological and social elements of the Regime. My aim is to provide a more specific context on how the image of the Spaniards is constructed, considering the previous historical contextualization. I will follow the definition and analysis that Ruth Wodak⁶⁰ gives of right-wing populism. However, keeping in mind that, while some elements might be similar, I am talking about two different political systems, populism and dictatorship. Regarding the construction of identity, these parties draw and combine different political imaginaries and different traditions, and evoke and construct different national past in the form of narratives. At the same time, through the exploitation of an ethnic, religious, linguistic or political minority as a scapegoat and a danger, a threat to 'us', to the nation, they develop 'politics of fear'. They do so, for example, by offering simple and clear-cut answers to fears and challenges, as recurring to traditional collective stereotypes and images of the enemy.

⁵⁶ It is an institution that belongs to the Catholic Church. Founded in 1928 by San Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer. Its mission is to spread the message that work and ordinary circumstances put us closer to God. In the 1950s, Franco appointed several members of this institution as ministers. They are commonly known as the technocrats because they introduced a more liberal and capitalist ideology in the Regime, modernising its economy.

⁵⁷ The World Health Organization in 1951, UNESCO in 1952, the International Labour Organization in 1953 and United Nations in 1955.

⁵⁸ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and progress*.

⁵⁹ Payne, *The Franco Regime*.

⁶⁰ Ruth Wodak. *The politics of fear: what right-wing populist discourses mean*. Sage, 2015.

Therefore, they based their discourse of distancing and of proximity to the particular history of the nation.

Considering the Spanish context, after the military victory, it seemed the time to get ready for the beginning of a new period on the history of Spain. The national unity became the main purpose of the traditionalist reconstruction of the country, so the nation could face the post-war problems. Despite the tremendous internal destruction of the war, 1939 was considered as the Year Zero, the beginning of a new stage where all traces of decay would be deleted for good, a national resurrection.

In the 1930s⁶¹, the majority of the country was rural, except the cosmopolitan centres of Madrid and Barcelona and the secondary centres as Sevilla, Valencia, Bilbao and Zaragoza. Coalmining and iron mills dominated in Asturias and the Basque Country, and the textile production was concentrated in Catalonia. Madrid provided services through private interests and a highly-centralised state. And the agricultural production was divided between the traditional wheat in Castile and the olive groves of Andalusia. The rest of the country had less concentrated and weaker industries, linked to food-processing and a variety of exports. As well as economical, there were significant cultural and political differences between regions. Most of the country spoke Castilian, but Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country had their own native languages. In the rural regions, the citizens generally voted for the right, while people living in urban and industrial centres were left-wing or republican. The religious attitudes mimic these ideological divisions, rural regions, especially in the North, were more religious. Whereas, workers generally were indifferent to religion, when not showing unconditional anti-clericalism.

In this context, during the post-war years, the national feeling and pride takes on an extreme importance, enhanced through the protection of the national unity through three different ways: religious unity, political unity and territorial unity. The Regime needed to promote a great national idea between all its citizens through a wide work of political and cultural propaganda. The promptness to assume the term national between the supporters of the movement might constitute the most consistent element to explain the horizon of values where, almost instinctively, they position themselves from the beginning⁶².

For the Nationalists, the Civil War was a defence of the traditional conception of the Fatherland's values against the scattered forces of its physical and spiritual unity. Among them, the war acquired the proper elements of a fight directed to restore all the splendour

⁶¹ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and progress*.

⁶² Alvaro Ferrary. *El Franquismo: Minorías Políticas y Conflictos Ideológicos*. Eunsa, 1993.

of the old Spanish cultural order, after centuries of decay and internal divisions caused by the harmful virus of a political and intellectual school of thought which was foreign and anti-Catholic⁶³. The war only helped to magnify the religious ingredient as an ideological element, as well as the identification between nation and Catholicism. Which the aggressive anticlericalism of the Republican zone only confirmed in the most definitive and factual way. These pretensions show how the *pronunciamiento* answered to the belief that the majority of the Spaniards would agree with any attempt to establish a strong power who would restore the authority. Every reference to the authority and its social order was bound to an essentialist cultural interpretation of history.

There was a religious and cultural unity, during the forty years of the New State, Spain was culturally Catholic⁶⁴. It was not about affirming the necessity of a religious unity as the indispensable element to preserve social order. But of assuring the cultural unity of the citizens, to put the political action beyond opinion, and settle it in the elevated level of the rational impartiality⁶⁵. There was also a widespread conviction that the moral deficiency of the liberal individualism would only be outpaced if the public life was articulated by faith, under the idea that collective action should be built over a common project which all the community could benefit from⁶⁶. At the same time, the Regime made things easy for the Church to impose a Christian orientation in education. However, it faced the arduous task of admitting the protestant minority, which jeopardized the faith of the country⁶⁷. It is not necessary to insist on the confessionalization of the Spanish life, but it is necessary to emphasize its Hispanization. As Franco claimed, his was a normal European regimen with a specific Spanish nature⁶⁸. Any socio-political regeneration of the country must be loyal to the traditional Spanish values, with the previous and indispensable condition of a wide process of social indoctrination based in the statement that catholic unity was the pillar for national unity⁶⁹.

Regarding, the political unity. Any political parties or association were forbidden as long as they reawaken different ways of understanding the matters that affected Spain as a whole. There was a widespread general idea that parties and politics divide, split, break and destroy the nation and its unity. There could be a minimum acceptance of slightly

⁶³ Ferrary, *El Franquismo*.

⁶⁴ Redondo, *Política, Cultura y Sociedad en la España de Franco*.

⁶⁵ Ferrary, *El Franquismo*.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Redondo, *Política, Cultura y Sociedad en la España de Franco*.

⁶⁸ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and progress*.

⁶⁹ Ferrary, *El Franquismo*.

divergent ways of thinking but always inside a general, peculiar and immutable way of understanding the Fatherland. This essential common background to all political thinking and associations was the consideration of the catholic faith as a necessary landmark of the national unity⁷⁰. The interpretation of Catholicism as a complete bastion of unique temporal answers and based in the same principles. Thus, the regeneration of the country inevitably goes by the collective assumption of ideological values of religious nature. And the civil governors shared the traditionalist world view of the religious authorities.

Trade-unions were also forbidden, under the idea that they would foster confrontation and class struggle. Spanish women and men at work must be united, born from a common Fatherland, at the service of the unity and progress of the very same Fatherland⁷¹. However, the lack of a political-institutional project was so obvious that, when it was needed a minimal political definition, they could not go further than vague references to the previous dictatorial experience of Primo de Rivera in the 1930s. Therefore, the third element of the reconstruction of the country was the territorial unity of the Fatherland, of Spain. Any appearance or vindication of regional identities or languages were forbidden, as Basque and Catalan.

The official cultural activity of the Regime was intellectual in form and content, but it was marked by an extraordinary belligerent political background⁷². Following the general thesis that ideas move masses⁷³, there was a determination to create an intellectual team, through which the New State aspired to control the propagandistic machinery. During the first months of the war there were two main attempts to organize this machinery, and to clarify the political and ideological aims of the uprising. The aim was to overcome the political vagueness of the movement through the control of propaganda and through a doctrinal and social legitimation of the renovated political foundation by a minority. This minority became the only and official interpreter of the spiritual background of the uprising. Most of the ambiguities of the new Regime can be explained as latent contradictions from a civil war that had never really ended.

It is common to talk about religious and patriotic explosions while talking about the social environment of the national exaltation that Spain went through after the war. The New Regime and the Church wanted to impose a religiosity whose main feature was a

⁷⁰ Ferrary, *El Franquismo*.

⁷¹ Redondo, *Política, Cultura y Sociedad en la España de Franco*.

⁷² Ferrary, *El Franquismo: Minorías Políticas y Conflictos Ideológicos*.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

patronizing, demeaning attitude that dictated the main obligation: to obey authority and believe that God has sent Franco to save the country⁷⁴. To the national exaltation and the Catholic defence, they added a general enthusiasm for heroic, epic, gestures and for the hope on something new and different from what was the Spanish reality of the moment. These affected all the lives of the country, and turned the national value as the ideological common background of the citizens of the new Spain.

However, despite the wide diffusion of this national defence, of this explosion of religious feelings, or this blindly hope on something new, the truth was that the concrete motivations to support the movement were varied. But they were officially considered under the basis of the doctrinal element, and also under the system which present the major difficulty to be unanimously assumed: the national-syndicalism. Now, the political past of the citizens was judged based on their behaviour and religious habits, suggesting that the religious factor would be exploited in the exclusive benefit of a certain political cause.

As I mentioned before, class and ideology were now explained as biological differences. A biological degeneration product of embracing left-wing ideas, the 'red' were not only socially inferior but depraved individuals. At the same time, these citizens had to choose to forget things that were 'inconvenient' and painful to remember. In moral terms, Francoism was a fundamentalist regime that left public morality in the hands of the Church. A morality tainted by class prejudice were workers were damned for being poor, and which was not about justice nor questioned the dictatorial power, as this matter was not open to discussions⁷⁵.

Silence became the strategy of the citizens to reconcile their past experiences in the present reality⁷⁶. Millions of Spaniards had to accommodate their ideas, their vocabulary and their expectations to the new situation. Thus, for the ordinary citizens, post-war meant to be forced to abandon any hope of freedom in exchange for some peace in their private and public lives. Most citizens adopted anti-political values and decided to forget the part of the story that did not match the new Regime. The collective pessimism helped Spaniards to cope with the ruthless post-war, and the governmental repression did the rest. This produced a society that reluctantly but passively accepted the excruciating

⁷⁴ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and progress*.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

social conditions that persisted until the 1960s⁷⁷. The New Regime did not try to reconcile its citizens, but it fuelled and used fear opportunistically to achieve its own goals. Francoism used terror to eliminate its enemies, but also to remind Spaniards of their place in society and to reverse any progress towards social equality⁷⁸.

Overall, the result was an insecure society afraid of itself⁷⁹, convinced that it did not know how to live in peace and needed to be ruled with iron discipline to avoid a second fratricidal killing. A society whose rulers used collective pain to preserve their power, and manipulate the past, erasing and defaming the memory of the victims. Spaniards were concentrated on surviving. Consequently, Franco ruled over a disengaged and individualistic society. Spaniards have little, or none, stimulus to participate in public life⁸⁰. The New State's main purpose was to control rather than mobilize, most of the public life revolved around the Catholic Church through its parish structure. The interaction between the regime and citizens was basically a matter of public order⁸¹. It was a fast process, all of Spain was Francoist by the end of the 1950s. However, whereas dictatorships by nature are based on repression and lies, the ideas and actions of the people who have lived under their rule cannot be explained solely through their reprisal experiences⁸².

⁷⁷ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and progress*.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

III Political Propaganda

Theoretical Approach

The word propaganda has different meanings and connotations. On one hand, the Oxford Dictionary defines it as the ‘information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view’⁸³. On the other hand, it comes from the Latin *propagare*, which makes reference to a gardening technic of introducing fresh slips of the plant into the soil to multiply it⁸⁴. However, its sociological understanding comes from the seventeenth century⁸⁵, when the Church used Propaganda to counteract the rival ideas of the Protestant reformation⁸⁶. From that moment onwards, it will make reference to a non-sporadic dissemination of ideas by a system, a way to propagate beliefs through cultivation. But it must be considered that the use of art and culture in the service of politics was not something new. Rulers of city-states, kingdoms and empires used art on a monumental scale to reaffirm their power, to venerate the victims and to intimidate and defame their enemies.

After the seventeenth century, it had a more or less neutral and broad meaning, as the dissemination of political beliefs, religious evangelism and commercial advertising. However, this neutrality disappeared during the First World War when the government starts to see public opinion as a matter of national importance. This wartime conception links propaganda, censorship and misinformation through the use of psychological warfare compensations against the morale of the enemies. The task of propaganda was to attune the values of the supporters while conveying an image of ideological consistency and national unity.

Due to this shift, nowadays it is a difficult concept to define. Its derogatory meaning is used indiscriminately to point out the activities, of any individual, who wants to spread unwanted or unacceptable information for the public⁸⁷. Therefore, in order to understand the processes and methods of propaganda, I will analyse different definitions by scholars to develop an operationalized concept which I will later use to analyse the Francoist propaganda, and more especially, its posters.

⁸³ Oxford Dictionary: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/propaganda>

⁸⁴ Carmen Bulpes Fernández et. Al. *Propaganda en la Europa de Principios del Siglo XX*. Universidad de Málaga

⁸⁵ James A. C. Brown. *Técnicas de persuasión: de la propaganda al lavado de cerebro*. Alianza Editorial, 2004.

⁸⁶ Clark, *Art and Propaganda*.

⁸⁷ Brown, *Técnicas de persuasión*.

Kimball Young⁸⁸ considers propaganda as the systematic and more or less deliberate use of symbols, mainly through suggestion and psychological technics, with the aim to change and control opinions, ideas and values and, ultimately, to attune public actions with predetermine lines. Thus, propaganda is open and with a recognised purpose which can be public or secret. It is dependant of a particular socio-cultural structure, without which we cannot understand its elements.

Young's definition is similar to the one that Lasswell⁸⁹ develops of propaganda as the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols. If we take an attitude as a tendency to act according to a certain pattern, the collective attitudes would be the distribution of the individual acts, which are adaptable to many changes. According to Lasswell, the change of these attitudes happens through the use of significant symbols. Taken as those the objects that have a standardised meaning inside a group, the paraphernalia used to express attitudes which can be used to reaffirm or redefine those attitudes. The propagandist will try to intensify the favourable attitudes to its goals, to reverse the hostile and reduce the indifferent. Thus, propaganda involves the ally, the enemy and the neutral.

On the other hand, Leonard Doob⁹⁰ takes propaganda as systematic attempts to control attitudes and actions of a group through the use of suggestions. In consequence, the core of propaganda is to deliberately manipulate and control the mind of the others for specific purposes through secret or sneaky means. Usually, the propagandist is trying to arouse strong feelings of hate or love in favour or against a group. However, even though all the propaganda tries to change minds, we cannot consider that all the changes of mind are products of propaganda⁹¹.

Thus, propaganda can be defined as a technique of social control⁹² but also as an odd form of communication⁹³. As in any communication, we find a sender, a receiver, and a message that goes through different channels. Following the theory of Pizarroso⁹⁴, this odd communication has two processes: information and persuasion. The former is the process through which the sender shares certain knowledge with the receiver with a

⁸⁸ Brown, *Técnicas de persuasión*.

⁸⁹ Lasswell, "The theory of political propaganda."

⁹⁰ Brown, *Técnicas de persuasión*.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Harold D. Lasswell. "The person: Subject and Object of propaganda." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 179, no. 1 (1935): 187-193: 189

⁹³ Pizarroso Quintero, "La historia de la propaganda".

⁹⁴ Ibid.

declared intentionality. In the latter, the sender always expects an answer from the receiver. In this process, the goal is to influence the desired attitude by the sender which will be voluntarily adopted by the receiver.

Propaganda only appears in complex societies as it belongs to the domain of social communication, therefore it is political, civic and from the State. It is the dissemination of particular ideas through multiple channels with the goal of creating or reinforcing the receiver's desired attitudes in a group. Or how Violet Edwards says: propaganda is the expression of an opinion or action by an individual or group, intentionally oriented to influence the opinions or actions of any other individual or group to achieve predetermined goals and through psychological manipulations⁹⁵.

Thus, propaganda is a vast, multiple and polymorphic process of communication in relation to almost every aspect of social life, which takes place and depends on a certain social and historical context. In order to study it, we must study its sender, its channel of diffusions, its message, its technic and its effects. As I have mentioned, it is a wide concept that covers different domains: psychological conflict as it tries to destroy an adversary through psychological means; re-education and brainwashing to transform this enemy into an ally; public and human relations as they seek to adapt the individual to a society. If the propaganda can cover all these domains is because it is based on the psychological and sociological analysis of the group. A propagandist must shape his methods on the basis of the available knowledge of the group. He must know the internal attitudes and opinions, the tendencies and stereotypes. Propaganda does not create something new, it uses the already existing and available material. It uses the sociological presuppositions and the social myths of the group and relates to its economic, administrative, political and educational situation.

In addition, propaganda does not exclusively address the individual or the mass, but both at the same time. It reaches individuals contained in and participants of the mass, at the same time as it is directed to the crowd as a body composed of individuals⁹⁶. In consequence, propaganda must be total in such a way that it makes use of all the available technical means to reach the biggest number of individuals possible. Each technique and medium are suited to a certain propaganda, and the combination of all of them produces propaganda apparatuses. This propaganda apparatus is the one which provides a complete system for explaining the world to the individuals of the group. It works as an organised

⁹⁵ Pizarroso Quintero, "La historia de la propaganda".

⁹⁶ Jacques Ellul. *Propaganda: The formations of men's attitude*. Knopf, 1965.

myth that imposes a complete range of intuitive knowledge, with only one possible, unique and one-sided interpretation⁹⁷. In order to achieve this, the apparatus needs to be continuous and lasting. It must take over the daily lives of the individual for a long period of time, creating a complete environment without external points of reference. Thus, propaganda must control mass media, it needs an administrative organisation like a Ministry of Propaganda, and it must be attached to the realities.

To sum up, propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organised group regarding the participation of a mass formed by individuals psychologically unified through manipulations and incorporated in an organisation.⁹⁸ It succeeds because it answers to a need of the masses giving them an all-embracing view of the world. Therefore, propaganda appears when there is a certain living standard, a minimum average culture, favourable political and economic realities, and the prevalence of strong myths and ideologies in a society. It codifies these social, political and moral standards, standardises current ideas and hardens stereotypes⁹⁹. Through these processes, propaganda manages to create monolithic individuals and to dissolve contradiction and restores a unitary world.

Some authors go further¹⁰⁰ and say that propaganda gives the individuals a religious personality, a scale of values, rules of behaviour and a principle of social integration. Individuals are more suggestible when they are part of the mass, when their individuality is reduced. And to arouse existing emotions can make more suggestible the individuals. At the same time, these emotions are stronger when there is a frustration, when the needs of the mass are not being satisfied. Hence, it produces alienated individual as it strips them and pushes them into the mass. However, as I have mentioned, this propagandistic suggestion is limited by the available attitudes of the total social spectrum which fit the propagandist's goal, as he cannot create absent emotions.

As we can see, the common mechanism in propaganda is the suggestion, the attempt to incite in other the acceptance of a specific belief without giving any evidence nor a logic base for its acceptance¹⁰¹. But there are more propagandistic technics: the use of stereotypes which with time can turn into fixed impressions, the replacement of names to change neutral ones for any other with emotional connotations, the selection of events which fits its goals, impertinent lies, repetition, assertion, pointing out an enemy, the

⁹⁷ Ellul, *Propaganda*.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 61

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 163

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Brown, *Técnicas de Persuasión*.

allusion to authority.... However, one of the most effective technics to provoke a change of attitudes is the creation of a group whose members feel integrated. Under these circumstances, the individual accepts the new system of values and beliefs when acknowledging his or her belonging to the group¹⁰².

As well as different technics, there are different kinds of propaganda¹⁰³. As a previous stage, there is pre-propaganda, or sociological propaganda due to its sociological character. This pre-propaganda is continuous, slow, imperceptible, general and aimed to create the favourable environment of preliminary attitudes. It works through psychological and character manipulations, as well as through the creation of feelings and stereotypes. No direct propaganda, aimed at directly modifying opinions and attitudes, can be effective without pre-propaganda. There is also, oral and written propaganda, which are reinforced by action propaganda, like public meetings. At last, cover propaganda, also known as black propaganda, aimed at hiding its goal, significance and source. And its opposite, overt propaganda, or white propaganda, where the source, goals and intentions are known, and which is mainly used for attacking the enemies.

Within these different kinds, we can also find different categories of propaganda. The first one is political propaganda¹⁰⁴, which involves technics of suggestions by the government, political parties, administration, and pressure groups with the intention of changing the public's attitudes. Its methods are deliberately decided, and its goals are clearly distinguished and precise.

There is also sociological propaganda, it is the penetration of an ideology by means of its sociological context¹⁰⁵. Then, there is propaganda of agitation¹⁰⁶, which wants to destroy the current government or establish order. It addresses the most simple and violent emotions through elementary technics. Propaganda of integration¹⁰⁷, or of conformity, as it seeks to adapt the individual to his everyday life and to stabilise society. Vertical propaganda¹⁰⁸, which comes from above and outside the group. And horizontal propaganda, made from the inside and looking for conscious adherence¹⁰⁹. At last,

¹⁰² Brown, *Técnicas de persuasión*.

¹⁰³ Ellul, *Propaganda*.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 62

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 75

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 79

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 80

rational propaganda based on facts and statistics, and irrational propaganda based on feelings and passions¹¹⁰.

As I have mentioned before, propaganda makes use of the significant symbols of this group. A symbol is made from the material or sensible reality of an image. And, in a more or less precise way, can be visibly represented and becomes a carrier of significance¹¹¹. Thus, the symbols are made by a sensible object or image, a meaning, a symbolic reference to object and meaning, and a subject with the adequate symbolic attitude to understand the reference and answer to it. Their function is to express, assume and promote the integration of the group. Once a specific symbolic configuration has been accepted, it becomes the only adequate one, any other configuration will be taken as false. As time passes, this configuration will carry new meanings that did not exist at the time it was proclaimed as a symbol, and which will promote integration not only between actual members but with future generations.

The manipulation of these symbols is indispensable as: it persuades the individual, gives him or her reasons, justifications and motivations for action¹¹². At the same time, these symbols can be used to understand the relation between an individual and his or her political community¹¹³. Many scholars have explored the integrational function of the symbols, considering how they legitimise certain historical values or representative events which express a country's politics. This strong integration potential lies in their ability to influence the feelings and emotions of the receiver, as well as in their bigger malleability rather than rational formulations. A symbol needs of an understandable and accessible content to all individuals. Therefore, it needs a symbolic clarity in the symbolic declarations. But also, a State willing to make determined use of this symbol. Thus, in order to understand the political propaganda of a society, we need to understand not only the historical context but the irrational elements that support it, the symbolical context.

The irrational elements are related to the creation of political symbols¹¹⁴. These symbols can be classified¹¹⁵ according to the nature of their object, the point of view of their creation and their duration. According to their nature, they can be corporeal, tangible and visible: natural things with symbolic significances, a place, and artificial things

¹¹⁰ Ellul, *Propaganda*.

¹¹¹ Manuel García Pelayo. *Mitos y símbolos políticos*. Taurus. 1964:137

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Miguel Ángel Alegre Martínez. "Los símbolos en la teoría política de Manuel García-Pelayo: un modo de expresión de la conciencia mítica." *Revista de derecho político*, no. 75 (2009): 45-75.

¹¹⁴ García Pelayo, *Mitos y símbolos políticos*.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

intentionally created or which acquire a symbolic meaning later on. They can also be linguistic, audible and legible; fantastic and personals, an institutional or physical person, mythical or historical. Considering their creation: symbols of new creation, already existing symbols with new attribution of meaning and restored symbols, those who were symbols in the past and their symbolic function is updated. And considering their duration: permanent, circumstantial and recurring, repeated through history by different individuals and meaning.

Now that it is clear what propaganda and what political symbols mean, before analysing in-depth the Francoist propaganda, we need to consider it in its context, the propaganda of the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. As the Francoist apparatus, technics and goals are highly influenced by the Italian and the German models, it will make easier to understand them.

The totalitarian leaders are considered to be vulnerable as they access the power breaking with the legitimacy that the free elections provide. This vulnerability provokes a need of physical repression against the opposition, the control of the information and the construction of alternative legitimacies for their regime. Therefore, since they take power, totalitarian regimes need to design strategies of control over what citizens can know and express¹¹⁶. Their last goal is to monopolise the power in the social, political, economic and cultural domains, in order to put them at the service of the leader and the ideology. Therefore, the social project goes through a mobilisation and social re-education to make the individuals go over their differences and become a compact group, taking the state as the only source of identity and loyalty. Thus, the totalitarian regime's legitimacy is based on the propaganda's ability to shape human conscious, then, the political symbols are essential in the construction of this legitimacy.

Totalitarian propaganda promises to replace the materialism of capitalism with a realm of spontaneous feeling, physical immediacy and the reintegration of the individual in the collective soul of the nation¹¹⁷. Therefore, the totalitarian propaganda is focused on spreading a mythic, all-embracing vision of a spirituality unified and morally regenerated society created by the will of the individuals as embodied in the leader. The mixture of politics and religion, as well as of contemporary events with legends of the past, were some of the technics used for achieving this popular support. They promote a circular

¹¹⁶ Elisa Chulia. "Medios de comunicación y propaganda en los totalitarismos." *Historia del Periodismo Universal*. Barcelona: Ariel (2004): 251-284.

¹¹⁷ Clark, *Art and Propaganda*, 48

version of history, focused on a rebirth or revival and the return to a lost golden age, as an evocation of the continuity with the past. In addition, the eternal values of high culture were also used as a tool of legitimation but mixed with mass culture, not to alienate the working classes.

Furthermore, as my thesis covers the years of the Spanish Civil War, I also need to consider wartime propaganda. This propaganda attempted to make people adjust to abnormal conditions and adapt their priorities and moral standards to the needs of the war. Wartime propaganda seeks to make war familiar and to glamorise it by exploiting the habits of fantasy and desire. For example, in recruitment images the idea of defending the nation and the family are mixed. The notions of the motherland and fatherlands blends with national duties, at the same time that the family appears as the underlying force of stability. Furthermore, wartime propaganda also depicts the enemy, demonising it to provoke fear and the will to fight against it in the individuals.

The Francoist Propaganda

As I have introduced the historical environment and the theory of political propaganda, I will now introduce the political propaganda of the Regime from 1936 to 1945 before analysing the posters. Considering the different apparatuses, how they were organised, and the general development of the technics and goals.

Since the very beginning of the conflict, Republicans and Nationalists exploited social media with propagandistic goals. In both bands, the enemy was mocked, the horrendous acts of the others were widespread and the own acts were silenced¹¹⁸. Furthermore, both bands develop a simple and importunate propaganda with a remarkable use of big concepts, a paternalistic pitch and the use of dichotomies. As we can see, the propagandists did not create something new as they took their vocabulary from religion, medicine, military and politics.

Considering the National propaganda, the war meant the establishment of a propaganda based on a one-way meaning, the recovery of the fatherland and the exaltation of the leader, of Franco. At the same time, the matters of race and Spanishness were common, as well as censorship. The propaganda widely spread the idea of a unified, centralised, Catholic, corporate organised and enemy of the communism Spain¹¹⁹. Consequently, the Franco Regime and the Civil War are closely linked since the

¹¹⁸ Bulpes Fernández et. Al, *Propaganda en la Europa de Principios del Siglo XX*.

¹¹⁹ Chulia, "Medios de comunicación y propaganda en los totalitarismos."

beginning. Through the three years of war, the new basis for the new political and cultural system were established, which later on guaranteed its survival, based on the use of a wide range of new and traditional instruments in order to transform media and propaganda in a national institution at the service of the State¹²⁰.

From 1936 to the 1950s, the propaganda apparatus is linked to control and repression. The goal was to establish the maximum control over all means of information and directly influence public opinion¹²¹. It started the very same day of the uprising when there was not even a basic organisation for the conflict¹²². However, the Nationals denied the importance of propaganda. By denying its value as a legitimisation argument, they wanted to show that the causes of the uprising were so clear that there was no need to defend them but exclusively through weapons¹²³. However, the reality of the war was not enough to maintain a power without a minimum unity of values and without a justification of the authority. As the acceptance of the power and its institutionalisation does not appear naturally, it needed to create and maintain permanent legitimacy and consensus. The discipline must go together with an interiorised adhesion and sacralised by consent¹²⁴.

During the forty years of the Regime, there are different bodies and leaders to control propaganda, as well as repressive restraints directed at those who show the minimum resistance¹²⁵. On October 1936, with the establishment of the first Junta Técnica appears the first state's Gabinete de Prensa (Press Office), which changed its name to Oficina de Prensa y Propaganda (Press and Propaganda Office) after a week¹²⁶. This first organisation established the tendency to centrally control media¹²⁷ and had the task of creating the new symbols and aesthetics of the Regime¹²⁸. The first director of the delegation was José Millán Astray, founder of the Spanish Foreign Legion in the 1920s. Another important figure in the development of the Francoist propaganda is Ramón Serrano Súñer, Franco's brother-in-law, who implemented more initiatives and political

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ José Miguel Delgado Idarreta. "Prensa y propaganda bajo el franquismo." *Centros y periferias: prensa, impresos y territorios en el mundo hispánico contemporáneo: homenaje a Jacqueline Covo-Maurice*, (2004): 219-231.

¹²² Rosa Cal Martínez. "Apuntes sobre la actividad de la Dirección General de Propaganda del Franquismo (1945-1 951)." *Historia y Comunicación Social*, no. 4 (1999): 15.

¹²³ Antonio César Moreno Cantano. "Los servicios de Prensa extranjera en el primer franquismo (1936-1945)." PhD diss., Universidad de Alcalá, 2008.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Delgado, "Prensa y propaganda bajo el Franquismo".

¹²⁶ Cal, "Apuntes sobre la actividad de la Dirección General de Propaganda".

¹²⁷ Miriam Basilio. "Genealogies for a new state: painting and propaganda in Franco's Spain, 1936-1940." *Discourse* 24, no. 3 (2002): 67-94.

¹²⁸ Cal, "Apuntes sobre la actividad de la Dirección General de Propaganda".

strategies that helped in the consolidation of power. The military component of the office gave it a doctrinal element and a sense of pep talk, both used as an agglutinative element¹²⁹. In January 1937, there is a new change on the structure of the apparatus with the organisation of the Delegación de Prensa y Propaganda (Delegation of Press and Propaganda), part of the Secretaría General del Jefe de Estado (General Secretary of the Head of State)¹³⁰. Its main task was to fight back the vision that the Republican propaganda was spreading of the new Spain.

This first delegation followed a strategy of appropriation of symbols of the royal power and authority, to create an image of cohesion and promote his self-appointed role as saviour of Spain¹³¹. One of the elements of this strategy was the return to the traditional flag, red-yellow-red, which became a symbol for the restoration of the monarchy and won the public favour to the uprising. In addition, the new slogan of the Regime is: ‘Una Patria. Un Estado. Un caudillo’¹³² (One Fatherland. One State. One Caudillo); as a sign of the nascent ideology of the regime. Thus, the Caudillo, Franco, appears to be the nexus between Fatherland and State, the embodiment of national unity. A second slogan of the Regime is: ‘Una, grande y libre’ (One, big and free), as a sign of the idea of Spain’s national unity, its imperial tradition and its freedom of foreign ideologies¹³³. However, one of the main important elements that the propagandists develop at the beginning of the conflict is the idea of the enemies of the state, those responsible for Spanish misfortunes and decay¹³⁴. These enemies will be Marxism, Judaism and Freemasonry.

After defining what class of state it was going to be, the new Regime needed of a continuous propaganda campaign to perpetuate it¹³⁵. Thus, in the middle of war, in 1938, the Law of Press was developed, which reduced press to an institution at the service of the national interest. This Law supported the use of slogans and initial censorship as direct methods of media control. It established a system of control mainly based on precautionary methods applied in the elaboration of content¹³⁶. This Law is part of the centralisation and control of the propaganda that followed the establishment of the first

¹²⁹ Carlos Pulpillo Leiva. "La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional (1936-1941)." *La Albolafia: Revista de Humanidades y Cultura* 1 (2014): 115-136.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state".

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Delgado, "Prensa y Propaganda bajo el Franquismo".

¹³⁵ Cal, "Apuntes sobre la Actividad de la Dirección General de Propaganda".

¹³⁶ Chuliá, "Medios de comunicación y propaganda en los totalitarismos".

government in Burgos¹³⁷. Even though there will be different Laws of Press until 1966, all of them were aimed to give back to Spain its status as a unified, big and free nation and blaming its enemies¹³⁸. From now onwards, the Propaganda Delegation depends upon the Ministerio de Gobernación (Ministry of the Interior) led by Serrano Súñer, and Dionisio Ridruejo becomes the head of the propaganda department¹³⁹, what later will be known as the Subsecretaría de Prensa y Propaganda (Deputy secretary of Press and Propaganda)¹⁴⁰. There is a special Visual Arts department lead by the Basque painter, Juan Cabanas. Under his leadership, Italian propaganda becomes the leading example and Spain follows its interest in mixing modernism and fascist and nationalist ideologies.

As it was a new State born from a breakdown, snub and fight with the Republican past, it was understood that only strong campaigns of propaganda and repression could maintain it¹⁴¹. Consequently, there are continuous efforts on eliminating the dissent and the creation of a fictitious image of unity under the Franco leadership.

Thanks to the developments during the war and the post-war years, the new iconography of the Regime is created. The wartime propaganda used methods, means and technics of the general propaganda but in times of conflict and with warlike goals¹⁴². Together with a rewriting of the history to foster the idea that rebel fractions voluntarily and spontaneously joined together under his leadership¹⁴³. One of the elements of the new iconography is the use of the military uniforms of the Falange and the Carlists¹⁴⁴ symbols. All together with a new definition of the military uprising as a religious battle which provides religious legitimacy to the war, and presents as martyrs its victims¹⁴⁵. As we can see, the Church leaders contributed to Francoist propaganda allowing the appropriation of a wide number of religious and monarchical visual symbols in order to legitimise the Regime. In addition, German and Italian mass rituals, the English royal protocol and the

¹³⁷ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new State"

¹³⁸ Delgado, "Prensa y propaganda bajo el Franquismo"

¹³⁹ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new State".

¹⁴⁰ Cal, "Apuntes sobre la Actividad de la Dirección General de Propaganda".

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Moreno, "Los servicios de prensa extranjera en el primer franquismo".

¹⁴³ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state"

¹⁴⁴ Carlism was a political movement of a marked traditionalist nature. It first appeared in the 1820s as an extreme clerical party and became the opposition to liberal secularism and economic and politic modernism in the 1830s around the person of Carlos María Isidro de Borbón, brother of the King Ferdinand VII. During the twentieth century, they led the opposition to the Second Republic and joined the Nationalist Army during the Civil War.

¹⁴⁵ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state".

imperial past of the country also served as inspiration for the new aesthetics of the Regime¹⁴⁶.

In order to foster the idea of national unity and unanimity under the figure of Franco, the propagandistic activities were focused on making the individual part of the mass in order to achieve the unity of the nation. The goal was to intensify civilian's emotions through patriotic propaganda in order to sustain the war, to ensure the work at the factories, to maintain the morale and justify the repression¹⁴⁷. In addition, the wartime propaganda is supported by a dichotomous and Manichean scheme based on the poles of the own band, which is deified, and the enemy, which is demonised¹⁴⁸: revolution/order, reds/blues, atheism/religion, soviet movement/national movement, injustice/justice, war/peace and punishment/forgiveness. Therefore, Spain is now divided in two: one, the real, represented by God and the Fatherland; the other one, the defeated, marked by the disqualification of the race, the chaos and influenced by a tendency for foreign things¹⁴⁹. The goal of this internal division is to intimidate the population and foster the unconditional adhesion to the movement. As I have mentioned, one important element was the demonization of the enemies in order to enhance the consensus around its cause and legitimise the use of force¹⁵⁰. However, the ultimate goal was to assimilate the republicans, in such a way that it could serve as a latter justification of the repression and annihilation of the defeated.

The first period of the propaganda is the already mentioned of the war, from 1936 to 1939, marked by a strong military prominence. And the second period, from 1938 to 1941, with the hegemony of Serrano Súñer and the Falange, focused on the development of a cultural policy control based on the rejection of political and cultural relativism¹⁵¹. In 1941¹⁵², all the propagandistic competences were transferred to the Ministerio de Secretaría General del Movimiento (Ministry of General Secretary of the Movement), with a Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (Deputy Secretary of Popular Education) in charge of press and propaganda. The Vicesecretaría took over almost all aspects of social communication, its goal was the dissemination of the ideological and cultural model of

¹⁴⁶ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state"

¹⁴⁷ Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*.

¹⁴⁸ Moreno, "Los servicios de prensa extranjera en el primer franquismo".

¹⁴⁹ Pulpillo, "La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional".

¹⁵⁰ Moreno, "Los servicios de Prensa extranjera en el primer franquismo".

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Cal, "Apuntes sobre la actividad de la Dirección General de Propaganda".

the single party, FET y de las JONS; to close the door to heterodoxy and, eventually, to repress the divergent.

In 1945, there is a new reorganisation of the Ministries, which meant the loss of competences and power for Falange, especially in the issues of press and propaganda. On December 1945, appears the Subsecretaría de Educación Popular (Under Secretary of Popular Education) within the Ministerio de Educación Nacional (Ministry of National Education). Its task was to disseminate a flimsy ideology made of remnants. Hence, the Ministry spread the new official cultural system based on the re-Catholicism and the re-Hispanization of the society from the theoretical ground of the counterrevolutionary thinking and the repetitive and constant divulgation through propaganda¹⁵³. Since 1942, the main values were the defence of tradition and Catholic orthodoxy, commonly known as National Catholicism. Hence, these last years were of Catholic prominence at the expenses of the Falange.

Between 1936 and 1945, there is a perceptible evolution on the importance and presence of certain propagandistic messages¹⁵⁴. The persistence of the Spanish vindications on the North of Africa had a great importance at the beginning. After the German attack to the USSR, the exaltation of the brotherhood with Germany in the fight against Communism. The anti-Communist propaganda took over when the Second World War started to change. However, what was maintained throughout all these years was the cultural model promoted: the imperial conception, the traditional Catholicism and the use of Castilian. The idea that the new Regime meant a continuation from a painfully interrupted History from centuries ago, was also repeated¹⁵⁵. The invocation to the glorious past times was multiplied and taken as exemplary, thus, the times of the Catholic Kings were taken as the beginning point for the configuration of the single and strong State on the Iberian Peninsula¹⁵⁶.

After 1945¹⁵⁷, the propaganda apparatus quickly changed and made of the Caudillo as the national peacemaker. The peace of Spain and the Franco rule became identified with one another in the public sphere. In addition, the internal division between the perverse,

¹⁵³ Franciso Sevillano Calero. *Propaganda y Medios de Comunicación en el Franquismo*. Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 1998.

¹⁵⁴ Benito Bermejo Sánchez. "La Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular (1941-1945): un ministerio de la propaganda en manos de Falange." *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie V, Historia contemporánea* 4 (1991): 73-96

¹⁵⁵ Redondo. *Política, Cultura y Sociedad en la España de Franco..*

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Cazorla Sánchez. *Fear and progress*.

defeated republicans and the good, ordinary true Spaniards was maintained until the end of the Regime.

Even though the organisation changed from 1936 to 1945, there are some common characteristics of the Francoist propaganda that I have considered in order to analyse the posters. However, the Francoist propaganda does not have a homogeneous character, there are clear influences of the different political families that helped on the configuration of the ideological body of the new State¹⁵⁸. As I have mentioned, in Spain there is a conjunction of nationalism and Catholicism shaped by its very own historical space and time¹⁵⁹. In addition, it made use of the visual symbols of the supporting groups: military, monarchist Carlists, conservative Catholics and Falange¹⁶⁰. The propagandists work together and drew from a range of national myths, historical events, religious iconography and art history while learning from Spain's brief experience of modern electoral propaganda during the Second Republic and from their allies' mass propaganda¹⁶¹. The goal of the propaganda was to foster historical parallels between past and present which were favourable to the demands of the new State. Thus, under the unified apparatus, Franco disseminated a personal image of a majestic, absolute dictator and of a skilled soldier.

One of the most important elements is the link of propaganda and religious rhetoric and iconography. The war was taken as a battle between the true Spain, as a unified Catholic nation under absolute rulers, and the foreign infidels which wanted the dissolution of the nation. Therefore, there are repeated mentions to the Catholic King's Reconquista, the Christian conquest of the Muslim Iberian Peninsula, the Crusade and the old Spanish Empire. Furthermore, the new ideology was revolutionary as it used the revolutionary discourse from the Falange, the blue shirt of the proletariat as uniform and the avocation for social revolution¹⁶². But it also took its racism. However, the racism of Falange was a disciple of the spiritual racism, which believed that a powerful idea acting on a group for a long period of time could produce a 'race of soul' and provoke the appearance of a new physique in new generations, a new race¹⁶³. This spiritual racism appears hand by hand with hideous ideas and a declared, mimetic and brutal antisemitism.

¹⁵⁸ Pulpillo, "La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional".

¹⁵⁹ Bulpes, *Propaganda en la Europa de Principios del Siglo XX*.

¹⁶⁰ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state".

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Alfonso Lazo Díaz. *La Iglesia, la Falange y el fascismo: (un estudio sobre la prensa española de posguerra)*. Universidad de Sevilla, 1998.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

Additionally, the ‘killings by reds’¹⁶⁴ was an essential part of the propaganda for years. The propaganda constantly repeated stories about the crimes committed against the true Spaniards by the hordes of individuals, the beasts, that formed the Red terror¹⁶⁵. The victims of the Red repression had a burial in cemeteries, were hailed as martyrs and their names appeared in the ‘Caídos por Dios y la Patria’ (Fallen for God and the Fatherland) plaques all around Spain. On the other hand, the internal division justified the erasing or defaming of Republican memories, and the victims of the Blue repression were left on the place of death, mass-graves, roadside graves...

Because of the fundamental role of propaganda in the settlement of the new Spain, it became an essential element of the culture of repression and took over every aspect of the daily life: in education with textbooks, in urbanism with new houses for workers under the idea of the reconstruction of Europe through social politics, in the family reinforcing the gender stereotypes¹⁶⁶. The incorporation of propaganda meant the introduction of filters in the daily reality¹⁶⁷, the media could not present a different reality than the one established by the Regime. In consequence, propaganda is taken as indoctrination, as a sign of the structural violence as it unleashes repression and censorship at the same time that tries to create a symbolic imaginary space. The production of the posters is highly influenced by these ideas, however, it also developed its own iconography and values, as I will analyse and explore in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁴ Tremlett. *Ghosts of Spain*.

¹⁶⁵ Cazorla, *Fear and progress*.

¹⁶⁶ Delgado, “Prensa y propaganda bajo el franquismo”.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

IV The Francoist Posters

For the Franco Regime, art was a political instrument. It used propaganda for educational purposes. And through the dissemination of certain messages it managed to penetrate the mentality of the Spaniards and to institutionalise the regime for forty years¹⁶⁸. The posters' messages were one-way, it enquires receptivity but discards dialogue and interaction¹⁶⁹. As a result, apart from promoting a militant and propagandistic art, the official culture became propaganda itself. The Regime produced an art where the aesthetic of the masses is considered as the synthesis of all the propaganda. Therefore, the outcome is a conception of art and culture as a delivery, a social service¹⁷⁰. Clarity, simplicity and similar values were considered as indispensable elements for the regime's apparatus.

As I have explained in the previous chapter, the main ambitions of the first legislative steps regarding the presence of images in society were of control, centralization and interventionism¹⁷¹. The first Francoism has been largely considered as an attempt of organising the Spanish life according to cultural and ideological assumptions that came from different ideologies and traditions, mainly the three main allies of the system: Falangist, traditionalist and Catholics¹⁷². Their glue was the dictatorial government embodied in the persona of Franco. Therefore, the propaganda was not aimed at spreading certain ideas nor clarifying the new reality, but to establish an ideology, understanding by such a posteriori legitimation of the already taken decisions. In such a way that everything became a propaganda aimed at enhancing irrational emotiveness¹⁷³.

The propagandistic art of the wartime was reduced to posters, illustrations, uniforms and few movies. The illustration was the artistic technic where the Francoists and Falangist arts were more developed. They were predominantly realist, not only academicist but expressionist. But because of being at the service of propaganda it turned into distortions of the representation of objects and figures, with opposed perspectives and the use of surrealist means¹⁷⁴. It followed a technic of reductionism under the idea of

¹⁶⁸ Pulpillo Leiva, "La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional".

¹⁶⁹ Biescas and Tuñón de Lara, *España bajo la dictadura franquista*.

¹⁷⁰ Ángel Llorente Hernández. "Arte e ideología en el Franquismo (1936-1951)." PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Antonio Bonet Correa and Gabriel Ureña Morales. *Arte del Franquismo*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1981.

¹⁷³ Alexandre Cirici Pellicer. *La estética del franquismo*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977.

¹⁷⁴ Llorente, "Arte e ideología en el Franquismo".

keeping it simple¹⁷⁵. It mainly used three of four colours, offset lithography, photomechanical reproduced from the originals that were drawn using tempera or watercolour, and the sizes varied from 120x90 cm to 100x70 cm¹⁷⁶.

The posters have been considered as advertisements that communicate a future event or present action¹⁷⁷. They are the best tool for shock propaganda, meaning direct, overt, intense and temporary propaganda leading to immediate action¹⁷⁸. In addition, they have two levels of interpretation: the explicit one based on information, communication and persuasion of the actual image and slogan; and the implicit one considering the psychosocial mechanism it uses¹⁷⁹. Because of their conjunction of verbal myths, the slogans; and of iconographic myths, the image, they take up a privileged space for the programmatical construction of a new social order. The posters would lack their meaning without their slogans, and the images are not able to communicate independently¹⁸⁰.

Hence, the importance and relevance of the posters are based on the characteristic of being the only cultural artefact that does not ask for effort nor purpose from the user. This relies on the importance of the power of the images as due to their immediate perception as they do not need further effort for understanding, they become the propagandistic method with the bigger impact and efficacy¹⁸¹. The posters look for the public, placing themselves in those places where people gather, live or pass by, so they will see them even if they don't want to¹⁸². Consequently, the city becomes a stage and spectacle where propagandistic posters are displayed under the control of the state to safeguard politics, mobilise troops, present the dangers of not being part of the Regime and foster discipline¹⁸³. At the same time, they are displayed in the urban and public spaces in order to get close to the ordinary citizens, they are daily reminders of the new Regime and the new reality as well as means of indoctrination in order to achieve a homogeneous society. Thus, the posters allow to produce a unified mind set through the suggestion of the masses that do not stop to rethink the reasoning of the messages and codes that they use, so the aforesaid feelings of identification and belonging appear¹⁸⁴.

¹⁷⁵ Isabel Rodrigo Martín. "Arte, creatividad y propaganda. El cartel político en España como transmisor de ideología". *Creatividad y Sociedad*, no. 20 (2013)

¹⁷⁶ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state".

¹⁷⁷ Rodrigo, "Arte, creatividad y propaganda".

¹⁷⁸ Ellul, *Propaganda*.

¹⁷⁹ Rodrigo, "Arte, creatividad y propaganda".

¹⁸⁰ Clark, *Art and Propaganda*.

¹⁸¹ Rodrigo, "Arte, creatividad y propaganda".

¹⁸² Josep Renau. *Función Social del Cartel*. Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1976.

¹⁸³ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state".

¹⁸⁴ Bulpes Fernández et. Al, *Propaganda en la Europa de Principios del Siglo XX*.

Following these ideas, their production was plentiful during the first Francoism and we can see different degrees of dependence towards previous aesthetics and the creation of a new aesthetic of the Regime. At the same time, as it was Nationalism-Catholicism, many posters were rooted in the tradition of the Catholic saint cards¹⁸⁵.

During the war, posters were taken as fundamental elements in the regulation of public space after the occupation of towns and cities¹⁸⁶. Therefore, during the first years of the Regime, the posters were used as pre-propaganda and appeared in the walls of the new liberated cities and villages with a clear dogmatic ambition: elation of the Crusade, the assistance organisms, the new laws, etc. Together with a revanchist and repressive ambition. But in order to analyse the posters, first, we need to go through the mere aesthetic speculation and move to the symbolic field.

As I have explained on the Introduction, the analysis will be divided into different steps and parts: the aesthetics, the symbolism and contextualization. The first one is linked to the poster itself; in order to approach its pure aesthetic element, I have combined an Art Criticism approach with an in-depth and detailed description of the posters which I have used to categorised them. The second one is linked to the images within the poster. I have developed a direct analysis of the posters together with an open-viewing analysis, in order to extract understandings regarding the making and functions of the images, as well as the perspectives of their makers. Additionally, I have used an iconographical approach in order to find out about the circumstances of creation and to observe the interplay between the context and the visual representation, analysing the representational, interactive and compositional meaning, and the iconographical and iconological symbolism. The last step, the contextualization, is linked with the embeddedness of the posters in its wider culture, Franco's Spain. Considering the previous chapters of this Thesis, I will consider the posters as part of the already contextualised Regime through which their meanings are accumulated and transformed, and within its own cycle of production, circulation and consumption. In consequence, the posters become representations, the outcome of the process of attaching ideas and giving meaning to our experience of the world within the context of viewing and producing; as well as a place for processes of recognition and identification.

Therefore, in order to analyse the posters, I have considered: technical characteristics as size and technic; the authorship, considering if it is anonymous or signed; the second

¹⁸⁵ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.

¹⁸⁶ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state".

entity as the organism that produces it; the colours used; the slogan; the symbols; and the iconographical analysis. I will not include these notes due to the limited space of the thesis, but I will base my ideas and conclusions in them in order to develop my own theory.

Once the analysis is finished, I will proceed to categorise and classify the posters considering the different types of propaganda and symbols that I have analysed on the previous chapter, and considering their main message. The quantification of this characteristics can be found in the second appendix. In addition, as I will consider some of the posters of the war, I will not only divide them between social or political but I will consider military posters focused on recruitment and legitimation of the conflict.

After dividing them into these three broad categories, I will organise them considering: the addressees, the symbols, the technics, the portrayed, and the slogans. My main idea is to see if there are messages or symbols that we can find in the majority of the posters and what is their relation with the depiction of the 'true' Spaniard. In total, I have considered eighty-two posters, from which half belongs to the National Library in Madrid and the other half can be found in online libraries and archives. However, those that belong to the Library are protected and therefore cannot be reproduced so, with the exception of five of them that I was able to find online, the rest of them would not physically appear in my Thesis but I will consider them in my analysis and conclusions due to their relevance. Regarding the online posters, I will include significant examples of some of them throughout the text, which can also be found in the third appendix at the end of the Thesis in a bigger format in order to appreciate better the details. In order to develop the analysis of the posters, first I will introduce the symbolic elements that can be found on them. To do so, I have developed an analysis of existing literature on the topic, considering those symbols that can help us to better understand the portrait of the Spaniards on the posters.

Symbolism of the Francoist Propaganda

Since the beginning of the war in 1936, the posters were common in both bands. The Falangists aspirations¹⁸⁷ were to forge a real hierarchical system similar to those of Germany and Italy, with a totalitarian character which combined dynamism, imagination and initiative together with a scientifically proven and regulated work. Its goal was to harmonise creative imagination and laboratory propaganda: *La primera obligación de la propaganda es conseguir individuos para la organización, y la primera finalidad de la organización es conseguir individuos que continúen la propaganda*¹⁸⁸ (Dionisio Ridruejo in Bonet. *Arte del Franquismo*: 275).

The main myth that would give to the masses a feeling of historical prominence was the myth of the denial of social classes¹⁸⁹. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to enhance the myth of the unit. This unit turned to be the main myth to back on any cultural conception destined to create a favourable vision of the new reality. The unit was identified with the State, known as Nation, in such a way that all the ‘national’ was sacralised and emotionally linked with the State. This unit was presented as the only possible way out from the war¹⁹⁰.

Regarding the identification of a State without social classes, the art idealised the pre-industrial ways of living¹⁹¹: the folklore; the craftwork; the catholic, peasant, domestic and family tradition; the large family; the brotherhoods; the unions, etc. Anything that would help to idealise the past of a society that was now tied to its stable standards. There is a fascist nostalgia for a simple humble and obedient life, and incessant invocations of Castilla as the soul and essence of the ‘true’ Spain, a castillanization of Spain.

Furthermore, the posters also serve as legitimising propaganda in order to obtain international support. The uprising of July 18, was presented as a necessary action due to the political and social decadence of the Second Republic and the dangers of a possible communist revolution¹⁹². Consequently, there is a legitimation of the war as a valid and reasonable action as it ought to protect the order and resume the social and political crises of Spain. On top of that, the war becomes a Crusade against those non-believers that want to eradicate religion, which becomes one of the key elements of the Spanish essence. This

¹⁸⁷ Bonet, *Arte del Franquismo*.

¹⁸⁸ “The first responsibility of propaganda is to obtain individuals for the organisation, and the first responsibility of organisation is to obtain individuals to continue the propaganda”.

¹⁸⁹ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*, 15.

¹⁹⁰ Pulpillo, “La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional”.

¹⁹¹ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*, 18.

¹⁹² Pulpillo, “La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional”.

idea of the Crusade was also linked to the ideas of liberation and national unification, linking religion, social and patriotic life in every aspect of public and private life¹⁹³. Consequently, the war is also legitimised through spirituality as a defence of Catholicism. Spirituality was largely identified with religiousness, and to the ultimate extent as catholicity¹⁹⁴. Consequently, the extensive idea of the Empire had a cultural and artistic impact through an identification with the Catholic aesthetic conception¹⁹⁵.

In addition, the idea of the Empire was based on the cultural myth of brotherhood between weapon and letters, and the ideal of the perfect man, the perfect gentleman, the 'monk-soldier'¹⁹⁶. A man that stands out for his austerity and will to sacrifice, but also for his violence and impassivity. This dilemma explains the kind of idealism that appears from the idea of order. The adoration of this order created a cult for hierarchy, where everyone, except the Caudillo, must obey but at the same time, anyone could order. From this conception of the ideal man and the idealization of order, the question of style is developed.

The style is the basic element of the ability to produce an irrational emotion¹⁹⁷. The style was a key element in the Falangist rhetoric, however, it is a highly polysemic concept: a way of understanding life, a peculiar propaganda, a way of being, a political stance, a preference for a mystic aesthetic, an art and an architecture¹⁹⁸. The uniform was one of the key elements as the adoption of a way of living as it was the fastest and cheapest way of providing a feeling of style and its adoption was refrained by its capacity of configuration the military discipline. The basic element in the search for style was the shirt. The attempt to sacralise the shirt had a far-reaching effect as a way of creating an inter-class image. On one hand, it meant to adopt the cheapest garment, only worn by the working class before. On the other hand, the shirt was associated with military elements, so it took symbols from the physical power¹⁹⁹. As a result, the clothing had a great importance since the war. The blue shirt, the emblem of the Flange, was an element that the myth of the Unit took over together with the use of the red beret. However, this blue shirt was introduced years before by the extreme nationalist movements, so it was not

¹⁹³ Hedy Habra. "Deconstrucción del tejido mítico franquista." *Espectáculo: Revista de Estudios Literarios*, no. 28 (2004): 56

¹⁹⁴ Llorente, "Arte e ideología en el Franquismo".

¹⁹⁵ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 18.

¹⁹⁷ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.

¹⁹⁸ Llorente, "Arte e ideología en el Franquismo", 54.

¹⁹⁹ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.

something new that the Falange created but the re-appropriation of an already existing symbol.

The shield of the Regime was the one of the Isabelline period: the castle, the lion, the Aragonese bars, the chains from Navarra and the peak of the Granada fruit, all under the royal crown and between the Plus Ultra columns; and all of it in front of a gigantic black haloed eagle, the eagle of Saint John. With the arrows on the right and the yoke on the left, which also come from that period and were symbols of unity and discipline²⁰⁰. Therefore, with the exception of the introduction of the slogan ‘Una. Grande. Libre’, the rest of the symbols in the emblem suffered a re-appropriation and their old meaning was updated under the new Regime.



In addition, the call ‘Franco, Franco, Franco’ became the equivalent to the liturgical ‘Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus’²⁰¹. However, Franco was not usually directly represented but his image was an interpretation through the use of symbolism as well as the previous and inherent ethic and political connotations of the place of the poster²⁰². Franco embodies certain exemplary values which are the model for the Spanish families. Thus, it is not usual to see personal images of the Caudillo but symbols, slogans and calls that represent him as the example to follow for all Spaniards, at the same time that they serve as the legitimation of his personal power. Therefore, as we will see later, there would be posters exalting his role as the supplier of progress and peace in Spain. Franco as the saviour of Spain, the predestined leader that would save Spain from the republican decay.²⁰³

The creation of this nationalistic mystic based on aggression and gallantry as the highest values for the new moral needed heroes, but also antiheroes. On one hand, the depiction of the heroes was connected with the event that immortalises them, for example, José Antonio Primo de Rivera and the Republican violence. The tributes to the fallen nationalist would be one of the key elements of the culture of victory after the war²⁰⁴. On the other hand, the settlement of the Regime went through a process of negation and total denial of the previous²⁰⁵. In such a way, that a great number of posters are characterised

²⁰⁰ Susan Sueiro Suone. “La configuración del Nuevo Estado Franquista en las imágenes publicitarias” *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie V, Historia Contemporánea* 21 (2009): 169-189.

²⁰¹ Círci, *La estética del Franquismo*.

²⁰² Bonet, *Arte del Franquismo*.

²⁰³ Pulpillo, “La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional”.

²⁰⁴ del Arco Blanco, “El secreto del consenso en el régimen franquista”.

²⁰⁵ Bonet, *Arte del Franquismo*.

by a revanchist pitch and the fight to the death with its enemies. These posters are directed to the irrational and emotional side of the viewers, there are gigantic monsters devastating houses and churches, killing kids and women, Muscovite ogres, skulls and skeleton, etc. Thus, the culture and identity of the enemy were put down so they will have a negative public image. The caricatures of the enemies were usually victims of incredible fantasy and original surrealism. It is highly relevant the anti-Marxist messages which reported Judaism and Marxist freemasonry as the demoniacal oriental force destructive for the West through the use of the multiple symbols of the masons' characters, the 'checas' and the 'killings by reds. Ironically, the consideration of the masonry as an enemy meant the introduction of secular revolutionary ideas from the French Revolution in a State that declared itself free from foreign ideologies²⁰⁶.

However, Judaism and freemasonry became the enemies in a social context where there were no Jewish nor freemasons²⁰⁷. Since the fifteenth century, there was not a clear Jewish community in Spain, in 1936 there were around 6.000 Jews and 6.000 Masons. The real political enemy would be communism, however, the Jewish and the masons were considered as friends of the Communism. Therefore, the Regime decided to continue the historic antisemitism echo in Spain since the Catholic Kings. There is a widespread idea of a Judeo-masonic leftists alliance, always lurking and waiting to subvert or break Spain. Hence, the antimasonic discourse becomes a political weapon and the anti-Judeo-masonic a weapon for internal cohesion. The outline of an almost demoniacal enemy allowed to reinforce a strict collective identity and justified the existence of a strong power.

Considering the posters that concern this analysis, the main characteristic of the 1930s was the large perspective, which had a futuristic origin but highly influenced the authoritarian art²⁰⁸. It was a colossal and cosmic perspective mixed with an overloaded rhetoric highly triumphalist. In addition, there is an interesting concern about the slenderness of the characters, with a typical mannerism that extends them as a Greco's painting and, sometimes, giving the men a feminine halo²⁰⁹.

It is also relevant the iconography of the military glorification due to the role that the Army played on the war and the consolidation of the New State. There was a wide dissemination of the militaristic ideology due to the model of the State based in an only

²⁰⁶ Basilio, "Genealogies for a new state: painting and propaganda in Franco's Spain."

²⁰⁷ Javier Domínguez-Arribas. *El enemigo judeo-masónico en la propaganda franquista, 1936-1945*. Marcial Pons Historia, 2009.

²⁰⁸ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

party which framed its member in paramilitary militias and being the Head of State a military himself. At the same time, the propaganda used the victims of the Red Terror to legitimise the war and the repression. These victims became the heroes and martyrs of the movement.

The institutions and political forces of the Regime were abstractly represented through their symbols²¹⁰. They could be isolated symbols or they could appear together, becoming a symbol of the myth of the unit. It is important to highlight the boom that symbolism suffered during the autocratic years due to²¹¹: the importance of symbols in revolutionary and counter-revolutionary processes, their prominence in a society with authoritarian and hermetic political and cultural structure, and the esteem that military and paramilitary groups have for slogans, mottos and heraldry. Furthermore, the symbols were used with dogmatic goals to spread the ideology of the Regime and to approach the youth.

If we consider more specifically the different periods of the Regime, from 1936 to 1946 there is a period of military predominance and of consolidation of the main iconographic clichés of the Francoism. During these years, the images are conditioned by the official propaganda apparatus, mainly the Vicesecretaría. As it is the period when the propaganda apparatus is more influenced by the Falange, it is important to notice how it contributed to the symbolism and messages²¹². There is an enhancement of the military and the illegitimate power takeover as a vital liberation with a tone of patriotic heroism²¹³. Nation and Fatherland became inviolable and overvalued principles, as well as order and community service. In such a way that the ‘good’ Spanish men were the ones that embodied the value of permanent services to the community, in their public and private daily life. Therefore, each Spaniard had a personal role as the servant of the Nation in the State, always standing up for the national interests. In consequence, there is an identification of the national premises as the true Spanish essence, in opposition to the republican values which are presented as the anti-Spain. However, there was a dichotomy: the traditionalist and conservative nationalism against the republican nationalism. Therefore, it was not only about being nationalist but standing for the right nationalism.

In addition, we can differentiate different periods²¹⁴ on the production of posters regarding their bigger influence. Thus, the years of the war are years of national-

²¹⁰ Bonet, *Arte del Franquismo*.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 141-142.

²¹² Pulpillo, “La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional”: 125-126.

²¹³ Habra. “Deconstrucción del tejido mítico franquista.”

²¹⁴ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.

Catholicism and Falangist fascism, as I have mentioned before. The post-war years, from 1939 to 1942, there is a bigger influence of the German apparatus and model together with the predominance of the Church and family as moral values. However, in 1943 it is clear that the Second World War would not be won by the Axis, and Spain goes from being no belligerent to being neutral. Therefore, there is a remarkable turn in the artistic representation and the messages of the propagandistic posters. The most important one is the abandonment of the anti-Semitism of the first years, Judaism is no longer considered an enemy of the State, which now was focused on Communism and Marxism.

In addition, there was an incessant reminder that the Republic was an illegitimate regime as they believe that the municipal elections were not enough to go from a Monarchy to a Republic. At the same time, there is a widespread message that the republican propaganda is a fallacy as it is directed to the republican masses and their foreign supporters²¹⁵. As I have mentioned before, religion became a key element on the legitimation of the Regime but also in the cover of the ideological operation that leads into the pairing and dichotomy of Spain and anti-Spain. Together with the dichotomy of friend and enemy. In such a way, that the divergent, the Republican and the atheist, turned into the traitors at the same time that they became the explanatory force for the repression²¹⁶.

To sum up, there is a new mechanism for conceptualization aimed at cleaning the already existing myths together with the blending of Falangism and Catholicism under the idea of the Crusade as the style of the Catholic King's Reconquista. In addition, in the nationalist universe, there is a mixture of catholic, fascist and traditionalist symbols and myths which impregnated the social sphere and asked for a revolution. There is an effort of bringing together values and ideas from all the supporters of the Regime, the iconography became a group of heterogeneous symbols and myths. This national iconography appeared everywhere: the bicoloured flag, the Falangist flag, the traditionalist flag, the defence of the 'true' Spanish values, the fascist greeting, the official emblem of the state, the yoke and the arrows, and the slogan. Including commercial advertisement which becomes a branch of political propaganda. The Republican Spain was stigmatised with images of the Red grime, the Marxist robbery, the criminal Marxism. It was a time of reasserting the 'true' Spanish essence, dismissing anything foreign. At the same time, there is a historical revival from the Reconquista to the Golden

²¹⁵ Pulpillo, "La configuración de la propaganda en la España nacional":

²¹⁶ Biescas and Tuñón de Lara, *España bajo la dictadura franquista*

Age, the fifteen century, as the glorious past that Spain needed to recover with Castilla as its safeguard. Consequently, there is a demonising of all the non-Castilian and an obsessive Hispanization of the social. All together with a restoration of the most traditional spirituality and religiousness.

The citizens' portrait

If we consider the year of publication of the posters, there is a bigger production of posters during the years of the war. This is linked to the warlike context, as there is an enemy to protect from but also to attack. Therefore, there is a proliferation of messages of unity and nationalist exaltation, together with a message of agitation demonising the enemies. At the same time, as it is a war, there are posters of recruitment in order to gain more members and volunteers. In addition, there are posters that function as updates from the war, therefore, they spread the victories of the Nationalists through the territory.

The post-war production is not that numerous, but it is more relevant considering the research question. As there is not a context of agitation, these posters are based on enhancing social and political integration by achieving and promoting a homogeneous society based in the exaltation of the 'true' Spanish values. Therefore, we will see how men, women, children and families are presented in these images, as well as how Franco appears to be the embodiment of these values.



But before the in-depth analysis of the posters, we need to take into account that the myth of the experience of the Civil War is essential for the continuation of the Regime. The regeneration and rebirth of Spain started with the Civil War and continued with the *limpieza* of the Francoism. The immortal Spain was back, embodied in the 'true' Spaniards which risked their lives for their Nation. Therefore, the victims and martyrs of the War will be the symbols of a new cultural race forged through history, they will shape the new Spaniards that the Regime so badly needs to continue its destiny. For

their executioners, disgrace, shame and the relentless punishment. In the First Francoism, the victims of the war are in charge.

Considering their nature, they are social, political or military, however, we can see how the majority of the posters are of a socio-political nature. The military posters are mainly those for recruitment, legitimization of the conflict, and the information of the war. Those of political nature are divided by their messages of integration and agitation. Therefore, if they promote the political unit within Spaniards or if they promote the fight against the enemies or the *limpieza* of Spain. Those of social nature are the most numerous as they are the main way to spread the myth of the unit. However, these social posters are also used to spread the symbols of legitimization of the regime, and to enhance integration through the agitation against the enemies. Thus, we can see how the integrational and agitation messages blends as through the demonising of an enemy feelings of difference towards them can appear, but also feeling of identification towards the group.

If we consider their characteristic there are certain things to take into account. First of all, the technic of production. In the National zone, it was common to produce posters as illustrations, however, there are also posters made of photographs, collages and drawings. Considering their size, of those that we know, the most common sizes would be around 100x70 cm, 120x90 cm and 90x60 cm. As we can see, a key element for these posters is the size, as a large format is enough to turn any object into something colossal. Therefore, realistic or figurative colossalism becomes a characteristic of the posters. On the other hand, some authors²¹⁷ have identified this colossalism as one of the mechanisms to enhance the collective experience of the individual.

If we consider the colours, there is a common characteristic of predominance of red, black and white in most of the posters. Also, being common blue and yellow. If we take into account the description of the Regime's ideology and symbolism made in previous chapters, we see how these colours represent the different allies of the Regime inside Spain as well as the Nationalism of the New State. Therefore, red and black make reference to the Falangist flag. Red and white are the colours of the Traditionalist flag. And red and yellow of the National flag, the Spanish one. In addition, blue is the colour of the Falangist shirt and red the colour of their beret. Furthermore, it is remarkable the use of green and brown, especially in the posters from the Civil War and those with military nature, as they are normally associated with the military uniforms.

²¹⁷ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.

The last one of the technical characteristics of the posters which needs to be considered is the artistic style, I have differentiated between two: realistic and figurative or abstract. The realistic ones are those which have great details and depict reality. The figurative or abstract one are those which are based on a representation of the reality but do not depict it as it is, therefore, they are images which prioritise the simple and the clear over the details. In such a way that, even though the figures are easily recognisable they look like sketches and most of them look similar to all the posters. This also helps to create stereotypes of the posters' protagonists so they



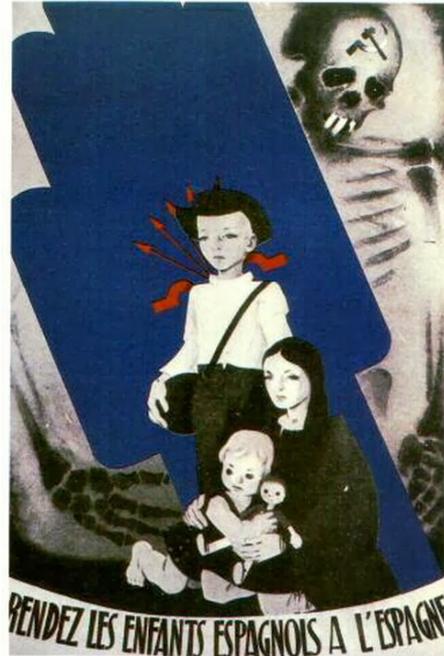
are more easily recognisable and the viewer does not need to spend much time trying to decipher the message and can identify it with one look. In such a way, that soldiers, men, women and kids will share certain stereotypical characteristic in their depiction, which comes from the cultural material available in society. This stereotype is present in the poster “Ha llegado España” (Spain has arrived), where men are presented either as soldiers or workers with a certain style of shirt and loyal to the New State, one is carrying the symbol of the Falange and the other one is doing the fascist greeting. While women appear as mothers, also with a distinctive style and either carrying babies or food.

But some authors²¹⁸ have identified an inclination towards an expressionist realism which encloses the sceptical rancour of the war. Therefore, we can also see some posters of the First Francoism which fall into this scope of a figurative realism mixing the two artistic styles identified. A clear example is this poster, we can see how it uses a figurative realism mixing both in the way of depicting the Spaniards and the way of dealing with the topic.

²¹⁸ Renau, *Función Social del Cartel*.

If we consider to whom they are directed at there is a difference between men, women, kids and families. However, there is one exception which must be considered: is a Francoist poster directed to non-Spanish citizens.

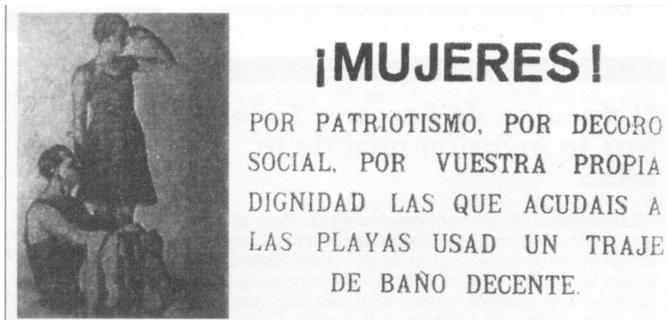
It addresses the French society, as they ask the return of the ‘niños de la guerra’²¹⁹. It is useful to see how, even though it does not address Spaniards, it uses the same stereotyped style for depicting the figures. In this poster, the three kids depicted represent the gender roles and division of the Regime together with the question of style. Thus, the boy is standing up protecting the girls who are depicted as caregivers as they hold the doll. In addition, it is also useful to see how even though we might classify the posters in different categories they are not fixed as in the poster we



find different message of integration and agitation together. The blue hand with the Falangist symbol protecting the children from the skeletal devil with the Communist symbol on the forehead. At the same time, that it asks for the kids it spreads a message of protection and caring from the Regime.

In these examples, we can also see the reference to the style that I have mentioned previously. There is an establishment of a specific style for men and women based on elegance and social and moral decency. The style becomes a matter of nationalism, and in order to proof that you are Spanish, you need to dress and behave in a certain way.

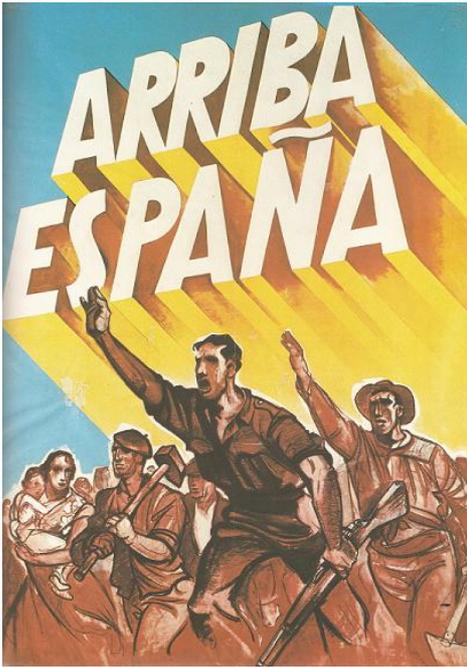
Consequently, there are no naked bodies and, in the real life, the vision of the bodies



is firmly banned, as we see with this poster: ‘¡WOMEN! For patriotism, for social decency, for your own dignity, those of you who come to the beaches used a decent swimsuit.’ The style, the

decency and dignity become a matter of the State and to respect them a proof of patriotism.

²¹⁹ The ‘niños de la guerra’ are the almost 34.000 children between five and fifteen years old that were evacuated by the Republican government so they would not suffer the war.



Considering the posters directed to the Spaniards, there is a majority which addresses the male population, these men are divided between citizens or soldiers. But when they address to men and promote the myth of the unit, they also address women as citizens of the Regime. However, there are differences on how propaganda addresses men and women, even if it is in the same terms as citizens. With this example, we can see how women are individually addressed as mothers, as the only woman in the poster is carrying a baby. While men are depicted as soldiers, farmers and workers. Therefore, it reinforces the gender

stereotypes, together with the establishment and reinforcement of the patriarchal family structure.

The family is the archetypical focused on the internal power hierarchy of men, women and kids. A family model based on the values of male authority, discipline, obedience and subjugation. Men as strong, workers and providers of welfare and order in the families, well-dressed, well-hair styled, with hats and without short-sleeves shirts. We can find all these elements in the following poster, where we see the archetypical nuclear family of parents and two children, all following the puritan style of the New State.

White middle-class, heterosexual, hard-working men become the 'normal'. All the other individuals are conceptualised as outside the Regime, as non-citizens. In addition, if we consider the dominant masculinity with the law of style, the male citizen of the Regime becomes a 'Christian



gentleman²²⁰. The new men of the Regime become carriers of honourable qualities and values such as honour, faith, gallantry, contempt for death or justice. Therefore, the new men of the New State follow the moral of the Church and the dress-code of the Regime, as we can see in the poster on the left which bans blasphemy. In addition, the role of men as workers becomes a matter of national concern. The workers of the New Spain are the symbol of the Regime, as we can see in the second poster: Spain will be proud of you if you are superior to the rest of the workers in the World.



Women are the traditional stay-at-home mothers, cautious, humble, demure, restrained, virtuous and modest. She obeys the husband and she must feel somehow ashamed for not being as the great feminine model, suggested and adored every day, the Virgin Mary. Women are now considered by their role as mothers, they become machines for procreation which is sacralised as a sacred duty, as the first poster of the next page states. The married woman had to stop working and had to satisfy her husband's lust and desires.

With this obsession of the motherhood, with sentences such as 'there is only one mother', the Regime established the psychological basis for the future relation of the kids with the Nation, which is no longer the Fatherland but the Motherland. Therefore, the defence of the Nation is identified with the defence of the Mother as we can see in the

²²⁰ del Arco, "El secreto del consenso en el régimen franquista."

second poster of Auxilio Social, the fight for a better Spain is identified with the fight for the mother and the son.



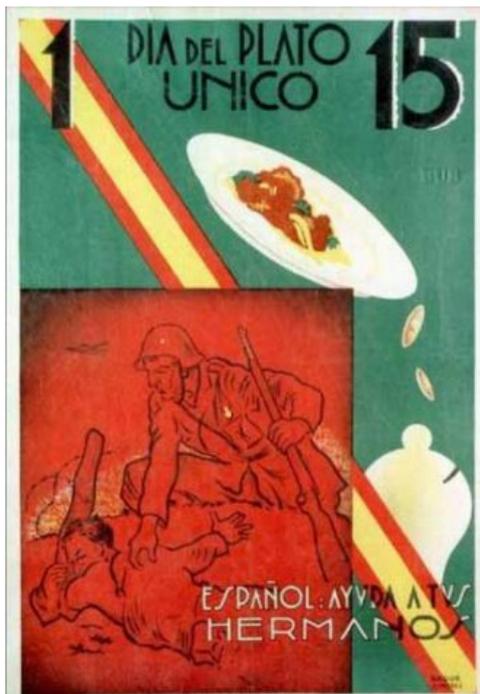
However, during the war, there are several posters which break the stereotype of the stay-at-home mother and ask women to work in the rearguard. As men were fighting in the vanguard, women had to take over their jobs in order to maintain the economy and make possible the war. They took over male works in the cities but they also worked in the Falangist ranks as the ones that took food and medicines to the newly occupied areas. Therefore, they become the symbol of the victory and of the Francoist Spain, as they bring the peace after the soldiers have conquered the territory. This idea is clear in the poster, as we can see the Falangist trucks entering a city in flames, while the uniformed Falangist women are bringing food.



In addition, the male question of style was translated into a female question. Skirts until the knees and no cleavages, even for kids as we can see with the poster. In addition, girls are educated on their role as mothers and on style since their childhood. This message is explicit in this poster as well, where there is a clear reference to the girls of today as the women of tomorrow. In addition, this poster also makes reference to the social revolution of the Falange and the myth of a society without class division that I mentioned in the previous part of the chapter, as the poster says: ‘united regardless their class in the young divisions of FET y de las JONS’.



In order to consider the symbols that appear on the posters, I will follow the classification explained in the third chapter. Therefore, I have divided them by their nature, their creation and their duration. Considering their nature there are more personal symbols, those based on the heroes, victims, leaders and protagonists of the Regime. There also numerous fictional or mythical, those who make reference to the irrational elements on the posters as the hate towards the enemies or feelings of nationalism and patriotism.



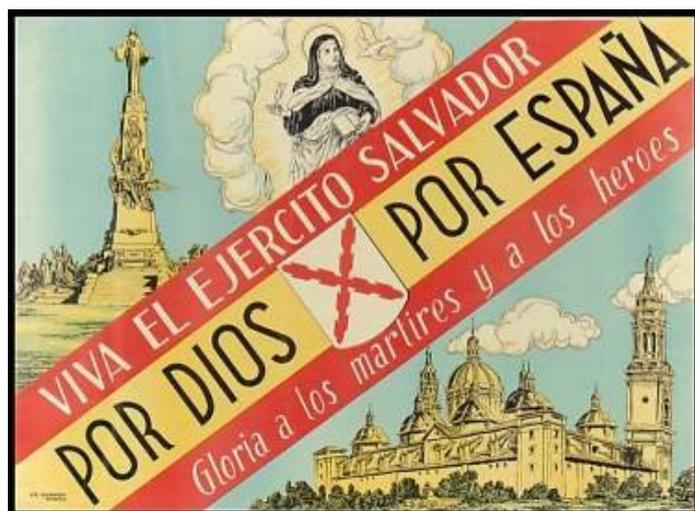
I have considered the realistic symbols as those relating to war events or data, as the information of the victories of the Nationalist band or those who make reference to the autarchic measures of the regime, as this poster that establish the day of the unique course. Additionally, it also makes reference to an essential value for the citizens of the Regimes: solidarity among Spaniards. Which is reinforced by the Catholic belief that we are all brothers, as the poster’s slogan reads: Spaniard, help your brothers. A value which becomes essential under the harsh conditions of the post-war years.



Considering their creation, there is a proliferation of new symbols, as those related to the victory of the war, the victims, heroes and martyrs, and those directly linked to the Regime. However, there is also a great use of already existing symbols whose meaning has been updated, especially those who make reference to the Catholic Kings period and the imperial past of Spain. It is clear on the next poster, where not only the slogan is explicitly sharing the message: Spain was, is and will be immortal. But the symbols that appear are linked to the past, present and future of the county, mixing new and updated symbols. Therefore, there is a ship which can be

identified with the discovery of American under the Catholic Kings reign. There is a soldier, symbol of the violent present of Spain. And there are three uphold right hands, which can be identified with the fascist greeting as a symbol of the future of the Nation. Thus, there is a continuation between the glorious past and the promising future which at the same time legitimises the bloody present and fosters the myth of the unit.

Considering their duration, if we consider circumstantial those who make reference to specific moments of the war or the Regime, these are the majority. Being the permanent and recurrent those who make references to myth of unit, the enemies or to the leadership of Franco. The references to the myth of the unit are linked to the unity of the forces of the new Regime during the years of the war. And to the National-Catholicism of the first Francoism, as this poster which reinforces the unit of the army, the Church and the State, the three-main pillar of the New



State. Once again, there is a reference to the victims and martyrs of the war and the army as the saviour of the Nation in its slogan, which can also be considered as a permanent symbol of the Regime, as I have mentioned at the beginning of the analysis.



If we analyse the slogans of the posters there is a vast majority which makes reference to this myth of the unit and have integrational goals. These are divided between those purely nationalist, which enhance the Nation and the patriotic feelings using the official slogans of the Regime, as ‘Una, Grande y Libre’ (One, Big and Free); those who make reference to the Caudillo Presente and the Caudillo Ausente, the Falange, Catholicism as a unifying value, and those which focus on the Spanish families. At the same time, these nationalist posters also serve to foster the identification between Falange and

Nation. Which can be seen in this poster, as the symbols are those of the Falange: the flag, the blue shirt, and the symbol with the National slogan

The representations of the Caudillo Presente, of Franco, are mainly done through symbolism or rhetoric as I have mentioned previously. Therefore, instead of showing his image, there are common invocations to his name as the protector and benefactor of the country, as we can see in the second poster under the slogan: ‘Franco will give you peace and work if you have not committed a crime’. At the same time, it introduces us to another key characteristic of the new citizens: to follow the law and trust blindly in their leader. It is also common the posters that make reference of Franco as the peace builder of the Nation, as we can see in the first poster which says: ‘Franco maintains the peace of Spain, and Franco will give you peace’. This poster is directly linked to the no belligerent attitude of Spain during the Second World War, as we can see Europe in flames while Spain remains white and peaceful.





I would like to point out the role of the representations of the 'Caudillo Ausente' in the posters. This Caudillo is José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange and victim of the Republican repression at the beginning of the war. He is presented as the youthful model, as the poetic and revolutionary alternative for the Regime, being himself part of the Regime. He usually appears wearing the military uniform, with a grave demeanour and a rejuvenated face. In addition, due to his condition as victim of the Red Terror, his image is also used to legitimise the war and the repression, the Regime used his memory as

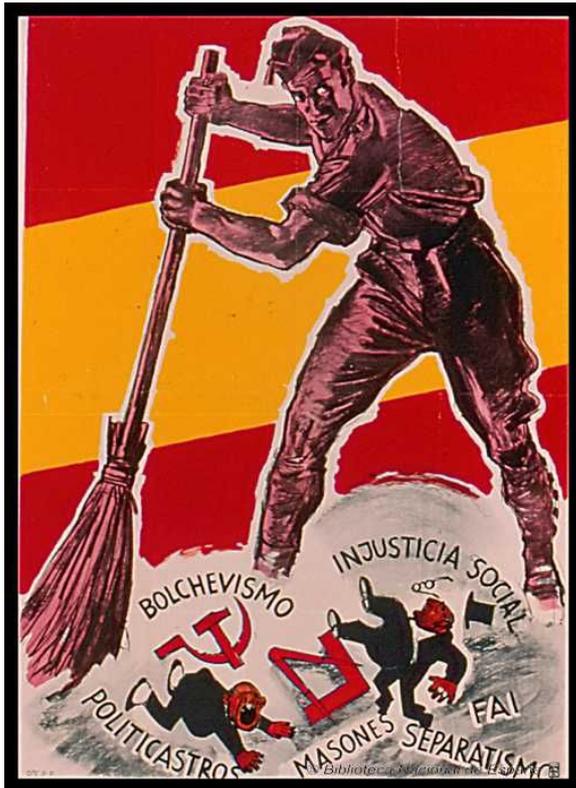
justification of the revenge.

The rest are linked to the propaganda of agitation. However, they can also be considered as integration as they use the depiction of the enemies to enhance the unity between the 'real' Spaniards. These are divided considering to whom they attack: Jewish, Masonry, Communism, Marxism, and the Republic.

Being the most numerous those who attack the Communism and the Republic as contrary values to the 'true' Spain. The devilish is identified with the enemies of the New State, with real forces of the human world, in particular, freemasonry and Judaism²²¹. In addition, these posters make reference to the concept of national *limpieza*. As we can see in the posters, this means cleaning the country of those diabolic forces which are trying to pervert it. The enemies are identified by their name or symbols, as they take non-human shapes as dragons or chickens, symbol of cowardice.



²²¹ Cirici, *La estética del Franquismo*.



These forces were considered guilty from all the bad of the world, as they hated the land because of their exclusive love for gold and wealth. In addition, they were anti-Catholic as they hated the Cross, there a secular hate. Therefore, the goal of the posters is to dehumanise the enemies, appealing to the monstrosity of their behaviour, their appearance and their values, establishing the barrier between ‘them’ and ‘us’, the anti-Spaniards and the ‘true’ Spaniards. This distinction is fundamental in two aspects: it maintains the internal division between Republican and Nationalist, but it also enhances the

mythical national community of the ‘true’ Spaniards. Therefore, by showing the values and ideology that the citizens must not have, they are demarcating how the citizens must be. The losers of the wars and the repressed are not Spaniards. This idea does not only establish who is Spanish but also legitimise the ideas of the National liberation and the Crusade as it denies the principle of Civil War.

However, these ideas of the enemy are not new but based on the already existing cultural material of the country. Therefore, before the war, in the elections of 1936, we can see several right-wing parties which use the typification of the communism as against national progress. I have chosen the following poster by Acción Popular which says: Socialism destroys our economy, vote for the Right, vote against Marxism. As we can see, the style and the format of the poster is quite similar to the ones of the Franco Regime.



As I have mentioned in the previous chapters, propaganda takes over every aspect of the social life, and the propagandistic messages and ideas are transferred to advertisement. I have found two commercial posters made by a hat shop and a soap business, which are significant examples of this situation. These posters helped to create an environment of ‘friendly idealisation’²²² or ‘poetic unreality’ as since the end of the war they are under the authoritarian and coercive policy of the New State. They become ‘posters-orders’²²³ whose goal is also repressive to reduce the participation of the citizens in the political sphere as consumers. The ‘good’ citizen is convinced that he is using the ‘true’ Spanish soap or that he is more Spanish by using a hat.



As we can see, for the Franco Regime the ‘good’ Spaniard is patriotic, Catholic and Falangist. The ‘true’ citizens obey and respect the political and moral rules established by the regime and embodied in the style of life and dressing. Men are workers and soldiers, protectors of the family and the Regime whose role model is the Caudillo, Franco. Women are mothers and puritan, they take care of the children and obey the husband and their role model is the Virgin Mary. To be a Spaniard means not to be Republican nor communist nor Marxist nor Jewish. All of these ‘good’ citizens are unified under the forces of the Regime, emphasising FET y de las JONS which unified all of them without distinction of classes. In addition, the ‘good’ Spaniard was solidary and helped the fellow citizens, at the same time that they become the protectors of the moral of the Regime. A ‘good’ citizen would help those who lived under the Regime and denounce the anti-Spaniards, those who do not fit this description.

²²² Renau, *Función social del Cartel*, 43.

²²³ Bonet, *Arte del Franquismo*, 287.

V Conclusions

Propaganda is a highly polysemic word so it has several conceptions and meanings. Some authors identify it as a technique of social control, but also as an odd form of communication. It is a vast, multiple and polymorphic process of communication in relation to almost every aspect of social life, which takes places and depends on a certain social and historical context. In this context, the totalitarian propaganda spread a mythic, all-embracing vision of a spirituality unified and morally regenerated created by the will of the individuals as embodied in the leader. Therefore, I have considered the context of the Spanish Civil War and Franco Regime in order to analyse the posters made by the official propaganda apparatus. The propaganda apparatus provides an organised myth to its citizens, a complete system for explaining the world to the individuals of the group. Thanks to this myth, individuals accept the new system of values and beliefs while acknowledging his or her belonging to the group.

After a century marked by political crises and civil wars, Spain entered the twentieth century as a highly-divided country. The new century was marked by the Civil War and the Franco Regime. The evolution of the war and the establishment of the Regime go hand-by-hand as since 1936 Franco is appointed as Head of state and the first political and propagandistic measures take place right after the uprising. The War started on July 18, 1936, until 1939. During these years, there is a violent and bloody conflict of Republicans against the so-called Nationalists. The war was legitimised by the National band as a Crusade, thanks to its alliance with Catholicism which became synonymous of Spanish ideology. At the same time, in 1936, after Franco's appointment, the first government of the Regime is developed with an Office of Press and Propaganda. It is a government of coalitions of the main forces and supporters of the Regime, which will be the basis for the creation of the only party in 1937, FET y de las JONS.

During the years of the Regime, the propaganda apparatus changed its organisation and name multiple times, from Delegations to Deputy Secretary, but keeps the same ideas and purposes. Its main purpose was to control, but also to produce the new iconography and intensify the civilian's emotions through patriotic propaganda. This apparatus produces the posters fostering values of clarity, simplicity and realism. These posters are useful for shock propaganda as they combine visual and written elements, and ask no effort from the addressee. The Regime attempted to organise the Spanish life according

to cultural and ideological assumptions that came from different ideologies and traditions, mainly the three supporters of the Regime: Falange, traditionalists and Church.

Technically, the posters were mainly coloured illustrations of colossal sizes, as 100x70 cm or 120x90 cm. The colours and symbols were predominantly those of the forces of the Regime and their flags and symbols. Hence, the bicoloured flag, the Falangist flag, the traditionalist flag, the fascist greeting, the emblem, the yoke and the arrows and the slogans. Furthermore, they were characterised by the large perspective which made them look cosmic and colossal, and the slenderness of the characters, which gave them a Greco's resemblance

One of the main advantages of the use of posters is that they can get closer to ordinary pedestrians and citizens as they can take over urban and public places. The years of the war are of propaganda of agitation in order to legitimise the conflict and gain adepts. But the years of the Regime are of propaganda of integration to foster the union between the citizens and create a homogeneous society. However, as they promote simplicity and realism, they tend to reproduce and maintain stereotypes of the figures represented based on the ideas of how they should be, as we can see with the chosen posters. As a consequence, the citizens or enemies of the Regime are easily identified in these images.

The post-war years are of autarchy and a resacralization of the public affairs articulated by faith, which means austerity, self-sacrifice and solidarity for the citizens. Additionally, since the beginning of the war, there is a repression which becomes a policy of violence against those who do not belong to the Regime and as a revenge for the victims of the war. This repression takes the notion of a cleaning of the country, a *limpieza* of the enemies, which is highly present on the wartime posters. These enemies are Republicans, Communists, Marxists, freemasons and Jewish. They become the scapegoat of the Regime, at the same time that they are used to foster the integration of the 'good' Spaniards. The citizens helped to maintain this repression by denouncing those who did not behave as the Regime stated.

In order to see how a 'good' and 'true' citizen is, we can also see how he or she should not be thanks to these posters which make reference to the repression or process of *limpieza*. I did not consider this question at the beginning, who was not a citizen during the Franco Regime, however, I consider that it is fundamental to think about it due to the amount of posters that depict the enemies of the State. This has a double function as it delimits the border between 'us' and 'them', establishing who is a citizen and who is not. But it also fosters feelings of belonging by establishing a common enemy and a scapegoat,

if they are to be blame for everything there is no division inside the group. Therefore, if we consider the enemies of the Regime we can establish that the Spanish citizens are not Jewish, National Republicans, freemasons, Communists nor Marxists. They do not follow foreign ideologies nor religions, they support the 'true' Spanish traditions and ideologies.

Culturally, the first Francoism is characterised by a culture of victory based on the protection and enhancement of the genuine Spanish, Catholic and traditionalist. Spain goes through a deep process of Hispanicization and Castilianization whose main purpose is to control the society and to re-establish the Spanish cultural order. This culture of victory also produced its own symbolism and myths in order to promote integration. Therefore, there are myths such as the denial of social classes under the organisation of FET y de las JONS, and the myth of the unit of all the different supporters of the Regime under the term Nation.

All the citizens, men and women, followed the strict style established by the Regime, as it became a proof of patriotism. This style was characterised by elegance, social and moral decency, humbleness and gallantry easily recognizable on the posters. The view of the bodies was completely forbidden, even in terms of short sleeves or trousers. On one hand, men were strong, providers of welfare and order, protectors of their family and Nation, workers, well-dressed with long trousers and long-sleeve shirts and hats, white, middle-class and heterosexual. Men are now the Christian gentlemen, they blindly followed the moral of the church and the dress code and norms of the government. The values that they had to follow were embodied on Franco, the ultimate gentlemen that every Spaniard wanted to be.

On the other hand, women were the traditional stay-at-home mothers, once they married they will quit their jobs to dedicate themselves in body and soul to their husbands and children. They were cautious, humble, demure, restrained, virtuous and modest. Their role model was the Virgin Mary, thus, there is a sacralisation of their role as mothers and caregivers. The defence of the mother is the defence of the Motherland, the Nation. Their dress code was also really strict, only long skirts until the knees and no cleavages for women nor girls, since there are young they are educated to be mothers and pious. However, during the war, the work and role of women are completely different. During the conflict, they were of extreme importance due to their job at the rearguard and the ranks. They became the symbol of the new Spain and the Francoist victory.

Class and ideology are now explained as biological differences, following the doctrine of a spiritual racism. The strategy to reconcile conscience after the conflict and the new

State was silence and forgettings, which produces a collective pessimism, a disengaged and individualistic society. The 'good' Spaniard embodies the value of permanent services to the community in his or her public and private life. Thus, each citizen had a role as servants of the Nation, always standing up for the national interests. Hence, to be a 'good' Spaniard meant to be nationalist, patriotic and catholic, to always put the nation interests before one's own. At the same time, they had to blindly trust in the New Regime and to follow the law, to be a 'good' Spaniard meant not to be a criminal.

The citizens passively accepted the new Regime and the new culture. Since the end of the war, their only language would be Castilian and nationalism and patriotism would take over everything. There are no active citizens as there is a widespread idea that politics divide, so Spaniards develop anti-political values and turned to their private institution, the family. This family was the nuclear one and followed the patriarchal structure and the internal power hierarchy of father, mother and children. It was a family model based on the values of male authority, discipline, obedience and subjugation. And the development of anti-political attitudes turned citizens into consumers of politics, they did not participate in the political processes but they accepted the consequences.

I would like to point out that, even though the posters represent the 'good' citizens there were many Spaniards living under the Regime and their identity cannot be only understood by how they are represented on the posters. For example, there is no mention of other types of families nor sexualities as they were not conceived as the normal nor the legal, by not talking about them they tried to deny their existence but we cannot forget that they did exist. So, even though the Spanish citizens were simplified and stereotyped on the posters, they were not in reality. Further research could be done considering the correspondence between what is depicted on the posters and how these citizens were in reality, however, it is not the goal of this Thesis to answer that question.

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VII Appendices

Appendix 1: Classification of the Posters

Classification	Year	Author	Second Entity	Technic	Size	Topic	Digital
On-20	1930	Anonymous	-	-	-	Demonising enemies	Yes
Bne-554	1930-1939	Anonymous		Lithography and typography	70x100 cm	National	Yes
Bne-195	1933	Ortega	Acción Popular	Illustration colour	100x68 cm	Elections	Yes
Bne-109	1936	Anonymous (maybe Valentí Castanys)	Front Català d'Ordre	Illustration colour	109x77 cm	Elections	Yes
Bne-156	1936	Acaso	Acción Popular	Illustration colour	100x70 cm	Elections	Yes
Bne-160	1936	Balaca, S.	Acción Popular	Illustration colour	100x72 cm	Elections	Yes
Bne-155	1936	José Luis Dávila	Acción Popular	Illustration colour	90x62 cm	Elections	Yes
Bne-107	1936	Anonymous	Front Català d'Ordre	Illustration colour	80x121 cm	Elections	Yes
Bne-108	1936	Anonymous	Front Català d'Ordre	Illustration colour	80x121 cm	Elections	Yes
On-29	1936	Anonymous	Falange Española	Illustration colour	-	National	Yes
On-46	1936-1937	Anonymous	-	-	-	Demonising communism	Yes
On-1	1936-1939	Anonymous	Servicio Nacional de Propaganda	Illustration colour		National	Yes

On-7	1936-1939	Anonymous	-	-	-	Demonizing enemies	Yes
On-19	1936-1939	Cabanas	-	-	-	Recruitment	Yes
On-25	1936-1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
On-26	1936-1939	Carlos Saéñz de Tejada	-	Drawing	-	Soldiers and volunteers	Yes
On-36	1936-1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	<i>Limpieza</i>	Yes
On-44	1936-1939	Anonymous	-	-	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
On-22	1937	Arnau	Ministerio	Illustration colour	-	Information about the war	Yes
On-43	1937	Anonymous	-	-	-	Demonising the enemies	Yes
On-45	1937	Leocadio Muro Urriza	Ministerio de Propaganda	-	-	Victims	Yes
On-24	1937-1938	Anonymous	FET y de las JONS	Illustration colour	-	Demonising the enemies	Yes
On-2	Post-1937	Carlos Saéñz de tejada	Auxilio Social	Illustration colour	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
On-30	Post-1937	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
On-40	1937-1939	Anonymous	Servicio Nacional de Propaganda	Illustration colour	-	Legitimation of the conflict	Yes
Bne-311	1938	Mauricio Amster	Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes	Illustration colour	100x70 cm	Festivities for the youth	Yes
Bne-375	1938	F. Renedo	-	Illustration colour	44x30 cm	Book cover	Yes

Bne-124	1938	Anonymois	-	Illustration colour	119x84 cm	Propaganda of agitation	Yes
On-15	1938	Anonymous	Auxilio Social	Illustration colour	-	Mothers	Yes
On-32	1938	Salinas	Auxilio Social	Illustration colour	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
Bne-198	1939	Arnau	Ministerio	Illustration colour	25x35 cm	Information about the war	Yes
Bne-137	1939	Anonymous	-	Collage, photo and pencils	-	Caudillo	Yes
Bne-138	1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	90x60 cm	Myth of unit	Yes
Bne-139	1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration	52x39 cm	Magazine cover	Yes
Bne-143	1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	100x71 cm	Caudillo	Yes
Bne-149	1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration	101x68 cm	Caudillo Ausente	Yes
Bne-157	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	101x71 cm	Victims of the war	Yes
Bne-170	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	63x87 cm	Myth of the unit	Yes
Bne-171	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	50x70 cm	National	Yes
Bne-172	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	66x89 cm	National	Yes
Bne-173	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	33x68 cm	European allies	Yes
Bne-174	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	50x70 cm	Myth of the unit	Yes
Bne-181	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	93x6 cm	Myth of the unit	Yes
Bne-200	1939	Arnau		Illustration colour	25x35 cm	Information about the war	Yes
Bne-201	1939	Arnau		Illustration colour	25x35 cm	Information about the war	Yes

Bne-267	1939	Dra		Illustration colour	88x124 cm	Caudillo	Yes
Bne-308	1939	GM		Cardboard, pencils and ink	12x51 cm	National	Yes
Bne-309	1939	GM		Cardboard, pencils and ink	17x51 cm	Caudillo	Yes
Bne-325	1939	Guillermo		Illustration colour	100x70 cm	Caudillo	Yes
Bne-348	1939	La Puente	Juventud Femenina de Acción Católica	Illustration colour	100x70 cm	Christmas Campaign	Yes
Bne-148	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	90x60 cm	Demonizing enemy	Yes
Bne-398	1939	Josep Morall I Macias		Illustration colour	125x90 cm	National	Yes
Bne-135	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	126x90 cm	National	Yes
Bne-112	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	100x70 cm	Crusade	Yes
Bne-140	1939	Anonymous		Illustration colour	32x25 cm	Caudillo	Yes
On-5	1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour		Caudillo Ausente	Yes
On-12	1939	Anonymous	Organización Juvenil FET y de las JONS	Illustration colour	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
On-13	1939	Arnau	Ministerio	Illustration colour	-	Information end of the war	Yes
On-23	1939	Anonymous	Obra Social del Nacional-Sindicalismo.	Illustration colour	-	Ex-combatants	Yes

			Comisión Provincial de Barcelona				
On-28	1939	Anonymous	Servicio Nacional de Propaganda	Illustration colour	-	Caudillo	Yes
On-34	1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
On-35	1939	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	Victims of the war	Yes
On-50	1939	Anonymous	Revista para la Mujer de Falange	-	-	Magazine	Yes
On-51	1939-1940	Anonymous	Sombrerería Brave	-	-	Advertisement	Yes
On-14	1939-1945	Anonymous	Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS	Illustration colour	-	Mothers	Yes
On-21	1939-1945	Anonymous	-	-	-	Día del Plato Único	Yes
On-38	1940	Anonymous	Sección Femenina de la Falange	-	-	Calendar	Yes
On-8	1942	AGA, C	-	-	-	Demonizing enemies	Yes
On-17	1942	Anonymous	Revista para la Mujer de Falange	-	-	Caudillo	Yes
On-6	1943	Anonymous	Delegación Nacional de Excuativos	Illustration colour	-	Victims	Yes
On-9	-	Anonymous	.	-	-	‘Niños de la guerra’	Yes
On-10	-	Anonymous	Subsecretaría de Propaganda	-	-	Myth of the unit	Yes
On-11	-	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	Social peace	Yes
On-16	-	Anonymous	-	-	-	Women on rearguard	Yes

On-18	-	Anonymous	Organización Juvenil de FET y de las JONS	-	-	Youth	Yes
On-27	-	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	National Catholicism	Yes
On-31	-	Anonymous	-	-	-	Anti-Blasphemy	Yes
On-33	-	Carlos Saénz de Tejada	-	Illustration colour	-	Immortal Spain	Yes
On-39	-	Anonymous	-	-	-	Women	Yes
On-42	-	Anonymous	Ministerio de Trabajo	Illustration colour	-	Spanish workers	Yes
On-49	-	Anonymous	Jabones Caobo	-	-	Advertisement	Yes
On-3	-	Anonymous	-	Illustration colour	-	<i>Limpieza</i>	Yes
On-4	-	Foro Jalón Ángel	Servicio Nacional de Propaganda	Photography	-	Caudillo Ausente	Yes

Appendix 2: Quantification of the Posters

1. Considering the year of publication:

Before the war	1930	1
	1931	2
	1936	5
	Total:	8
During the war	1936	2
	1937	5
	1938	5
	1939	32
	Unknown:	10
	Total:	54
First Francoism	1940	3
	1942	2
	1943	1
	1944	1
	Unknown:	1
	Total:	20

3. Considering their Characteristics:

Technic	Illustration	76
	Photography	2
	Collage	3
	Drawing	1
Size	100x70 cm	13
	90x60 cm	5
	80x100 cm	1
	120x90 cm	5
	40x30 cm	1
	20x30 cm	5
	50x30 cm	1
	50x70 cm	2
	30x70 cm	1
	50x20cm	2
	60x40 cm	1
	Unknown	45
Colours	Blue	33
	Red	57
	Yellow	32
	Black	57
	White	58
	Green	16
	Brown	7
Artistic Style	Realistic	32
	Figurative/Abstract	42

2. Considering their nature:

Political	Integration	17
	Agitation	16
	Total	33
Social	Integration	34
	Agitation	3
	Legitimation	2
	Total	39
Military	Recruitment	3
	Integration	5
	Agitation	1
	Information	5
	Legitimation	4
	Total	18

4. Considering who they address:

Men	As citizens	59
	As soldiers	21
	Total	70
Women	As citizens	44
	As mothers	5
	Total	49
Kids/Youth	Boys	3
	Girls	4
	Total	7
Families		4
Non-Spanish		1

5. Considering their symbols:

By their nature	Fantastic/Mythical	30
	Personal	39
	Realistic	12
By their creation	New	56
	Pre-existing	19
	Updated	4
By their duration	Permanent	12
	Circumstantial	52
	Recurrent	7

6. Considering the slogans:

Focus on integration	National	42
	Franco – Caudillo Presente	15
	José Antonio – Cuadillo Ausente	4
	Falange	7
	Catholicism	7
	Family	5
	Total	80
	Focus on agitation	Anti-Jewish
Anti-Marxism		5
Anti-freemasonry		6
Anti-Communism		11
Anti-Republic		8
Total		34

7. Considering the authorship:

Known author	23
Anonymous	58

8. Considering the second authorship:

Official apparatus		28
Unknown		30
Falange	FET y de las JONS	4
	Auxilio Social	3
	Sección de la Juventud	2
	Sección Femenina	2
	Magazine	3
	Total	14
Political parties	Acción Popular	4
	Front Catalá d'Ordre	3
	Total	7
Acción Católica	Juventud Femenina	1
Commercial		2

Appendix 3: Posters



Leocadio Muro Uriza, 1937. (On-45)



Josep Morell, 1939. (Bne-398)



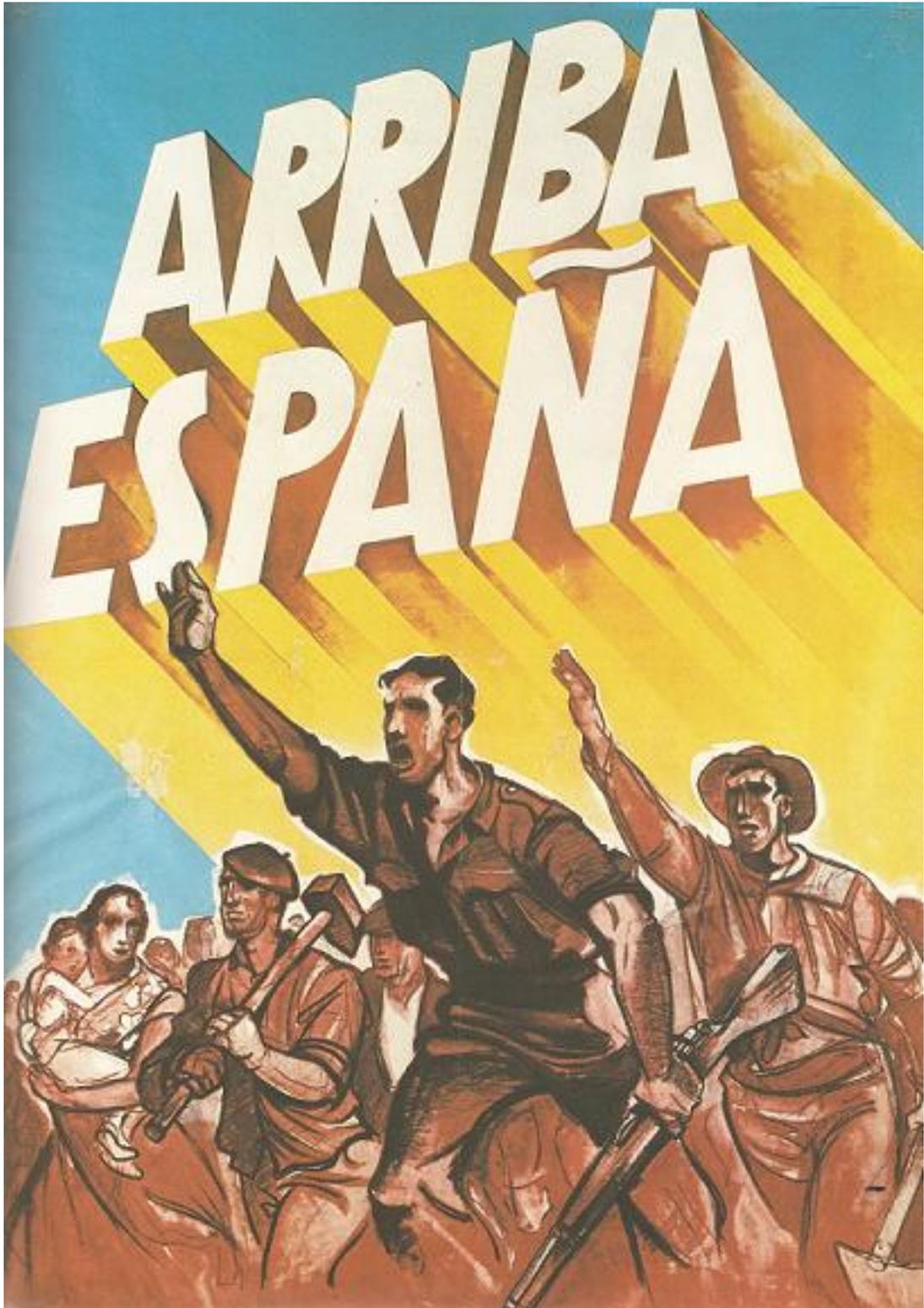
¡MUJERES!

POR PATRIOTISMO, POR DECORO
SOCIAL, POR VUESTRA PROPIA
DIGNIDAD LAS QUE ACUDAIS A
LAS PLAYAS USAD UN TRAJE
DE BAÑO DECENTE.

Anonymous. (On-39)



Anonymous. (On-9)



Anonymous, 1936-1939. (On-1)



Carlos Saénz de Tejada. (On-2)



Anonymous. (On-31)



Anonymous. (On-42)



Anonymous. (On-14)



Anonymous, 1938. (On-15)



Salina, 1938. (On-32)

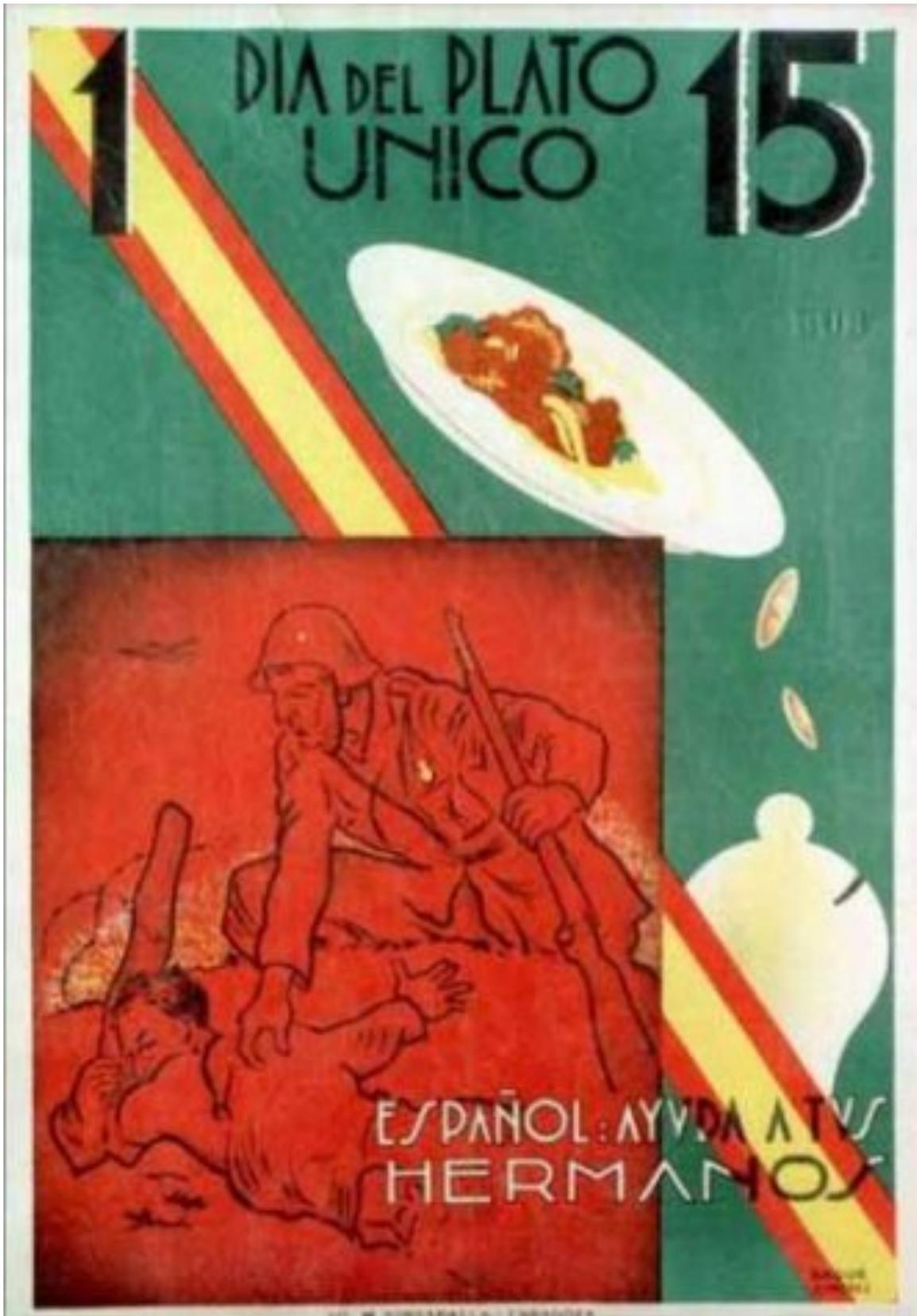


*las niñas
de hoy
y las mujeres
de
mañana*

UNIDAS SIN DISTINCION DE CLASES

EN ORGANIZACIONES JUVENILES DE F.E.T. Y DE LAS J.O.N-S.

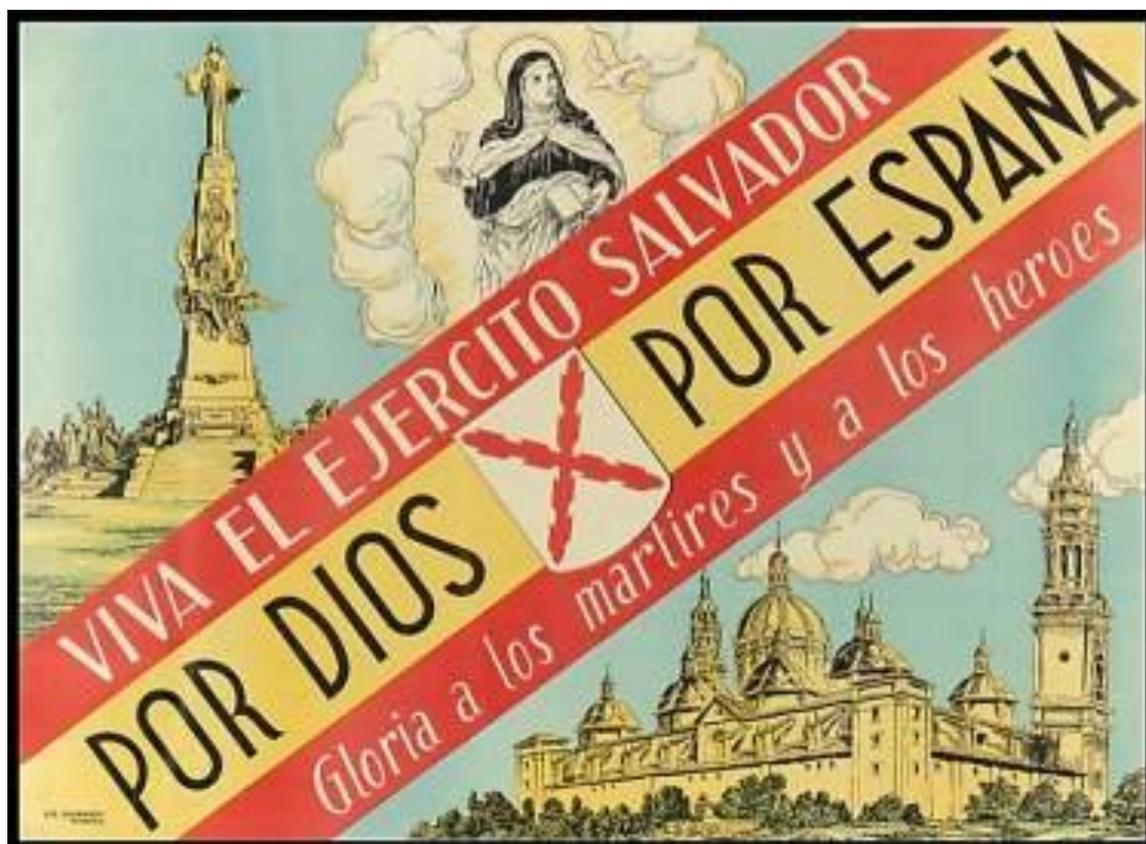
Anonymous. (On-18)



Anonymous. (On-21)



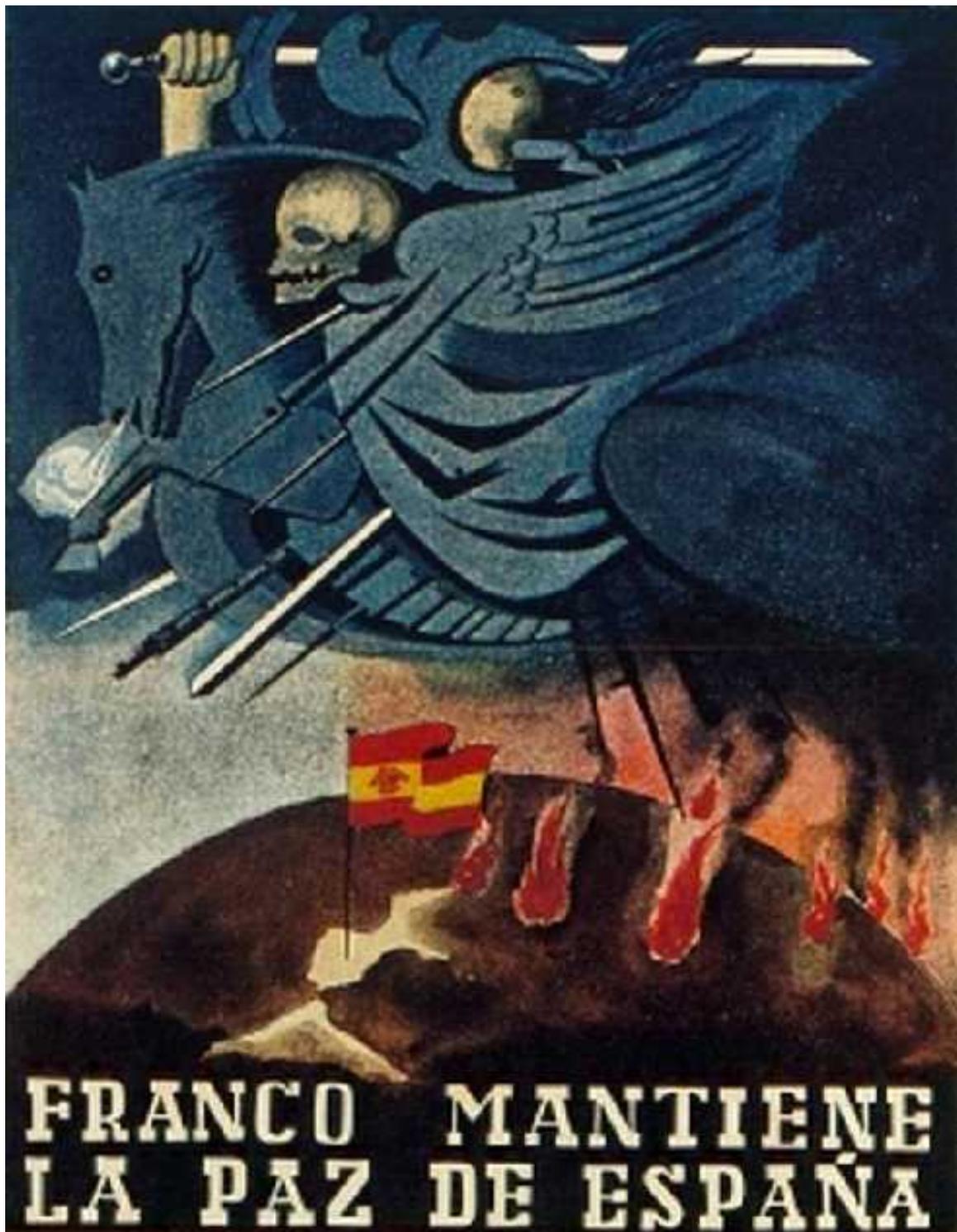
Carlos Saénz de Tejada. (On-33)



Anonymous, 1939. (Bne-170)



Anonymous. (On-24)



Anonymous, 1939. (Bne-140)



Anonymous. (On-30)



Anonymous, 1939. (On-5)



Anonymous. (On-3)



Anonymous, 1938. (Bne-124)



Ortega, 1933. (Bne-195)



Anonymous. (On-49)



Anonymous, 1939-1940. (On-51)

