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MASCULINITY IN SPANISH FILM: FROM PROHIBITION TO COMMANDED ENJOYMENT

presented by

MARY T. HARTSON

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Major Professor's Signature

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MASCULINITY IN SPANISH FILM: FROM PROHIBITION TO COMMANDED ENJOYMENT

By

Mary T. Hartson

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ABSTRACT

MASCULINITY IN SPANISH FILM: FROM PROHIBITION TO COMMANDED ENJOYMENT

By

Mary T. Hartson

Hegemonic masculinity as represented in Spanish film from 1939 through the present changed dramatically across time, initially organizing itself around prohibition and self-renunciation during the dictatorship and later, with the onset of consumerism, reorienting itself around desire and enjoyment. Employing psychoanalytic theory following Todd McGowan and others, this dissertation describes the shift from a "society of prohibition" to a "society of commanded enjoyment" elucidating how the oedipal narrative can be used to analyze changes in the filmic representation of hegemonic forms of masculinity. The oedipal narrative, a paradigm that has been widely cited for its function in the reproduction of capitalist economic structures, is eminently suited to the analysis of masculinity as it relates to changing economic structures as seen in the Spanish context. The oedipal father who prohibits the expression of desires and later the "anal father of enjoyment" who in a consumerist society does not prohibit enjoyment, but rather actively promotes it, reflect the shift toward the rise of consumerism in Spain. This change is especially relevant in the Spanish context as a repressive fascist-oriented dictatorship gave way quite abruptly to a modern democratic consumerist society during the transition period in the 1970s and 1980s. Early dictatorship war films, the so-called "cine de cruzada" exalted personal restraint and sacrifice while later films represented conflicts that arose as masculine figures were increasingly faced with consumer opportunities and pressures to buy. These pressures were accompanied by a breakdown

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of sorts around the 1970s in the traditional hegemonic or dominant patriarchal male model represented in both popular and "art film" traditions by infantilized, "perverse" and dysfunctional sons, and absent and/or ineffectual fathers whose power was often shifted onto an overpowering female "madre castrante." This breakdown represents the failure of the oedipal father of prohibition as sons refused or were unable to take up the traditional patriarchal role. Rather, from this period emerged a reconstruction of "masculinities" in relation to carnal desires and consumerist opportunities in a society that seems increasingly fragmented, plural and individualistic, as well as resistant or reactive representations that seek to reject or disregard consumerist values. Filmic representations of masculinity reorganize themselves in the aftermath of the dictatorship not around prohibition but rather around desire and the pursuit of personal enjoyment leading to a reconfiguration of the primary construction of the male identity.

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Thanks to the Department of Spanish and Portuguese for awarding me two Summer Dissertation Fellowships that enabled me to conduct research at the Filmoteca Nacional in Madrid and the Filmoteca Vasca in San Sebastián, as well as for awarding me the Johannes Sachse Memorial Award for Graduate Student Excellence.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff at the Filmoteca Nacional and the Filmoteca Vasca for assisting me with the viewing of otherwise inaccessible materials in their film libraries and print collections.

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Introduction

The year is 1973. On screen José Sacristán, the "everyman" in Spanish film of the "Transition" period, obsessively fixates on television advertisements while filling scrapbooks with carefully cut-out magazine images of beautiful women and consumer products. He neglects his wife and scandalizes his long-time work associates as he ricochets back and forth between buttoned-down, tight-lipped business man and free-wheeling, sexually promiscuous super-shopper. This popular "Third Way" film seems to belie the fact that the much commented upon "Transition" in Spain was not so much political as it was economic, and that its effects were not seamless or easily assimilated by the individual, but were rather quite disruptive and incongruent with dominant values of the past.

Economic changes have always been accompanied by changes in consciousness. Karl Marx, while he could not predict what these changes would be, drew attention to the intimate connection between the two. And while humans generally live in their historic moment immersed in ideology and quite unaware of the tremendous influence socio-economic forces have on their self-conception, their identity, it is crucial to examine the effect of these forces if one is to draw nearer to an understanding of human behavior and motivation. The twentieth century witnessed an economic transformation quite as dramatic as any that came before—the establishment of consumer capitalism. While it is self-evident that such changes occur unevenly across the globe, this particular change can be said to have occurred very in Spain around the early 1960s as a result of specific

government policies aimed at sparking a stagnant economy along with the widespread dissemination of the consumerist message through print and electronic media in that era.

The purpose of this dissertation is to consider how this change affected and interacted with cinematic representations of masculinity from 1939, the beginning of the Franco dictatorship, through the present. Since the concept of hegemonic masculinity refers more to an ideal than to any particular male individual, and since masculine representation has been referred to as a sort of arena where societal change gets worked out, it is important to consider its representation as a way of drawing nearer to an understanding of how these changes affect both society and the individual. While it is irrefutable that the death of Francisco Franco, the Women's Movement, immigration, drugs, internationalization and other forces need to be considered, it is my contention that the primary struggle during the period under study is the struggle to assimilate consumerist ideals into one's self-identity.

I have chosen to approach my subject using the primary tool of the twentieth century for understanding the self and for explaining the reproduction of the capitalist system—psychoanalytic theory. Under Franco the patriarchal family structure served to reproduce and reinforce the hierarchical organization that ensured his power for 40 years. Within this system, the son had to reject identification with the mother in favor of his father as a way of assuming his place in the patriarchal hierarchy and thus share in male privilege. In a theoretical framework posited by Freud, civilization was founded upon the idea of

prohibition and the mutual renunciation of pleasure. This is a model that can be seen to reflect social organization in the early years of the dictatorship, but which fails to explain changes brought about with the onset of consumerist values in Spain. A sort of "breakdown" of this model in film in the 1970s led not to the abandonment of the patriarchy, but to the adoption of a new father figure—not one that prohibited enjoyment, but rather one that demanded it. This dissertation traces filmic representations of this transition from the "father of prohibition" to the "anal father of enjoyment" (to use Freud's terms) as a way of understanding the effect that socio-economic changes, specifically consumerism, affect and are assimilated by the male individual in Spain.

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Chapter 1: Masculinity and Consumerism in Spanish Cinema

I. Theoretical framework

Cataclysmic events in Spain such as its bloody Civil War from 1936-39, a long dictatorship, the subsequent transition to democracy, and the onset of full-fledged consumerism in the latter half of the 20th century radically reshaped the process of both individual and collective identity formation. My dissertation will focus on the effect these changes have had specifically on masculine identity as it is represented in Spanish film from 1939 to the present, in order to observe how the transition that has taken place from a social order based on prohibition, as was the early Francoist dictatorship with its promotion of patriarchal fascist Catholic values, to a society of "commanded enjoyment" which Todd McGowan describes as one in which the individual is commanded (through advertising and consumerist pressure) to enjoy, has refigured a centuries-old masculine ideal. He describes this shift as "the transition from a society founded on the prohibition of enjoyment (and thus the dissatisfaction of its subjects) to a society that commands enjoyment or *jouissance* (in which there seems to be no requisite dissatisfaction)" (2). This transition from prohibition to consumption is observed by McGowan to be a pivotal change in direction in the development of Western society. It has special relevance for the study of masculinity given that one of the foundational concepts of traditional patriarchal masculinity in the Western world dating back to Aristotle was the ability of the hegemonic male to renounce personal pleasure in favor of duty, and to master his own desires. Consumer society is founded upon an idea that runs directly counter to this former conceptualization in that it encourages the individual to

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recognize himself as lacking rather than self-sufficient, and thus in need of the thing that could satisfy and alleviate that lack. In psychoanalytic terms the superego imperative to forgo personal pleasure for duty is reversed as the subject comes to see his duty as the imperative to enjoy. A consumerist society has been described as one in which "many people formulate their goals in life partly through acquiring goods that they clearly do not need for subsistence or for traditional display. They become enmeshed in the process of acquisition—shopping—and take some of their identity from a procession of new items that they buy and exhibit" (Stearns vii). This definition is illustrative particularly in its mention of life goals and identity—two fundamental factors in the conceptualization of onesself in the world—that now orient themselves around the expression of desire.

While some consumerist tendencies have existed throughout history in Spain as elsewhere in the world, they achieved unprecedented institutional and social support in the latter half of the 20th century and have expanded to include the consumption of sex as well as substances such as drugs and alcohol. The effects of the transition from one model to the other produced dissonance in the performance of masculinity as represented in Spanish cinema. This dissonance led to a sense of discontinuity and finally breakdown in the previous representation of the hegemonic male—a disintegration that is especially apparent in films of the earlier part of the period in Spanish history that became known as the Transition. At this time patriarchal support of hegemonic masculinity from the dictatorship waned and consumerist pressure increased. The period of reorganization that followed the death of the dictator reflects not only the political reorganization as has often been

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observed, but more significantly the reorganization of the individual's self-perception along with the masculine ideal under the new hegemony of consumerist forces. The dramatic shift effected an eventual reorganization of both the individual and society in which personal enjoyment, not the public good, was the highest ideal with the result being a politically disinterested populace united by the common desire for the satisfaction of consumerist desires. McGowan describes this phenomenon in the following way: "rather than being tied together through a shared sacrifice subjects exist side by side in their isolated enclaves of enjoyment" (2). Ironically, as he points out, enjoyment itself has become the new mandate, and the injunction to enjoy ever more precludes the possibility of true enjoyment due to the subject's constant dissatisfaction.

As masculinity will never be considered to be monolithic, the interplay between the apparently favorable or positive version and alternatives, often within the same film, will reveal the insecurities and pressures that surfaced in the maintenance of the male ideal. I consider that 'masculinity' is an historically relative term and, while it must be kept in mind that masculinities are always plural, indeed infinite in practice, this study will attempt to trace tendencies and repetitions in the performance of masculinity on screen in order to discover the hegemonic model at work as well as the stressors associated with the adoption and maintenance of that model. Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne define the hegemonic model as "successful ways of being a man" (3) and rightly point out the complexity implicit in this concept which was first used systematically by R.W. Connell in his important work *Masculinities*, and which still proves a productive way to talk about

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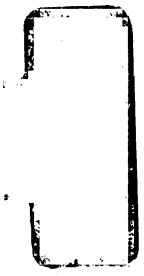
the power relations that are so important in the formation of masculinity. Cornwall and Lindisfarne note that the hegemonic ideal is an abstraction that serves the purposes of certain interests but that it does not actually reflect modes of behavior of the vast majority of men:

> Hegemonic masculinity is far more complex than the accounts of essences in the masculinity books would suggest [. . .]. It is rather, a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance. Consequently the culturally exalted form of masculinity, the hegemonic model, may only correspond to the actual characters of a very small number of men despite the fact that large numbers of men are complicit in sustaining the hegemonic model. (19)

The relatively narrow definition of the hegemonic model in existence during the early part of the dictatorship reflected the concentration of power in the hands of a few and a belief in strict adherence to Catholic fascist values. The hegemonic model becomes much more difficult to identify in films during the Transition and afterward, but certain trends can be identified, among them are the pursuit of personal advancement and enjoyment—underlying goals that are seen to become normative in the later part of the Transition through the present.

The rise of consumer culture in Spain dates back to the early 1960s when a newly appointed government made up largely of Opus Dei "technocrats" instituted capitalist reforms including a plan to increase consumer spending and to open Spain



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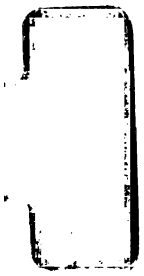
to tourism. These changes were directly opposed to economic policies of the Falange and early Francoism and posed a most serious and specific challenge to the way that masculinity had been represented and lived up to that time. It is a change that was even more marked in Spain than in other Western countries given that fascism had been specifically linked with an anti-consumerist ethos and had survived as a dominant ideology longer in Spain than elsewhere in Europe. Peter Stearns comments on this correlation in *Consumerism in World History: the Global Transformation of Desire*: "Basic fascist goals, however, were anti-consumerist. For fascist leaders, modern society had become too disunited and individualistic. Consumerism was a fundamental part of modern degeneracy" and he states that in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany "the defeat of fascism discredited the most general effort to stem consumerism and replace it with a more military and collective identity" (72). I contend that this change is a primary cause of the widely observed "crisis" in Spanish masculinity in the Transition period--a crisis that is represented artistically through the victimization by one means or another of male characters in many Spanish films as well as the emergence of the representation of an abundance of "deviant" sexualities. Like consumerism, many of the forces that had been at work in other developed countries during the 20th century (rapid economic and technological developments, feminism, rise in illegal drug use, immigration, globalization etc.) arrived more abruptly in Spain in the aftermath of the dictatorship and contributed to a massive reworking of the process of masculine identity formation.



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This study is divided into four parts according to a chronological separation of Spain's political history. The first encompasses the years from the establishment of the dictatorship in 1939 through the death of Luis Carrero Blanco, designated successor of the ailing Franco, in 1973 which marked the beginning of what was known as the *dictablanda* in Spain. The following two chapters divide the so-called Transition period into two parts: the first encompasses those years between the death of Carrero Blanco, and the Socialist Party victory in 1982, and the second includes those years from 1983 through 1992, the year in which Spain established itself as a modern European nation through the hosting of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics and World's Fair in Seville, as well as the signing of the Maastrict Treaty in 1992 which led to the formation of the European Economic Union. Finally, the years from 1993 to the present will be discussed briefly in order to indicate current trends in masculine representation as these correspond to and react against the imposition of the consumerist model of masculinity.

The reorganization observed in the diachronic study of masculinity in film reflects a shift in societal organization from under what McGowan (citing Freud) called the "father of prohibition" to the "anal father of enjoyment", or in Slavoj Zizek's term "Père jouissance" (x). Freud posited a theoretical framework in *Totem and Taboo* in which he attempted to envision the moment when civilized life began. His speculative framework was taken up by Jan Jagodzinski in his article "Recuperating the Flaccid Phallus: The Hysteria of Post-Oedipal Masculine Representation and the Return of the Anal Father" and was further developed by Todd McGowan in his highly suggestive work *The End of Dissatisfaction? Jacques*

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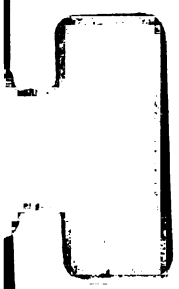
Lacan and the Emerging Society of Enjoyment. The crucial concept for the development of my thesis concerns Western capitalist society's organization first around prohibition and later around the pursuit of personal enjoyment. Freud's theory, described in *Totem and Taboo,* can be summarized as follows: Before the dawn of civilization there was "a violent and jealous Father" who kept all the females for himself and drove away his sons as they grew up. One day the brothers who had been driven out came together, killed and devoured their father and so made an end of the patriarchal horde. United by their guilt, they now transformed their sense of remorse into a system of prohibitions that led to the beginnings of cooperative communal life. As Freud states, "The patriarchal horde was replaced in the first instance by the fraternal clan" (Totem 181). As McGowan goes on to describe it, the "anal father of enjoyment" or the "Great Fucker" as Lacan calls him, receded but never disappeared from the collective consciousness. Mutual prohibition led to the creation of a public space where no individual would take his pleasure, and the Oedipus complex established the orderly transfer of power and its reproduction within the family unit. Again, in the words of Freud, "There were fathers once again, but the social achievements of the fraternal clan had not been abandoned; and the gulf between the new fathers of a family and the unrestricted primal father of the horde was wide enough to guarantee the continuance of the religious craving, the persistence of an unappeased longing for the father" (*Totem* 185). Furthermore, as a means of describing desire itself, McGowan further describes the myth:



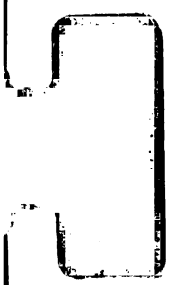
> Though this prehistorical enjoyment did not exist, the idea of it nevertheless continues to have a power over the subjects of the social order. Having given up a part of themselves—albeit a part that did not exist until they gave it up—these subjects insofar as they remain in the social order are incomplete or lacking. Bound by this lack, they imagine or fantasize an object that exists in the gap left by their sacrifice. This object is what Lacan calls the 'objet petit a'. The 'objet a' constitutes the subject as desiring; it provides the lure that acts as an engine for the desire of the subject and also directs the desire in its circuit [. . .] It causes the subject to emerge as a desiring subject, as the subject of desire. (16)

Whereas in a society of prohibition, public recognition is the socially accepted form of enjoyment precisely because it involves allowing the symbol to enjoy in one's stead, in a society of enjoyment this space is dissolved as individuals are encouraged to enjoy at all times. Suddenly the individual is not rewarded but rather berated for his failure to enjoy and the individual becomes involved in an incessant quest for the 'objet petit a'--some object that is constantly held up as an apparent satisfaction of the perceived lack. In global consumerism, the shift to an imperative to enjoy becomes more apparent and is accompanied by a radical revisioning of the concept of duty. As McGowan describes it: "This notion of a duty to be happy radically transforms the very concept of duty, which has historically involved limiting rather than maximizing ones happiness" (35). Thus the foundational

conceptualization of civic life is reformulated to promote the needs and desires of the individual over those of the collective.

In the Franco dictatorship the old model reigned--even the dictator himself was represented as a self-disciplined soldier, a hard-working father and regular churchgoer. It was a model that was constantly upheld in the media particularly as was seen in the early dictatorship "cine de cruzada" films. Pleasure-seeking was seen to interfere with the real work of "being a man" and is observed in films of this time to be the realm of women and weak, feminized men. Positive male models reject self-indulgence in favor of service and self-renunciation. Later, starting around the early 1960s, films gradually began to promote consumerist values which encouraged the individual to seek personal satisfaction and advancement. Jan Jagodzinski and Todd McGowan expanded on the mythic origin of civilization to describe this societal shift away from prohibition and shared sacrifice. For them the adaptation of consumerist values resuscitated the "anal father of enjoyment" as the organizing principle in Western society and the imperative to forgo personal satisfaction gave way to one that demanded that the individual seek it.

Though Freud never wrote a formal account of masculinity (Connell 12), psychoanalysis has been employed in various important explorations of the subject (R.W. Connell, Anthony Easthope, Kaja Silverman, Jan Jagodzinsky) and serves as a useful model given its frequent association with the reproduction of the family unit as a tool of capitalist development. Franco drew heavily on the ideological weight of the nuclear family unit as a mechanism of social organization and control. The patriarchal father figure was held up as the unquestioned authority within each



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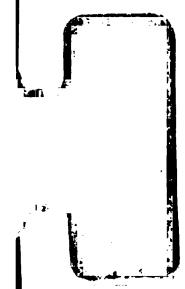
family and was expected to take his place within a rigidly established hierarchical social structure that allowed no room for deviance. Employing a psychoanalytical perspective following the work of Lacan, Silverman and Jagodzinsky, I intend to consider how changes in the oedipal narrative, whose repetition had long ensured patriarchal dominance, but whose subversive potential has been identified, reflect the changing reality of masculine identity formation.

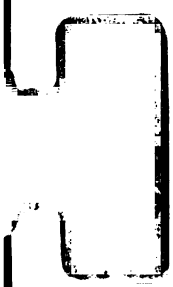
The psychoanalytic model of masculinity has been applied specifically to the consumerist context by Jan Jagodzinski and Todd McGowan. McGowan expands upon Jacques Lacan's description of the fundamental symbolic lack that forms the basis of a child's sense of his/her own identity as separate from the mother's. Unlike Freud, Lacan focuses on entry into the symbolic law of language as the primary castrating event (sacrificing being and oneness with the mother for entry into the symbolic order). In the so-called "Mirror Stage" the child identifies with an image of itself. While the female child comes to identify with the mother (who is also seen as lacking since she does not possess the phallus or anchoring signifier) she is more accepting of the lack. The male child however enters into a more complicated process in which, ultimately he should identify with the father, bearer of the transcendental phallus or symbol of power. However, since the identity is based on the falsified equation of penis to phallus, or rather male sex organ to symbol of power, the male individual is constantly threatened with disintegration of the constructed ego and a sense of foundational lack. He seeks to "plug the hole" of symbolic castration (Silverman, *Male Subjectivity* 4) in a variety of ways including fetishism and narcissism, both of which are seen to be fed by



consumerist advertising which promises fulfillment and an escape from lack. Whereas early dictatorship cinema presented lack as voluntary self-renunciation that actually served to raise the status of the individual, later films represent it as imposed rather than embraced and individual subjects are forced into recognition of lack--something that it is understood could be avoided through the acquisition of consumer goods or increased enjoyment.

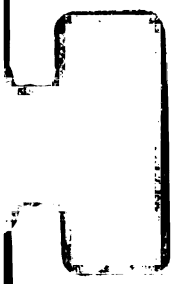
This study considers that filmic representations serve an ideological facilitation to the dominant social order by providing a "mirror" image in which the subject "recognizes" itself in what Althusser saw as a collective captation, one that occurs on a mass as well as an individual level, and which contributes to the constitution of society as such. The role of film in this process has been described in the following way: "Films' imaginary reinforcement of an illusory subjectivity fulfills a crucial role in the working of ideology, which has as its fundamental aim the production of a sense of subjectivity" (xiv). Furthermore, cinema acts as a sort of bridge between the public and the private, "an art form that has an active and dynamic relationship with existing models of identity" (Marsh, Nair 2), and as such facilitates the individual's incorporation into society as a whole. Since popular as well as artistic or critically successful films are implicated in this process, both bear study regarding their masculine representations. Aesthetic judgments of quality are disregarded here in favor of attention to films that were widely seen and/or are particularly representative of trends in masculine representation. As Nuria Triana Toribio says of popular film: "Their value is instead diagnostic. The fact that they were seen by so many people means that they were the main medium for those

people to imagine themselves" (11). Silverman, employing an Althusserian reading of ideological facilitation, claims that the individual does not directly inhabit either the symbolic order or the means of production, but rather is accommodated to his/her "reality" through an ideological facilitation or captation that takes place on an imaginary or fantasy level: "fantasy posits a given object which is considered (but not) capable of restoring wholeness to the subject" (Silverman, *Male Subjectivity* 20). It is important to observe the way in which filmic production and consumption serve this phantasmagoric purpose, and filmic images are especially important within the context of the society of enjoyment because they serve as the imaginary supplement to the individual subject: "an emphasis on the image is symptomatic of the society of enjoyment because it provides the illusion of total enjoyment and freedom without the kind of enjoyment that might disturb the functioning of the social structure itself" (McGowan 59). Film is the subject of this study not because it is unique in its ability to reflect and propagate existing ideology, but because by its nature as a corporate production it is an artifact that reflects a collective experience, while its traditionally public consumption facilitates its group ideological function. While individual directors can exercise a tremendous influence over the creation of their films, the larger political and economic issues, along with the various creative processes involved in the production of a film are in fact part of the reality of its production and as such reflect (more than a novel for example) the collective imagination—in creation and consumption. Thus I agree with Hopewell that "auteur is an inadequate term and that it is necessary to talk about Xdirector and His/her circumstances" (190). While



I do not reject Andrew Higson's suggestion that "the National should be used as much at the site of consumption as at the site of production" (52), this work focuses on films that have been produced and released in Spain and that have received significant popular and/or critical acclaim. This is not to imply that films from outside Spain are irrelevant to the discussion, but rather that those film projects that are primarily produced and marketed in Spain will reflect ideological concerns both at the point of creation as well as at the point of consumption and thus are doubly relevant to the process of ideological interpellation. Francesc Llinás expressed this dual ideological function: "el cine no es solo un reflejo de la sociedad, sino que, en mayor o menor grado, forma parte de aquella, es uno de tantos elementos que contribuyen a la dinámica social" (qtd. in Hurtado 17). Thus it reflects the processes that contribute to its production while also exerting an influence upon its release. Rather than seeking to achieve parity in the representation of regional or minority masculinities, this work observes global changes in representations of masculinities including attention to the hegemonic models at work.

However, whereas Silverman considered "perversion" ("Masochism" 23) or non-phallic masculinities to be a way out of the oedipal patriarchy and thus a liberation, I propose that this "liberation" was short-lived and with the ultimate result being not a free and whole individual, but rather an individual who, though he may have gained some freedoms (especially in the realm of sexuality) was now subject to a demanding new master—the "anal father of enjoyment." Oscar Guasch comments on the new sexual openness that has occurred in Spain since the fall of

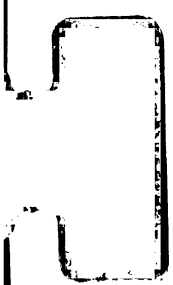


the dictatorship, indicating that its employment (in Foucaultian terms) is manipulated by the dominant discourse to conform to certain dictates of society:

> La nueva definición de normalidad sexual, la nueva forma de control social del sexo se organiza de una manera más sútil. Ya no se trata de prohibir y reprimir la actividad sexual (algo contestado por jóvenes e intelectuales). Se trata ahora de dar normas para el acceso al placer. La actividad sexual no es prohibida: se recomienda. Pero dentro de un orden. (*Crisis* 80)

Developments made by Jan Jagodzinski and Todd McGowan who linked psychoanalytic theory to the consumer context will be especially important for the development of my thesis. Jagodzinski notes the shift from the oedipal father to the anal father relating it to the rise of consumerism, "In postmodern consumerism, therefore, the oedipal father is in the midst of disappearing and with him, are disappearing the prohibitions against enjoyment [. . .] rather than prohibiting enjoyment, this new father commands it, thus unleashing aggressivity in heretofore unimaginable ways" (32). The model of the "society of prohibition" as described by Todd McGowan in *The End of Dissatisfaction?* is particularly appropriate in the Spanish context as the National-Catholic State headed by Franco sought to dominate the individual. As prohibition gave way to commanded enjoyment, many of the changes he described—increased individualism, political apathy and the endless pursuit of pleasure—can be seen represented in Spanish cinema.

Following Chris Perriam who links a star's value to a certain place and zeitgeist (*Stars and Masculinities* 9) and Joseba Gabilondo (and others) who links



the male character to a larger political and social context, I will consider that male stars and primary male roles come to represent key movements and conflicts in the development of a collective and an individual identity. As Gabilondo states, "The Spanish nation and masculinity come culturally connected at least since the 19th century" ("Spanish Masculinity at the Verge of a Very Queer Breakdown" 4). I suggest that the male character's ability to embody the nation is much older than that and that literary characters like the Cid have served to crystallize and reinforce collective values and national direction for centuries.

Through attention to manifestations of masculinity which are considered hegemonic, as well as to contesting and diverging masculinities in widely viewed films, I hope to demonstrate that societal shifts were accompanied by clear differences in the hegemonic model, most notably in its reorganization around consumption rather than prohibition. I will consider the effects of a harsh dictatorship on the formation of masculine subjectivity and its resultant gender "confusion," but will also explore the way that other forces, especially economical ones, created a new sort of imaginary subject. This subject, the product of the Transition's call for unity as well as the collective economic purpose, suffered a new sort of psychological subjugation as the mass media imposed a strong dictate to consume. This mandate becomes an unattainable goal that leads to an intolerance of the enjoyment of others and, "the imposition of a new kind of superego, one that develops from the Anal Father who psychically attacks us for our very failure to enjoy rather than for enjoyment itself as the old superego of the Name-of-the-Father once did" (33). Manifestations of masculinity in these films as well as their

popular reception indicate how the imaginary placement of the male figure presents an opportunity for suture or imaginary self-recognition on the part of the spectator and thus the development of new identifications whose hegemonic norms may have less to do with the resolution of the traditional oedipal complex and the re-establishment of a hetero-sexual norm, and more to do with engaging in a never-ending quest to consume.

By observing the ways in which male figures address their lack of traditional power, as well as the ways in which they attempt to compensate, one can observe the effects of various pressures that contribute to the creation of male subjectivities, but also the coping mechanism that hegemonic masculinity employs to "stay on top." A "crisis" in masculinity has been observed to have occurred in the early Transition period. This change prompted alterations to the hegemonic white male figure including a possible "feminization" that, rather than signaling a move toward a sharing of power, may have served as an adaptational mechanism which ensured further hegemonic masculine dominance. As MacKinnon has noted, "The softening of masculinity may have little to do with female emancipation or empowerment. The most cynical interpretation would be that, in order for masculinity to remain hegemonic, it must admit the feminine at certain historic moments" (15). Diversity and the representation of alternatives such as homosexual, minority and regional masculinities may appear, but generally not in such a way as to challenge the Spanish white male's dominance of the economic infrastructure.

II. Survey of relevant fields

Masculinity studies, a now burgeoning field, had a relatively recent origin as an outgrowth of feminist studies in the 1970s. The feminist-inspired spectatorship paradigm sparked by Laura Mulvey's important but subsequently challenged work on the male gaze served as the backdrop for a feminist inquiry of masculine spectatorship of film. She incorporated Freudian concepts (for a history of Freudian concepts related to masculinity studies see Connell 2005) such as the phenomenon of castration anxiety and voyeurism to discuss the male reception of filmic images. Subsequent studies by Pam Cook writing about a group of 1940s melodramas noted that female desire and female point of view are highly contradictory (1982); and Steve Neale (1983) who explored voyeuristic and fetishistic looking in the Western genre of men by men continued to explore these concepts. Mulvey herself continued to revise her ideas especially her 1975 equation of the male with active agent of the gaze and the female with passive object and by 1985 was beginning to rethink the whole notion of this dualism. Other studies from the 1970s tried to show how masculinity was socially constructed and learned—and also how it was restrictive to the individual (David & Brannon 1976, Farrell 1974, Tolson 1977, Goldberg 1976).

Important advances in the 1980s were often critical of the first wave's attention to "sex role paradigms" for its relative lack of attention to the issue of power, questioning instead the very concept of gender and the discourses of power that contributed to their creation. Fundamental contributions were made in the area of masculinity as related to hegemonic power structures various scholars including

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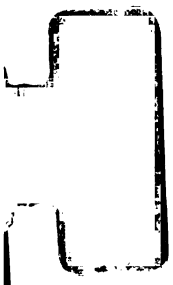
Anthony Easthope in *What a Man's Gotta Do: the Masculinity Myth in Popular Culture* (1986) in which he sought to problematize the supposed "universality" of the patriarchal identity and show that masculinity itself is historically relative. Following Freud and Lacan, Easthope discussed the causes for masculine violence, jealousy and homophobia, linking them to a struggle that the male individual experiences to be masculine. R.W. Connell, in his work, *Gender and Power* (1987), related masculinity to questions of politics and power using the term "hegemony" to talk about masculine domination. Michel Foucault's work on the power of discourse within the area of gender was elaborated in his multi-volume work, *The History of Sexuality*, whose first three volumes appeared before his death in 1984 and which outlined the nature of power exerted through the discourses of psychiatry, the penal system, and medicine in the development of gender identity. His work along with Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985) and Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* formed the basis for the newly developing field of queer studies—a field of inquiry anticipated by Guy Hocquenhem in his important work, *Homosexual Desire* (1972). Hocquenghem's rejection of the coherence of "ego" or "self" and his focus on desire itself rather than on the individual's choice of object was also explored by Deleuze and Guattari who rejected the Oedipus complex as a tool of capitalism and posited man as a "desiring machine" capable of "plugging in" to other such machines in a variety of configurations.

Kosofsky Sedgwick was on the cutting edge in the development of cultural studies, using literary criticism to question the dominant discourses of sexuality as

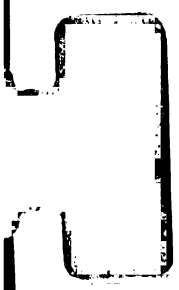


well as race and gender. Judith Butler's important concept of "performativity," the idea that the repetition of stylized bodily acts or "performances" established the appearance of gender, proposed that the category was neither natural nor stable, but rather the product of an ongoing process of repetition. Her work was influenced by the advent of post-structural theory and rather than accepting the idea of a fixed gender identity, she focused on normativity and performativity in her analyses. Mark Simpson follows Butler's lead in his work *Male Impersonators: Men Performing Masculinity* (1994) in which he reports a "crisis of looking" in which masculinity seeks to prevent the "deflation" of manliness in the face of consumer images that commodify the male body and thus threaten the stability of the very fraught identification with the oedipal father as "looking" becomes confused with "looked-at-ness" and thus homosexuality. He also explores glamour and transvestism in relation to castration anxiety.

Another important trend in masculinity studies in the 1980s and early 1990s was composed of ethnographic and sociological studies designed to gather information about masculinity as it functioned on a societal level. It arose partly in response to feminist theory and aimed to collect detailed historical or ethnographic case histories. Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne's edited volume *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* adopted an anthropological view using the concept of hegemonic masculinity to engage in a Foucaultian inquiry of masculine power negotiations including an exploration of camp aesthetics.

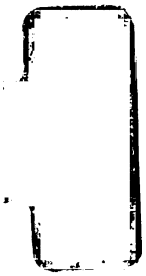
In *Masculinities* (1995) R.W. Connell continued to advance his theory of hegemony in masculinity and examined the significance of differences among masculinities—a term he insisted must be seen as plural (as did Steven Neale in his 1993 volume *Screening the Male*), while exploring the importance of economic and institutional structures in the construction of masculinity. Throughout the 1990s more and more interdisciplinary work combining literary, cultural and media studies contributed to the importance of the representation of masculinity and its larger significance. Althusserian and Lacan-inspired paradigms that had begun to be incorporated in the 1970s lost favor in the 1990s as performativity remained the focus. Among these, Peter Lehman's *Running Scared* (1993) is noteworthy for its problematization of representations of the male body, especially the penis, attempting to show how various art forms have worked to control representations of the male body in order to support the patriarchy. This theme was taken up and explored further by Toby Miller (1995, 2001) who connected the appearance of the penis in popular culture with the commodification of the male subject, noting that man can take the place of either subject or object of visual spectatorship.

Masculinity studies in the early 1990s returned to an emphasis on the need to question the harmful effects of masculinity, focusing on the durability of masculine domination despite societal changes that would seem to soften patriarchal models of the past. Susanne Hatty's *Masculinities, Violence and Culture* (2000) explores the idea that violence, in the service of the modern self, preserves individuality and forestalls the possibility of fusion with the dangerous "not self." She includes a call to replace independence with the concept of interdependence as



a means to creating a more productive, less violent model of masculinity. Pierre Bordieu continues the discussion of male dominance in *Masculine Domination* (2001) in which he challenges the naturalized and timeless quality of masculinity which reproduces its dominance through the institutions that it has created. Kenneth Mackinnon in *Representing Men: Maleness and Masculinity in the Media* (2003) returns to the focus on performativity and the instability of masculinity. He explores the use of media representations to allay fear of the loss of identity that results in the Lacanian paradigm from the threat of the restoration of unity with the mother's body. He sees popular culture as a site of contest in which an apparently softened version of masculinity--now rooted in consumerism—resumes a position of dominance. *The Trouble with Men* (2004) by Phil Powrie, which provides a good overview of work that has been done on masculinity and film, discusses the phenomenon of male hysteria (first proposed by Freud) as a sort of smokescreen under which to seek a realignment of power that allows a modernized version of masculinity to remain dominant. And finally, R.W.Connell in his general overview of gender theory (2002) returns to the concept of hegemonic masculinity to discuss its implicit violence and to echo Bordieu's concern that patriarchal power operates through the routine functioning of societal institutions.

As the emphasis on the social and cultural construction of masculinity and its representation in popular culture proved an especially productive area of masculinity studies, Lacanian-inspired paradigms including the concept of the acceptance of lack as the price one must pay to enter the symbolic order, were the subject of renewed attention. The Freudian postulation about the beginnings of

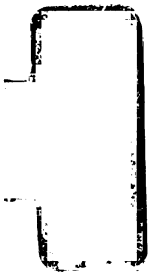


civilization which cited the collective murder of the father of the primal horde as the foundational moment for social life was revived by Slavoj Zizek, Jan Jagodzinski and Todd McGowan and serves as a useful model for discussing the relationship of prohibition and desire to masculine subject formation. Zizek expands on Lacanian psychoanalysis dividing reality into the symbolic, the imaginary and the real, emphasizing the real which for him is not a meaningfully ordered totality but rather points to that uncanny element that resists incorporation into either the symbolic or the imaginary and thus cannot be assimilated within any system of thought. Jagodzinski suggests that the Freudian model can be used to discuss masculinity in a consumerist age focusing on the post-oedipal return of the "anal father of enjoyment" who commands enjoyment much as the oedipal father prohibited it. McGowan's synthesis of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis within the consumerist context attempts to explain how the return of the "anal father of enjoyment" has influenced society and the individual in the age of global capitalism.

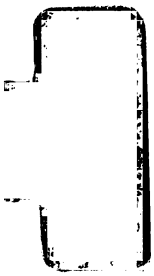
In the Spanish context relatively little attention was paid to the subject of masculinity before the 1990s with a few notable exceptions. Two books from the 1980s mapped out a considerable amount of terrain in the area if only through suggestion rather than the development of a theoretical framework. These are *El varón español a la búsqueda de su identidad* by Lidia Falcón in 1986 and *Los usos amorosos de la posguerra* by Carmen Martín Gaite in 1987. Though neither work purports to provide a comprehensive view of masculinity, their very personal styles allow the reader to ascertain a great deal about gender relations from a point of view

in the 1980s, including commentary on those historical factors that contributed to their creation. In other areas, ethnographic studies including David Gilmore's studies of Andalusian social life and aggression (1980, 1987) and the anthology *Dislocating Masculinity* (1994), along with Stanley Brandes' *Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore* (1980), focused on elements of masculinity in Andalusia. Few other book-length studies have been devoted to theorizing masculinity outside of the cultural studies paradigm, with the notable exception of Oscar Guasch whose work encompasses the definition and historical analysis of masculinity studies especially as they relate to questions of homosexuality. He draws heavily on Foucault to explore the ways in which the various discourses such as religion, medicine, psychology and the current "el sexo más seguro" in the age of AIDS, have contributed to the creation of masculinities as well as the way in which these interact politically, observing the assimilation and neutralization of the gay movement within popular consumerist culture after the dictatorship. Much of contemporary masculinity studies within Spain focuses on the issues of the reaction to the phenomenon of AIDS in the gay community and without, that in some ways has created a new ghettoization, gender-related violence and new legislation dating from 2005 that legalized homosexual unions.

The majority of studies on masculinity in Spain have taken a cultural studies approach in that they consider various manifestations of masculinity in literature, film and the media in general and thus many of these will be integrated here in a discussion of research done in cinema. An important current in this area is the work done on the representation of masculinity and political identity. Various scholars



have worked in this area including Paul Julian Smith, Chris Perriam, Isolina Ballesteros, Joseba Gabilondo. In *Laws of Desire: Questions of Homosexuality in Writing and Film, 1960-1990*, Paul Julian Smith shows how lesbian and gay identities are inseparable from historical and political questions of national and ethnic identities. He discusses at length the way in which the films of Pedro Almodóvar appropriate popular genres and narratives such as melodrama and romance for the gay imagination. For Smith, the subject is caught at a crossroads between individual identification and cultural determination, and therefore cannot reject the power of the political in the formation of the individual identity. Perriam's book *Stars and Masculinities in Spanish Cinema* (2003) considers the cultural significance of some of the most important male "stars" of Spanish film considering that they can be read as "embodying the nation" and especially that masculine stars represent important junctures or crisis moments in Spanish history. Joseba Gabilondo, in various articles dealing with Spanish masculinity in literature and film (1997, 1999, 2001, 2002), is important in terms of his attention to the conflation of masculinity and political identity. He points to the representation of the male figure in film as a site for the embodiment of issues related to nationalism, fundamentalism, sexuality, etc. He contextualizes masculine identity as within, and inseparable from, one's political identity and explores how they interact, discussing gay culture's re-appropriation of official culture in the form of camp, as well as the interplay between national and regional Spanish masculine models. Isolina Ballesteros' 2002 article "Counted Days for the Lone Man: Decentered Masculinity and Ideological Fatigue in *El hombre solo* (1994) by Bernardo Atxaga, and "*Días*



contados (1993) by Imanol Uribe" explores regional masculinity's marginalization and the de-centering of the male subject to observe that the male character often goes through a masochistic test only to recapture a hegemonic position in the end.

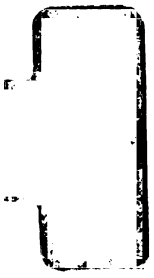
Other studies in masculinity in Spanish film include Jo Labanyi's work on the missionary- and folkloric-themed films of the dictatorship recalling work done in spectatorship theory as she explores the possibility of subversive misreadings of these popular genres. Steven Marsh and Parvati Nair in their edited volume, *Gender and Spanish Cinema* (2004) acknowledge cinema and masculinity studies' debt to psychoanalytic theory as articles in their book explore various aspects of cinematic representations of gender including performance, gender identity related with political identity, marginalized gender identities and the horror film. David Garland's 1991 article, "A Ms-take in the Making? Transsexualism Post-Franco, Post-Modern, Post-Haste" bears mentioning as well since it is a relatively early attempt to read transsexualism in relation to consumer culture. He observes, as does Guasch later on, that consumer culture serves as a "resituating, anticarnivalizing force" in the lives of those represented in the documentary films he studies. Fouz-Hernández and Perriam's article on post-Almodóvar gay-themed films continues in this vein, debating whether these "camp" films represent real change in sexual politics or simply an attempt to cash in on Almodóvar's popular style. Recently Fouz-Hernández and Martínez-Expósito's *Live Flesh: The Male Body in Contemporary Spanish Cinema* (2007) explores the representation of the masculine body in film considering it as a marked and non-neutral space for the embodiment of political and social issues. They study films from the last three

decades in terms of how the bodies of male stars are represented and how these representations mediate the perceptions that different audiences obtain of Spanish masculinity. Their analysis of the phenomenon of "Landismo" (films protagonised by characters played by the comedic actor Alfredo Landa) as well as the success of films by director/actor Santiago Segura indicate anxieties experienced in the face of social change.

Other works on Spanish cinema include the excellent (though now somewhat limited by their date of publication) examinations of critically successful films provided by John Hopewell in *Out of the Past: Spanish Cinema after Franco* (1987) and Marsha Kinder in *Blood Cinema* (1993). Hopewell provides an excellent analysis of a large number of films and includes information about their reception while exploring the question of whether psychological dramas represented on film can illuminate political consciousness. Marsha Kinder makes a connection between the political and the family, pointing to the importance of the representation of the interaction between family members, and specifically the oedipal conflict, to speak about political issues and historical events that were repressed from open filmic representations in the Franco era. In her assessment, the representation of violent and dysfunctional masculinities in Spanish film can generally be linked to a problem with the father figure and she uses the contrast between primitive sacrifice and modern massacre to discuss the effects of the dictatorial "father" on Spain. However, due to the importance of the oedipal narrative in Western culture, she suggests that marginalized or disadvantaged groups may try to alter the myth as a means of changing the social order and the

process of subject formation. The relation between the representation of family relationships with a corresponding political subtext is also taken up by Thomas Deveny in *Cain on Screen: Contemporary Spanish Cinema* (1993). He reflects on the connection between represented conflicts and social and political issues, referring to the fraternal antagonism that has existed historically in the so-called "two Spains" and naming it "cainismo." In his work, as in the work of Jo Labanyi, *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain* (2002), a resurgence within artistic mediums of unresolved conflicts of the past is observed.

A chronological approach is taken in several important works on Spanish cinema. Spanish film under the dictatorship is the subject of various studies including Virginia Higginbotham's *Spanish Film under Franco* (1988) which discusses how Franco used film as a visual language to impose a mythology of his regime and also traces how the counter myth or "estética franquista" employed by Carlos Saura and others served to undermine that mythology. *Spanish National Cinema* (2003) by Nuria Triana-Toribio also explores the concept of national cinema including both the popular and art-house cinema in her analyses. Cinema and political and social change of the Transition is the subject of various works as well including Manuel Trenzado Romero's *Cultura de masas y cambio político* (1999) that considers cinema as place of symbolic confrontation in which relations of power are negotiated; *Voces en la niebla* (2004) by Javier Hernández Ruiz and Pablo Pérez Rubio which focuses on the cinematic reflection of "pactismo" or consensus politics that existed as the country moved from dictatorship to democracy; and the collection of proceedings from a conference held by the



Asociación Española de Historiadores del Cine: *El cine español durante la Transición democrática* (2005) that examine various aspects of Transition cinema.

Though artistic or critically successful films have been featured in the majority of works done on Spanish cinema, there are several important exceptions and the trend is shifting toward a consideration of popular cinema as the cultural studies movement disregards "quality" as a criteria for study. Among works that focus on popular cinema are various volumes by Terenci Moix that explore various film icons especially from the 1940s in Spain and abroad, exploring their power to transport and engage the Spanish viewer with the exotic "Other"; *Spanish Popular Cinema* (2004) by Antonio Lázaro-Reboll and Andrew Willis which, through popular cinema, explores the subversive potential of comedy, the influence of consumerism and the power of film in the re-working of history; and *Pantalla Popular: El cine español durante el gobierno de la derecha* (1996-2003) by José María Caparrós Lera who, though he proposes an analysis of popular cinema, falls back on judgments of quality in his evaluation of these films.

Other works that focus on visual culture as a means of exploring larger social, political and economic issues are Marsha Kinder's "The Children of Franco in the New Spanish Cinema" (1983) that discusses the traumatizing effects of the dictatorship on those who reached adulthood during the Franco years, and *Refiguring Spain* (1997), an edited volume that continues to explore the impact the dictatorship has had on the Spanish psyche in its aftermath; *Cine vasco de ayer a hoy* (1984) by Alberto López Echevarrieta; *Modes of Representation in Spanish Cinema* (1998) edited by Jenaro Talens and Santos Zunzunegui; *Cine (Ins)urgente*

(2001) and *Los "Otros"* (2001) by Isolina Ballesteros; *The Cinema of Spain and Portugal* (2005) edited by Alberto Mira; *¿Identidades españolas*? (2006) by Cristina Sánchez-Conejero; *Spanish Visual Culture* (2006) by Paul Julian Smith, and *Spanish Cultural Studies* (1995), edited by Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi. Among these are several studies that consider the effects of consumerism on individual subject formation. "Paleto cinema" (2002) by Nathan Richardson shows how "escapist cinema" is complicit with the very culture it supposedly critiques as in the so-called "paleto" or country bumpkin films which use a variety of means to position the audience as consumers. Justin Crumbaugh in "'Spain is Different': touring Late-Francoist Cinema with Manolo Escobar" (2002) takes a similar approach by analyzing popular films by the actor Manolo Escobar to show how this actor and "star" played an important role in the ideological facilitation of the Spanish public to incipient tourism and consumerism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. And finally Cristina Moreiras Menor's *Cultura Herida* (2002) theorizes a connection between democracy and consumerism in Spain, showing how the postmodern consuming subject suffers from alienation, political apathy and the lack of a sense of solidarity with others. She shows that pluralism in society does not correspond to solidarity within the consumer context.

A very active area of publication in Spanish cinema concerns the contributions of individual directors and focuses on them as the creative force behind their films. Among the studies are *Luis Buñuel* (1979) by Virginia Higginbotham, *Spanish Film Directors (1950-1985): 21 Profiles* (1986) by Ronald Schwartz, *Indecent Exposures: Buñuel, Saura, Erice & Almodóvar* (1994) by

Gwynne Edwards, *Bigas Luna: sombras de Bigas, luces de Luna* (2001) by Isabel Pisano and *Luces y sombras en el cine de Imanol Uribe* (2004) by Javier Aguirresarobe. Another director who has given rise to an extensive body of critical literature is, of course, Pedro Almodóvar. Among the many monographs published on this individual and his work are the following: *Post-Franco, Postmodern* (1995) edited by Kathleen Vernon, *Un caníbal en Madrid* (1999) by Alejandro Yarza, , *Desire Unlimited* (2000) by Paul Julian Smith, *A Spanish Labyrinth* (2001) by Mark Allinson, *Almodóvar* (2001) by Gwynne Edwards, *Almodóvar on Almodóvar* (2006) edited by Frederic Strauss, *Pedro Almodóvar* (2006) by Marvin D'Lugo and *Pedro Almodóvar* (2007) by Jean-Max Mejean.

There are a number of general sources that provide an overview of Spanish cinema and thus should be considered for their reference value. Rob Stone's *Spanish Cinema* (2002) and José Enrique Monterde's *Veinte años de cine: un cine bajo paradoja* (1993) provide a basic analysis of many films relating them to the various major movements and legislative and economic influences on the Spanish film industry. Three other volumes that provide a detailed chronological presentation of legislative, social and economic changes and their effect on Spanish cinema are *Escritos sobre el cine español, 1973-87* (1989) by José Hurtado and Francisco Picó, *La producción cinematográfica española de la Transición a la democracia* (1989) by Ramiro Gómez B. de Castro and *El cine español: una propuesta didáctica* (1992) by Emilio García Fernández. Other encyclopedic or general works that provide little if any film analysis, but contain basic information about a film's production and reception in Spain are titles like *Cine español* (1999)

prepared by Augusto M. Torres, *Cine español en cine películas* (2002) by Miguel Ángel Barroso and Fernando Gil-Delgado, the Larousse *El cine español* (2003), and *De Almodóvar a Amenábar: el nuevo cine español* (2005).

III. My contribution

It is revealing that the area of masculinity studies has a relatively recent origin—as an outgrowth of feminist studies in the 1970s—given the importance and influence that gender relations have historically had on almost all aspects of daily life, especially in Spain where violence of gender continues to be a problem despite legislative equality. The "given-ness" or invisibility of masculinity that refused interrogation as part of masculine privilege has now given way to an abundance of suggestive studies as indicted in the previous section. While this study makes no pretense to attempting to resolve violence of gender or any other social ill, it does seek to add to the discussion by historicizing masculinity through an observation of its cinematic performance within the larger political and economic context in Spain from 1939 to the present. As Pierre Bordeau points out in his work, *Masculine Domination*, "Combating these historical forces of dehistoricization must be the most immediate objective of an enterprise of mobilization aimed at putting history in motion again by neutralizing the mechanisms of the neutralizations of history" (viii) and it is the purpose of this study to open discussion on a most important and underrepresented area of investigation—the effect of consumerism on masculine subject formation as represented in Spanish cinema. Recent theorization of a change in the fundamental organizing principle of society—from prohibition to commanded enjoyment—opens the way to an examination of the effect that this

radical change has had on masculine subject formation. The relevance of this approach is especially clear in the case of Spain in which this change occurred abruptly and dramatically and is thus more directly observable than in other countries such as the United States in which this change occurred more gradually. Film itself, given its widely-theorized role in the captation and interpellation of the viewer proves a fertile ground in which to observe this change. While consumerism's effect on masculinity has been treated in various articles, I seek, through this book-length study, to consider it as the central defining factor in masculine subject formation as represented in Spanish cinema from 1939 to the present.

This dissertation is divided into 5 chapters. The present chapter defines the subject under study, details the methodology used to approach it, defines the scope of the project and outlines existing scholarship in the field. Chapter two considers cinema that appeared during the dictatorship (here defined as the period between 1939 and 1973 with the assassination of Carrero Blanco, Franco's designated successor) especially regarding the promotion of a specific hegemonic model based on self-sacrifice and prohibition. It also considers the ways in which this model was undermined especially in the latter part of the dictatorship when the promotion of consumerist values began to conflict with it. While "art-house" cinema sought to openly treat the disjuncture caused by economic changes, popular cinema looked for ways to reconcile traditional hegemonic masculinity with the fundamentally antithetical consumerist values, especially by focusing on a sort of hyper-heterosexuality that allowed self-indulgence to coincide with heterosexual virility.

Chapter three explores the effect on masculinity of this opposition between the traditional patriarchal model based on prohibition and hierarchy, and the consumerist model that promoted self-indulgence and enjoyment. In the early part of the Transition period (1973-1982) the abundant cinematic examples of "broken" or "perverse" (considered within the context of the Oedipus complex) masculinities reveal the incongruity of the two models as well as the pressures exerted on the male individual in the aftermath of the death of the patriarchal father figure, Francisco Franco. This death while not considered of utmost importance in and of itself, does provide a convenient punctuation marking the end of the psychical reign of the "father of prohibition," a moment represented in film by the appearance of masculine models that undo the patriarchy and represent the liberalization of desire that was taking place at the time. Chapter four continues to explore the liberalization of desire as seen in films from 1983 to 1992—a phenomenon that came to be equated with modernity as seen in the widely promoted Almodovarian model of fluid sexuality. Spanish cinema of this period, especially under Miró Law funding that rewarded high-budget "artistic" literary and historical adaptations became homogenized, reflecting consensus politics as masculinities appeared to become softer and masculine bodies were packaged for visual consumption much as female bodies had been in the past. The chapter ends by analyzing the eruption of various "ghosts" of the past—unassimilated bits of Spanish history that embodied themselves in films of the mystery and horror genres as well as those of regional Basque cinema. Chapter five provides a brief view of several trends in the representation of masculinity from 1993 to the present. During this period of

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heightened global consumerism cinema in Spain reflects a growing emphasis on image over "reality" including the problematic disjuncture that occurs when one's self-image is discontinuous with one's physical reality. Individualism increases in importance as films focus on the hedonistic pleasure-seeking individual who disregards the well-being of others. This trend often leads to alienation and violence though some alternative models promoting connection with others appear at this time as well. The representation of minority and regional masculinities increase in frequency though characters in these films are often relegated to token "exoticized" roles in continued subordination to white, heterosexual hegemonic representations.

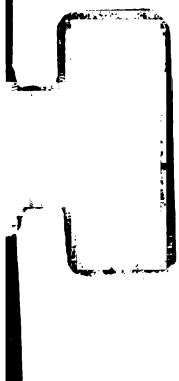
Chapter 2: Hegemonic Masculinity under the Dictatorship

This chapter analyzes widely viewed Spanish films from the years 1939-1973 regarding the subject positioning of masculine figures as well as their relationship to viewers' subject formation. Among the films chosen are some which represent the officially endorsed vision of masculinity during the Franco dictatorship such as those from the so-called *cine de cruzada* treated in the first section of this chapter, as well as others which question the hegemonic model. In films of the early dictatorship period a clearly hegemonic model appears with little variation—a physically strong, emotionally reserved character who shuns pleasure in favor of service to god and country. In each film the principle male character, usually a positive representation of the officially promoted model especially in early dictatorship films, is of primary importance for study. However, within these same films there appear hysterical and unstable elements of "unacceptable" masculinity along with a variety of ways in which hegemonic models are undermined especially in films made during the dictatorship. The role of women and children will also be considered in terms of the way in which they interact with and facilitate the process of masculine subject formation. Furthermore, it is important to note that a film's ideological effect can never be reliably calculated due to differences in identifications and assimilation practices on the part of the viewer. Hegemonic models could be undermined by a public who, in the process of appropriation, participated in the act of creating meaning. These "negative" models and "unauthorized" readings will serve as an indication of the fears and pitfalls related to accession to the hegemonic model and are especially important for understanding

the process of masculine identity formation in Franco's dictatorship Spain. Finally, this chapter will examine the cinematic reaction of male characters to the rise of a consumerist society and its effect on masculine subject formation--a theme that predominated in the 1950s and 1960s. The shift from a society of prohibition and self-restraint to one of consumption and self-indulgence will be considered to be of primary importance in the crisis of masculinity that has been perceived most notably in Spanish cinema in the 1970's.

I. *Cine de Cruzada*: Self-Sacrifice and Insertion into the Masculine Hierarchy

The model of the "society of prohibition" as described by Todd McGowan in *The End of Dissatisfaction?* is particularly appropriate in the Spanish context as the National-Catholic State headed by Franco sought to dominate the individual. Basing himself on Freud, who hypothesized an original mythic patricide as culture's foundational moment, McGowan expands on the role of prohibition in society. In Spain prohibitions were enforced by a brutal and unforgiving regime that sought complete conformity to a hierarchical social structure allowing very little personal freedom to the individual, and brutally punishing transgressions. This phenomenon, coupled with economic devastation and shortages caused by the war forced the individual to renounce personal pleasure or risk censure, imprisonment or even death. In exchange for conformity, the individual was granted a place in the social hierarchy. The traditional mechanism of social control in Spain, personal honor, or "a good name," is seen in post-war films to be more important than personal enjoyment or satisfaction. This tendency is in keeping with the requirements of a society of prohibition as described by McGowan: "A society of prohibition requires



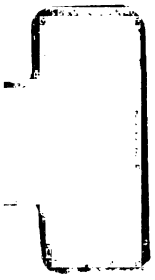
all its members to sacrifice their individual, private ways of obtaining enjoyment for the sake of the social order as a whole. That is to say, one receives an identity from society in exchange for one's immediate access to enjoyment, which one must give up" (3). This social identity and public recognition were available, however, only to male individuals who adopted a normative, heterosexual subject positioning which ensured participation in the social hierarchy. This subject positioning centered itself on the transcendental phallus as the anchoring signifier, and equated it with the penis, establishing patriarchal dominance in which "deviance" was punished through ostracism from the public sphere. The war films described in this section illustrate a connection between the renunciation of pleasure and the insertion of the individual into a patriarchal social hierarchy--the greater the renunciation, the more highly esteemed is the individual. In each of these films, one or more of the characters struggle with this insertion, and the repetition of the theme reveals the unstable and performative nature of the masculine heterosexual subject positioning.

Franco's immediate concerns after fighting an economically and spiritually exhausting civil war, were to legitimize his rebellion (Trenzado Romero 56), to achieve consensus among the populace and to ensure that the military hierarchical social structure, with himself clearly at the fore, would be accepted and maintained. Though it has been pointed out that the Francoist State never had an unproblematically clear nor coherent plan for the surveillance and reeducation of its citizenry (Lázaro Reboll 40), there was a definite recognition of the ideological power of cinema by Franco, and José María Caparrós Lera asserts: "la verdad es

que sí existía un cine político: las famosas películas históricas, por ejemplo, jugaban al desplazamiento temporal, esforzándose en hallar en el pasado circunstancias similares en su ejemplaridad a las que en ese momento se vivía en España" (31). Franco's regime attempted to exploit cinema for its purposes starting with a censorship effort even before the end of the war, and developing into a full-fledged national cinema in the 1940s (Triana-Toribio 17). Though generally the state did not directly produce its own cinema after the war, it controlled and directed cinematic production with clear ideological goals through a system of censorship and subsidies. As Trenzado Romero notes:

> no sorprende que en poco más de un lustro el muy desregulado cine español pasase a estar sometido a una férrea censura (1937), inserto en un sistema proteccionista altamente arbitrario (1941), sometido en todos sus aspectos laborales y crediticios al sindicato único (1942) y con la cinematografía informativa obligatoria monopolizada por el Nuevo Estado (1943). Por este motivo, podemos afirmar--en contra de la historiografía conservadora de Méndez-Leite y otros--que la implantación de un sistema de protección a la cinematografía obedeció más a una estrategia comunicativa global de control que a un verdadero interés por la creación de un tejido industrial sólido. (134)

The Franco dictatorship recognized that the control of dangerous ideas, and the promotion of desirable values could be obtained by controlling and directing the cinema.



Franco himself penned a glorified autobiography under the pseudonym "Jaime de Andrade" which was then given to the director Luis Saenz de Heredia, a nephew of the former dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera who came to be a "primary exponent of *cine cruzada*" (Stone 28) to be released in 1941 as *Raza*. The crusade cinema films produced in the years following the conflict in Spain (Higginbotham 19), which includes the four films discussed in this section, were considered the most important vehicle for the dissemination of the Falange's extreme nationalism in the early 1940s. Indeed, as Mark Simpson suggests, the war film is specifically concerned with masculinity: "The war film is perhaps the richest of all texts of masculinity. Escape from the feminine, bloody initiation into manhood, male bonding: these are all themes which the traditional war film employs. In a sense, the war/military film is hardly ever about anything other than what it means to be a man and how to become one" (212). A manifesto that appeared in the newly created Falangist film journal *Primer Plano* makes explicit the connection between the aggressive masculinity represented in these films and Spanishness:

> Not a metre more . . . to try and give us melodrama in a lamentable exploitation of tenderness. [. . .] We want instead a cinema that exalts the deeds and actions of those who fought and gave their lives for the mission and the greatness of their Patria with a spirit and an outlook on life fundamentally Hispanic. (Anon. 1940 n.p. qtd. in Triana Toribio 44)

This cinema contributes to the idea of a revaluation of violence as creative and purifying through the celebration of militarism and martial values (Triana-Toribio

46). As one of only three films in which the State intervened directly in its production (along with *Alba de América* and *Franco, ese hombre*) (Trenzado Romero 136) *Raza* may be considered emblematic of the ideology of the regime in its early years. By observing the positioning of masculine characters as well as the interpellated masculine viewer of this and other films of crusade cinema such as *Sin novedad en el alcázar* (1940), *Harka* (1941) and *Los últimos de Filipinas* (1945), we can observe how an ethos of self-sacrifice was solidified as power was centralized in the hands of the State and the Church. The good subject was seen not only to accept, but to embrace prohibition, receiving a sort of super-ego satisfaction that resembles masochism. Each of these films uses history as the basis for a non-historical elaboration of the themes of brotherhood, tradition, crusade, obedience, self-sacrifice and a sort of transcendent experience of masculinity that, even as it finds itself subservient to higher powers, draws the assurance that within the rigid hierarchy in which it is placed, it will be recognized and respected. Each film also contains negative male figures, characters that are shown to be undesirable as role models and who fail to triumph, and are thus exposed as clearly inferior to the positive models that embody those values considered important by the State.

Obviously these films from the postwar period did not introduce the values mentioned into Spanish consciousness but, like their recycling of history, recycled older ideas such as servitude, obedience to the Catholic Church, the virtue of suffering and male dominance over women since Franco encouraged machismo as well as political and national chauvinism (Hopewell 31). The repetition and elevation of these values within widely viewed films, as well as the exclusion of

other points of view served to promote a certain vision of manhood. Virginia Higginbotham draws on Barthes' conception of myth in her groundbreaking work on Spanish cinema during the dictatorship, to point out that:

> History transformed into myth becomes distorted and duplicitous in order to serve not fact or authenticity, or even the demands of the box office, but an intention. Franco's intention, of course, was to force acceptance of his military dictatorship, and he used film as a visual language to impose the mythology of his regime. (x)

And while his ideas were not new they served an ideological purpose such as that described by Alan Williams in *Film and Nationalism*; "If [films] cannot by themselves mobilize nations and give them a new direction, they can, apparently, reflect and keep in circulation values and behaviors associated with a particular nation" (8). By keeping in circulation a particular vision of masculinity, these films propagated a hegemonic model that excluded contesting representations and attempted to cement the male into a role within a strictly hierarchical model in which any satisfaction the subject was allowed to experience was to come from self-abnegation and identification of the self with society as a whole.

The epic model represented in these films provides an exalted framework in which to stage masculinity's functioning against a tumultuous wartime backdrop. A mythic and timeless basis is established in each of these films either by portraying or making reference to Spanish wars of the past, or by staging the action in remote, exotic locations as if to recall Spain's "glorious" colonial past. In *Raza* it is through reference to the Almogávares, in *Los últimos de Filipinas* it is the struggle at a

remote outpost in the Philippine islands, and in *Harka* through the exotic dress and backdrop of the Moroccan desert. This geographical and historical remove acts to limit the possibility of initiating any sort of divisive debate related to present reality, but also provides a sense of inevitability in the implication that the Nationalist triumph over the Republican State is the logical outcome of a universal history. As Benedict Anderson states, "it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny" (12). The film presents "ideals" and "values" which have largely been in circulation in Spain for hundreds of years, played out here in stilted and exaggerated situations. In this way, masculinity is not created anew, but rather, those influences and widely circulating characteristics that served the early dictatorship's need for social order and obedience are brought to the fore. By using the word "crusade" to describe this cinema, a connection is made to the "holy" wars of the past against the non-Christian "infidel" which were supposedly won through divine support. The frequent allusions to a divine authority in these films serve to support the idea that, in challenging a democratically elected state, the rebels were answering to a higher power and therefore cannot be questioned, nor do they need to justify themselves before earthly judges.

Through a process of "remembering" a glorious and continuous past which culminates in the present moment, as well as a "forgetting" of those details and events that detract from the meaning of the fascistically unambiguous message, these films act to create a context which has been described by Benedict Anderson as being necessary for a profound change in consciousness: "All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out

of such oblivions, in special historical circumstances, spring narratives, because it cannot be remembered it must be narrated" (204). Joseba Gabilondo has also noted this tendency: "Renan ya apuntaba en el XIX la importancia del *olvido* en la construcción de las naciones: 'Olvidar y--me atrevería a decir--malinterpretar la historia de uno son factores esenciales en la construcción de una nación'" ("Histéricos con casta" 123). These films narrate the meaning of "Spain" and "Spanishness" through a manipulation of the male character who, wearing the uniform that represents his country, metonymically speaks and acts as a representative of the whole and for the greater good of the nation rather than for himself or any individual. His actions do not respond to his immediate needs or desires, but rather are embedded in a larger context and seem to exist on a higher plane where personal sacrifice is the maximum value.

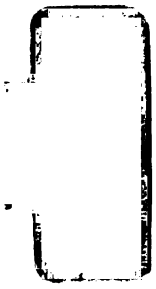
In these military films, the hierarchical organization of society is strongly emphasized. In *Raza*, the family mimics the military hierarchy and reinforces this structure as the basis for all human relations. It is a structurally simple film, with a linear narrative, few principal characters, continuous action and a thematic unity, all of which make it accessible to the viewer and limit the possibility of "mis-readings" by the public. The viewer is sutured into a stable identity within the hierarchy through a process of identification motivated by an avoidance of "castration" which is relieved through the traditional shot/reverse-shot sequence. *Raza* employs a number of characteristics which facilitate suture on the part of the viewer and thus contribute to the acceptance of values represented in it. As the falsification of the "I" is necessary in order to solidify the ideological position of the spectator, the

spectator needs to understand and feel familiar with the events represented on the screen. In this case the patriarchal family stands in as the easily recognizable socializing unit. The value of recognition in the process of learning an ideological position has been explained by Bill Nichols in *Ideology and the Image*: "Recognition of the familiar in the realist image . . . belongs to this pattern of confirmation . . . All the viewer need do is fall into place as subject, an easy step yielding the pleasure of recognition as identity is once again confirmed" (38). The simplicity of the realistic style of *Raza* coupled with the representation of the nuclear family allows the viewer to enter smoothly into an identification with this well-known hierarchy--an identification more universally acceptable than the military one. The essential point, that of identifying oneself within a hierarchical structure, with the self-sacrificing male patriarchal military figure as dominant, has been accomplished. It is important to note that the dominant male, the Churruca patriarch and later his sons, are not seen to sacrifice themselves for those beneath him, but rather for an even greater entity--the patria.

The play of subservient gazes within the film reinforces this hierarchical arrangement, with servants looking to the mother, the mother and children looking to the patriarch, or, in his absence at some point in the distance, and the patriarch looking off with his gaze elevated as if seeing some vision in the heavens, as he speaks about duty, responsibility and sacrifice. Figures within the film may be seen to look directly at their inferiors (the mother to the servant or children, the male child to the female, the father to his children, etc.) but this primarily occurs when the dominant figure is engaged in teaching his/her inferiors. The actual physical

placement of characters within the scene reinforces this hierarchy, with dominant figures being either taller or placed in a higher or more central position than their inferiors. This is of special interest in two early scenes in *Raza* which establish the hierarchical importance of the sons. In the first of these, the young Pedro races around the table trying to catch his sister. Their mother, Isabel, interrupts the dispute and brings order, disciplining Pedro (the child Isabel leaves the scene immediately, indicating that she is of no importance, not even worthy of her mother's attempts at discipline). Pedro, who will be seen to be morally inferior to his brother Luis, is placed at a normal child's height next to his mother and is forced to look up at her as she speaks. This contrasts with the following scene in which an excited Luis calls to his mother from the top of the stairs with the news that their father will soon return home on leave. Isabel climbs the stairs towards him, but stops short of the top thus causing Luis to appear taller than she and therefore physically dominant and of superior importance. Although the mother is shown as a primary figure within the nuclear family, she is not seen to have any existence of her own, but rather reflects exactly the being of her husband. She mouths the patriarchal discourse repeating and upholding his opinions and is seen as nothing more than an extension of her husband and the social order he represents.

Female figures in *Sin novedad en el alcázar* serve a similar purpose. The film, though made by an Italian director, has been called "the prototype of the Spanish Civil War Epic" (Higginbotham 18) and was inspired by events that supposedly took place in Toledo in the days following the outbreak of the Civil War. Colonel José Moscardó and a group of nationalist soldiers, on hearing news



of the coup d'etat, seized the military academy in Toledo and took possession of the weapons stored there in order to keep them from falling into Republican hands. In order to protect their families from any possible reprisals, the women and children were moved to occupy the cellars of the *alcázar* and stayed there during the siege that then took place. The film's action revolves around the captain, whose protagonism and exemplary behavior mark him as the positive male model in the film. He is universally admired by the soldiers, his soldier's fiancé Conchita, and her friend Carmen who quickly falls in love with him. Although granted a degree of independence and agency in early scenes, Carmen comes to realize that it is through submission to the military project, as a nurse in the infirmary, that she will achieve happiness and fulfillment. She is ever subject (and happily so) to her true love, the captain, a man universally praised by his subordinates. Another soldier, physically somewhat unattractive and of lesser rank, who attempts to serve her and satisfy her whims, bringing her a softer pillow, etc., is shown to be a defective male. He is weak, thin, bespectacled, disrespected and, finally, rejected as a suitor. On the other hand, the captain who refuses to consider the demands of the woman, and is seen as serving a higher purpose, once again the patria, becomes the focal point for the attention of others within the film, including being the object of the gaze of his inferiors. In one scene, the besieged receive word that the nationalist troops have won an important military victory and are advancing on the *alcázar*. Those within rejoice and break into patriotic song along with shouts of "Viva España." The captain is seen from a low angle shot singing energetically with his gaze fixed on some invisible point in the distance. A cut to Carmen's face reveals that she is

singing as well while staring at her beloved with a similarly transfixed expression thus establishing her submission to him. Another rejected suitor--who will later be shot due to his carelessness--is shown to be looking at Carmen rather than keeping his eyes on the higher goal as does the captain. He is also portrayed as an inferior sort of male who does not keep his sense of duty in the forefront and is therefore not "worthy" of marrying Carmen. On his deathbed he seems to recognize his own failure and urges the captain to claim what he was unable to--Carmen's hand in marriage, demonstrating his submission as well as woman's status as an object to be exchanged among men--an identifying characteristic of a patriarchal society

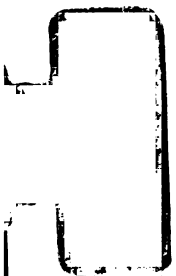
And again in this film a highly stratified hierarchy is conveyed not only by rank, but by gaze. Superiors are respectful of their inferiors, but allow no personal consideration to interfere with the observance of the functioning of their rank. The captain not only refuses to accommodate an attractive woman by looking for a pillow as the "defective" male did, he requisitions her bed for the infirmary without the least consideration of her feelings. Later, in an exaggerated show of dedication to the larger cause, the general sacrifices his own son. He receives a call from the chief officer of the militia, an overweight, unkempt, apparently ill-mannered leader of the "obviously" treacherous and unworthy opposition, demanding that they surrender in exchange for the life of the general's son. The general immediately decides to sacrifice his son telling him "muere como un patriota." The son, with extreme calm and submission to the will of his father and military superior says, "Sí, lo hare, papá" as he raises his eyes to heaven and stoically renounces his own existence for the greater good of the *patria*. This eye-raising gaze is used

repeatedly within these films as a way of indicating that the character is responding to a higher or divine call or purpose. José Colmeiro refers to this "mirada arrebatada" in the context of another important early dictatorship film, *Alba de América* (1951), indicating that it denotes the dream of a mystical-imperial sense of destiny ("El sueño transatlántico" 83). Those characters exercising this gaze remove themselves from earthly reasons or justice and are seen as exempt from it. It is easy to imagine why this gaze and the reason behind it were favored by Franco, who had only very recently rebelled against a legally elected government in order to install himself as dictator and "Caudillo de España por la gracia de Dios," and who now wished to be seen as legitimated by a higher power.

Identification with the opposition to the nationalist troops is prevented in various ways. The vast majority of the action takes place in the nationalist environment within the *alcázar*. The opposition forces are seen in battle to be distant, unorganized and unattractive. When they appear in the shot of the sequestered son, the soldiers again seem an ill-behaved rabble, drinking, smoking and laughing callously. The camera does not dwell on them as individuals, but rather presents a general shot of their headquarters without entering in to engage in the shot/reverse-shot sequences that have been indicated to be productive in the process of suturing the viewer into a subject position. In this way the model of masculinity that is represented by opposition to the nationalist cause is rejected as an option for viewer identification. Real political motives are never attributed to either side, but rather a development of the positive subject identification with the

stoic and self-sacrificing nationalists and the prevention of any with the apparently self-indulgent, chaotic opposition troops is achieved.

Likewise, in *Los últimos de Filipinas*, shot several years later, there is an attempt to effect an identification with the heroic Spanish troops while maintaining a distance from any contact with the enemy. The "Tagalogs" who appear only rarely are seen in battle scenes to descend like a horde--without organization or bravery and except for Tala, a Philippino woman who falls in love with a Spanish man, are never considered as individuals nor even feeling human beings. Colmeiro interprets this representation as a: "vista orientalista que representa negativamente a los filipinos (como traidores, indignos de confianza, sediciosos, crueles) y que afirma la implícita superioridad moral y cultural española" ("Nostalgia colonial" 300). Tala herself serves as the ultimate representation of the "Other" and foil to the Spanish troops. She is doubly marked as a woman and as a foreigner and her metonymic relationship with the Philippinos further feminizes them. In contrast the viewer observes the Spanish soldiers receiving mail, experiencing camaraderie and love, laughing, and expressing emotions--allowing an identification to take place. This identification places the viewers (like the soldiers) in a position as servants to a higher cause which is heroically defended without consideration for individual needs which have been sublimated in those of their nation. It is interesting that in the second half of this film, while hierarchical authority is still respected, it is the authority of a dead figure-head, the captain who has been killed in battle. As the highest ranked living officer, the lieutenant is ostensibly the leader after the captain's death, but throughout the latter part of the film he can be seen "consulting"



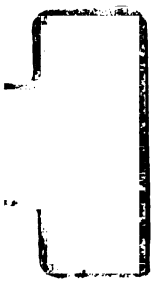
at the graveside of his deceased superior. The clear hierarchical demarcation between the captain and the soldiers does not exist between the lieutenant and his men. Though he is obviously respected as the leader, the soldiers do not snap to attention when he enters a room as they did with the captain. He speaks with them in a natural way and can even be seen in one moment delivering refreshments to an on-duty soldier during their Christmas party. As in *Raza*, here the death of the actual father figure is not seen to interfere or alter the workings of the hierarchical machine. Quite to the contrary, in passing from a real, living male figure to a dead patriarch, the patriarchal father's power is increased. He becomes omnipresent in memory as can be seen in the voice-over occurrences of the father figure in both *Raza* and *Los últimos de Filipinas*. His voice transcends the individual and exists in the atmosphere as eternal and infallible. Among survivors, a shift in emphasis can be perceived from the hierarchical structure and a focus on "father" as in *Sin novedad en el alcázar* and the earlier part of *Raza*, to an emphasis on brotherhood and a sense of comraderie among self-denying equals in the second half of *Raza* and in the later film, *Los últimos de Filipinas*. It is exactly this movement that Freud considered to be foundational for the establishment of culture in which a social order was established based on mutual renunciation.

The renunciation of one's own pleasure for the sake of a greater cause is a dominant theme in the films pertaining to crusade cinema. Sacrifice is clearly shown to be superior to the pursuit of pleasure, and reckless or extreme self-sacrifice is the highest of male virtues. In *Raza* the "bad" brother Pedro not only supports the Republican side, he is portrayed as a sensualist, more interested in his

own personal advancement than any political purpose. His inferiority is represented in a scene where, outfitted in a dress-like silk smoking jacket, he approaches his mother to ask for his inheritance. The superior brother, José, is seen in military dress, by his mother's side and asking for nothing. A connection is made between the feminized brother and the pursuit of self-gratification—something that is clearly renounced by the end when Pedro realizes his error, dons a military uniform and sacrifices his own life for the *patria*. Their brother-in-law, who shows weakness in longing for home and his family, also comes to the realization that service is more important than his personal gratification. Self-sacrifice reaches heroic proportions in the film when José is arrested for espionage. In court about to be exonerated, he interrupts proceedings to declare his own guilt thus sacrificing his life before the inevitable punishment of the firing squad. As mentioned, in *Sin novedad en el alcázar* self-indulgence is seen to be a weakness and is clearly connected with the feminine. It is Carmen who seeks comfort and only weak and inferior men who would try to please her (and thus win her favor). Those dominant male figures in the film--the general and the captain--are shown to completely disregard their own benefit for the sake of the *patria*--the general in sacrificing his own son, and the captain in ignoring the desires of a beautiful woman and thus, apparently, foregoing the possibility of gaining access to her sexually.

Another film from the period, *Harka* (1941), also clearly connects self-indulgence with the woman and represents her as something to be avoided; the film's misogynistic representations of women have been described as "dismissive, castration-anxiety trivializations" (Evans 218). In this film an officer stationed in

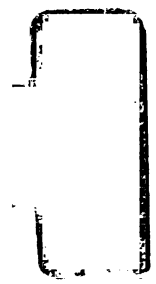
the Spanish controlled Morocco longs for the comfort of home and the woman he loves. He discusses this longing with his superior officer who is seen as a sort of super-man who lives to serve. When asked if he ever needs a bit of human warmth, the captain stands up, arrogantly grabs a woman from her dance partner and dances with her himself: "El mensaje, explícito y tajante, se emite sin vacilaciones: la mujer no tiene sino la categoría de objeto, y como tal, se toma o se deja, se trafica con ella, con o sin contrato matrimonial" (Gómez 576). Through the captain's actions it is implied that if he does need such warmth from time to time he simply takes it without getting emotionally involved since he has dedicated himself to the needs of his country. His attitude reveals the patriarchal moral double standard whereby prostitution was tacitly approved of during the dictatorship while women who participated in it were condemned. The officer leaves the desert for home and in a series of juxtaposed scenes can be shown dancing, dining and enjoying the pleasures of Madrid and his wife, while the campaign in Africa is being fought without him. He finally repents of his lapse into self-indulgence and at the end of the film can be seen, back in Africa, training troops for service. Finally, in *Los últimos de Filipinas* we see this tendency toward self-sacrifice reach almost ludicrous proportions. The besieged soldiers obstinately refuse to accept that the war is over even after they are presented with a considerable amount of evidence to support this conclusion. Led by the lieutenant who is now the highest-ranking officer, they seem to happily remain at this far-flung outpost, singing and going about their duties uncomplainingly. When the opposing Philippine forces offer them the possibility of re-supplying their position with food and other necessities,



they reply by refusing any assistance, actually sending a bottle of Sherry and some cigars to their enemies. It is a sort of grand gesture that seems the essence of the "gran caballero" or Spanish gentleman of the past--the ideal man will not only serve, but will happily go without, thus proving his superiority to others. Again woman can be seen as a threat to this ideal as the love-struck Juan seems more dominated by his feelings for Tala than he is for the *patria*. He clearly disobeys orders on a couple of occasions and when he does offer himself for heroic duty, it is more for her sake than for Spain's.

In exchange for self-sacrifice, the male figures in these films gain in recognition--among their peers certainly, but also in the world. In *Los últimos de Filipinas*, the lieutenant who has led his men in their futile resistance, foregoing any sort of material comforts for the sake of duty--even a duty that seems foolhardy and excessive as his has turned out to be in light of Spain's official surrender, is afforded the status of hero in the final scene. A long take on his stern face and fixed gaze as he marches in retreat among ranks of the enemy standing at attention, is superimposed by shots of newspaper headlines lauding his resistance, as well as a shot of an applauding crowd and a voice-over proclaiming his status as "héroe en España." He is a hero not because he has achieved victory, but because he has (recklessly and obstinately, it can easily be argued) sacrificed himself and his troops "for the *patria*."

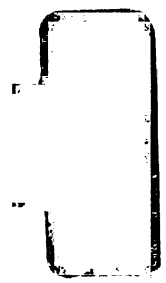
But while the soldiers depicted in these films are seen resisting the self-indulgence of a love relationship with a woman, a high level of intimacy between



men is characteristic. Anthony Easthope, commenting on *The Deer Hunter* observes:

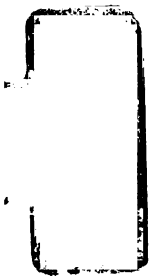
> In the dominant versions of men at war, men are permitted to behave towards each other in ways that would not be allowed elsewhere, caressing and holding each other, comforting and weeping together, admitting their love. The pain of war is the price paid for the way it expresses the male bond. War's suffering is a kind of punishment for the release of homosexual desire and male femininity that only the war allows. In this special form the male bond is fully legitimated. (qtd. in Eberwein 66)

There are many instances of intimate, soul-baring discussions between men, as well as scenes of singing, dancing, rough-housing, embracing, etc. which contrast sharply in their simple joyfulness and comraderie with the strained, frequently conflict-ridden relationships with women in the films: "El grado de misoginía es tan marcado que algunas escenas de *Harka* rayan de algún modo en el homoerotismo al plantear que las necesidades sexuales y afectivas han de ser suplidas por el tipo de camaradería viril propia de la institución militar" (Gómez 576). Furthermore, the film's soft lighting and lingering close-ups such as the two officers bonding in the desert night, engage melodramatic conventions to the effect that the film, "astonishingly succeeds in apparently condoning homosexuality" (Evans 219). With women actually and metaphorically "out of the picture" the purifying sparseness of the desert allows the male bond to come dangerously close to crossing the line--thereby creating an authoritarian film that dramatizes the return of the

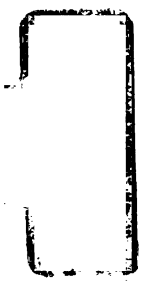


repressed homosexual desire that Freud theorized must be overcome for the successful resolution of the oedipal complex. However, despite this obvious homosocial element, there invariably appears a strictly masculine element that serves to mitigate any blatant suggestion of homosexuality. Also war, like football in Mark Simpson's *Male Impersonators*, provides the ultimate heterosexual mask whose presence serves to prevent any possibility of slippage from the strictly hetero- into the realm of homosexuality. For example, in *Los últimos de Filipinas* one of the soldiers, a more physically soft and rounded figure who works as the cook (played by Manolo Morán), is playfully attacked on his bed by his companions. The "conflict" however is over a photo of his girlfriend in Spain, and thus heterosexuality is asserted despite possible homosexual undertones that might be perceived in a scene representing such intimate physical contact between men.

While heterosexual masculinity is indisputably the only option officially offered in crusade cinema, at times it seems as if it would be a heterosexuality devoid of women. The idea of the inherent superiority of men over women is ubiquitous and manhood takes on a kind of transcendent quality in which the male's "natural" ascendance over the female is never questioned, and in which the female is seen as a direct threat to the performance of one's duty. This is the case in *Raza* as the Churruca brother-in-law considers abandoning his post to be reunited with his wife, or in *Sin novedad en el alcázar* when the love-distracted soldier allows himself to get shot through carelessness, and most obviously in *Harka*, as the soldier Carlos is forced to leave his post in Africa upon the demand of his wife, thus incurring the disapproval of his beloved Captain Santiago. In this last film the



conflict is clearly shown through a series of juxtaposed shots of Carlos enjoying life with his beautiful wife on Madrid's social scene, with cuts of the captain waging battle in the African desert. Women are considered to be self-centered and incapable of full citizenship since they are unable to subordinate their personal interests into those of the state: "Los protagonistas . . . encuentran sentido a su existencia en la guerra y en la muerte heróica, mientras que las mujeres son presentadas como estorbos para la realización de estos ideales, al no ser capaces de subordinar la causa individual a la nacional" (Gómez 576). Peter Evans has also noted that: "'As in many other films of the period where they are seen as threats to the male group, women are identified with frivolity and self-indulgence, compromising the masculinity of the virile male" (qtd. in Gómez 576). In a system of the symbolic exchange of one's pleasure for social recognition in a hyper-Catholic, hierarchically-ordered society like Spain in the 1940s, the male must be ever-wary of the female who might threaten his position and cause his downfall. The only socially sanctioned avenue to affection and repose open to the heterosexual male in these films seems to be found in the company of other men. While an idealized marriage to the "right" woman, (usually one far away and mainly dreamed about) may be permitted, a true mutually respectful male-female relationship between equals seems impossible given the social structure in place. As Carmen Martín Gaite points out, this sort of friendship was expressly discouraged under the dictatorship and Pilar Primo de Rivera, head of the *Sección femenina*, promoted the idea that a woman must strive always to maintain an air of



mystery and distance from men (including her husband) while always subordinating herself to them (Martín Gaite 63).

Patriarchal, heterosexual, self-sacrificing masculinity is seen as transcendent in these films and reaches its maximum expression in the figure of the martyred warrior-father, the ultimate signifier that anchors and gives meaning to all other signifiers. As Peter Lehman has pointed out, in a heterosexist, male-dominated patriarchy there is an implicit connection between the phallus, or final symbolic signifier, and the penis, or visible signal of masculinity which is understood to be possessed by male characters. This implied connection is maintained, according to Lehman, not through displaying the penis, but rather by hiding it from view while at the same time presenting male figures as capable, dominant, self-sufficient and, above all, not "feminine" in any way. The actual individual penis cannot be revealed at the risk of revealing it in its flaccid and non-powerful state. The inducement to identify with the patriarchal order and the phallus-penis connection is the promise of relief from castration anxiety. Kaja Silverman discusses the maintenance of this mythic relation and states: "Man comes to believe that he has not been castrated because he (mis)equates penis with phallus" (*Male Subjectivity* 43). Crusade cinema promoted a heterosexist, male-dominated social hierarchy in a reflection of Franco's agenda and these films reflect the maintenance of the justification for the existing unequal state of affairs in post-war Spain. The apparently incontrovertible support of patriarchal dominance is the dead father figure. Whether it be the Churruca patriarch, the captain at the Philippine outpost, the dedicated soldier in the Morrocan desert or God "the Father," the dead male

patriarchal figure serves to order and organize the consciousness and acts of the surviving male soldiers. The words of this figure are remembered in flashbacks and voiceovers in all four of the films mentioned here. Their words mimic ideological dogma promoted by the regime asking for subordination and self-sacrifice: "el deber es tanto más hermoso cuando más sacrificio" (*Raza*). The "ultimate" sacrifice of these male figures serves as a model and guiding principle for those left behind who band together as brothers, renouncing personal satisfaction in order to uphold the social order ordained by the dead patriarch. Already ingrained in the public imagination, the idea of the "Great Absent Hero" had been developed in relation to Falange party founder and "martyr" José Antonio Primo de Rivera, and just as in these films, it was invoked as an ideal for which to strive.

Later, as the dictatorship became stabilized and as Franco's power base shifted from the military to the Catholic Church, the off screen interlocutor tended away from the dead patriarchal warrior father toward the even further removed, ultimate father figure--the Catholic god. As Triana-Toribio notes: "After 1945, as the regime downplayed its fascist connections and past and the Catholic Church took on a more central ideological role, we see a substantial increase in the number of religious narratives among the winners [of the "National Interest" designation]" (54). One popular film that surely facilitated this ideological shift was *Balarrasa* (1950) by José Antonio Nieves Conde. Combining the virile warrior model with the ascetic religious figure in the character "Balarrasa," this film presents a soldier-turned-priest who proves himself superior both on and off the battlefield. "Balarrasa," Captain Javier Mendoza, played by Fernando Fernán Gómez, is a

Catholic priest who appears at the opening of the film pulling an overloaded sled in the Alaskan tundra and who is apparently at the point of death from exhaustion. The rest of the film takes the form of an extended flashback of his life, first as the hard-drinking, hard-fighting, womanizing Captain Mendoza and then through his epiphany and transition to the ultimate figure of self-renunciation--Father Javier Mendoza. But before he can settle into his new life at the monastery he is sent home to resolve old issues with his family which has fallen into disarray since the death of his mother. Her portrait still hangs in the family living room, visible in many of the scenes that occur there, but she seems to have lost her place as spiritual center of the family. Father Mendoza resolves to restore it and, one by one he brings the apparently hardened and cynical family members back to recognition of the importance of unity and self-restraint as they are convinced to give up lives of self-indulgence and debauchery.

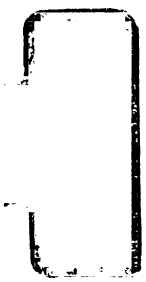
It is interesting to note that both the soldier and the priest are founded on the same ideal of masculine strength, although the soldier seems to have strayed from the accompanying virtue of self-sacrifice which was seen in the war films discussed previously. The film makes much of the rejuvenation of Father Mendoza within the walls of the monastery where he is shown studying for hours on end in his small cell without any of the comforts that he previously enjoyed. His moral rehabilitation seems directly related to his embracing asceticism and renouncing all pleasures except those that may be found in work and service. In one scene he is caught whistling happily by his superior who frowns disapprovingly--"Demasiado, ¿no?"—and recognizes Mendoza as he continues silently down the corridor. It is as

if by stripping away the pursuit of pleasure as well as material goods--such as the watch won in a card game (that comes to symbolize his near-death since its previous owner is shot soon after losing it) the protagonist gains in power and respect. He emerges from the monastery with all his masculine strength intact, but now with an added moral authority. It allows him to reprimand his brother who has just thrown a punch at him by saying: "Lo que acabas de hacer no soluciona nada," though just a short while earlier he would have been the one to turn to violence. The film would put the fraternal conflict aside for a new religious order based not on the law of man, but on that of the divine, thus reflecting the dictatorship's interest in distancing itself from its violent past. However, his moral authority is never far removed from the threat of the use of force as is seen when he advises his weak, bespectacled neighbor to fight, for the attentions of the woman he adores. The priest Balarrasa watches from the sidelines with great satisfaction as his protegé knocks the rival to the ground. The concept of "Muscular Christianity," though elaborated mainly in the context of Victorian England, serves to illustrate the glossing effect that is produced by linking religious masculinity to physical strength, " [. . .] a central, even defining, characteristic of muscular Christianity [is]: an association between physical strength, religious certainty, and the ability to shape and control the world around oneself" (Hall 7). By maintaining in essence the same masculine virtues embodied in the warriors of earlier films, this film facilitates an adjustment and ideological shift that does not erase the patriarchal order of the past, but rather embeds it more firmly in a sublime order supported by the Catholic religion. Balarrasa does not hear the words of his earthly father who is

shown to be weak and ineffectual, but rather those of a god that inspire him to the same end as his predecessors--the total sacrifice of self as he embraces death at the end of the film and surrenders himself to the divine father: "Tú dirás si esta es la hora [. . .] Tú dispones de nuestras vidas." The focus throughout on the virile strength of the protagonist works to keep at bay the threats and ambiguities that have been working in post-war Spain to undermine the model of masculine superiority while directing the individual toward the same end--self-sacrifice and respect for the patriarchal hierarchy. So while an apparent shift in power elevates the Catholic Church in this film, it continues to maintain the fundamental values of the dictatorship--renunciation of the self, masculine domination, a hierarchical social organization and ultimately, violence.

II. Naturalization of the Male Gaze: The "Other" on Display

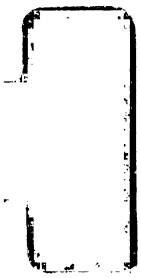
However secure one's position was within the masculine, hetero-sexist hierarchy as promised in the *cine de cruzada* or the transitional film *Balarrasa*, many of the grand CIFESA (Compañía Industrial del Film Español, S.A.) productions of the later 1940s with their elaborate sets and beautiful female stars belie an ever present castration anxiety in their focus on the fetishized female stars' bodies. CIFESA, Spain's longest running and most powerful film production company during the postwar period, was considered to be the studio that most faithfully collaborated by portraying Franco's regime as favorable (Higginbotham 4) and it produced large-scale historical epics, usually starring women, such as *Locura de amor* (1948) by Juan de Orduña ("una de la películas de más éxito de taquilla del cine español," Barroso 110) as well as *La princesa de los Ursinos*



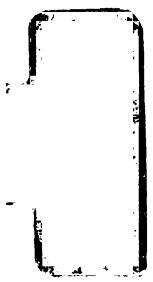
(1947), *La duquesa de Benamejí* (1949), *Pequeñeces* (1950), *Agustina de Aragón* (1950), *La leona de Castilla* (1951) and *Lola la piconera* (1951). De Orduña was also responsible for extremely popular melodramas such as *El último cuplé* (1957), another of the largest box-office hits in Spain. The production of visually engrossing super-productions developed throughout the poverty-stricken 1940s and into the early 1950s where historical epics and melodramas, often centering on female stars, were joined by new melodramatic subgenres such as the so-called *cine con cura* and *cine con niño.* What many of these films shared in common was a shift in focus from that of crusade cinema with its active, heterosexual male leads--to the woman, the asexual religious figure or the child, and from historical epic to melodrama. The male stars of the previous decade are no longer the focus in many of these films as the masculine-dominant position is assumed to be "naturalized." It is not apparently questioned during this period but is implied as a given, or neutral, spectator role. As Pierre Bordieu says, "The strength of the masculine order is seen in the fact that it dispenses with justification: the androcentric vision imposes itself as neutral and has no need to spell itself out in discourses aimed at legitimating it" (9). A dictatorship now firmly entrenched and receiving international recognition as legitimate, as Spain was in the 1950s (due to the resumption of diplomatic relations with the United States and its subsequent entry into the United Nations in 1955) approved for production films which compensated for the real feeling of lack experienced by a poverty-stricken and often unemployed populace by providing them with visual spectacle. The individual's lack of personal freedom and power was made up for by a privileged viewing-subject position in which all--men,

women and children alike--were encouraged to understand the masculine heterosexual gaze as supreme.

By taking the "Other" as the object of contemplation, the implied male heterosexual viewer establishes his superiority and, temporarily at least, relieves his own castration anxiety brought about doubly as, on one hand he enters into the phallic order and is thus subjugated to a hierarchy in which his status is always unstable, and on the other, as the Lacanian speaking subject who has sacrificed the "Real" in order to enter into the symbolic order. As Silverman has indicated, by locating lack onto the woman, the little boy is restored to imaginary wholeness. By forcing the identification of the woman with lack, the man causes her to "bear the scar of the castration by which both she and the male subject enter language, granting him the illusion of an as yet intact being. The coherence of the male subject is threatened as much by the distance that separates him from the phallus as by the distance that separates him from the real" ("Acoustic Mirror" 23-4). Thus the objectified "Other" in these films serves a compensatory function in the male psyche while allowing society as a whole to recognize the male, heterosexual viewer as subject and the female/effeminate man or priest/child position as object. In Silverman's assesment: "Lacan's formula [. . .] encourages us to understand that psychic formation as a mechanism for plugging the hole of symbolic castration or lack by positing a particular object as the cause of desire" (*Male Subjectivity* 5). That desire may be sexual or it may be a desire for mastery, but in both cases the anxiety produced by the fundamental lack inherent in this model of patriarchal heterosexual masculinity is effectively suppressed.



The film *Locura de amor* demonstrates the normalizing of the masculine dominant position through the problematized representation of the "hysterical" female. This movie was part of a propaganda effort of the Franco regime to erase the Black Legend and to extol the "traditional" values of the "true" Spain--true meaning nationalistic, non-foreign with the archvillains being the Flemish allies of the King and the Jewish girl played by a very young Sara Montiel. It extols the nobility's loyalty to the pure Hispanic lineage of Queen Juana (Aurora Bautista), hence to Spain. However, despite the fact that the queen is apparently the protagonist, the story is narrated in a series of flashbacks by Captain Álvaro de Estúñiga (Jorge Mistral) to the future King Carlos V (Ricardo Acero) and thus provides the framework for a masculine perception of the events. The captain relates the story of the tragic and obsessive love of Queen Juana for her foreign husband, King Felipe "el Hermoso" of Flanders, a man who does not return her love, but rather seeks sexual satisfaction outside his marriage. The king is presented as a hyper-sexualized being whose love (including exclusive sexual access) is sought obsessively and self-destructively by the Queen who would sacrifice everything to obtain it. By portraying a supposedly strong woman as completely subject to her frenetic desire to possess her husband's sexuality--presented in an histrionic display of paralyzing emotion--the implied male, heterosexual viewing subject is assured of the value of the penis, which can be equated with the phallus as Peter Lehman has demonstrated. It has been noted that, "Castration anxiety, indeed the whole oedipal constellation, rests on a cultural exaltation of masculinity and overvaluing of the penis" (Connell 15). In this way the



woman serves to allay the castration anxiety of the male in a two-fold manner: first by serving as a fetish object to be consumed visually, thus allowing the male to deny her castration; and secondly by being represented as desirous of the phallus that the man is seen to possess through a connection with the penis that is apparently the cause of the queen's madness.

Likewise in *El último cuplé*, the strong female lead, a *copla* singer played by Sara Montiel, is also led to self-destruction due to a passionate desire for a man, in this case a young bullfighter who does not clearly return her affections. De Orduña produced this film with his own money, but sold it to CIFESA shortly after its completion and it bears the marks of the visual spectacle of its predecessor--beautiful female lead, melodramatic situations and acting, dramatic music, etc. It seems remarkable for its representation of a strong and unconventional female protagonist in her rise to fame, but María Luján's power is contained in a variety of ways within the film and ultimately through her transformation into a fetish object that serves to allay masculine fear and disavow castration anxiety. Like *Locura de amor*, *El último cuplé* employs a male interlocutor through whom the life story of the protagonist is told. Also, this male point of view on María is one of many represented through the film. The protagonist is frequently the object of spectatorial consumption within the text as in her many performances, but also in moments when she does not offer herself for this purpose. For example, early in the film as María dances with her boyfriend she is judged in a beauty contest that she has not entered. As they smoke dispassionately, the male judges watch and comment on the women assembled, critically assessing the oblivious "contestants."

And, as in *Locura de amor,* this cool, observing male spectator is contrasted with the passionate object of his gaze. Like Queen Juana, María is shown to be subject above all to her passion for a man who does not return her feelings. She falls in love with a young bullfighter who reminds her of her first love whom she renounced in order to establish her career as a singer. Though she dominates the national and international music scene, she is seen as utterly guided by her desire for this young man who continues to maintain a long-time girlfriend and whose feelings for María are never clearly revealed. Again the implication of sexual infidelity and the desire for exclusive access to the bullfighter's body convey the female desire for what the man has--his sexuality. This provides assurance to the implied male viewer that the woman, however strong and independent she may seem to be, is ultimately subject to her need for the penis/phallus. The death of María Luján, presumably of a broken heart, further assures that there will be no actual role-reversal in which the female assumes a more powerful position than the male. Her lifelong manager and friend, Juan, announces her death with great emotion, but it is clear that he will continue and prosper, as he has in the years since their professional and sentimental parting, whereas she could never overcome her grand passion for the bullfighter.

Finally, her positioning as the glamorous object of visual consumption ensures that she herself becomes a fetish object through which castration anxiety is avoided. The fetishization of the female image is clearly displayed in this film in the many images of dancers dressing, cabaret singers revealing flashes of thighs offset by dark garters, long lingering close-ups of its beautiful star in elaborate

costumes and now the super-saturated colors, usually red, that appear in costumes and drapery. She seems to possess the power to entrance, to possess the men who watch her and thus constitutes a threat. The star's glamorous presentation heightens the sense of danger associated with her, but also offers a reprieve as Simpson indicates: "Glamour, then is a woman's 'magical' power over man, her power to enchant and allure; and as ever, woman's power is also a castrating threat to men: glamour is both the fear of lack and the disavowal of it" (178). Thus through transformation into fetish object, Montiel's body acts as both threat and reassurance. While masculinity is liable to find the threat of castration in the image of a woman's body, it resolves this threat in two ways according to Easthope: "one is the woman's body itself, which can appear to have the firmness, solidity and unity of the phallus for which it is a fetishistic substitute. The other is the pleasure of looking, which, with all the techniques of modern color photography has come to seem ever more vivid, substantial and complete" (141). So through her containment as visual object of scopophilic consumption, and later through her passion and death, María Luján is contained and the threat of castration averted.

Another significant trend in dictatorship cinema is the popularity of the numerous genre films starring children, such as Pablito Calvo (*Marcelino, pan y vino*, 1954), Joselito (*El pequeño ruiseñor,* 1956, and *El ruiseñor de las cumbres,* 1958) and Marisol (*Un rayo de luz,* 1960, *Ha llegado un ángel* 1961, and *Marisol, rumbo a Río,* 1963), as well as the so-called "cine con cura" (Stone 39) which portrayed male religious figures in starring roles and included such films as *Misión blanca* (Juan de Orduña, 1947), *La mies es mucha* (Luis Sáenz de Heredia, 1949)

and *Balarrasa*. This second type can be at least partly attributed to the shift in emphasis from the Falange and its attempt at self-justification through war films, and a subsequent ban in 1943 on using the Civil War as subject matter, toward the Catholic Church as an ideological support and justification for the regime, but a study of these asexual male roles alongside those of the child star and the *folclórica* reveals a common implied viewer subject position—that of the heterosexual male. A film of enduring popularity during the years of the dictatorship, *Marcelino, pan y vino*, exemplifies many of the characteristics of these genres: adult males in 'feminized' care-giving religious roles, a prodigious or precocious orphaned child in a leading role, a process of redemption or salvation, and an engagement with the search for one's essence or origins. The emphasis in these film on women, children or asexual male figures takes as its point of departure, or normalized viewing position, that of the heterosexual male. Since real fathers are frequently absent, their male subject position is neither challenged nor interrogated through its cinematic representation, and these films avoid any serious examination of social reality including gender roles and economic conditions in Spain. The frequent song and dance numbers divert attention away from real problems and instead offer magical or incredible solutions, such as Marcelino's direct communication with Jesus or Marisol's bringing thieves to justice in *Marisol, rumbo a Río*.

However, despite the fact that cinema under the dictatorship may have been designed to solidify a social order based on the supremacy and dominance of the heterosexual male hierarchy, the regime could not control popular reception and appropriation of these films. As Jo Labanyi has argued (1997), genres like the

missionary film and the folkloric film musical, while serving the interests of the regime, also allowed space for subaltern groups to rework dominant discourses. By allowing the viewer into an identification with the point of view of the feminine Other--acted by male as well as female stars--they undermine the patriarchal emphasis of Francoist discourse by revealing the performative nature of gender. Therefore even CIFESA films, which were obviously favorable to the dictatorship, need to be considered as vehicles for its subversion as well. Despite the fact that a certain vision of the patriarchal male hierarchy was offered, there was no guarantee that the male viewer would in fact fall into the position offered. Labanyi notes this potential for "mis-identification": "The audience is thus seduced by the female lead not because it sees her through the desiring male's gaze, but because it identifies with her position as seductress" ("Race, Gender and Disavowal" 225). She goes on to indicate the continuing nature of these films' subversive potential: "The early Francoist *folklórica* has in recent years enjoyed a revival with Spanish gay audiences, because of its camp exposure of the constructedness of gender roles" (230). While it is not my intention to conduct an investigation of the complex relation between reception and consumption practices, it is important to indicate this potential for subversion as well as the ways in which this type of repetitive production related to these genres reiterate certain tensions and anxieties related to the experience of identification with the hegemonic male model offered by the dictatorship.

The very repetition of these "specular" or performance oriented genres may be an indication of the necessity for the sort of "binding" that Silverman has

equated with the protection of oneself from castration anxiety. The scopophilia associated with the implied male gaze of the visual spectacle within the film reveals the tenuous nature of identification with that implied subject position. Scopophilia is related to a wish to master and as Easthope describes it: "It is a need to keep everything under surveillance, see perfectly, dominate through vision" (139). Just as Freud's young nephew engaged in the "fort-da" game of throwing away and then recovering a spool of yarn--representing his anxiety over his mother's absence--so the Spanish male viewer witnesses a powerful and sexually threatening female who inspires fear, but is then brought under control. In films like *El último cuplé* and *Carmen, la de Ronda* (1959) the camera repeatedly pans across uplifted faces of almost exclusively male audiences of Sara Montiel's musical performances. These crowds do not chat among themselves and rarely express any emotion other than total absorption in the spectacle, appearing to be mesmerized by the wet-lipped and sexually dangerous protagonist. It is a danger that is expressed repeatedly in *Carmen, la de Ronda*, a film set in 1808 in the city of Ronda during the Napoleonic war. First Carmen's Spanish boyfriend and later her French lover, both soldiers, express their anguish and doubt over whether they possess her exclusively. These strong warrior males do not fear death through battle (both are seen repeatedly and fearlessly risking their lives in this way) but do express excessive anxiety over losing control of Carmen. Thus, by repeating in formulaic narratives the castration threat and its consequent resolution such as is seen in those films presenting strong women characters who were married, killed off and/or textually "punished" at the end as a way of controlling them, Spanish cinema of this era served to reinforce

gender identifications that may have been threatened with destabilization due to harsh economic and political realities of the time. The constant repetition of these genre films belies the fundamentally unstable nature of gender and its need for reinforcement.

Marsha Kinder has also speculated on the subversive potential of melodrama, a traditionally "low" form of entertainment that, though it can be seen as an escapist genre that naturalizes the dominant ideology by displacing political issues onto the personal plane of the family, can also reveal contradictions and excesses in that same system: "By pushing the conventional excessiveness to an even greater extreme, these subversive filmmakers [. . .] foreground the ideological contradictions that Hollywood melodrama normally glosses over, demonstrating that family and gender are a legitimate site for serious political struggle" (55). And as Paul Julian Smith observes: "The reader's desire transforms the text in which it wishes to see itself" (18). Therefore, while the dictatorship censors may have been able to control the ostensibly conservative representation of gender, they could not predict how audience reception might undermine that message.

III. Trauma and Psychic Castration during the Dictatorship

However glossy a surface was presented in epic and melodramatic films from the 1940s and 1950s, harsh economic and social reality began to break through and make its presence felt in films of the period. A growing sense of discontent with contemporary filmmaking conditions, techniques and styles became evident after the Salamanca talks in 1955 in which the stultification of Spanish

cinema was harshly criticized. Following the lead of Italian neorealism, directors such as Juan Antonio Bardem began to give form to strong undercurrents of discontent. Postwar trauma and a sense of psychic and economic castration become evident in several films from the 1950s and 1960s in which "ideological fatigue" reveals an outright breakdown in the performance of the hegemonic masculine model. In Silverman's analysis, historical trauma can be any historical event which brings a large group of male subjects into such an intimate relation with lack that they are unable to sustain an imaginary relationship with the phallus, and so withdraw their belief from the dominant fiction. There begin to surface filmic representations of failing protagonists--those who are unable to master their surroundings, their women, themselves. While government censors tried to keep subversive representations off Spanish screens, there was a strong push, especially after the Salamanca talks and the influence of Italian neorealist films on Spanish directors, to make films that represented the actual conflicts and stresses that society posed for individuals (*Surcos*, Nieves Conde 1951; *Muerte de un ciclista*, Bardem, 1955; *Esa pareja feliz*, Bardem/Berlanga, 1951; *Calle mayor*, Bardem, 1956; *El verdugo*, Berlanga, 1963; *El pisito*, Ferreri, 1958; *El cochecito,* Ferreri, 1960; *Los golfos*, Saura, 1962).

Surcos, the first film directed by José Antonio Nieves Conde, illustrates the pressures that a changing Spanish economy exercised on its citizens. Hoping to discourage rampant emigration from the countryside to the city, the censors not only approved this script but also awarded it with the coveted "interés nacional" distinction, though its content can be considered to be highly critical of economic

conditions at the time and the moral degradation that was supposed to have accompanied them. The film treats a rural family's journey to and travails in Madrid as its members try to survive in a situation where the traditional values of honesty and hard work lead not to prosperity but to ruin as, one by one, they see themselves duped, robbed and confused in an environment they fail to master. In the end the patriarch declares that they must return to the countryside: "Hay que volver. Pues con vergüenza, hay que volver." The ever-looming threat of emasculation by this environment is especially notable in the experience of the father. Although he maintains enough authority at the end to declare their time in Madrid finished, it is as if recalling the respect and authority he once enjoyed rather than any he has been afforded in the city. From the beginning of his time in the city he is ordered about by his more savvy female relatives. He is given the subservient task of selling snacks in the park and unlike the warriors of the *cine de cruzada* whose father voice echoed in their heads, here the voice-over is that of his female relative reciting the prices of the candy, gum, cigarettes, etc. that are found in his basket. And in contrast to those earlier films, his disregard for money which he demonstrates by handing out candy to the poor children in the park, leads not to greater respect but to a severe reprimand when he returns home, as well as a demotion to the feminized position of aproned potato peeler, an obvious reference to his inability to earn money--the prime indicator of masculine individual worth in this new environment. And throughout the film Pili, the city girlfriend of the country man, Pepe, urges him to make more money so that she can consider marrying him saying: "Yo me caso con quien me saque de esto." She encourages

Pepe to participate in robbing supply trucks rather than continuing with less profitable honest work. He complies only to be caught and finally killed by his boss, Don Roque, for his failure. Here the father figures are either emasculated for conforming to the old values--as is the case of the rural father, or promoted for embodying the new values--greed, individualism and cruelty. The replacement of the "oedipal father of prohibition" with the "anal father of enjoyment" has been observed to mark the transition from a hierarchical, patriarchal society to a consumer society in which honor and self-renunciation is replaced by self-interest and the pursuit of enjoyment. As Jan Jagodinski describes this change: "the oedipal father is in the midst of disappearing and with him are disappearing the prohibitions against enjoyment [. . .] rather than prohibiting enjoyment, this new father commands it, thus unleashing aggressivity in heretofore unimaginable ways" (32). Don Roque is the embodiment of this figure who lords his success over others, taking the women that he wants and killing his employees or "sons" as he sees fit, all the while prospering in spite of the conditions that surround him.

In spite of its poor performance at the box office, another film worth mentioning for its influence on Spanish cinema in the 1950s is *Esa pareja feliz*, the first film written and directed by the long-standing and productive partnership between Juan Antonio Bardem and Luis G. Berlanga; it marked the beginning of a new comic style with a critical spirit and an obvious neorealist inspiration. Finally released two years after completion due to its low classification from censors, it represents a humble young couple, Juan (Fernando Fernán Gómez) and Carmen, in Madrid as they fall in love, marry and begin their lives in precarious financial

times--the husband seeking advancement through dubious schemes and correspondence courses, and the wife through games of chance that ultimately lead to their winning the distinction of "the happy couple" in a soap contest. Their prize, which ironically comes during a big fight between them on the day the husband loses his job, is a 24-hour shopping spree. The film closes with them giving away their purchases to the many vagrants sleeping on park benches and realizing that it is not in material goods that they will find happiness. As Rob Stone has noted, the film self-consciously marks a shift from the epics of the 1940s toward a more realistic representation of Spanishness: "It begins with a spoof of CIFESA and its pompous epics: an uproariously stilted conversation between noblemen and the suicide of their queen, who jumps from the ramparts and lands on Juan, whose mission as production assistant is to catch her. The parody is an immediate affront to the so-called "national interest" cinema in Spain, in place of which Bardem and Berlanga focus on Juan as a much more genuine example of Spanishness" (42).

Juan is presented as an idealistic young man full of modern ideas for advancement beginning with his enthusiasm for a dubious correspondence course from which he gains little more than hope and a slogan ("¡a la felicidad por la electrónica!"), through his collaboration with a fast-talking actor who promises to cut him in on a photography scheme ("¡sentido commercial!") with equally little result. His wife, though doubtful, supports him while continuing to play games of chance in the hopes of improving their lot. The film contains a sharply critical element in its representation of their overcrowded and shabby tenement as well as an obvious reference to class inequality as they go from pretentious upscale

restaurant to a park filled with vagrants sleeping on benches. After losing his job in a theater, Juan finally breaks down when he realizes that no matter how hard he tries, he cannot dominate the situation economically: "¡Esto [his diplomas from the electronics school] no sirve para nada! . . . ¡Ni yo!." He reacts to the realization of his failure by violently lashing out at his wife, blaming her: "Me han despedido--¿no es eso lo que querías?" His frustration is not directed at a system that makes him discontent with his lot as an underpaid employee in a film studio or on the fraudulent grasping of others who take advantage of him within this system, but rather at the woman who witnesses his failure and thus calls his masculine mastery into question.

El pisito (1958) and *El cochecito* (1960) both shot by Italian director Marco Ferreri in the beginning of the era of the Spanish economic transformation of the 1960s, repeat the theme of economic subjugation of the traditional male breadwinner. In both films, explicit reference is made to America as a land of (consumer) opportunity (in *El pisito*: "Pero no estamos en América" [we do not have such opportunities here], and in *El cochecito*: "la última palabra de la tecnología . . . ultramoderno . . . americano"), and in both, the male protagonist is distinctly disadvantaged within the system in which he finds himself, to the point of appearing in an infantilized state. In *El pisito* a bespectacled and browbeaten José Luis López Vázquez as Don Rodolfo shops for comic books and throws temper tantrums all the while deferring to his discontent and highly critical fiancé, engaged for twelve years and unable to wed because they cannot find an affordable apartment, Rodolfo, at the urging of his fiancé, marries an ageing woman hoping

she will die and leave him her apartment and a chance to live his own life. Ironically he enjoys and embraces his new role, hovering between husband and son, and clearly interacting more peacefully with the old woman than with his fiancé. He is genuinely distraught upon her death and the emptiness of his new life with his longtime girlfriend offers little hope for the future. Driving off for the cemetery at the end of the film, her strident voice echoes as she barks orders and spouts platitudes about their new station in life.

Likewise, in *El cochecito* the ineffectual male protagonist, Don Anselmo, played by Pepe Isbert, reverts to an infantilized state when he finds himself inadequate and unable to master his surroundings. This film provides a social satire of the incipient postwar consumer society and the growing dependence on and desire for foreign (American) goods. Due to the influx of consumer products from the United States, represented by the "cochecito" or motorized wheelchair, Don Anselmo suddenly discovers that he is at a disadvantage next to his physically disabled friends. In a crucial moment he understands himself to be deficient because he is lacking in the latest technology as his friend, indicating his new machine, says: "mejor que las piernas de verdad." Instead of being esteemed for his ability to push his friend's wheelchair as he was in the past, he is left behind by those who now use the prosthetic support that this new consumer product affords. The disrespect his consumer desires earn him at home with his family are strikingly contrasted with the good treatment he is afforded by the wheelchair salesman: "El señor es mi cliente"--his status as a customer is enough to earn him esteem in this new frame of reference. It is as if to say that simply "being a man" in the sense of

possessing physical strength and independence is not sufficient for winning the esteem of one's peers. Quite to the contrary, he is congratulated for his new purchase and Don Anselmo himself suffers no lack of self-respect for his grasping and acquisitive behavior--the owning is what is important--so much so that he is willing to poison his family and steal from his son rather than lose the "cochecito." His only concern as he finally motors off to jail, policemen in tow, is whether or not he will be allowed to keep his wheelchair with him. He has clearly sacrificed the good of the old social order of friends and family, for his own private enjoyment. Finally the "cochecito" affords him complete independence even from his loved ones and peers, as he focuses on the personal satisfaction of ownership and on keeping his new acquisition.

As long as women were thought to esteem and respect male superiority, the fundamental sense of "lack of being" discussed earlier in access to the symbolic order could be masked. However it becomes increasingly apparent in many of the films from the 1950s and 1960s that this was no longer the case. Don Rodolfo's fiancé, Pili's girlfriend in *Surcos* and Juan's wife, Carmen, in *Esa pareja feliz* pose a serious threat to the successful functioning of masculinity of the films' protagonists. As Silverman points out: "the 'ideal' female subject refuses to recognize male lack" and "upholds the male subject in his phallic identity by seeing him with her 'imagination' rather than with her eyes" (*Male Subjectivity* 47). The danger in seeing is, of course, that the functioning of the mechanisms of disavowal of castration and fetishization will be jeopardized thus endangering the grand illusion that has sustained hegemonic representations of masculinity in the past.

Furthermore, while in the cases of Pili and Rodolfo's fiancé there is a genuine and explicit threat of withholding approval--which leads to infantilization in one case and death in the other--in *Esa pareja feliz* it is sufficient only that the husband perceives a possible withholding of approval as he shifts his own perspective of himself to that of his wife. His imagined disapproval projected onto her causes him to become enraged and he chases her around the apartment, hurling violent and unfounded accusations about her lack of faith in him. For her part, though consistently looking with benevolence and acceptance on his schemes, she has never stopped playing games of chance--something that he perceives as a lack of confidence in his abilities as the breadwinner of the family. For this reason the "binding" of the foundational trauma into a coherent narrative in which the male, with the help of the female, repeats the dominant fiction--"man as the breadwinner" in this case--is threatened. As Silverman indicates: "Male mastery rests on an abyss" (*Male Subjectivity* 7) and must be consolidated through constant repetition of the equation of the penis with the phallus. Collective belief in this equation is necessary to maintain the smooth functioning of traditional masculinity.

IV. Desperate Measures: Defense, Containment and Assimilation

In the 1960s, Spanish cinema gave rise to an abundance of films that seemed designed to re-educate males in the practice of a consumerist form of masculinity, while another cinematic current explored the anxieties that social and economic changes produced. The rise of the individual consumer was, at least in part, the result of a conscious strategy conceived of in the Francoist regime: "Indeed the creation of a prosperous consumer society, as theorized and promoted by

archtechnocrat Gonzalo Fernández de la Mora in his 1961 book, *The Twilight of Ideologies*, was conceived as a strategy to guarantee political apathy among Spaniards" (qtd. in Vernon and Morris 66). According to Triana-Toribio, the lack of economic growth in the 1950s forced the regime to reassess its attitude toward industrial development and foreign investment. It sought a way to make Spain attractive abroad and the creation of the Nuevo Cine Español was part of this project. Due to the regime's interest in producing films with international appeal, certain directors were granted a slightly greater degree of freedom. Carlos Saura, due to his success with *Los golfos* (1959) and *La caza* (1965) along with his alliance with the influential producer Elias Querejeta, managed to create films with a degree of greater intellectual integrity and psychological honesty, though he still employed a complex metaphorical style to disguise his criticism. However, the so-called Viejo Cine Español continued to serve an ideological function at home with the majority of the population, introducing them to social changes and consumerist ways of thinking without abandoning their small town, nationalistic worldview: "Popular cinemas rely on recognition and identification with the circumstances of the characters and this is aided through the representation of phenomena new to a Spain which was entering the patterns of Western consumer society through the *desarollismo* [sic]" (Triana-Toribio 75). However even more mainstream productions such as *No desearás al vecino del quinto* (Ramón Fernández, 1970), many films with Manolo Escobar, and "paleto" or country bumpkin cinema in general reveal emerging anxieties through their attempts at containment. Internal contradictions of a society in the process of transformation and uneven development

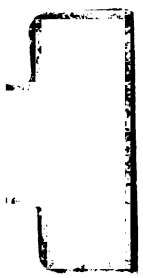
give rise at the same time to a leftist, critical film current appealing to intellectuals and the international art film audience. *Peppermint Frappé* by Carlos Saura won a Silver Bear award in the film festival of Berlin in 1967, and for national audiences of popular cinema the wildly successful first example of the "paleto" genre, *La ciudad no es para mí* by Pedro Lazaga appeared just two years earlier in 1965. Despite obvious differences, both films represent ways of being male in reaction to consumerist pressures.

In *Peppermint Frappé* a repressed, 40-something doctor, Julián, played by José Luis López Vázquez, becomes obsessed with his friend's beautiful, young foreign wife, Elena played by Geraldine Chaplin. After attempts to woo her fail, he kills them both and takes up with his timid secretary whom he has been refashioning in Elena's image. Julián had been a solitary man, spending his time alone carefully cutting out fetishistic images of women from fashion magazines and hiding away on the weekend at a decrepit country house that can be seen to represent the traditional Spain of the past. When he meets the beautiful and uninhibited Elena it is as if those magazine women have materialized before his eyes. He tries to engage her, urging her to remember a previous meeting at the primitive, drumbeating festival at Calanda and thus to incorporate her into his imaginary. She denies it, laughingly telling her husband about Julián's imaginings. His persistence is met with playful resistance, his earnestness with laughter. He becomes increasingly unable to tolerate their jibes and finally poisons them both pushing their red sports car, bodies inside, over a cliff. Julián is the embodiment of the repressed and reserved Spanish man of the era, and exposure to the modern

images of smiling and sexualized women in magazines seems to threaten him. He manages this threat through scopophillic fetishization--using ruler, pen and knife to reframe and slice up the images before him which he then arranges in a scrapbook. When he meets Elena he is initially euphoric, thinking he has found the woman of his dreams from Calanda. However she playfully resists all attempts to confine her, dancing, laughing and running about freely so that, in his frustration, he unleashes his controlling impulses on his secretary Ana (also played by Geraldine Chaplin) who docilely follows his every instruction and willingly inhabits the fantasy Julián has created. This film reveals the tension created in the individual by the rapid influx of consumer images and products into Spain. Julián's attempts at control are inadequate to the task and self-preservation finally demands that he eliminate the threat--sending both the flashy sports car and blond embodiment of the "sueca" or modern foreign woman, into oblivion. This breaking point reveals the incapability of the Spanish male to psychologically assimilate the rapid changes being imposed upon him in the sixties. In a Spain where all but the very rich had until recently shared a common culture of self-denial based on lack, the Catholic exaltation of poverty, and past ideals of masculinity, the sudden exposure to visual, if not actual, consumption throws the protagonist into a state of confusion. Whereas the Spanish male used to be able to take consolation and even pleasure in the fact that by sacrificing his own enjoyment he was securely inserted into the symbolic order, here the pleasure of others is oppressively near as he watches the couple kissing and dancing, and hears them having sex in the room above. He hides his head under the blanket, but to no avail--he cannot avoid their suffocating pleasure that reminds him

of his own lack, his own inability to enjoy as fully as they apparently are. In order to control his anxiety and contain the threat he simply eliminates it and returns to that which he can control--the secretary Ana who agrees to participate in his dream rather than demanding her own.

Saura's presentation of consumerist anxiety was juxtaposed against a backdrop of popular cinema that seemed to try to facilitate interpellation of the viewer into consumer culture. Among these, the extremely successful *La ciudad no es para mí* stands out both for its wide appeal and its adaptation to consumer values. From the very first scene the viewer is placed behind the wheel of a car as the camera uses this vantage point to provide a vision of Madrid while the voice-over describes the city in detail. Though the fast-paced city life is apparently unfavorably compared with that of the small town, a powerful subtext urges the viewer to see the "pueblo" though the eyes of commodity culture as a nostalgic object of consumption, and to enjoy what the city has to offer. The "paleto" protagonist played by Paco Martínez Soria employs his commoner's wisdom to manage life in the big city. Interestingly, Nathan Richardson points to the "paleto's" ability to disrespect the patriarchal authority figure's power and thus open the way to direct satisfaction of one's desires without the unwanted symbolic father's imposition of prohibition. The "paleto" denies his own castration by mocking the authority figures and thus positions the spectator through identification as open to satisfaction of desires and participation in the consumer lifestyle. Richardson states, "patriarchal authority is just another victim of the radical changes brought about by the all absorbing triumph of consumer capitalism" (69). This



transformation is exactly the step that Todd McGowan describes as a shift in power from the "oedipal father of prohibition" to the "anal father of enjoyment." Like Julián in *Peppermint Frappé*, here the viewer is exposed to the expensive goods and perfectly coiffed women that consumer culture holds up for sale and, despite the fact that the protagonist returns to the pueblo, the viewer has learned to see this quaint old character and his small town surroundings as a valuable memory to be stored away. As Richardson has it, "the paleto and his rural idyll became the most coveted and crucial of Spanish commodities" (73).

Despite attempts to package change in a digestible fashion, such a radical about-face as occurred in the representation of the desirable male model brought with it confusion and a renegotiation of male sexuality. By moving toward an ideal of self-indulgence and consumption, the male moved dangerously close to what had been considered to be the realm of women. The problem became how to justify adherence to the new consumer dictate without compromising one's masculinity under the previous system of prohibition as depicted most vividly in those films pertaining to crusade cinema. Encouraging men to consume as promoted in the explosion of television advertising and other mediums in the 1960s implied a rapid reversal of an age-old prohibition against male self-indulgence and consumption--as represented in earlier films of the dictatorship. *No desearás al vecino del quinto* (1970), an extremely popular film by director Ramón Fernández, exemplifies the renegotiation process. This film reveals a growing unease about the masculine role through a (hysterical) ridiculization of the homosexual and, finally, the reestablishment of a completely heterosexual male model. Pedro, a young

gynecologist interested in promoting his new theoretical technique of painless childbirth, is identified as a modern man through his longish hair, slightly feminine good looks, and tolerant attitudes. He finds himself unable to build a practice in his small city due to provincial male attitudes forbidding female nudity from being seen by the virile young doctor. While at a conference in Madrid, Pedro discovers Antón, a supposedly gay fashion designer from his home town (played by Alfredo Landa) at a Madrid nightclub in the company of two beautiful women. Antón reveals that he maintains the homosexual masquerade in the *pueblo* for the sake of his business but comes to the city to carouse and pick up women. He rather easily convinces Pedro to forget his fiancé and join him in his self-indulgent exploits. In the meantime suspicion in the town grows over the nature of Pedro's relationship with Antón causing Pedro's fiancé to come to Madrid where she eventually discovers the truth. Nevertheless they marry and she helps him maintain his own homosexual masquerade as their business thrives in the town. One day an excessively macho Italian named Corleone, husband and father of some of Pedro's patients, also discovers the truth and beats Pedro severely, sending him to the hospital where he is diagnosed as having had a "trauma psíquico" and nearly having to have a transplant of some unnamed organ indicative of his dangeous brush with homosexuality.

This film seems to be a reaction to changing attitudes about male roles which lead to hysteria and the forced containment of homosexuality. It presents the gamut of homosexual stereotypes--from flamboyant, lisping fashion designer complete with poodle, to a mother's fear that her son can "catch" homosexuality from his fifth floor neighbor. It goes to great lengths to prove that, despite

appearances, the two protagonists are most definitely *not* gay--revealing them to be in fact hyper-sexed, scopophillic heterosexual males who simply put on the guise of homosexuality for professional reasons. In fact, despite its treatment of the theme, the film does not actually contain any gay characters. It is as if to imply that, though the viewer may have heard about homosexuality out there, it does not really exist here in Spain--and if one thinks it is there, there is probably a perfectly good *heterosexual* explanation for it. The film's title itself seems like an injunction, Ten Commandments-style, against engaging in such completely unacceptable (though by implication tempting) behavior. The final scene expresses the kind of "near miss" danger that the protagonist has faced as his (now) wife anxiously asks the doctor if her husband has "lost" anything in the attack. The doctor quickly reassures her that, despite the psychic trauma, he has avoided the necessity of a "transplant." The film, like the doctor, has arrived just in time to save its protagonist's manhood and ensure that he will continue to have a "normal" (heterosexual) relationship with his wife. However, by highlighting the performative nature of masculinity--hetero- as well as homosexuality, the film allows a queer reading that calls to mind Freud's insistence on the bisexual nature of each individual and the instability of gender whose complete and permanent resolution is never obtained.

Following Chris Perriam's lead in *Stars and Masculinities in Spanish Cinema* in which he considered the cumulative cultural weight behind individual male stars of Spanish cinema, I examine here the meaning of the iconic embodiment of one star in particular: Manolo Escobar whose great success in the

1960s and 1970s Spanish music and film--along with his off-camera persona--is uniquely situated as a figure of transitional masculinity. Perriam described the way in which the "circulation, reception and cultural currency" of stars can be seen as representational of ideological themes, and that a star might be read as "embodying the nation" (6). Manolo Escobar was consistently represented as the Spanish rags-to-riches success story both on screen and off--mirroring the country's own economic takeoff in the 1960s. His real life marriage to a blond German tourist seemed an extension of films such as *Un beso en el puerto* (1965) where he manages to bridge the gap between traditional Spanish values and the modern world represented by the foreign tourist whom he woos and wins despite cultural and economic differences. Born in Andalusia into a family of humble means, in his youth he traveled with two of his nine siblings to Barcelona where he worked in a metalworking factory among other odd jobs before being "discovered" in a contest on Radio Barcelona in 1957. He recorded seventy records over half of which went gold, and appeared in over twenty films in the 1960s and 1970s. He was consistently represented in the press as the epitome of traditional Spanish manliness and his Andalusian origins dovetailed nicely with traditional tastes for the folkloric figure and "authentic" Spain. By popular vote, Radio España named him "el artista más representativo de España" awarding him a plaque that read "Esto es España, Señores," and in December 2001 he was voted favorite leading man of all time by spectators of "Cine de Barrio," a nostalgic Spanish television show of folkloric "*españolada*" cinema presented by Carmen Sevilla, which suggest its enduring appeal at least among a segment of the audience (Crumbaugh 265).

A closer look at the characters he plays reveals a process of adapting a traditional Spanish masculine model (also embodied in the star Manolo Escobar) to the reality of a modern consumer society. They possess many of the virtues exalted by the dictatorship regime and embodied in the crusade cinema--stoicism, self-renunciation (usually his characters neither smoke nor drink), a formal and reserved character, and most importantly, a distinct lack of interest in money. Some change in his life generally pushes him into contact with the outside world where he maintains his old-world values while often (reluctantly) adapting to the new--pursuing money and fame for instance only to win his simple hometown sweetheart away from a richer rival as in *Mi canción es para ti* (1965). The character of Manolo at the end of the film is supposed to remain relatively unchanged though chance has incorporated him into modern consumer culture, albeit only to "get the girl." However, traditional hegemonic masculinity is also undone in a variety of ways in these films, most obviously in the specularity of the handsome male performer who, like the "paleto" in *La ciudad no es para mí*, becomes the typical Spanish "product" himself.

José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's film *Pero... ¿en que país vivimos?* (1967) shows Escobar as the living embodiment of traditional masculinity--in a marked contrast to the clearly modern "Ye-ye" girl, Conchita Velasco, against whom he is finally induced to compete in a musical contest. An advertising agency mounts a campaign to induce Spaniards to choose between two drinks--the "authentic" Spanish product, manzanilla, represented by the "canción española"; and the more modern whiskey, represented by the "canción moderna." In this film the modern is

clearly associated with the feminine in a variety of ways. The modern (and apparently materialistic) singer "Barbara" (played by Velasco) is easily hired on--she literally jumps at the chance to earn a million pesetas--while Antonio Torres (Escobar) initially refuses, unwilling to compete with anyone ("y menos con una mujer") despite the large sum of money offered to him. His adherence to traditional, non-materialistic masculinity is underscored by his song at this point in the film, "Besos y Flores" (. . . yo vivo sólo por eso . . .). By singing in the traditional style in marked contrast to Barbara, he represents the old-style Spanish gentleman--courtly, restrained, proud but not given to shows of ostentation. In a rather odd exchange between two men in a bar, one older and more formally dressed and the other young with longish hair and modern attire, an argument breaks out over musical preferences. The older men are unwilling to listen to the modern music played on the jukebox by the younger. The younger man defends his choice saying, "Mi duro es tan duro como el tuyo" and the older one shoots back "algo más blando no?"--in what could be interpreted as a veiled reference to the masculinity of the other--hardness being a traditionally desirable male characteristic.

Softness does not seem to be a characteristic that could be associated with Manolo Escobar in the following scene. His hair slicked down over angular facial features, pants carefully creased, he is esconced in his manly lair, caring for his pet wolves and surrounded by guns and stuffed birds (recalling Franco's hobby of hunting). He is visited by Barbara, whose beauty not only causes this non-drinker to pour himself a whiskey, but also to agree to sign onto the project--which instead

of a compromise of his traditional manliness can actually be seen as its opposite--a man so virile that only his appreciation of a beautiful woman could sway him from his initial position. In another move that further reframes his compromise with consumerism he renounces the money, asking instead that, should he win, he be allowed to cut Barbara's hair according to his taste. It is an interesting request especially considering that female hair cutting has been seen as the equivalent of female castration (Kinder, *Blood Cinema* 22)--a generalization that seems to hold up as later shots reveal women at the competitions holding signs that say "No nos cortáis la melena." / "Don't cut our hair." (No men hold such signs). An angry Barbara responds by saying: "Si pierdes tú ¿qué corto?" ("If you lose, what do I cut?"), and Antonio's instant reply shoots back: "Yo no tengo nada cortable" ("I don't have anything cutable") as if to deny even the possibility of male castration. So the contest rages between the canción "española" versus the "moderna"--as if to overlook the fact that it is now all "moderno" in the sense that it is part of a huge, modern advertising campaign. Predictably, the two fall in love before the contest is ever decided and resolution is achieved when Barbara voluntarily cuts her own hair--providing the comforting illusion of voluntary submission. The film ends with an apparently sexually satisfied Barbara (seen wearing a robe with cigarette burning in ashtray) calling in "sick" to her secretary thus confirming the entrance of modern values (sexual permissiveness) while at the same time re-affirming the virility of he who has nothing "cortable."

V. Conclusion

By the final years of the dictatorship it became obvious that the self-abnegating and restrained masculine model illustrated most clearly in crusade cinema was inconsistent with a rapidly changing consumerist economy in Spain. The early dictatorship's need for justification and approval of the masses required that it convince people that virtue and esteem resided in giving and going without. Hegemonic masculinity was seen as that which based itself in a hierarchical notion of social organization centered on what the individual could offer, not what he could claim for himself. The hierarchy demanded conformity and could not tolerate dissent of any kind. Self-centered or self-indulgent behavior was considered the domain of women and the good male was seen to resist any temptation to gratify himself. However, when public policy demanded that Spain open itself to consumerist values in an attempt to jump start the economy, Spanish films both reflected and promoted changes in the desired male models as a result. As women were also interpellated as individual consumers, they began to question the superiority of those men who did not succeed within this new paradigm. The withdrawal of their adoring gaze, as seen in *Surcos*, *El pisito*, *Esa pareja feliz* and many other films of the era, reflects the beginnings of a collective loss of belief in the traditional hierarchy with its focus on the self-sacrificing model of masculinity. Following the requirements of a consumer society, individuals--men and women alike--were encouraged to see themselves as fundamentally lacking and that, unlike in the past, this lack was not a virtue, but a fault. Thus, in a very short time, and possibly for the first time in the history of Spain, man appeared to be esteemed not

for his ability to renounce his own needs and desires, but for his ability to take advantage of consumer opportunities that were suddenly available. This change marked a dramatic shift in the way masculinity had been lived in Spain up to this point and effected a breakdown or crisis in the representation of masculinity in the 1970s that will be evidenced by an abundance of "perverse" or non-traditional masculine figures in cinema.

Chapter 3: Breakdown of the Hegemonic Male Model

By the final years of the dictatorship, ideological inconsistencies produced by rapid economic development and the subsequent changes in social roles created a tremendous amount of stress on the process of masculine subject formation. Cinematic representations of desirable masculinity became increasingly ambiguous as representations of men continued to maintain elements of the stoical self-renouncing macho of the past while also incorporating the fundamentally incongruent consumerist values of the 1960s and 1970s which encouraged the male subject to see himself as desirous and acquisitive--and thus fundamentally lacking. So while hegemonic masculinity had been based on an ideal of self-sufficiency, renunciation and the patriarchal hierarchy, it now needed to reorient itself around self-indulgence and a status system based on buying-power rather than self-sacrifice. The tenuous maintenance of the hierarchical model was further eroded by the death of the patriarchal father figure, Francisco Franco, in 1975, as well as rapid social changes in the 1970s and early 1980s that affected traditional roles. Cristina Moreiras Menor describes this shift in the following way:

> Si el final del período dictatorial dio entrada en la arena política, a la transición a una democracia representativa, en la arena social y cultural da entrada a la instalación abrupta, apenas sin transición, a una modernidad tecnológica, informacional y económica. La transformación se produce de una sociedad que caminaba bajo la hegemonía de un poder estatal totalitario [. . .] en otra cuyo centro

de control va diseminándose apenas imperceptiblemente. La hegemonía estatal se transforma en la hegemonía del mercado. (67)

As a result, traditional or hegemonic masculinity of the dictatorship as illustrated most clearly in relation to *cine de cruzada,* experienced a crisis, leading to its breakdown in the 1970s and producing a profusion of new male models marked by failure, deviance and "perversion." A sort of masculine hysteria surfaced at this time as political, economic and social change disturbed the hegemonic model and caused a re-working of it. This hysteria, described by Sigmund Freud as a psychological reaction in men who failed to take up what he thought of as the proper dominant patriarchal masculine role, can be observed in the many dysfunctional and problematized male figures presented in film that markedly stray from the powerful, hegemonic, heterosexual norm of the majority of dictatorship films. Male characters seem to suffer at the hands of their mothers and other women, their fathers, the authorities, their own memories, the mass media, their work, etc., and often ultimately fail at or reject traditionally accepted, normative heterosexual relationships, living in isolation or "perversion."

The destabilization of the patriarchal hierarchy in 1970s Spain was accompanied by a reaction of deep ambivalence which is represented in film through the many alienated male figures that appear profoundly displaced with neither a clear enemy against which to fight nor a hierarchy within which to conform. Fundamental changes in the social paradigm de-valued traditional masculinity's hierarchical structure while simultaneously altering almost beyond recognition the nature of the essentially binary opposition that was either opposed

to or in favor of the dictatorship: "'Cuando Franco muere, la sociedad española abandona de forma súbita ese discurso politico estructurado hasta entonces en modelos de izquierda y derecha y polarizado en torno a la figura de Francisco Franco'" (J.C. Mainer qtd. in Esquirol, Fecé 168). Following the suggestion of Teresa Vilarós, I contend that the loss of the forbidden utopia that existed as a kind of prohibited transcendence left a painful absence in the lives of the newly "free" Spaniards--a trend that would later culminate in the 1980s with "pasotismo" or lack of political involvement among the youth. As Vilarós describes: "La utopía fue la droga de adicción de las generaciones que vivieron el franquismo. La muerte de Franco señala la retirada de la utopía y la eclosión de un síndrome de abstinencia, un mono que obedece a un 'requerimiento inconsciente' y a una 'necesidad visceral' según las palabras de Berlanga" (qtd. in Vilarós 27). Male figures begin to turn inward at this time attacking the internalized father figure in a masochistic disavowal of a bankrupt masculine model that cannot come to fruition given the loss of the grand patriarch and threats to the stability of the hierarchy. Lacanian theorist Todd McGowan reiterates Foucault's proposal that: "introduction of the Law is an obscene act, an act of producing the possibility of the enjoyment it prohibits" (16), thus prohibition had provided the assurance that, even though they may not experience it directly, *there was something beyond,* or rather a place where enjoyment was possible. This can be seen in a widely held misconception about the movie *Gilda.* The general public in Spain believed that "Rita Hayworth did not just peel off her long glove to the tune of 'Put the Blame on Mame', but stripped for the cameras completely—and that this sight had been

denied them by the censor's scissors" (Tremlett 195). The sense of an enjoyment that was possible beyond the prohibition was a staple in the lives of Spaniards who lived under a repressive government who closely monitored behavior as well as the media. Though, as stated earlier, the dictatorship never had a coherent policy on censorship, its long alliance with the Catholic Church and concern for self-justification and social order, had ensured that films that challenged Christian morality and dictatorship values were suppressed. As José Augustín Mahieu states: "No hubo entonces un cine franquista característico salvo por omisión. La censura se encargaba de eliminar críticas o riesgos morales, entusiastamente secundada por otro de los pilares del régimen, la Iglesia" (103). Thus, lacking a proactive program of film production, the dictatorship was primarily concerned with prohibition. It was not until 1963 that the first censorship code was articulated and until 1976 that censorship of scripts was abolished completely.

The reversal of this long-standing practice led to an outpouring of creative as well as libidinous expression in the mid-1970s, but also gave way to a sense of disenchantment as the utopian "beyond" slipped away along with the prohibition that had sustained it. And as McGowan expresses it in relation to the murder of the primal father: "the murder of the primal father has the effect of triggering fantasies about the enjoyment that he experienced prior to his death. These fantasies sustain those who have sacrificed their own enjoyment in the collective renunciation that made the murder possible, and they provide the reassurance that, if enjoyment is inaccessible now, at least it once was accessible for someone" (15). Vazquez Montalban's statement that: "con(tra) Franco vivimos mejor" (qtd.

in Vilarós 66) expresses an idea that Carlos Saura reiterates in his struggle for expression in 1976: "The things that bother me in Spain are less clear than under Franco" (qtd. in Hopewell 141). As the "Law" began to wane during the last years of the *dictablanda* due to the ill health of Franco, the death of Carrero Blanco and the softening of legal restraints, Spanish masculinity lost its moorings of the past as either obedient to or reacting against a patriarchal father figure or the "father of prohibition" and sought to reorient itself in a variety of ways. This phenomenon was particularly important for masculine identity formation given the clearly patriarchal power structure in place in dictatorship Spain. As Vilarós points out: "Estamos ante una herencia y por tanto situados claramente ante una economía patriarcal, ante un estado de cosas que se dirime sobre todo entre padres e hijos y no, al menos de momento, entre padres e hijas, o entre madres e hijas aunque ellas también estén implicadas y resultan afectadas" (44). Martín Morán and Marina Díaz López observe that "la transición era por excelencia un espacio político androcéntrico" (181) and point out that while a dominant theme of films of this period was the construction of identity, it was the masculine identity: "Entre las muchas películas que giran en torno a esta temática son prácticamente nulas las protagonizadas por mujeres" (182). Because of the importance of the patriarchal hierarchy and the role men played in it, masculine models appear to have been more directly disrupted than feminine ones during this period. This is reflected in a shift in focus from dictatorship films (post Crusade cinema) with female leads--like many CIFESA epics, melodramas and *españoladas*--to a preponderance of male-protagonized films in the 1970s.

This chapter will examine films of the political transition from the early 1970s until 1982, the year in which the Socialist party was voted into power in Spain. As previously mentioned, the years leading up to this period were characterized by important social and economic changes that clearly effected a change in the process of masculine identity formation. As Peter Evans describes it, "The years between 1960 and 1975 were riddled with contradictions and contrasts. This period saw the most accelerated, deep seated social, economic, and cultural transformation in Spanish history" (Graham and Labanyi 259). From 1961 to 1973 Spain's economy grew by 7 percent a year, outpaced in the developed world only by Japan (Tremlett 53). Hopewell has observed that Spain by the 1970s "was a curious mix of Catholicism and consumerism" (47) reflecting on one hand a traditional, hierarchical social arrangement and on the other, a new equalizing force that sought to make all into consumers. Men were caught at a crossroads in which the process of the positive oedipal identification, or rather identification with the father and the hierarchy as a means of social insertion, was threatened by a changing social arrangement and by the disappearance of the strong patriarch. The resolution of the Oedipus complex should lead to a phallic, heterosexual male identity as Peter Hartocollis describes:

the little boy's realization of his father's opposition to his oedipal wishes prompts his infantile ego to identify with Father and, 'borrowing strength from the father', to repress the Oedipus complex [. . .] From a sexual (and aggressive) desire, repressed by the fear of castration, the Oedipus complex becomes now the

organizing principle that propels the boy's psychosexual development from its phallic phase to the latency period and the consolidation of the superego" (325). Lacan elaborated on Freud's theory, maintaining the importance of the oedipal complex, but affirming that the process was not biological or developmental, but rather social. Elizabeth Grosz summarizes Lacan's theory in the following way:

> This process of social construction is predicated on the necessary renunciation and sacrifice of the child's access to the maternal body and to the child's submission to the Law of the Father. The paternal figure serves to separate the child from an all-encompassing engulfing, and potentially lethal relation with the mother. The father intervenes into this imaginary dyad and represents the Law. The Father embodies the power of the phallus and the threat of castration. Accepting this authority and phallic status is the precondition of the child's having a place within the socio-symbolic order, a name, and a speaking position. (142-3)

Many films from the 1970s represent the pitfalls of this process: sons become "engulfed" by the castrating mother, some are extremely violent and anti-social, many are unable to identify with an absent father, etc. The resolution of this process rarely seems to reach completion, or rather, many male figures do not identify with their fathers and they do not adopt normative heterosexual patriarchal roles.

The first section of this chapter will describe the breakdown of the hierarchy and the prohibitions it enforced focusing on how male figures attempt to

master the rapid influx of consumer goods and influences into Spain, an attempt at control that is often transferred onto the man's relationship with women. It is exemplified perhaps most vividly in the popular "third way" film *La vida conyugal sana* (Roberto Bodegas 1974) in which the middle-class male protagonist finds himself torn between strict adherence on one hand to the morality and prohibitions of the past, and on the other a complete licentiousness represented by his obsession with female models and his uncontrollable desire to buy. Other films like *Ana y los lobos* (Carlos Saura 1972) and *Bilbao* (Bigas Luna 1978) focus on male protagonists who attempt to dominate and control women as a means of gaining mastery in the one sphere of power that had traditionally been granted them under the dictatorship. These attempts to control their surroundings are generally conservative in nature, demonstrating a desire to return masculinity to a position of dominance and supremacy in the face of the burgeoning power of women and the omnipresence of consumer goods. In the second section I will expand on Marsha Kinder's excellent study of the oedipal family in *Blood Cinema* as a framework for analyzing the effect of changing social and economic conditions on the identity formation of the individual male. Handicapped or absent fathers, castrating, over-dominant mothers and stunted, often self-destructive children abound in Spanish cinema of the 1970s and represent the disruption brought about by the weakening of dictatorial power as an organizing principle. A number of films from this period exhibit a breakdown in the resolution of the Oedipus complex and the process of maturation of the individual male character. This lack of oedipal resolution leads to an abundance

of infantilized or alienated male characters who are unable to assume a functioning, normative, heterosexual adult male role in the patriarchal society, as represented for example in *Furtivos* (Borau 1975), in which a domineering, incestuous mother thwarts her adult son's attempt to become independent from her through marriage. The third section analyzes the manifestations and implications of subversive or "perverse" representations of masculinity, especially those masochistic or homosexual male figures that can be seen as a collective attempt to exorcise the presence of the father and to erase one's resemblance to him, but which can also be considered along Slavoj Zizek's theories, as: "the perverse by-products [which] far from effectively threatening the system of symbolic domination, are its inherent transgressions, i.e., its unacknowledged, obscene support" (7). Among these, films by Eloy de la Iglesia such as *Los placeres ocultos* (1977) and *El diputado* (1978) figure prominently as family structures are reexamined and reconfigurations considered. I will treat here early appearances of homosexuality in Spanish film that are often markedly political and realistically portrayed. Further discussion of the topic, including treatment of the work of Pedro Almodóvar, will appear in chapter four. Finally, I will consider the 1970s "sexy comedies" as a representation of conservative cinema's attempt to reconcile heterosexual male power which was traditionally based on an image of wholeness, with consumerism's model of the male as lacking--as the male figure is seen to avidly consume female bodies, thus apparently affirming his heterosexuality while entering firmly into the realm of the consuming subject. Especially prominent within this trend are many films by Alfredo Landa (origin of

the so-called "Landismo") and those including comedic actors Andrés Pajares and Fernando Esteso.

I. Consumer Pressure and the Struggle for Mastery

Man's relationship to women constitutes a privileged site for observing the processes of and strains on identity formation. As the traditional mirror, or bearer of the reflected male identity, she is burdened with the responsibility for difficulties he encounters in the process of subject formation. While mutually supportive, loving relationships between men and women have never been a mainstay of Spanish cinema, the level of dysfunction reaches a new extreme during the 1970s, reflecting both the intense ambivalence that men felt about their own subjectivity as well as a sense of confusion about changing gender roles in a consumer society. As Hopewell points out regarding cinematic relationships in the Transition, "Love for women is replaced in men by fear and resentment. Men fear for their sexual performance; woman is seen as sexually voracious [. . .] relationships become battles of the sexes" (183). Lydia Falcón, founder of the Feminist Party in Spain, makes a similar observation about men in Spanish society at the time: "En lo que están de acuerdo los expertos es en que, debajo de su máscara, el macho hispano suele esconder un miedo atroz por la mujer, una gran desconfianza producida en buena parte por su ignorancia" (110). Though it is outside the scope of this work to investigate the reasons for this alleged animosity and mistrust, two of the institutions supportive of Franco's regime and mentioned in the previous chapter are undoubtedly at least partly to blame: the Catholic Church which cast sexual relations in a consistently negative light, and

the Sección Femenina which discouraged friendship between men and women. Added to these was the patriarchal ideology of the dictatorship that encouraged gender divisions based on a male/dominant-female/subordinate dichotomy. While gender relations in the dictatorship were surely fraught with many of the same problems--mistrust, violence, competitiveness, etc.--these were incorporated into a general social structure based on hierarchical differences that were widely accepted, with the male being generally acknowledged as superior. This hierarchical model provided a degree of power and security to the male no matter how low his overall social standing. As the patriarchy weakened and consumerism leveled the social differences between men and women, an intense reaction was played out in Spanish films of the era. As women withdrew their approving gaze, men were forced to see their own weakness and vulnerability and often reacted violently to the change.

Several so-called *auteur* films from the early 1970s exemplify the sense of powerlessness, confusion and resistance produced in male characters in the face of change. In these films the male protagonists try to navigate social change, bringing into relief their inability to use tools of the past to cope with the challenges they currently face. Woman is often seen here to embody change and as such, is the object of male confusion. Male characters reveal their fear and ambivalence about their own identities by displacing them onto the woman and, like Julián in *Peppermint Frappé*, they try to manage change by controlling female characters who are seen to embody that threat as they reflect potential castrating forces. In *Ana y los lobos*, *Habla, Mudita* (Gutiérrez Aragón 1973),

Tamaño natural (Berlanga 1973) and *Bilbao,* male characters try to manipulate female ones, becoming frustrated when these women do not submit to their will and do not see them as they would like to be seen. Other films like the televised short film *La cabina* (Mercero 1972) and the "third way" films *El hombre que se quiso matar* (Gil 1970), and *La vida conyugal sana* expressly link economic changes with the confusion and paralysis that afflict their protagonists. Meanwhile the popular films of Manolo Escobar continue to provide resolution to the dilemma--reconciling the common man to the new economic and social realities.

Carlos Saura, a director who had been granted a somewhat greater degree of artistic freedom under Francoism as seen in chapter two, continued in the critical vein that had produced such films as *Peppermint Frappé*. In 1972 he released *Ana y los lobos*, a film that was highly critical of dictatorship institutions, but which Franco is said to have personally viewed and allowed (Hopewell 76). In it a young foreign nanny, Ana, (Geraldine Chaplin) comes to live with a family at their isolated country estate, the house and the domestic sphere frequently representing the national political arena. The three middle-aged sons, representing the triumvirate of male power under the dictatorship--the military José, the sexual Juan, and the religious Fernando--all try to engage Ana and draw her into their world. Geraldine Chaplin, daughter of Charles Chaplin and romantic as well as artistic partner of Carlos Saura, comes to occupy an important niche in the *oeuvre* of this important director. As a foreigner, Chaplin is allowed to represent those values considered separate from Spanish womanhood and thus

the "sueca," or modern foreign woman, could be grappled with and, as in this film, eliminated as an expression of resistance to the dissonance produced by her presence. She interacts temporarily with each of the three brothers, ultimately rejecting them all. Their physically paralyzed yet emotionally domineering Mamá (their father is dead) encourages the sons in their pursuit, inciting them to compete among themselves for Ana, but ultimately casting negative judgment on her ("Ésta no es como las otras. ¡Es mala mala mala!"). Ana's foreignness is clearly marked throughout the film. In the first long take in which she appears, her appearance is modern with hair loose and pants tight, carrying her own suitcase across an extensive barren field toward the house. Shortly after her arrival José grabs her passport and asks her perfunctory questions about her travels just as a border control agent might ("por el bien de todos"), while her tape player blasts foreign pop music in the background. Already dominated by their forceful, opinionated mother (and Juan by his "frigid" wife Luchi), the three men seek understanding from this newcomer, attempting to demonstrate their power before her. After she eventually rejects each of them--ridiculing José's "murder" of a mechanical bird, confronting Juan about his pornographic love letters, and rejecting Fernando's attempt to induct her into his monastic community of one by cutting her hair--it becomes clear that she will not be assimilated. She packs her things to leave but is waylaid by the three brothers who act now in concert to subdue her--Juan raping her, Fernando cutting her hair and José shooting her dead. This final attack can be seen as a desperate attempt to turn back the clock and thus contain the changes that threaten their way of life and historical

patriarchal privilege. Unable to master the threat of the forces of modernization represented here by their failed attempt to influence and impress Ana, they simply eliminate her, using brute force as their male prerogative has traditionally dictated. However, unlike Julián who reverted to controlling his secretary in Saura's earlier film, the brothers are now left alone to try to carry on the patriarchy. Their aged mother will die, Luchi has already rejected Juan, their father is long dead and there are no sons to carry on the family name. They are left isolated and rejected with no hope of a future--the final result of their heinous acts.

Another film from the same year, *Habla Mudita* by director Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón, uses as its focal point a relationship between an older man and a younger woman. The teacher-pupil dynamic that characterizes their relationship recalls the Pygmalion myth in which the powerful male molds the woman into his ideal and then falls in love with the image he has created. While on vacation in a northern forest in Spain, the educated linguist from Madrid, Ramiro (José Luis López Vázquez), "discovers" and tries to teach an attractive deaf-mute girl to speak. Tired of his family and the trappings of his urban life, he ventures off by himself to recover some of his things from a "refugio" higher up in the hills, a symbolic last refuge of traditional masculinity away from the effects of a changing society. When he gets lost, the space he enters is marked off as a sort of pre-literate, fairy tale universe: he awakens from a nap in the woods to a dense fog through which he navigates by following a passing cow. The beast leads him to the home of the "Mudita" (Kitty Manver) who lives with her grandmother,

mother and deaf-mute brother. The "animal" nature of the Mudita is presented through an emphasis on her body--she chews and spits out garlic rather than chopping it, licks her small blackboard clean, and is told by Ramiro that she smells of livestock. She watches all and reacts with animal-like wariness to unexpected movements and situations. The "un-civilized" nature of the place is also emphasized by the existence of an incestuous relationship between her and her deaf-mute brother, a relationship that does not elicit a reaction of shame from her, thus demonstrating her lack of exposure to social mores and prohibitions.

Don Ramiro discovers the Mudita who, interestingly, is never named in the film and immediately sets out to teach her to speak. To him she is a sort of splendid tabula rasa upon which he can write his name, or rather the "name-of-the-father," foundation of the symbolic order as described by Lacan (he repeatedly tries to get her to repeat "Ra-mi-ro"), and his attentions extend to encouraging her to "ser una señorita." He would like to position himself as a sort of savior/guru, becoming her sole source of information and education. He does eventually succeed in getting her to clean herself up and to repeat a few sounds, but his experiment goes awry as he finds he cannot control her desires. "Pídeme lo que quieras" he urges her in a tender moment, but when she reaches for his radio he becomes angry and brutally slaps her off her chair. It is as if he wants her to learn but only from him and not from the radio which would allow in those modern consumer forces that he does not control and from which he now flees. However, despite his efforts to avoid it, Ramiro cannot hold the outside world at bay forever. After spending a night together in an abandoned bus, the two are

surrounded by angry members of their respective worlds--those from the village who accuse him of rape, and his wife and family who would try to protect the family's dignity. In the end he is led off, docile and dejected, to his stern-looking wife, whose features soften into a look of triumph as they silently head back to Madrid. It is as if he has awakened from a virile fantasy in which he was the omnipotent keeper of knowledge and patriarchal power, and condemned to return to a life of diminishing respect in which his grandson tells him he is so old he might as well die, and where his wife solicitously asks him about his bowel movements, reducing him to an infantilized figure in modern society. This image recalls the earlier film *Surcos* which established a tension between traditional patriarchal values represented by the countryside, with the forces of modernization and consumerism which serve to emasculate the individual male figure who fails to dominate them. Like the patriarch in *Surcos*, Ramiro's masculine power seems to function only away from the city, or rather away from the environment where patriarchal power has become confused and obfuscated by a value-system that represents the forces of modernization.

The struggle to reconcile traditional masculinity with social and economic changes of the 1970s through the control of women is again played out in Luis Berlanga's *Tamaño natural*. Written by Rafael Azcona, this film, which is set in Paris, was originally released in French (interior shots were done in Madrid) and because of censorship, appeared in France several years earlier than its 1978 release in Spain; however its well-known Spanish director and screenwriter situate it within the corpus of Spanish cinema. It is an interesting attempt to

reconcile commodity culture, the exoticism of the foreign woman and traditional masculinity--an attempt that utterly fails in the end. In the film a dentist named Michel (Michel Piccoli) receives a life-size polyurethane sex doll that he has ordered from Japan--thus exercising his consumerist power but, ironically, as a way to recreate gender relations of the past. He proceeds to treat the doll as if it were a real woman: courting, talking to, having sex with, "marrying" and ultimately growing jealous of and "killing" it. Meanwhile his real wife, who appears very liberal and modern in her attitudes about relationships, makes an attempt to convert herself into a doll-like creature in a desperate attempt to save her marriage. The attempt quickly fails when her husband shuts her in a closet (as he often does to the "real" doll) and rejects her when she begins to cry--the lack of emotion being precisely one of the doll's valued qualities. The doll is seen not as a supplement or addition to his fantasy life, but rather as a replacement for his wife whom he feels is too complicated. Unlike his wife who argues, expresses emotion and generally confuses him (as in an argument over whether she objects to his going out without her and he says: "Dices sal y queda."/"You tell me to go and then to stay."), the doll cooperates unconditionally with his every whim and fantasy making no demands ("Otras quieren un yate"), and reflecting himself back as he would like to be seen. As Silverman has pointed out, "The 'ideal' female subject refuses to recognize male lack, and disavowal and fetishism provide important mechanisms for effecting this refusal" (*Male Subjectivity* 47). The doll becomes the ultimate fetishized woman's body; the many closeups and partial shots that dismember its "integral being", along with its lack of volition, position

it as the ideal protection against the recognition of castration. Throughout the film he maintains a "dialogue" with the doll in which she apparently assents to the many questions he asks her. Additionally, the doll is granted a false visual position of agency as, for example, when Michel speaks the words "Eres muy guapo" while the camera delivers a closeup of the doll's face as if she were the speaker.

The protagonist reinforces his own identity through the doll which is seen to be complicit and agreeable in every aspect of his psychological drama; he continually asks and affirmatively answers questions as if she were responding. He is able to pose and dress the doll according to his whim--a propensity that is reiterated in a sequence in which after first receiving the doll, pinching her nipple and serving her a drink, the camera shifts from a close-up of the doll's mouth to the mouth of a young girl in his office upon whom he is fitting braces. This juxtaposition suggests his desire to mold or form the female as he likes. This shot is immediately followed by one of the doll, now in the little girl's place in the dentist's chair, thus reinforcing the equation of the "malleable" little girl with the doll. Interestingly his ageing mother seems to prefer the inanimate doll to his real wife as well. Dressing it in her old clothes and using it to hold yarn while she knits, she points out that she has been able to spend more peaceful time with the doll than she was ever able to with his busy, modern wife. The idyll comes to an end however when he discovers that the doll has been "unfaithful" to him--or rather that the doorman has been using it for his own sexual pleasure. Michel becomes enraged and, like the three brothers in *Ana y los lobos*, he "kills" the

uncontrollable "female" by brutally and repeatedly stabbing it thus eliminating the threat. Whereas in Saura's film the men were allowed to live on with their anachronistic patriarchal values and agonize in their own seclusion outside of society (albeit apparently destined for extinction), Michel is actually killed off in the film--his car going over a bridge and into the Seine. As a last (bitter?) irony, the doll's body floats to the surface as if in a final act of insubordination. As Hopewell has observed about films of the Transition, "The traumatized love seen in Spanish films goes beyond the repression of women. It often entails their disavowal, a complete obliviousness to their independent existence which, if challenged, may prompt the woman's sublimation, and her total annihilation" (170). Michel represents a version of masculinity so extremely destabilized and vulnerable that it cannot tolerate any perceived recognition of its own weakness. The "murder" of the doll represents Michel's inability to assimilate changing gender roles in a modern society.

One of the most fascinating if disturbing Spanish films of the 1970s repeats the theme of the male who prefers his own imaginary to the company of a real woman: José Juan Bigas Luna's *Bilbao*. In this film Leo (Ángel Jové), a maladjusted and solitary young man, tries to throw off the control of his older caretaker/lover/mother figure and enter into a relationship with Bilbao (Isabel Pisano), a stripper/prostitute and the object of his scopophillic obsession. Presented at the Cannes International Film Festival in 1978, it generated considerable interest and was the subject of lively debate and scandal in some circles. The film received the "S" classification in Spain for its sexual content

and, while many went to see it out of an interest in its alleged eroticism, it has been highly praised by critics as well. Juan Bulfill described *Bilbao* as "perhaps the first film to tackle in earnest the use of the urban landscape and the description of what we would call 'modern life'" (qtd. in Triana-Toribio 121), and the entire film is suffused with a suffocating materialism reflecting consumer culture. In the words of Bigas Luna, "Ángel-Leo se encuentra perdido en un mundo de objetos, consumista. En el fondo de la película también hay una simbología grande de lo que es el consumo por el consumo, que en aquel momento estaba comenzando" (Pisano 79). Extreme close-ups of Bilbao's glossy red lips and bouncing breasts in garish neon lights as well as a fish photographed with a sausage hanging out of its mouth are interspersed with a multitude of the fetishistically close shots of consumer gadgets and products that are seen to form an integral part of both the psychic and physical routine of the protagonist. The film has been described as "un largo plano detalle en el que se nos narran las peculiares relaciones de Leo con los objetos" (Pisano 20). The material reality of products and images, indeed of pleasure itself in the close-ups of strippers and prostitutes, represents the breakdown of the symbolic distance that had been enforced in the society of prohibition. Here Leo, who often appears in the film in the role of the spoiled and petulant child, has access to whatever he wants, including Bilbao's body, both for visual consumption as well as sexual pleasure. The representation of this immediacy is consonant with what Jean Baudrillard calls "the ecstasy of communication" and describes in the following way: "There is no longer any transcendence or depth, but only the immanent surface of operations unfolding,

the smooth and functional surface of communication" (12). The onset of a media-centered existence brings with it the disintegration of the distinction between public and private space. This destruction is accompanied by the disappearance of the symbolic benefit of alienation or rather the loss of the ability to separate subject from object, self from Other. McGowan, discussing Baudrillard, goes on to explain how this immanence removes any sense of transcendence that the subject was afforded in a society of prohibition--a society that marked off a public space where enjoyment was not to be taken. This lack is felt as a constant pressure to seek self-satisfaction as is reflected in Leo's interior monologue. In a voice-over representing his interior monologue he continually asks himself if he is happy, considering relationships with others, especially his caretaker/lover, María. His focus on his own happiness and satisfaction represent a consumerist state of mind consistent with the constant exposure of the average individual to the many advertising media and campaigns of the day.

Leo tries to manage this immediacy in a strikingly similar way to Julián in *Peppermint Frappé*--by cutting out and pasting into scrapbooks advertisements for consumer products ("anuncios y recortes que quiero ordenar") as well as reminders and photographs of Bilbao of whom he would like to gain control ("Quiero apoderarme de Bilbao, apoderarme de todas sus cosas"). For Leo, Bilbao is just one more object to add to his collection. As Bigas Luna says: "lo [Bilbao's body] ve como un objeto que quiere tener para él del mismo modo que un niño quiere tener un juguete para jugar con él" (Pisano 29). This is in keeping with McGowan's description of human relations in a society of commanded

enjoyment: "All enjoyment involves seeing the Other as nothing more than a tool and not showing 'consideration' for the Other" (14). As described previously, Freud postulated the murder of the primal father and the prohibition of incest as the foundational acts for social order after which, "the sons recognize that, if they are to live together in relative peace, they must agree to a collective renunciation of enjoyment. Without this collective renunciation, no one can have any feeling of security, because there is nothing to mediate a life-and-death struggle for enjoyment" (McGowan 15). Leo has no sense of self-restraint and does not consider at any time what Bilbao desires, much less her boyfriend/pimp, but rather sees her as a means to fulfill his own desires--even to the point of causing her death.

Nevertheless, Leo seems to sense that there is something threatening about this ever-present, palpable existence of the material world. He first tries to manage it by attempting to contain it in his scrapbook, and later by his willful desire to strip away the immanence of Bilbao's body. He seeks to return her to a sort of spiritual/symbolic plane by realizing his vision of seeing her body appear to float, and finally, photographing her in this position. Bigas Luna himself has related this floating state to a sort of non-materialism: "tiene siempre esa obsesion de las cosas flotando, que yo la tengo también. Las cosas suspendidas en el aire me parecen algo místico (Pisano 96). In various moments throughout the film he repeats the words, "Quiero verla flotando" and he develops an elaborate plan to achieve this goal. Kidnapping and rendering her unconscious with chloroform, he elevates her body by tying her limbs with cords attached to the ceiling, and finally

taking a photograph of her floating body which he will later put in his scrapbook. Her body seems to resist his attempt to make it "float" or escape the bounds of the material world, both when a leg comes untied and flops to the floor, and also when, in being dragged from one place to another, her head drops sharply to the floor causing her death. Finally, after achieving his goal and then shaving her pubis (symbolic castration), he positions her in a chair next to his own, clasping her hand and watching a pornographic film next to her unconscious, naked body. It is as if he would like to recreate a chaste dating rite of the past--like an adolescent attending the cinema with his beloved. In this way he attempts to contain threatening changes and recapture gender relations of the past, relations that are now shown to be irretrievably lost due to changes in himself and society--including a taste for the newly available pornography. Like Michel in *Tamaño natural*, Leo rejects the possibility of a real relationship in the modern world for an idealized vision. But ultimately, his is a vision that can only take place in the absence of an actual partner--first chloroformed into unconsciousness, and then, finally, dead. Like Michel's, his solipsistic vision needs to be protected from another consciousness that would contradict and complicate it by expressing its own desires. The only way he can realize his dream is by obviating completely the consciousness of the other and thus containing the potential threat reflected back through a woman's desire. Perhaps Bigas Luna himself does something similar by converting Bilbao's body into a symbol--after death her body is consigned to a sausage factory where she will presumably be ground up and turned out in a new form. The woman's body will take the form of the sausage or

penis, a visual representation of the phallus and ultimate protection against castration anxiety.

Economic changes are directly addressed in various films of the early 1970s which problematize the individual males' relationship to employment, the business world and consumerism. Among them *El hombre que se quiso matar*, *La cabina* and *La vida conyugal sana* are three that are particularly interesting in terms of the relationship of the male protagonist to his surroundings. All three of them represent a character who is confused and unable to successfully manage his life, making specific reference to the work world and mastery within it. Rafael Gil's *El hombre que se quiso matar*, a 1970 remake of a 1942 film by the same name and director, presents economic limitations as a cause for suicide. The male protagonist, a Latin teacher at a boys' school, is unable to advance financially and decides to kill himself--but not until after he has had a chance to enjoy several days of the complete freedom that the decision affords him. The press catches wind of his situation and for a short time he is treated as a hero, a figure of interest to all for his "devil-may-care" attitude and the anticipated spectacle of his suicide. He finds, however, that in the end he no longer wants to die because now he has fallen in love. So with cameras rolling, he escapes with his beloved, realizing that now he is very much attached to life. The temporal contextualization is emphasized in this version of the film as newspaper headlines shown over the opening credits announce happenings of the day: a case of patricide, violence against a vacationing "sueca," an advertisement for career training in accounting and finally, shots of the first moonwalk in 1969. The

protagonist, a clumsy and repressed Walter Mitty-type, frequently falls into reveries in which he sees himself triumphing in a way that he never does in real life: getting the raise from his boss, rebuking the bully, winning the girl. He is disrespected by his girlfriend and bullied by physically superior men who eject him from his seat on the train and harass him in public. He even fails ridiculously in several suicide attempts. Like Julián from *Peppermint Frappé*, he seems oppressed by the sound of the enjoyment of others. Sounds of a young couple laughing or a happy family interacting in the room above prove irritating to this lone individual in his isolated existence. After losing his job, Latin being deemed an anachronistic subject by his boss, and unable to wed his long-time fiancé, he wonders: "¿El amor se puede regir por la ley del comercio?" He understands, painfully, that in the modern context he has nothing if he does not have economic success, decides that "la vida es un asco" and that he must end it. Even his death will be affected by the consumerist environment as he is paid to agree to name a particular brand of *flan*, on camera, before shooting himself. In the end, love and the promise of employment bring him back from the brink—a "happy ending" to an otherwise painfully honest film. The pursuit of romantic love has been seen to represent a sort of "decoy" issue in a consumerist culture. Anna Kornbluh discusses this phenomenon in regard to the American film, *Family Man* (2000): "The ideological work of the film lies in the direct translation of alienation into a need for love, which is also to say the erection of a decoy alienation" (124). The protagonist's sense of desperation and alienation—feelings that were common to many in periods of high unemployment and dramatic economic change—are seen

to be alleviated by a preoccupation with the love, the answer to all our problems in, as Kornbluh calls it, the Oedipus industrial complex."

La cabina by director Antonio Mercero is a powerful representation of victimization of the working man. In this short film the protagonist, a middle-aged business man (José Luis López Vázquez), gets inexplicably trapped in a phone booth that has been newly erected in the middle of his non-descript housing development. Seeing his young son off to school (thus establishing his role within the patriarchy), he enters the booth to make a call. After several failed attempts, he discovers that he can no longer open the door to leave. Confusion turns to panic and finally despair when a series of passers-by are unable to help him escape. In the end he and the entire booth are carted away to a sort of graveyard for trapped working men in various stages of decay--all entombed in the now abandoned phone booths. This curious film ends with a shiny new booth being deposited in the center of the housing development once again, doors opened in wait. López Vázquez once again reprises his role as the ineffectual victim of changes he does not understand. His wide eyes and balding pate reflect an air of the duped middle-aged man/boy who is victim of a situation he cannot master. That he serves as a representative of working men in general is made clear both by the many workingman stereotypes who pass by and sympathize with his situation--the macho man, furniture movers, briefcase carriers, policemen, firemen, etc.--who, like him, try (and fail) to open the door; as well as by the many others like him at his final destination. The protagonist, along with those who would help him, are ridiculed and laughed at by women, children and other

men in the crowd as they are publicly stripped of their dignity. In a poignant moment members of a traveling circus, two juggler clowns and a midget holding a ship in a bottle, stare at him mournfully as if in solidarity as he is carried past, a scene that denotes his anachronistic or marginal status in a changing society. In this film man himself seems to be deemed anachronistic and is victimized by forces of modernity--represented by the shiny new phone booth in the center of a generic but brand new subdivision such as those that sprang up around major cities in modern Spain to accommodate the influx from the countryside. It is as if to say that joining the ranks of the workingman with a place in the suburbs has been a great deception and a trap, a move that leads nowhere, except eventually to death.

In *La vida conyugal sana* by director Roberto Bodegas, a now unavoidable deluge of advertising and pressure to consume effect a sort of outright breakdown in the protagonist. This film, representative of the so called "Tercera vía" or Third Way cinema that flourished in Spain in the early 1970s, enacts the stresses and anxieties that affected the life of the average Spaniard. Steering a middle path between the complex, high-brow, metaphoric style of auteur's such as Saura, Victor Erice and others on one hand, and popular farce on the other, these films sought to appeal to the growing middle-class: "una producción que no indignase al público jóven, urbano y relativamente más culturado" (Monterde 21), and attempted to express the concerns and interests of the growing middle class. Enrique, played by José Sacristán--the "everyman" of 1970s Spanish "Third Way" cinema--is a traditional, conservative businessman

whose marriage and personal life seem staid and predictable. But like Julián in *Peppermint Frappé* and Leo in *Bilbao*, he is obsessed with cutting out glossy advertising images and pasting them in elaborate scrapbooks. As in these other films, it is as if through this activity he is attempting to gain some control or mastery over the changes surrounding him--changes that are emphasized through the many shots of billboard advertisements and consumer products. These advertisements signal the shift to a society of commanded enjoyment, as McGowan describes: "The omnipresent advertisements calling us to enjoy ourselves attest to the anal father's reign, and this reign represents a dramatic shift in the deployment of the father's authority. Whereas the old father ruled as a present absence, the new father's presence is suffocating; we can never get away from sensing his enjoyment, even when he is physically absent" (50). Enrique either abstains from all pleasure or falls victim to consumer dictates, as when he buys his wife some twenty three bras due to a particularly convincing ad campaign, or fills his cupboard with a particular brand of soap he has seen on television. His attempts to reconcile his hobby/obsession with his public persona utterly fail as he ricochets back and forth between freewheeling, sexually liberated, modern consumer and uptight, sexually-repressed, traditional businessman. The break between the two personalities occurs suddenly and unpredictably, most often when he is looking at advertisements. It is explicitly linked to the violation of prohibition and passage into a new world as is seen in one breakdown collage sequence in which he imagines Marilyn Monroe, the word "Prohibition," footage of the demolition of the "Diario Madrid" building (a

newspaper that had become increasingly critical of government actions and which had been ordered closed by Franco in 1971), and the birth of a newborn baby--a sequence signaling his inner conflict and final rebirth into a new order: the order of consumption rather than prohibition.

Despite attempts to package change in a digestible fashion as "Third Way" cinema tried to do, such a radical about face in the representation of the desirable male model brought with it confusion and a renegotiation of male sexuality. We see shades of the masculine ideal of the past now tinged with consumerism as Enrique and his friend compete to see who can magnanimously offer the more "American" of cigarettes to the other, thus subverting the self-sacrificing model of the past as the male characters try at once to be the most giving as well as the most "having" (of the American consumer product). Enrique's sense of masculine self is clearly affected by advertising, and upon watching an automobile advertisement featuring a beautiful female model and a soundtrack of Richard Wagner's heroic "Ride of the Valkyries," he lies to his wife in order to purchase it. The idea of heroism, evoked here by the well-known musical piece, is clearly subverted from its earlier connection with self-sacrifice, as now it is directly linked to acquisition and self-gratification--in direct contrast to the hegemonic model as seen in *Los últimos de Filipinas* for example.

Meanwhile, in popular cinema, Manolo Escobar continued to ease the transition of the traditional male to modern society by marrying and thus taming the modern female while also entering seamlessly into a consumer society in *Me has hecho perder el juicio* (1973) by director Juan de Orduña. Interestingly, as in

Mi canción es para ti (1965), there is a split or double Manolo. This device allows for one version of Manolo who has "sold out" or become commercialized and rich, while our protagonist Manolo remains by contrast authentic and, at least initially, poor. In this later film there is a further splitting of the male protagonist through the convention of the "buddy" or constant companion, in this case played by Andrés Pajares who is forever on the lookout for ways to promote Manolo and thus get rich. Through this device Manolo is allowed to remain above and untainted by the grasping and negotiating conducted on his behalf. He is clearly the more positive of the male models presented--considered more handsome, courageous, honest and desirable to women. However, in not rejecting outright the scheming of his friend, he allows a sort of graft of this more materialistic masculine model onto himself without incurring the "guilt" of chasing after financial gain himself. The premise of the film is that they will sue a large perfume company that guarantees that the wearer of its product will find love. They decide that Manolo will claim that the product has actually repelled women thus ruining his chances for love. It is understood that, whether they win or lose, the publicity will be helpful to his fledgling musical career. The stern, bespectacled female president of the company hears of the ploy, sending various women and finally going herself to draw Manolo into a "compromising" situation and thus discredit his case. Of course the two fall madly in love and, instead of destroying him, the president transforms herself into a traditional woman, learning to cook calamari and *tortilla de patatas* in order to please him. For his part, Manolo renounces the case in the end, admitting the ploy and returning to his

honest job as a metro train operator. The grand reconciliation of the various themes occurs through the marriage of the two--Manolo has gained publicity through the course of the trial, the hard-edged president has been "feminized" and subordinated by love, and the two will live happily-ever-after in their materially comfortable future. The traditional synthesizing mechanism of marriage serves here to restore social order based on the patriarchal family and subordinates the strong woman to her husband.

II. Lack of Oedipal Resolution: Infantilized and Alienated Males

It is hardly possible, when employing a psychoanalytic perspective as this work does, to leave out a discussion of the oedipal family and how changes in its representation reflect changes in society. As the "primary vehicle of insertion in the 'dominant fiction'" (Silverman, *Male Subjectivity* 2), the positive Oedipus complex whose resolution requires that the male child pass from desire for his more powerful father to identification with him, functions in a capitalist society to reproduce the basic social unit or father-headed, nuclear family, which in turn assures continuation of the society as a whole. As Kinder says: "From a poststructuralist perspective the story of Oedipus is one of the powerful master narratives in Western Civilization because, through its successful proliferation and compulsive repetition, it helps the dominant patriarchal culture reproduce itself" (*Blood Cinema* 197). In the 1970s Spain suffered a social breakdown such that many feared disintegration and the possibility of another civil war. In the Spanish context of this time it would appear that oedipal resolution was not achieved as we see the frequent repetition and reworking of the son's relationship

with his family--usually his mother who has assumed the patriarchal function in the father's absence. This obsessive return to the oedipal drama implies a lack of resolution. Freud describes this return in the following way: "a neurotic on the other hand invariably exhibits some degree of psychical infantilism. He either failed to get free from the psycho-sexual conditions that prevailed in his childhood or he has returned to them--two possibilities that may be summed up as developmental inhibition and regression" (*Totem and Taboo* 22). The abundance of films that return to the theme of the dysfunctional family context reflects a lack of resolution of this fundamental issue. This lack of oedipal resolution in 20th-century Spain has been observed by Marsha Kinder to be the direct result of the Spanish Civil War which left those brutally dominated children, the "Children of Franco," unable to reach mature adulthood. As she describes it: "Being forced perpetually into the role of Franco's children was undoubtedly emasculating. In these movies childlike men all have sexual conflicts related to incest, homosexuality, or pedophilia. None of them ever becomes a father" ("Children of Franco" 75). However, as Silverman points out regarding Rebecca West's study of shell-shock and male trauma, though the war may serve as an easily identifiable initial traumatic event, traditional masculinity itself is built on a series of traumatic pressures and "glosses" of reality such that the delicate process of identification with the father and patriarchal privilege is always precarious. The threat of castration is never wholly overcome and maintenance of the heterosexual normative sex role must be constantly reinforced:

> West thus radically claims not that the trauma of war has shattered English masculinity, but that the masculine order itself, even before the war, is a construct based in and constituted through trauma [. . .] the war is not the trauma itself but marks the breakdown of the defenses of masculinity against the actual trauma, the knowledge of its own constructedness. ("Men in (Shell) Shock" 162)

In the early 1970s the end of Franco's regime coupled with rapid social change tipped the scales such that, now lacking the ultimate patriarchal signifier of the dictatorship, oedipal resolution was deeply destabilized. Whereas during the dictatorship a semblance of male mastery and superiority--the patriarchy in general--had been reproduced with relatively minor changes, in the 1970s, seismic events revealed the deep fissures that had been forming in the male psyche for many years. With the promise of the patriarchal inheritance in jeopardy, many men seemed to fail to take the final step in the oedipal process--that of renouncing their desire for the father in favor of an identification with him. Teresa Vilarós reiterates this failure: "En la historia reciente española no ha habido resolución edípica. Los hijos, los ciudadanos, no mataron al padre ni se quedaron con la madre [. . .] la narrativa edípica española es totalmente insatisfactoria" (152). The male child's failure to assume the parental role indicates his lack of maturity within the patriarchal context.

The Spanish oedipal narrative as represented in 1970s cinema replays a specific pattern--an absent, alienated or dead father; a patriarchal mother onto

whom repressive tendencies have shifted; and either daughters, or sons who refuse/are unable to assume an independent heterosexual patriarchal masculine role. The representation of a family structure is virtually omnipresent in cinema of the period and examples of films containing one or more of the above mentioned elements abound, indicating the importance of this unit to the psychological reality and development of the individual as well as society. Monterde expresses this importance of the family as a privileged representational site in Spanish cinema:

> mas allá de su posible naturalidad como forma de agrupamiento social, la familia, ese tótem del franquismo, se nos ofrece multifuncional: como lugar de expresión del poder, como reducto de esencias en decadencia, como metáfora de agrupamientos político-sociales más amplios, como célula económica de producción y reproducción, como ámbito de neurosis y obsesiones, como territorio de sometimiento y transgresión [. . .], como refugio emanado del pasado o como campo de batalla para múltiples emancipaciones, como marco de la maduración e iniciación al sexo, como escenario de la confrontación de viejas y nuevas costumbres sociales, etc. (25)

It follows then that the family would be the site of the expression and re-working of masculine identity formation. The death of the grand patriarch, Franco, coupled with a shift away from the repressive order of the dictatorship, effectively removed from the Spanish imaginary the powerful, dominating father figure at

this time thus destabilizing the entire patriarchal family structure. The internalization and normalization of his rule are represented in the figure of the mother who wishes to propagate a system in which she herself has been elevated to a position of considerable influence and power.

In the 1970s the psychological effects of a system that no longer guaranteed the patriarchal reward or privilege while still claiming its sacrifice in terms of self-renunciation and the sacrifice of oneness with the mother's body is no longer sustainable. While the model of hegemonic masculinity--in cinema represented by the powerful patriarch--dissolves, the mechanism that has propagated this system--the patriarchal mother and repressive family structure--is exposed. The oedipal narrative does not progress to the point at which the son identifies with his father, trusting that he will inherit the patriarchal privilege in exchange for his sacrifice. Rather, left fatherless, he lives out his life in a state of arrested development--trapped in infantile narcissism and/or a lack of separation from the mother who assumes grotesque and overpowering proportions. The mother, linked symbolically to dictatorship values, occupies a disproportionately large and potentially overpowering position in regard to her fatherless sons. As a representation of the Francoist patriarchy, she threatens to engulf her "sons" who no longer assume the mantle of patriarchal power due to the destabilization of the hierarchy. As María José Gómez Fuentes writes, "cuando la madre aparece no sólo se está hablando de una madre sino del franquismo" (Lozano Aguilar 146), and along with Van Liew, recognizes the peculiarly overpowering relationship of the mother to her sons. Maria Van Liew analyzes the mother role in *Ana y los*

lobos, *Camada negra*, *Mamá cumple cien años* y *Furtivos* in order to show how it evokes the "mythical memory of their dead father" (430). However, the sons produced by the dead father and this overpowering mother prove to be sterile, or rather, unable/unwilling to reproduce the sons that would carry on the patriarchy. Interestingly it is through "commerce" with the outside world that escape seems to be possible. In each of the four films mentioned above, a "non-traditional" female character enters but must be rejected or killed in order to preserve the order of the past. The mother, or patriarchal system, cannot harbor rivals who, like the foreign Ana in *Ana y los lobos*, Milagros in *Furtivos*, or the single mother, Rosita, in *Camada negra*, must be expelled.

Camada negra, written by José Luis Borau and Manuel Gutierrez Aragón, depicts a group of fascist "incontrolados" or ultra right wing resisters in the Transition period. It focuses on the process of maturation and entry into the group of the young Tatín whose mother is the spiritual leader and motivator of the group. Declaring that she considers the group as her sons, she houses them and coaches them in hatred and the destruction of liberalization attempts. Tatín is required to undergo a series of tests proving his allegiance and dedication, the final one being the sacrifice of the woman he loves—whose head he smashes with a rock while chanting "¡España! ¡España! ¡España!" The familial structure represents a typical arrangement from films of the period—a powerful mother, Blanca, who embodies dictatorship values and who seems overly close to her "sons"—kissing them on the mouth, seeing them undress, and living closely with them. They are submissive to her will and though adult men, do not seem to have

partners or children. And though an actual father is present in the film, he is an ineffectual, decrepit old man whose fumbling sexual advances are brushed off by Blanca. His sensuality is fundamentally opposed to the ascetic life-style pursued by the others. It is understood that the real father figure is the dictator and it is dictatorship values which are being propagated within the "family." The dichotomy between modern life and the life within this family revolves around the concept of self-denial. Hopewell has commented regarding this film that this dichotomy is emblematic, and that this film implies that, "denial of pleasure is at the core of the fascist value system" (194). Though much of the action occurs within the confines of the compound, Tatín's pursuit of a woman who is a waitress and single mother, presents the possibility of escape. He is shown to be genuinely tender and affectionate with her and her son. However, the demands of the "father of prohibition," here embodied in Blanca, require that he sacrifice the thing he desires most indicating a return to postwar Fascist values. Self-indulgence is seen to be inimical to the fundamental nature of this family, and must be eliminated.

The infantilization of the male protagonist in early Transition cinema is strikingly apparent. From popular to art-house cinema, an abundance of films represent boy/men--at times for comic effect as can be seen in *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos* (Escrivá, 1973) in which the curious yet deeply inhibited protagonist sneaks across the French border to view forbidden films and try to overcome his fear of women--but more often as tragic representatives of a generation that is at ease neither in the patriarchal society of the past, nor in the

more liberated consumer society that is rapidly coming to dominate Spain. Successful and critically acclaimed films like *La prima Angélica* (Saura, 1973) and *Furtivos* (Borau, 1975) repeat the representation of the stunted, fatherless son who struggles to escape the traumatic and repressive constraints of his youth. This theme can also be seen in the lesser-viewed but extremely powerful films *Bilbao, El desencanto* (Chávarri, 1976) and *Arrebato* (Zulueta, 1979). Often self-destructive or extremely violent, they struggle to manage change as do the male protagonists in *El espíritu de la colmena* (Erice, 1973), *Pascual Duarte* (Franco, 1975) and *Camada negra* (Gutiérrez Aragón, 1977). The disjuncture that was the Transition interrupted the smooth passage from youth to adulthood and the male protagonists in the above-mentioned films represent this tumultuous moment in Spanish history.

Spanish comedic cinema which was usually aimed at the broader, general public often seemed to enact social pressures of the day in a lighthearted way while also ultimately providing resolution through a restoration of order, perhaps slightly modified, but generally conservative in its essence. In *¿Pero en qué país vivimos?* and *Me has hecho perder el juicio* with Manolo Escobar, as in *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos,* it is through marriage to the seemingly untamable woman that order is restored. Serafín (José Luis López Vázquez) is a bachelor who lives a sexually repressed existence in the home of his prudish maiden aunt. He longs to get close to a woman but is unable to bear it psychologically (he experiences "temblores y palpitaciones") due to some trauma in his past which causes him to suddenly see beards appear on women to whom he is attracted. The

trauma is explicitly related through flashback to punishment he received at the hands of his father and the priest for watching a little girl urinate. The beard is a reflection of a painting he saw in church during the punishment: "La mujer barbuda" by José de Ribera. This traumatic memory plagues him and prevents his assuming an adult heterosexual role; meanwhile his maiden aunt intervenes in the present to ensure that he experiences no erotic pleasure as, for example, when her strident voice interrupts his daydreams of a sensual foreign women. His psychologist recommends that in order to resolve this issue he chant constantly that man is the king of creation and woman nothing but an inferior being. As is often the case in films of this period, the idea that others are enjoying themselves haunts the virginal existence of Serafín as he looks at a friend's sexy postcard from abroad and discusses the x-rated cinema on display in Biarritz, just across the border in France. Finally, Serafín and two friends set out on their own adventure to Biarritz, playfully singing: "Tenemos un defecto" (thus accepting the sort of "defective" masculinity that embraces self-indulgence), as they cross the border and begin glutting themselves on forbidden films and the sight of women in bikinis whose fetishistically shot forms are served up for the audience's visual consumption as well. After a few disillusioning days in France, Serafín falls in love with a Spanish hotel maid and, inexplicably, overcomes his anxiety as no beard appears when they kiss. The police show up at Serafín's apartment and order his return to Spain, but he returns now happily with his future bride in the socially sanctioned "correct" and regulated relationship. The film seems to provide the assurance that, while a small dose of foreign-style liberalization may

serve a certain purpose, it is essentially with the age-old institution of marriage (i.e. the Church and the traditional Spanish social order) that true happiness can be found.

The struggle for maturity is a fundamental theme of many films from the 1970s. As mentioned earlier, overpowering mothers are unwilling to cede power to their sons. Mamá in *Mamá cumple cien años* refuses to sell her estate to benefit her sons, Blanca of *Camada negra* supports her son Tatín's murder of his girlfriend, and in *Furtivos* Martina must be physically dragged out of her bed (a bed it is understood she shared with her son) to be replaced by her son's young wife, a woman she will later murder in an attempt to restore her incestuous relationship with her son. In others like *La prima Angélica, Bilbao, El desencanto* and *Arrebato,* the male protagonists live out their lives in the absence of a father, unable to reach maturity nor to assume a place within the patriarchy. Stagnation and sterility permeate these works whether it be Luis who is psychologically frozen by an infantile trauma which prevents his loving his adult cousin, Angélica; Leo in *Bilbao* who cannot extricate himself from a sexual relationship with his older surrogate mother; the Panero sons who fall into substance abuse and madness while trying to negotiate the aftermath of their father's death; or Pedro in *Arrebato* who is seen in his aunt's old house, addicted to heroin, his childhood toys and books, and super-8 films. It is apparent that these figures are experiencing a crisis in the process of entry into a mature adult role.

In Saura's "sequel" to *Ana y los lobos, Mamá cumple cien años* (1979), as in so many Spanish films from this time period, the family unit is the focus and

the action takes place in and around the family home, often used symbolically by Saura and others to represent Spain. The blood relatives find themselves locked into difficult relationships with one another from which they are not able to break away, and again, in the absence of a family patriarch, the sons form an unusually close relationship with their domineering mother. "Mamá" is about to turn one hundred and her two remaining sons (the military José is dead) along with the wife of one of them plots her murder, in the hopes of finally taking financial control of the estate, or as Pérez Perucha describes it, they are driven by "mercantile interests to abandon the principles of a tyrannical philosophy" (71) which clearly positions the traditional patriarchy in opposition to incipient economic attitudes. Two visitors arrive and become involved in the workings of the family. However, they are marked as outsiders as indicated by their nationality--Ana, the English nanny who returns for a visit after many years, and her husband Antonio who is marked as foreign by the nationality of the actor (Norman Briski, Argentina). Even more than in *Ana y los lobos,* the ponderous figure of the matriarch is an unavoidable physical and psychological presence within the home and even outside, as she now seems to have the mysterious ability to overhear conversations between her children from a great distance. Although unable to walk, she seems to be constantly in motion--waving her hands, moving her feet, shrieking, singing or talking constantly. This *madre castrante/madre patriarcal* who stands in for the father thus denying his responsibility for violence against mothers and children, and more importantly, protecting the sons from blame for desiring to be like the father (Kinder, *Blood*

Cinema 232), seems to dominate and control all--her children plot her death so that they can sell some of the house's property and build a housing development thus participating in the economic modernization of Spain in the 1970s, but this transfer of power is constantly denied to them as Mamá recovers time and again from her epilepsy-like fits, reflecting perhaps Franco's prolonged dictatorship as well as the psychological colonization that continued to be felt. Furthermore, none of the three has fathered male progeny—an indication that the family name or "name of the father" will end with them.

Again, Mamá's three sons represent various stereotypical ways of "being a man" in Spain. One is the sadistic macho military man who, like Franco, has died prior to the beginning of the film, but who is seen through flashbacks to be ridiculous and cruel. José is extremely interested in collecting and wearing military uniforms and is prone to senseless violence. The second, Juan, is the typical "mujeriego", a married man who manipulates women of lesser power into sexual relations. He is unable to stimulate his "frigid" wife, Luchi, but finds a sense of mastery in his illicit affairs. The third is the sensitive "niño faldero", Fernando, who remains unmarried and in an unusually close relationship with his mother even into his older age and with whom he communicates telepathically. He is unable to triumph in the world outside and even within his house seems almost completely impotent as he repeatedly fails in his attempts to fly with a glider ("No lo conseguiré nunca"), and also fails to win the love of Ana with whom he wishes desperately to establish a closer relationship.

But in spite of the fact that traditional modes of power (military, sexual and scientific) fail, Fernando also possesses some sort of telepathic ability whose nature is never fully explained. In one manifestation it is seen as a special sort of communication with his mother. Without moving his lips he expresses his thoughts to her and she is able to mysteriously "speak" to him in reply. This lack of separation from the mother has been observed to indicate a failure to master the Oedipus complex and take up the patriarchal role: "A tendency toward regression to narcissistic 'blissful oneness' with the mother, a sense of omnipotence based on the failure to separate from this dyad, is postulated as the chief obstacle to 'personhood' for a boy. In other words, he has to leave the womb-like warmth of the home and strike out into the world to perform some 'test' that will set up an autonomous identification" (Simpson 213). Though this inability to separate himself from his mother might be considered a failure in terms of oedipal resolution, it poses interesting questions in terms of alternate masculine development. This alternative to the traditional "masculine" powers remains unexplored in the film, but its presence makes itself known as a sort of stoppage of time and action and it exceeds "reality." It could be seen as the inability to assume a patriarchal role or it could indicate an alternate direction for the male figure--a sort of amorphous connectedness with other human beings that has been called for by Susanne E. Hatty as a positive alternative to the sadistic, radically independent hegemonic form of masculinity which seeks to maintain a clear boundary between subject and object: "These ideas [of the violence mythos] revolve around dualist hierarchies: The mind/body split; the dissociation of

culture from nature; and of course, the radical separation of male from female" (207). Fernando's power seems to defy the limits of space and time, and dissolves the boundaries between his body and his mother's.

In this film the family unit is contrasted with the foreigners who, though they are drawn in to the workings of the family, seem to be ultimately safe from its destructive and paralyzing effect. Ana is English and has no personal interest in the economic doings that seem to dominate the lives of the others. Antonio, whose origin is not specified, is also marked as foreign by the actor's Argentine accent. Furthermore, his introduction of marijuana into this traditional household points to his connection with those forces of modernity affecting Spain--in this case the influx of foreigners and drugs into the previously isolated country. In a fetishistically shot close-up sequence, Antonio is seen rolling a joint which can be seen to represent his possession of a phallic-like power, a power from outside, unrelated to and unmediated by the dictatorship. It is a power that allows him access to the granddaughter of Mamá--first sharing the joint and later having sex with her. His power and relative psychological, emotional and physical freedom within the house contrasts dramatically with the impotence of the sons.

III. Deviance and Subversion: Undoing the Father

The abundance of films portraying disadvantaged or "perverse" male figures, or rather males whose behavior does not conform to the hegemonic model, can be seen to represent a masochistic disavowal of traditional patriarchal power—a move that represents both a reaction to trauma as well as an escape from the narrowness of the bounds of the imposed model. I analyze here two

manifestations of this movement, masochism and homosexuality, and speculate on how these ultimately represent an attempt to reconfigure male subjectivity during the Transition. And so, in addition to their function as a representational device for traumas and stresses expressed in the dictatorship and postdictatorship period, deviant male characters represent an attempt to liberate the individual from the patriarchal inheritance. As Vilarós notes, "la explosión pública sexual de los primeros años del posfranquismo no busca una identidad, sino, por el contrario, despojarse de ella, 'salirse' de ella" (191). Deviance was a reaction to the death of the "father of prohibition"—both a reaction against those prohibitions of the past as well as a collective exorcism of the father within oneself—the effects of being the "Children of Franco." In Jan Jagodinsky's schema: "this moment can be seen as the transition away from the demands of that system which promoted prohibition, a historical juncture when questioning the Name-of-the-Father means opening the door to perversity and sexual enjoyment which has been 'traditionally' barred by the Law" (29).

Masochism, while generally not explicitly framed as such in the films discussed here, is a useful trope for analyzing the function of the outpouring of representations of "broken" males in the 1970s. The representation of male characters as "defective" in regard to hegemonic male models of the dictatorship point toward the liberation of the individual from prohibitions of the past. Jacques Deleuze's description of the nature of masochism helps to illuminate the process by which an oppressive and bankrupt model of the past is undone:

> Sadism involves a relationship of domination, while masochism is the necessary first step toward liberation. When we are subjected to a power mechanism, this subjection is always and by definition sustained by some libidinal investment: the subjection itself generates a surplus enjoyment of its own. This subjection is embodied in a network of 'material' bodily practices, and, for this reason, we cannot get rid of our own subjection through a merely intellectual reflection. Our liberation has to be *staged* in some kind of bodily performance and, furthermore, the performance *has* to be of an apparently 'masochistic' nature; it has to stage the painful process of hitting back at oneself. (183)

Spanish filmic representations of men in the 1970s provide the staging for a masochistic liberation from the dictatorial father of prohibition. In Deleuze's oft-quoted description of masochism, "it is not a child but a father that is being beaten" (58), and what the subject atones for is "his resemblance to the father and the father's likeness in him" (53). And as Silverman expresses it, "Masochism works insistently to negate paternal power and privilege [. . .] The masochist thus liberates himself in preparation for a rebirth in which the father will have no part" ("Masochism and Male Subjectivity" 58). Thus the many films that have at their center the torture, denigration and destruction of the male protagonist can be seen as part of this process of annihilation of the patriarchal father, the force now internalized that stands between the individual and his enjoyment. Films like *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973) and later, *El sur* (1983), both by director Victor

Erice portray the alienated son of an absent but still powerful patriarchal father who haunts the present of the man who can neither take pride in his role as inheritor of patriarchal privilege nor reject it completely. In the earlier of these films the adult son (Fernando Fernán Gómez), who is visually and audile linked to the Frankenstein monster through the juxtaposition of shots of him and the monster, remains a specter. Like the bees he subdues with smoke, he seems unable to feel, a connection that is made explicit through a letter written by his wife in which she says, "tantas cosas destruidas . . . Se fue con ellas nuestra capacidad para sentir la vida." Alienated from his daughters and his wife, he paces restlessly in the isolated farmhouse which is their home. Erice recreates this family structure ten years later in his second film, *El sur*. Again, this figure seems alienated from others, and except for his daughter, barely interacts with anyone. As she matures and leaves the confines of their intensely close relationship, his sense of alienation increases and he eventually commits suicide by shooting himself.

In *Pascual Duarte*, set in Extremadura in the years preceding the civil war, the protagonist who has been raised in a violent and dysfunctional home, employs indiscriminate violence as a way of expressing his pain. After stabbing to death a donkey and later shooting his devoted dog, Pascual kills his sister's lover and is garrotted by the Spanish Civil Guard for his crime. Franco's cameraman on this film, Luis Cudrado, emphasizes the violence with long, unflinching takes of the knife strokes as they penetrate the belly of the animal. The personal nature of the violence through close takes, long shots, and realistic color and lighting, leave the

viewer with the uncomfortable experience of participating in the violence themselves. But due to the pathetic nature of Pascual with whom the viewer is drawn into an uneasy identification, it is difficult to say on which side the viewer stands. The overwhelming sense is that of the inevitability of violence for this alienated male figure who, without wife, education, love or family support, will never master his environment. The effects, manifested in the son, of a violent and abusive father are punished.

Violence and self-destruction can also be seen in many of the homosexual-themed films from the period where protagonists risked their own safety to live outside the demands of a patriarchal, heterosexist society. These representations often assume a distinctly political element and it has been observed that homosexuality in film is often linked to larger questions of freedom and one's political identity (Carlos Alfeo Álvarez, 2005, Melero Salvador, 2005, Gabilondo, P.J. Smith, 1992). The great popularity of homosexual-themed films at a time when the vast majority of Spanish society still seemed opposed to homosexual liberation (Melero Salvador 89) may reflect not so much changing attitudes about homosexuality, as the desire to represent personal liberty that exists outside the traditional patriarchal social structure. As Alfeo Álvarez states:

> Ni siquiera las películas más centradas en la temática homosexual, como son las que pertenecen a este período, profundizan realmente en las realidades homosexuales [. . .] La circunstancia del personaje homosexual se convierte así en espejo de identificación, un espejo que, por ser ajeno, resulta más tolerable para el

> espectador común; una metáfora que resuelve la amenaza que, en el imaginario colectivo, planea sobre una libertad recién estrenada. (204)

Representations of homosexuality, which first appeared overtly on the Spanish screen in the 1970s, can be considered to be part of a movement that rejects the traditional patriarchal order. If it is considered that the positive Oedipus complex in men, which as seen earlier was intimately related to the reproduction of the basic social unit, the family, had as its outcome the creation of a heterosexual male who would eventually assume his role within the hierarchy, then representations of masculinity which resisted that subject positioning (i.e. homosexual, transvestite, transsexual, etc.) must be considered as subversive. As Guy Hocquenghem explains in his landmark work on homosexuality *Homosexual Desire*, "The direct manifestation of homosexual desire stands in contrast to the relations of identity, the necessary roles imposed by the Oedipus complex in order to ensure the reproduction of society" (106). Mark Simpson echoes this thought in reference to homophobia which was seen in chapter two in the de-stabilized male roles in *No desearás al vecino del quinto*: "Explicit homosexuality represents a threat to the maintenance of the very fraught identification with/impersonation of the father, and thus their whole sense of self" (13). The relaxation and then disappearance of censorship in the 1970s is a concrete manifestation of a larger trend that has been discussed here, and that is the waning of the very real power of prohibition along with a liberalization of desire, first promoted in a consumer context, but which later extended to the sphere of

sexuality. So while the violence and self-destruction characterizing so many films of the period served to undo the father, homosexual-themed films indicated an escape route—one undeniably fraught with danger but one which offered an alternative to accepting the patriarchy or accepting death.

Early Spanish films with a marked homosexual theme were often expressly political in focus as well, at least in part because a homosexual identity was necessarily fraught with subversive political implications in a strongly Catholic and paternalistic country as Spain was at the time. Directors such as Eloy de la Iglesia, one of the first to include homosexuality in mass cinema, used the climate of sexual openness immediately following the dictator's death to explore the theme and as Alejandro Melero Salvador points out: "De la Iglesia used sex and *destape* to drag Spanish audiences into his political agenda" (96). De la Iglesia was interested in legitimizing a politically marginalized identity and in ensuring that post dictatorship openness extended to sexuality. Homosexual-themed films of the 1970s were concerned with issues of acceptance and discrimination and dealt directly with the initially violent reaction that faced those who dared live, even clandestinely, as homosexuals. *Los placeres ocultos* and *El diputado* (de la Iglesia, 1977, 1978), *A un dios desconocido* (Chavarri, 1977), *Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño* (Olea, 1978), *Ocaña: retrat intermitent* (Pons, 1978), and *Arrebato* represent male characters who reject traditional gender roles, in most cases to their own peril. Of these, two films that are particularly illustrative of the connection between homosexuality and the theme of personal freedom, *El diputado* and *Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño,* serve to exemplify

the rejection of the father of prohibition as well as the consequences this may incur.

El diputado presents the violence that ensues when an individual tries to throw off the confines of the patriarchy as a way of gaining individual freedom apart from traditional masculinity as propagated under the dictatorship. José Sacristan plays the Communist Party politician who is elected to office in the aftermath of the fall of the dictatorship. His political opponents attempt to discredit him by exposing his homosexuality. This exposure, though ostensibly undertaken to discredit him politically, quickly moves its focus to his sexual, rather than political identity. The opening shot of the stone genitalia of a marble statue of Michelangelo's "David" immediately makes reference to, and simultaneously calls into question the patriarchal power which, as Peter Lehman and others have pointed out, relies on the hiding of the physical member that supposedly links individual males to phallic power. Other shots within the film, including those of male nudity indicate this film's openness to questioning the phallocentric hierarchy. In recruiting thugs to challenge Communist Party proceedings, the secret police tries to appeal to disaffected youth by promising participation in the patriarchy, "Vas a convertirte en un hombre de verdad. Estarás protegido, incluso tendrás armas." The promise is that these male youths will be able to take refuge in the hierarchical power structure and the male prerogative to use violence—as men supposedly were in the past. De la Iglesia comments on the changing values of youth in the new consumerist society for whom the patriarchy itself is unimportant—provided that they are paid for their

services, they are willing to do anything. The politician's young prostitute/lover ultimately betrays him saying, "A ti te resultó fácil comprarme . . . pues a ellos también." The brutal murder of this young lover by right-wing extremists reflects the patriarchy's unwillingness to cede its power, and the price that will be exacted for trying to escape the system.

In Pedro Olea's *Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño* the Transition's most representative actor, José Sacristán, plays a lawyer, Lluis, who leads a secret existence as a transvestite nightclub singer. Set in Barcelona in the 1920s during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, an opening statement appears on screen stating that this is a true story, thus establishing its political relevance. An establishing shot pans down from the steeple of a large church to the steps below where a congregation is gathering for Mass. Lluis helps his mother (his father is dead) out of the car and up the steps. This scene along with the next representing an afternoon lunch with his extended family, establishes his place in society as a lawyer in a conservative, upper-class family. However, through a discussion of a recent bombing and murder of a supposed anarchist, Lluis' political leanings are revealed to differ considerably from those of his family. Their conservative and staid attitudes reflected in clothing of black and white, contrast sharply with those of the characters in the next scene in which a man in a bright orange robe brings coffee to Lluis and his male lover in bed. Lluis dons a purple robe, takes the cup and begins preparing for his drag show as the cabaret singer "Flor de Otoño." That he contemplates simultaneously a plot to assassinate the dictator and a plan to reveal his "true" identity to his beloved mother, reflects the film's double

preoccupation with politics and personal identity, similarly to *El diputado*. In fact he directly employs his subversive identity as a transvestite in the execution of the plot, as he pretends to be a woman under attack as a ploy to distract a guard of the railroad tracks he plans to destroy. Lluis is picked up by the police and interrogated regarding the murder of another singer at the cabaret and the police eventually detain him and his friends before their plot is fully executed.

The film's preoccupation with the question of liberty in general is made explicit in a conversation between Lluis and a member of the *sindicalistas* in which he states that he is not interested in compromise but rather seeks liberty for all—to be homosexual, and to be free in all aspects of life. In this film men are seen to be either supportive of the status quo or subversive and hidden as they struggle for the relief that the color and lights of the nightclub provide. Their existence is seen as far from frivolous, however, as Lluis and his friends risk their lives to effect political change. The police chief remonstrates with him for not living up to his illustrious last name—a reference to his lack of respect for the traditional patriarchy—upon hearing that Lluis was involved in a homosexual relationship. His concern is that Lluis' dead father (and thus the patriarchy) is being dishonored by his homosexual behavior. However, the truly revolutionary nature of Lluis' identity clearly exceeds his desire to put on a dress and have sex with men. In a dream that Lluis recounts in great detail, he repeats a line that is playing on a phonograph in the background, "la propiedad es un robo, la propiedad es un robo . . . ." Since it is part of a larger dream in which his conservative family disappears, it can be seen as a desire to alter the fundamental

structure of existing society. As Paul Julian Smith citing the work of Hocquenghem, and Deleuze and Guattari, has noted in his important work on homosexuality in Spanish literature and cinema, the homosexual identity has been employed as a means of subverting the bourgeois ideology of familial and reproductive sexuality and male dominance. Specifically he discusses anal desire and its potential to erase the division between public and private on which society is based, "to lose control of the anus is to risk the loss of individual identity because that control stakes out the boundary between self and other" (*Laws of Desire* 57). Homosexuality poses a distinct challenge to the oedipal maturation of the individual as Hocquenqhem points out: "Homosexual desire challenges anality-sublimation because it restores the desiring use the anus" (98), and he goes on to say, "To reinvest the anus collectively and libidinally would involve a proportional weakening of the great phallic signifier, which dominates us constantly both in the small-scale hierarchies of the family and in the great social hierarchies" (102). In *Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño* the performance of the protagonist's homosexual identity coincides with his radical political identity. His undoing of the dictatorship patriarchy and the conservative capitalist interests that are supported by those fathers who respect the law and tradition is demonstrated as much by his assassination attempt as by his refusal to accept his position in the hierarchy by living up to his "name"—a direct affront to the patriarchy and an attempt to open the individual to living his desire.

IV. Consuming Bodies: "Sexy" Comedies and the Liberalization of Desire

While art-house cinema and homosexually-themed films had no compunction about demonstrating the weakness and breakdown of the traditional patriarchy, popular film struggled to accommodate changing social mores without endangering heterosexist notions of masculinity. By moving toward an ideal of self-indulgence and consumption, the male character moved dangerously close to that which had been thought to be the realm of women. The problem became how to justify adherence to the new consumer dictate without compromising one's masculinity under the previous system of prohibition as depicted most vividly in crusade cinema. Encouraging men to consume as promoted in the explosion of television advertising and other media in the 1960s and 1970s implied a rapid reversal of an age old prohibition against male self-indulgence and consumption--as represented in earlier films of the dictatorship. In film after film of the so-called "Sexy Spanish comedy" the solution to this dilemma seems to be a focus on the consumption of female bodies as "obvious" assurance that the protagonists, no matter what their interest in material goods and self-indulgence, are most definitely heterosexual. The "destape" or uncovering of the nude body (almost exclusively the female nude body) in the 1970s provided a comic way to present a fundamental shift in values—from a society of prohibition and the model of masculinity based on it, to a society of consumption and "commanded enjoyment" (to use Todd McGowan's expression), and the model of masculinity associated with that. The incredible popularity of sexually-oriented films is evidenced by the fact that in 1978 five out of the top 10 box office movie successes were sex-themed (McNair 92). But while cinematic representations of homosexuality were

quite widely accepted, values in mainstream society did not so quickly follow suit. Therefore, since homosexuality continued to be considered undesireable by a vast portion of society, a distinction needed to be made between those supposedly effeminate and self-indulgent men that male homosexuals were often perceived to be, and the "macho ibérico" who, though raised on prohibition, now needed to embrace consumption. In these films according to Hopewell, "the Iberian male is horny" (81) and these films are filled with *double entendres* designed to draw the audience into a knowing relationship with the apparently highly (hetero)sexed protagonists.

The actors most associated with these generally low-budget sexy comedies were Alfredo Landa, whose name lent itself to the movement "Landismo" or films that portrayed this actor as the comedic sex-starved "typical" Spaniard, and two other commedians who often paired up, Andrés Pajares and Fernando Esteso. Of these I will discuss here a figure introduced earlier in the discussion of the Manolo Escobar film, *Me has hecho perder el juicio*—Andrés Pajares. As the grasping and scheming side-kick of the more admirable Manolo, he introduces a character that will become increasingly sexual, but never more sophisticated, as sexual restrictions on Spanish films relax. The 1981 film by director Manuel Ozores *¡Qué gozada de divorcio!* presents the typical Pajares role of the period. He plays a fast-talking "regular guy," only moderately attractive and a bit slovenly, but inexplicably able to seduce a series of attractive women—three within the first 10 minutes of the film. As Alfredo Landa in *No desearás al vecino del quinto*, Pajares doubles as a gay fashion designer—affecting the

stereotypical mannerisms and voice expected by the general public and thus plays with a homosexual identity. He quickly undoes any "taint" of homosexuality, however, by heading to an Asian massage parlor where he fondles and grabs at the women he encounters, including his estranged wife from whom he is seeking a divorce under the new law. The film presents women's bodies in a highly specularized fashion, displaying female nudes in quick succession and with the exception of his wife, providing little or no character development of any of them. The effect is to present them as objects for consumption—both by the protagonist as well as by the spectator and thereby promote consumption as a totally heterosexual activity. The male character's masculinity is not compromised despite underlying anxiety that is revealed through the double nature of the protagonist who works as a gay man, but tries to assert his heterosexuality through his many female "conquests." The male viewer is eased into a subject position that is clearly centered on consumption, but by its association with the consumption of female bodies, it avoids drawing too close to what might have been considered "un-manly" behavior under the dictatorship which prized self-renunciation rather than self-gratification.

V. Conclusion

Dramatic social change brought about by the abrupt shift from a society of prohibition traditionally promoted under the dictatorship to a society of commanded enjoyment which began in the 1960s and rose up powerfully in Spain in the aftermath of the dictatorship, led to a crisis in masculine subject formation. Economic changes dating back to the early 1960s dictatorship plan to stimulate

economic recovery through the promotion of consumerism, along with the widespread appearance of electronic media with which to diffuse advertising, promoted new models of behavior that contradicted the essence of the hegemonic model as represented in early dictatorship film. From a clear promotion of prohibition, self-renunciation and personal sacrifice, the message changed to encourage individuals to indulge themselves and to consume as they pleased. Filmic representations of men from the 1970s reflect the confusion that this change effected in masculine subject formation with the result that male characters are often seen as self-destructive, confused, violent or "un-manly" as they struggle (and fail) to master their environments. This period reflects a collective impulse to exorcise the Father and to throw off the restrictions he imposed. The consequences of this action continued to be felt throughout the decade as cinema explored a variety of reactions to the loss of the hegemonic masculine model of the past as well as possibilities for the future.

Chapter 4: The New Spain: Desire and the Commodification of the Spanish Body

The dramatic upheaval that characterized Spanish politics and society in the 1970s after the death of Franco was accompanied by an abundance of wide-ranging representations of masculinity in film. They run the gamut from those damaged "Children of Franco" represented in the art films directed by Borau, Saura, Erice and others through the mainstream Tercera Vía characters which often embodied middle class concerns and values, to the free-wheeling, sexually "liberated" regular guys represented by the actors Afredo Landa, Andrés Pajares, Fernando Esteso and others. They also include the sexually marginalized and often politically involved male figures in films by Eloy de la Iglesia, as well as the male leads in the budding pornography industry. This variety of masculine models bears witness to the state of flux in which Spanish society found itself in the second half of the decade and during which no masculine model could be said to be clearly hegemonic. The contrast between cinematic production in this ebullient, albeit short-lived period, and the more consistent output of the 1980s is striking. Javier Hernández Ruiz and Pablo Pérez Rubio describe the movement toward the homogenization of film production of Spain in this period in the following way:

> Vista casi tres décadas después, la producción cinematográfica de la Transición aparece como un cuerpo vivo, una suerte de *primavera de cien flores* inmediatamente anterior a la entrada en juego de un proceso de homogeneización—y homologación con el

> conjunto del celuloide liberal europeo—que no ha hecho sino incrementarse hasta hoy [. . .] Películas que actualmente son excepcionales por escapar de los márgenes institucionalizados, abundaban en aquel efímero período en virtud del particular e irrepetible contexto que entonces se vivía en España. (14)

After a brief chaotic period Spanish cinema, as Spanish society itself, strived for consensus in the 1980s--politically as well as artistically--and masculine representations reflected this change.

Two events from the early 1980s marked the definitive transition from the old political regime to the new and serve here as a sort of punctuation between a rather brief period of political uncertainty after the fall of the dictatorship (represented in the plurality of masculine models in the 1970s) and the consolidation of a new order. These landmark events are the thwarted coup attempt by Lieutenant Coronel Antonio Tejero who on February 23, 1981 held the Congress of Deputies hostage at gunpoint as the Spanish public held its breath and watched; and the victory of the Socialist Party (PSOE) in the 1982 general elections. The early 1980s marked a time of crisis and great change in the Spanish film industry as well. Due to a generally precarious economic situation (according to Hopewell by 1983 2.2 million, or 17.7%, of Spaniards were jobless), major incursions of television into Spanish households, the aftereffects of a flood of previously banned foreign films, and a lack of protection of the domestic film industry after the UCD (Unión de Centro Democrático) government abolished distribution quotas in 1977, cinema attendance was down significantly

from earlier years. Despite the fact that per capita film attendance was still relatively high in comparison with other European countries, Spanish film-going suffered a sharp decline: "The number of total spectators who attended movies in Spain decreased from 331 million in 1970 to 101 million in 1985 and by 1985 Spanish films held only 17.5% of the diminishing home market, as opposed to 30% in 1970" (Kinder, "Pleasure" 33). The crisis in the industry led to an increase in the production of low-budget films, especially "soft core" pornography. The home market itself was increasingly dominated by sexual-themed films and the so-called cinemas "S" reached 40% of the total number of cinemas in 1982 (Trenzado Romero). The pornography market continued to grow and increase in explicitness and 1984 saw the creation of "Salas X" or cinemas which were exclusively dedicated to showing hard-core pornography. The Spanish film industry was in a state of disrepair and considered to be in need of renovation if it was to survive.

This chapter will examine the redirection of the floundering industry and trends in masculine representation by analyzing films released in Spain from 1982 through 1992. Three events in 1992 marked Spain's full integration into the international community: Madrid's designation as a European capital of culture, the Barcelona Olympics, the World's Fair in Seville and the signing of the Maastricht Treaty which changed the European Community into the European Union, an act that signaled Spain's full participation in the European political and economic community and which took effect in the following year. The first three sections deal with aspects of the consolidation of desire and its satisfaction as the

organizing principle in 1980s Spanish society, while the fourth reveals the traumatic "leftovers" that cannot be digested and neatly incorporated into the glossy vision of a progressive and open Spain. In general the films of the early 1980s avoid engaging in explicit debate about social and political problems of the day in favor of stylistically sleek, large productions that seek to "re-vision" Spanish history and package it in such a way that the experiences of trauma and lack are eliminated. Rather than prohibition or limitation we see films that at least visually, represent plenitude. It is a period generally dominated by consensus and the satisfaction of desires, not respect for the hierarchy. Section one contains an expanded discussion of the repackaging of Spanish history as a way of disavowing trauma through historical fetishism in the early 1980s. The films *Volver a empezar* (Garci, 1982), *Los santos inocentes* (Camus, 1984), *Tiempo de silencio* (Aranda, 1986), *Las bicicletas son para el verano* (Chávarri, 1983) and *La vaquilla* (Berlanga, 1985) are discussed regarding the mechanisms used to normalize a universalizing vision of Spanish history and masculinity. The creation of a uniformly polished surface in the many historical and literary films released during this period serves to equalize events of the past, and their visual plenitude stands in to mask the presence of trauma—an important step in the process of building consensus and allowing economic progress. Masculinity in these films is understood to serve the needs of historical verisimilitude or the plot of some earlier work, and like the politics contained in them, appears to surge up out of a neutral space: the original text or past historical moment. They tend to

promote prosperity and an international masculine model while vilifying or burlesquing provincialism and poverty.

In section two, I will consider how the films of Pedro Almodóvar came to represent the ethos of this period that unapologetically embraced "lack" and opened the individual subject to desire—a phenomenon that is especially important given the historical development of masculinity from highly self-sufficient to fundamentally desirous. The section will focus on representations of masculinity in *Laberinto de pasiones* (1982) and *La ley del deseo* (1987) and these films' protagonists' relation to desire and lack.

The third section examines how the "repackaging" of the Spanish nation led to a commodification of desire that privileged pleasure above all and was often accompanied by a reconsolidation of heterosexual masculine power especially in the films of the late 1980s and early 1990s, though now it is a power based not in the hierarchy and prohibition as was seen in the dictatorship, but rather around the individual and his search for pleasure and personal satisfaction. In films like *Amantes* (Aranda, 1991) and *Belle epoque* (Trueba, 1992) the interplay between love and sex highlights the importance of the sexual gratification of the individual which mirrors the consumerist mentality of the time, while justification of the pursuit of pleasure and personal advancement become signifiers for a modern, global Spanish identity replacing those models related to the society of prohibition under Franco now considered antiquated by the Transition period. Cristina Moreiras Menor described this transformation in the following way:

> El intento masivo que viven los españoles de cancelar un pasado que los sitúa en una posición de inferioridad respecto al resto del mundo se constituye como una necesidad primordial de ir en busca de nuevas señas de identidad que den entrada y permitan un proceso de identificación no demasiado doloroso ni demasiado problemático [. . .] la identidad total con el mundo del consumo y el espectáculo los *des*identifica por y para siempre con ese pasado de represión, silencio, homogeneidad al que habían estado sometidos durante las últimas décadas. (75)

Though male figures take on a decidedly "softened" appearance, they remain the focus and serve as sympathetic models for an identification that increasingly elevates the individual and diminishes the importance of the collective. The films are often concerned primarily with the removal of obstacles to the individual's personal satisfaction, including the viewer's who is now invited to appropriate both male and female bodies as objects of visual consumption.

Finally, part four will speculate on the implications of several films that represent the undigestible "real" in the Lacanian sense that threatens to disrupt the smooth functioning of Spain's "miraculous" Transition narrative and shift to modern European nation. This surging up of that which is dark, mysterious, unsettling and unknowable in the lives of male protagonists who are traumatized and/or held captive by events of the past calls to mind the ghosts discussed by Jo Labanyi in her article "History or Hauntology; or, What Does One Do with the Ghosts of the Past?" who, following Jacques Derrida, notes that ghostly

appearances in film and fiction are the traces of those who were not allowed to leave a trace—those who were silenced or ignored so that the fictionalized narrative could be told as truth. They are the leftovers of a narrative process that was too neat, orderly and contrived to encompass the actual experience of many who had lived through the horrors of war and the dictatorship only to discover that society now seemed inclined to "let by-gones be by-gones" and to leave the past dead and buried—a phenomenon that is overturned as violent deeds from the past resurface to haunt the present. Basque films such as *La muerte de Mikel* (Uribe 1984) which continued to focus on the long-standing practice of violence of the state upon the individual, as well as horror films like *Tras el cristal* (Villaronga 1985) and detective films like *Beltenebros* (Miró 1991) reveal the fissures and ellipses in the process of building political and social consensus over Spain's traumatic and divisive past.

I. Re-visioning the Past: Consensus Politics and Masculinity

The Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE), perhaps more than the dictatorship, recognized the value of cinema in the formation and consolidation of support for the new political order and the image of a new Spain abroad. This was evidenced by the power that was entrusted to Pilar Miró, who in 1982 was named Directora General de Cinematografía; and by the public money that was invested into specific projects deemed to be of value. During the four years that she occupied the post, the number of films produced was reduced to a third of what it had been, and the so-called Miró Law was enacted. This law established a controversial system of advanced subsidies that went to films as a percentage of anticipated box

office returns and tended to encourage big-budget productions of high artistic merit. Films that benefitted from this law were often referred to (sometimes disparagingly) as "cine de calidad" or quality cinema. The measure led to the homogenization of film production and was accused of favoring those films whose "look" was more European and less idiosyncratic: "lo cierto es que la legislación socialista de los años 80 [. . .] tuvo unos resultados claros: se eclipsó casi por completo el cine que no se adecuaba a los criterios del cine de arte o de *qualité*" (Trenzado Romero 36). Spanish society and history were being "packaged" in such a way as to present the country as a modern European nation and future member of the European Community. There was an overall reduction in the variety of productions as Trenzado Romero explains, "[la] reducción del número de películas españolas y la práctica desaparición de las películas de géneros comerciales populares [comedia gruesa, acción, erotismo] hizo que los nuevos filmes de la época posterior a la transición política tuvieran que satisfacer simultaneamente diversos gustos del nuevo público urbano de clase media" (32). Ironically, given the opportunity presented by the new democracy for greater exploration and freedom of artistic expression, films of the 1980s show an improved technical quality but a surprising lack of creative or innovative use of the medium. José Luis Borau criticized the period's filmmaking at the inaugural address of the Ninth Congress of the Association of Film Historians held in Valencia in 2001: "su escaso afán por encontrar nuevas fórmulas expresivas, su desinterés por romper moldes propios o ajenos. A la postre, su docilidad creativa" (Lozano Aguilar 29), a sentiment echoed by others at the conference.

It was a period marked by big-budget literary adaptations and period historical films with rather uniformly polished surfaces and high production values—large projects that often bombed at the box office because they did not connect with the public (Hopewell 240). Many of these films came into being not as an outgrowth of public taste, but of an administrative desire to develop a certain kind of cinema. The Miró Law films can be seen as a tool for refashioning the Spanish identity and have been described as "exercising a nostalgic depoliticisation of historical memory, reflecting and promoting consensus politics of 1980s Spain" (Monterde 89). Political consensus of the period was that Spain's economic advancement was of utmost concern, and the administration's eye was always fixed on entry into the European Union. As Hernández Ruiz and Pérez Rubio state, "Y con la reforma triunfaba, también el *consenso*: una palabra convertida en totem (y en ocasiones, lugar común) que designaba la 'reforma pactada' entre diferentes sectores ideológicos para integrar el legado del franquismo en la incipiente democracia que proyectaba un nuevo modelo de Estado" (22). Thus Spanish film of the 1980s packaged history and itself for consumption by the international community at a time when the fledgling government was seeking international integration. Desire itself became legitimized as a motivator for male characters' actions, and often heterosexual masculinity was ultimately re-positioned for continued dominance albeit in an apparently softened form that now centered on a more international or less "Spanish" model and was increasingly oriented toward pleasure and the right of

the individual to have it—a step toward the consolidation of the "society of commanded enjoyment" as described by Todd McGowan.

Spanish film in the early 1980s was concerned with creating a collective history and a consensus about the divisive past. As Trenzado Romero reminds us, behind the heterogeneous political and cultural practices of the decade lay a preoccupation with the Spanish identity (31), and Triana-Toribio observes: "from 1982 the democratic national cinema concentrated above all on the reconstruction, re-location and re-presentation of the past" (115). Films favored with Miró Law funding tended to represent Spanish history with resignation in a blameless or uncontroversial way. They took as their subject matter literary works of the recent past and seemed to avoid the purposefully controversial stances that had been seen in such films from the 1970s as *La prima Angélica*, *El diputado*, *Furtivos* and *Camada negra*. Films such as *Volver a empezar*, *Las bicicletas son para el verano*, *Los santos inocentes*, *Tiempo de silencio* and *La vaquilla* tended to avoid exploring political questions, but rather focused in a more general way on the effects that adversity had on the (usually male) individual. Though these films may deal with difficult and often traumatic events, they do so with a comforting conservativeness of technique that includes traditional modes of characterization, generally linear narratives, filmic realism, humor and high production values. The "package" itself served as the viewer's defense against the representation of the traumatic events represented within it. Whereas many films of the 1970s left gaps, incongruities, ellipses and traumatic reminders in plot (*La prima Angélica*, *Arrebato*), technique (lack of "shot-reverse-shot" in *El desencanto*, *Arrebato*) and

budget ("sexy" comedies), films from the early 1980s tended to mitigate and reduce the anxiety produced in the spectator. As Carlos Heredero observes, "Contra todo lo que hubiera podido pensarse, la consolidación de la democracia no ha producido un cine más vivo, despierto, pluralista o peleón, sino que ha generado una producción conservadora, llena de guiños reconocibles, y donde la libertad de llamar a las cosas por su nombre apenas ha sido utilizado de manera productiva" (qtd. in Trenzado Romero 324). Cinema of this period was not designed to incite, but rather to diffuse tensions as the "dos Españas" were being melded into one. None of the films analyzed here tackled the "taboo" subjects according to Trenzado Romero, "no cuestionar el sistema socioeconómico, no pedir responsabilidades por hechos anteriores al pacto, y no lanzarse a la polémica Monarquía/República" (89), nor did they break ground stylistically or technically and thus can be considered politically conservative in nature.

Miró era films did not generally question directly the political or social status of Spain in the present, but rather often expressed a sort of bittersweet nostalgia mixed with a sense of loss for that which could never be regained—one's innocence, one's youth and oftentimes, a gender system with clearly delineated differences between men and women. Two successful films from the early 1980s that take as their primary theme the loss of childhood innocence due to the events of the Civil War are *Volver a empezar* and *Las bicicletas son para el verano.* Garcí's *Volver a empezar* represents an older man, Antonio, who after many years of exile in the United States, comes back to Spain to revisit the places and people he loved before he was sent to a concentration camp in 1938, during

the war. He reflects on what his life has been, and not been, during the intervening years, and then returns to his comfortable situation as a professor at an American university—all the while knowing he has only a few months to live. Hopewell comments on this thematic trend in the concerns of Spanish directors in post-dictatorship cinema who returned to the post-war period for their subject matter: Their concrete complaints also testify to the less visible legacy of the dictatorship: a frustrated desire for regeneration, a continued sense of loss of liberty, an inveterate feeling of solitude" (180). While it is true that Antonio's youth has been "lost" and he is terminally ill (though there are no visible signs of this except for the pills he regularly takes), the viewer observes and, due to Antonio's centrality to the plot and point of view, is induced to identify with a distinguished older gentleman who has prospered since the war (as evidenced by his secure post at an American university and his large home and domestic help), and has gained international recognition as a result of winning the Nobel prize for literature. A marked contrast is made between the provincial and stereotypically servile hotel manager, Gervasio, who in the old style of hegemonic masculinity as discussed in films like *Los últimos de Filipinas*, bombards Antonio with "typical" Spanish gifts such as Tío Pepe sherry and oranges. Like the besieged captain in that older film who recklessly sends sherry and cigars to his enemies in a show of bravado, Gervasio impractically fills Antonio's room with flowers and other gifts in order to impress him with Spanish graciousness. In contrast to the quiet dignity and apparent humility of the internationalized protagonist, Gervasio brags, boasts and demonstrates those qualities typically attributed to the Spanish provincial—an

exaggeratedly servile attitude with social superiors, ignorance and an inflated sense of self-importance. He officiously and capriciously orders his employees about while playing the sycophant to his urbane and ironical guest. The manager is clearly set up as a figure of ridicule, presented as a familiar stereotype and designed to elicit a knowing sense of recognition--but not identification--on the part of the spectator. He is presented as an outdated and undesirable masculine model--at once recognizable but clearly obsolete in his excessive observance of the social hierarchy and reckless generosity. A younger and more handsome (i.e. desirable) male employee at the hotel consistently shows disregard for the hierarchy and traditional masculinity's self-sufficiency through his casual attitude with Antonio, smoking (pursuing pleasure) and taking money from this important guest. His presence further highlights the anachronistic nature of his boss' behavior.

At no point in the film does the protagonist or any other character directly criticize the war or the political order, either past or contemporary. Rather, the nature of Antonio's trauma is universalized as the loss of the true love of one's youth, and it is left to the individual to make sense of past events as best he can—and to console himself with success in the present moment. The fact that this film won prizes in New York, Montreal and Madrid, as well as winning the 1983 Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film demonstrates its wide appeal. Though it is understood that the situation represented is tragic, the pain is expressed as a gentle sadness, not a cause for recrimination or rebellion. To further comfort the viewer, the film is filled with sensuous images of Spain's

northern beaches and countryside observed in lingering long takes that are understood to represent the loving gaze of the protagonist. It is shown in such a way as to promote the commonality of appreciation for Spain's natural and apparently unspoiled beauty. The musical score of the film consists of the gentle and familiar Pachelbel's *Canon in D* which recurs at regular intervals. Throughout, its soothing chords are reminiscent of a lullaby—a tranquil sound that both opens and closes the film, allowing the triumph of sentimentality over historical memory. Thus calmed, the viewer is left perhaps with a feeling of melancholy or regret, but clearly not anger or a compelling sense of injustice over events of Spain's history.

Las bicicletas son para el verano, a film adaptation of a play by Fernando Fernán Gómez, examines the effects of the Civil War on a young man's life as well, but in this case rather than centering on an old man who remembers his past, this film traces the life of the young man while events of the war are going on. As in *Volver a empezar*, a youthful romance is thwarted by the exigencies of the war which thrusts responsibility upon the fresh-faced youngster (Diego Gabino). The bicycle is a symbol of that which has been lost--a young man's romantic innocence--during the war. Early in the film the protagonist begs his father to buy him a bicycle so that he can accompany the girl he likes on rides in the park. His father refuses due to his son's poor grades, but later tells him he is to receive one to perform his new job as a messenger—an occupation he must now follow instead of continuing his studies. The young girl becomes unimportant as hunger and the practical necessities of life supersede poetry and romance, thus equating

the tragedy of war not with suffering and death, but rather with the sacrifice of one's pleasure and romance.

Unlike films of the 1970s in which the father figure was almost wholly absent or corrupt, here we see a very involved father who seems a cross-over figure between the "father of prohibition" and the "anal father of enjoyment". Though he does deny his son the bicycle, he is also seen to be quite liberal in his attitudes about sex as was the father in *Belle epoque*. He approves of his daughter's desire to go into the theater despite the "undesirables" with whom she might come into contact. When his wife becomes upset about her son's sexual dalliance with the maid, the father defends it saying: "Es natural," and "Estamos aquí para gozar." He is seen to be wise, strong and philosophical—characteristics not seen since the father figures of the dictatorship, but now also humorous, fun-loving and liberal in his attitudes about sexuality—social mores that reflect those of the Transition and which are consonant with a liberal consumerist society.

Two other films that are stylistically very similar to each other and which typify Miró Law recipients in their style, content and literary origin are *Los santos inocentes* and *Tiempo de silencio*. As seen in *Volver a empezar*, these films avoid any explicit criticism of the dictatorship or any particular political policy. Rather, they set up a dichotomy between rich and poor, antiquated and modern. In *Los santos inocentes* Mario Camus adapts to the screen the highly successful novel of the same name by Miguel Delibes. The film centers on the lives of a poor family serving on an estate in Extremadura during the postwar Franco years. Seen through four flash-backs, it portrays the inequalities and injustices of the feudal

system by exposing the hypocrisy and abuse involved in the concept of *noblesse oblige*. "Pepe el Bajo" (Alfredo Landa) faithfully serves the "señorito" Ivan as his assistant in bird hunting, while his wife, son, daughter and mentally handicapped brother-in-law toil on the estate. The "Niña-chica", the severely handicapped youngest daughter, screams throughout the film as if to heighten the horror of their poverty. In this film there are no positive models of masculinity with the possible exception of the son, Quirce, who serves loosely as the narrative focal point of the movie, but who is unable to do more than withdraw from this world and hope for a better future in Madrid. The sons of the Marquesa prove to be cruel, selfish and unfeeling. Pepe reveals the same extreme level of servility as Gervasio in *Volver a empezar* though he is not seen as ridiculous, but rather as a pathetic remainder from a corrupt and antiquated system that is seen to prevent the individual from reaching his or her potential. Like the film previously discussed, *Los santos inocentes* employs a highly aestheticized vision of poverty and degradation. It portrays the barrenness and difficulty of this family's existence through a visually rich and at times, extremely picturesque vision of the countryside. Muted sepia tones are employed to reflect the poverty of the environment, but they also beautifully highlight the surfaces of the walls of the family's shack, filmed in chiaroscuro as light cast by candle or oil lamp created dramatic shadowing and highlighting effects. The result is that while the family's poverty and suffering are apparent, the viewer is distanced from the sordidness of it by the cinematography. Instead of a direct experience of the ugliness of the characters' lives, the viewer is drawn into an identification with the Marquesa's

daughter whose beautiful but horrified face upon briefly seeing the "Niña-chica" (the viewer is spared the supposedly horrendous sight) reflects the viewer's own reaction—shock, and relief that this world is not hers. Rather than promote any particular vision of masculinity, this film presents all the traditional models in the feudal system as negative and implies that the only hope for the young son is escape to the city and the search for a better life there.

A similar dichotomy is set up in *Tiempo de silencio,* which was based on the novel by Luis Martín-Santos, in which a doctor/researcher, Pedro (Imanol Arias), is drawn into the sordid world of the chabolas, or slums, outside Madrid in the 1940s. He goes there to obtain guinea pigs that have been stolen from the lab by his assistant, Amador, and bred by Muecas, a relative of Amador. There he makes the acquaintance of Muecas' wife and daughters and awakens feelings of envy and jealousy in "El Cartucho," the would-be boyfriend of Muecas' daughter Florita. One night, after an evening of carousing with his clearly well-off friend Matías, Pedro is called to the chabola to attend to Florita, upon whom her father has performed a botched abortion of his own child, the product of their incestuous union. Pedro is blamed for the death of the girl and it is only through the persistence of his fiancé, Dorita, and the intercession of Muecas' wife at the police station that he is finally cleared. Meanwhile, El Cartucho becomes enraged and out of revenge stabs and kills Dorita. The final scene has Pedro back in his laboratory pondering the fate of his girlfriend. A long closeup of his face is accompanied by a fairly extensive voice-over monologue of himself considering the reaction to the two women's death. His discussion is ostensibly about the

aftermath of the death of the women, but given the film's release in 1986 it sounds as if it could also apply to the aftermath of the end of the dictatorship, "Por qué no puedo separar las muertes de las dos mujeres? Tanta autópsia para qué si no ven nada. Estamos en el tiempo de la anastesia. Es agradable a pesar de estar castrado tomar el aire y el sol." Reference to the two deaths and to the futility of going back to try to explain them seems a reference to the Civil War and the supposed pointlessness of investigating the crimes that, like the deaths of the women, have ocurred and cannot be undone. The "castrated" male figure is aware that he has suffered a loss, but feels that it is useless to try to redress a crime already committed. Like a society struggling to achieve consensus over events of the past, Pedro decides to move forward, rejecting further analysis of his loss—a necessary step in the consolidation of the new political order, "uno de los cimientos del consenso político en torno al que se contruyó la transición fue el olvido de las responsabilidades históricas por la Guerra Civil y la represión franquista" (Trenzado Romero 307). Thus the film's conclusion, though painful, seems to advocate acceptance and assimilation of painful events rather than investigation into their causes. Further, it is through learning to take pleasure in life that the painful events can be forgotten.

As in *Volver a empezar* the loss of love stands in for any more explicit political commentary. The grand villain of this film seems to be poverty itself rather than the political or economic system that may have produced it. Many of the chabola dwellers seem deeply corrupt and threatening like Muecas who is capable of fathering a child by his own daughter, attempting to abort it and finally

shifting blame onto the one man who tried to help; or El Cartucho who is taunted by his hag-like mother for supposedly being cuckolded, and then urged by her to seek revenge against the doctor. Pedro, the obvious point of identification in this film, along with his friend Matías are the only fairly honest and honorable male characters in this film. Pedro is lied to and manipulated by his assistant Amador (who makes a profit on black market trade in lab animals), his landlady (who arranges to tempt him into a relationship with her granddaughter), and Muecas (who accuses him of causing his daughter's death), but still he tries to relieve the suffering of others. Matías who is shown to be quite eccentric, spouting poetry and pursuing an obsessive relationship with a prostitute who looks exactly like his mother (the two are played by the same actress), proves to be a dedicated friend in Pedro's time of need. Through his fleshiness of body and wonton pursuit of pleasure, Matías could be characterized as feminine and as such, not an obviously desirable male model. However, he does hide Pedro in a house of prostitutes while attempting to clear his name and is undoubtedly preferable to the poor outcasts who model more traditional and patriarchal ways of behaving. Thus evil is clearly linked with the poverty that supposedly leads to the degradation and corruption of the individual. Pedro's return to work despite his feelings of confusion and loss indicate a direction for the spectator. It is as if to propose that, given the futility of investigating the remains of the past, one must move forward and take what pleasure one can. One must forget that which cannot be changed, and rather appreciate what one has, always working to avoid the ultimate misfortune which is poverty. Again, as in *Volver a empezar* which concludes

with Antonio sitting at his writing table in the sun, it is a gentle coda to a traumatic story, an assimilation of painful events.

La vaquilla, one of the most widely successful but controversial films in Spain from the 1980s by perennially popular director Luis Berlanga, goes even further toward promoting consensus in the period. Once again in collaboration with screenwriter Rafael Azcona, Berlanga creates a choral film with a large cast including two of the most famous actors of the Transition, Alfredo Landa as a sergeant and José Sacristán as his lieutenant on the Republican side. Set during the Civil War, it represents life in the trenches during a relatively calm period of the conflict. When the rebel forces announce a party over a loudspeaker as part of a plan to weaken Republican resolve, several soldiers decide to steal the young bull prepared for the celebration and thus undermine the event. Wearing fake rebel uniforms assembled by the flamboyantly gay tailor, they cross over to the other side only to bumble their way through the plan with the end result being that the bull escapes to die a natural death and is eaten by vultures in the end. This film goes to great lengths to erase differences between men on the two sides of the conflict. As always, Berlanga employs humor and a masterful sense of regionalisms and dialogue to represent the foibles of his characters.

Through a blending of the motives and desires of the two sides, he undoes the causes for the war and attempts to prove that all men are fundamentally the same—interested in smoking, good food and sex—and that each side has more to gain through commerce with the other than through fighting. Alfredo Landa's character establishes the basic premise of the film—that the men are more

interested in pleasure than in ideology—early in the film when he tries to suppress reports of a dance being held at the celebration. He fears that if they hear about it the soldiers "se ponen cachondos" (will get sexually aroused) and will forget about the war. The lack of difference between the two sides is pointed out repeatedly. In one instance, representatives from each side come together to exchange tobacco for smoking paper—a mutually beneficial trade that has apparently been going on for some time. Another soldier, shocked by the practice remarks, "Pero coño, ¿no sabes que hay dos Españas?" The implication is obvious—if this needs to be pointed out then it must not be a very compelling truth in the lives of these individuals who are more interested in having a good smoke than in any particular ideology. The two soldiers involved in the exchange discover that each has a girlfriend on the other side and they discuss making an exchange so each can visit his beloved—a parallelism that further erases the boundaries between the two. The film represents no actual fighting, nor any explicit politics and instead shows both sides as interested in the same activities. In one scene the Republican infiltrators are surprised at a swimming hole by rebel forces who jump in with them. Alfredo Landa's character remarks on the lack of difference between them in their naked and playful state, "¡Aquí en pelotas ni enemigos ni nada!" Events and observances such as these abound in the film which seems to take pains to erase differences between the two sides. Republicans mix with rebels, the lieutenant mixes casually with his men and all are shown to be equal "en pelotas" or in their skin. The film even goes so far as to show the lieutenant's flaccid penis as he jumps into the water—a specific erasure

of the mystique of the power of the phallus as explained by Peter Lehman. As he indicates in *Running Scared: Masculinity and the Representation of the Male Body* the maintenance of phallic power depends on keeping the penis hidden. Thus, by exposing the penis of the highest-ranking officer present, Berlanga seems to be demystifying male power and the hierarchy, and to be reinforcing the Transition's consumerist message—the pursuit of pleasure rather than submission to any hierarchy or ideology.

II. El Deseo S. A.

The great exception to the homogenizing trend of the 1980s in terms of thematic and cinematic originality (though not in terms of packaging and the elevation of desire) is, of course, Pedro Almodóvar. This self-trained, ex-Telefónica employee directed his first widely-seen feature-length film *Pepi, Luci, Bom y otras chicas del montón* (1980) on a shoe-string budget, using friends in the acting roles and interrupting shooting when funds ran short. At a time when Spanish cinema was experiencing its most serious economic crisis, Almodóvar's early low-budget films achieved at least modest success both at home and abroad. Though a receiver of Miró Law funds in several of his early films, Almodóvar formed his own production company, El Deseo S. A. in 1987, a step that further ensured his artistic independence and financial success. Though highly innovative in style and content, Almodóvar's films can be said to promote a certain version of consensus politics in and of themselves. His large ensemble casts run the gamut of "types"—homosexual, bisexual, transsexual, heterosexual, old, young, drug-addicts, nuns, police, lawyers, etc.—a cast of characters who as

Marsha Kinder observes, "refuse to be ghettoized into divisive subcultures because they are figured as part of the 'new Spanish mentality'—a fast-paced revolt that relentlessly pursues pleasure rather than power, and a post-modern erasure of all repressive boundaries and taboos associated with Spain's medieval, fascist, and modernist heritage" (*Pleasure* 34). The trend that was inaugurated in the late 1960s and 1970s—that of the expression of desire and its satisfaction rather than hierarchical obedience—reaches its culmination in the work of Almodóvar who elevates desire to the status of primary defining characteristic of all human beings. His work seeks not to exclude or to reorganize the hierarchy, but rather to recreate a society in which the hierarchy is irrelevant. As Rob Stone expresses it, Almodóvar's aim is "not to antagonize authorities, but to ask them to join his party" (126).

His males do not seek the sort of dominance or self-mastery that Foucault observed to be positive masculine qualities in Ancient Greece and which have been noted here to correspond to the hegemonic model under the dictatorship. Rather, in their self-abandon and pursuit of pleasure, Almodóvar's male protagonists correspond more closely to the opposite of the previous ideal. As Foucault states regarding Ancient Greece, "For a man, excess and passivity were the two main forms of immorality in the practice of aphrodesia" (47), and the self-indulgent man was considered inferior in moral quality. These values were clearly adopted by the early Francoist dictatorship and reached their clearest expression in crusade cinema as seen in chapter two. Thus Almodóvar's men often represent the exact opposite of the hegemonic model of the past: seeking

pleasure unapologetically and to an extreme, even if it ends in death as it does in *La ley del deseo* and *Matador*. Rather than showing obedience, self-restraint, or respect for prohibition and societal norms, Almodóvar's characters seek pleasure with abandon and break every taboo in its pursuit. It is a masculinity that embraces "lack" as a liberating principle and is not afraid to say, as Antonio Banderas' character does in *La ley del deseo*, "Fuck me"--indicating an acceptance of the passive role, long considered the domain of women. Almodóvar has been quoted many times as saying that he makes films as if the dictatorship had never existed which, though clearly an impossibility, can be seen as an attempt to consciously throw off the mantle of prohibition which is the legacy of the dictatorship and of hegemonic masculinity as it has been handed down to him. Again, in the words of Kinder commenting on *Laberinto de pasiones*, "The tortuously complex plot follows young Madrileños trying to escape the crippling influences of repressive fathers in order to pursue their own pleasure" (*Pleasure* 34) and can therefore be seen as the antithesis of the hierarchy and the old order under the "father of prohibition". Almodóvar himself has commented on this resistance to restrictions of any kind: "Si existe un tema común en mis películas es una lucha por la absoluta libertad individual llevada al extremo" (Trenzado Romero 322-3). Included in this concept of individual liberty is the right to put on and take off any gender identification at will.

Almodóvar's dramatic casting off of prohibition can be seen as part of a process of a radical re-visioning of sexuality and the body that was taking place in this commodity culture. While many considered the liberation of the body and

the liberalization of sexual desire to be signs of freedom, it is important to remember, as Foucault points out, that the question is not whether a people is repressed in terms of sexual behavior, but rather how the discourses of sexuality work. In the aftermath of the dictatorship, liberal sexuality was promoted as a sign of modernization in Spain. Foucault understands that sexuality is an especially dense transfer point for relations of power and that power generally exerts an influence in this area. This influence can be observed in filmic representations of sex through its prohibition in the dictatorship and its promotion in its aftermath: "Sex is placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden" (84). Capitalism and the resultant consumer culture produced sexuality as a product to be sought and consumed in conformity with a larger ethos of liberalism. David Garland discusses this movement in Spain during the Transition and quotes Stephen Heath in *The Sexual Fix* to describe the Spanish situation after Franco, "The much-vaunted 'liberation' of sexuality, our triumphant emergence from the 'dark ages' is thus not a liberation but a myth, an ideology, the definition of a new mode of conformity that can be understood, moreover, in relation to the capitalist system, the production of commodity 'sexuality'" (95), and Garland argues that sexuality in contemporary Western society has been constructed to conform to and perpetuate consumer capitalism. Spanish feminist pioneer Lidia Falcón also noted the relation between sexuality and the commodity: "La explosión sexual vivida en España en los últimos tiempos ha hecho creer a la gente que el sexo es algo-en-sí, separado de todo otro contexto [. . .] [una] relación cosificada" (138). Thus, the liberation of sexual

desires becomes part of an overall *zeitgeist* that promotes pleasure-seeking and consumption in general as the duty of the citizenry after Franco. As Marsha Kinder states, "Pleasure is the 'new Spanish morality' in the 80s" (qtd. in Smith 203). Changes in legislation such as the rescinding in 1978 of the *Ley de la Peligrosidad Social* which had outlawed homosexuality, and the adoption of the *Ley de Divorcio* in 1981, along with general support provided to the sexually liberated and culturally modern "Movida" by President Felipe González and Madrid mayor Enrique Tierno Galván and others, promoted a radical refiguring of sexual mores in the 1970s and 1980s in Spain.

Liberal sexuality became very closely linked to the modernization of Spain and it exerted a force upon the individual as is seen in the following quote by *Movida* icon and "chica Almodóvar" Carmen Maura: "Do I want sex, or don't I? If I don't, does that mean I am not *moderna?* Am I political or aren't I? Right or left?" (qtd. in Tremlett 198). The individual was now confronted with a new social and even political pressure—that of using one's body in conformity with the reigning ethics of the day which cast an active sexuality in a positive light. Pleasure seeking in sexuality was part of a broader social, and perhaps more importantly, economic trend. Dennis Altman points out that, "as Western countries become societies of high consumption, rapid credit, and rapid technological development, it was not surprising that the dominant sexual ideology of restraint and repression came under attack" (qtd. in Forest 103). Consumerism and its promotion in Spain necessarily affected the sexual identity of the individual and began to exert a pressure not wholly unlike prohibition

under the dictatorship. While the imperative arose from a completely different source, the effect on the individual was similar—pressure to conform to a certain mode of behavior. As McGowan reminds us, "Unlike the public law which prohibits enjoyment, the superego commands it. According to Lacan, 'Nothing forces anyone to enjoy except the superego'" (30). Thus in the society of commanded enjoyment we observe a shift in the source of the pressure on the individual, but not a substantial change in the mechanism itself.

Pedro Almodóvar goes further than any other in his presentation of man as subject to desire. Born in 1949 in Calzada de Calatrava, a small village near Ciudad Real, Almodóvar grew up an imaginative child with a close relationship to his mother and to the cinema of both Spain and Hollywood. After receiving the typical religious education of his time, at age 17 he moved to Madrid and found work at Telefónica, the national telephone company. He became a productive member of Madrid's blossoming underground artistic movement that became known as "La Movida," participating actively in avant-garde theater, comic-strip and fiction writing, musical performance and recording, and cinema. Ideally situating himself at the forefront of the cultural revolution that was overtaking Spain in the aftermath of the dictatorship, Almodóvar's artistic endeavors are marked by excess and the liberation of the individual from the taboos imposed by the dictatorship. He embraced that which was forbidden and his characters act without regard for rules or limitations imposed from without. Pedro Almodóvar's work perfectly represents the casting off of the old society of prohibition and the embracing of an ethos pertaining instead to a society of enjoyment. His films

reflected the apolitical spirit of the times and promoted pleasure as the new mandate. As he states, "'The characters in my films utterly break with the past which is to say that most of them, for example, are apolitical. Pleasure must be grasped immediately, hedonistically; that is almost the main leitmotif of their lives'" (qtd. in Kinder, "Pleasure" 34). Thus the apparently apolitical stance that Almodóvar self-consciously inserts into his work, especially in the form of a camp recycling of the past reflects further the resistance to prohibition and its influence on the individual. As Alejandro Yarza points out in *Un caníbal en Madrid*, Almodóvar's "camp" aesthetic, while appearing apolitical can be seen as an attempt to salvage history divesting it of its politicized taint. Yarza states, "la única manera legítima de volver a entrar en contacto con esta herencia sin repetir las poco fructíferas dicotomías del pasado era mediante su transformación irónica. Esto es, rescatarla de la manipulación de la derecha y de paso burlarse de la grave seriedad y del puritanismo estético de la izquierda" (30). By rejecting any final anchoring signifier in favor of a focus on the ever-mobile surface, he removes power from the transcendental phallus. Again citing Yarza, the importance of this shift away from "truth" of the past (as is seen in camp) can be observed: "El *camp*, al igual que el postestructuralismo, a través del énfasis en la textura, la superficie y la textualidad, produce una liberación del significante que, en última instancia, sabotea la idea de un significado transcendental, de un punto de apoyo externo al discurso que sirve para estabilizar el significado, para fijar la *verdad*" (31). Thus Almodóvar's refusal to engage directly with political themes as they have been presented to him can be seen as a rejection of a transcendental truth

that would limit the play of possibilities and thus introduce prohibition into his cinematic world.

Almodóvar tried to represent the new Spanish mentality in his films and more than any other, his vision came to represent the modern Spanish identity to the world. As Mark Allison comments, "Ningún otro producto cultural español ha sido tan instrumental en los años ochenta y noventa para conformar la impresión del mundo de la identidad española" (qtd. in Hernández Ruiz 209). The Spain he packaged and presented to the world was full of color and kinetic energy and was fully bent on pursuing the object of one's desire, even unto death. For Almodóvar the limitations of the past are irrelevant and Spain is immersed in the present reality of its desire. He described the fundamental shift in the Spanish mentality in an interview with Marsha Kinder in the following way:

> I believe the new Spanish mentality is less dramatic—although I demonstrate the contrary in my films. We have consciously left behind many prejudices, and we have humanized our problems. We have lost our fear of earthly power (the police) and of celestial power (the church), and we have also lost our provincial certainly that we are superior to the rest of the world—the typical Latin prepotency. And we have recuperated the inclination toward sensuality, something typically Mediterranean. We have become more skeptical, without losing the joy of living. We don't have confidence in the future, but we are constructing a past for ourselves because we don't like the one we had. (*Pleasure* 37)

The loss of fear of those patriarchal powers of the police and the Church that once reigned supreme in Spain is an indication of the erasure of the hierarchy that was typical of the society of prohibition. Almodóvar observes and represents an inclination toward sensuality without boundaries that he sees as a fundamental element of the Spanish character. His lack of respect for patriarchal power extends to the construction of a new present that marks a deep rupture with the past. The Spanish public and the world embraced his vision of broken taboos and fluid identities as he became the most important Spanish director of his time—setting records in viewership and winning prizes at home and abroad.

The sort of fluidity and resistance to limitations represented in Almodóvar's films that became emblematic of the new Spanish ideal was perhaps best represented by the young, somewhat androgynous Antonio Banderas who starred in many of his early films: "Almodóvar's deployment of Banderas' energy and magnetism was so successful that it established a mobile sexuality as the new cultural stereotype for a hyperliberated Socialist Spain" (Stone 86). Through changes of costume, employment, familial relations, gender identification, physical abilities and attributes, place of residence, religious and national affiliations, his characters share a common goal: the pursuit of that *thing* that they most desire. His vision of fluidity of identity is antithetical to the Freudian model based on the Oedipus complex in which an individual passed through, or got stuck in, various stages on his way to sexual maturity. This tendency has been observed by Paul Julian Smith, whose book entitled *Desire Unlimited: The Cinema of Pedro Almodóvar* traces the Almodovarian model of "libidinal economy" where

the psychic and the commercial meet: "In his hostility to fixed positions of all kinds, Almodóvar anticipates that critique of identity and essence that was later to become so familiar in academic feminist, minority, and queer theory" (3). By maintaining an undefined subject position for his characters, Almodóvar resists psychoanalysis' regulatory power which is, as R.W. Connell describes it, "a modern technology of surveillance and conformity, acting as a gender police and bulwark of conservative gender ideology" (11). For Almodóvar, identity is fixed only by desire and it is the single constant in the lives of many of his characters. In *La ley del deseo*, Tina the transsexual female played by Carmen Maura has changed her sex from male to female at the urging of her father who was her lover. She continues to consider him the most important figure in her life despite the physical changes of her body. In a similar way, her homosexual brother passionately loves one man and then desires another (who will kill the first) seamlessly and almost without distinction, continuing to compose the letters that he desires to receive from a lover. Marsh and Nair have described Almodóvar's attention to desire in his films: "Although for his hostile observers, his spectacular espousal of gender fluidity obscures a dilettante attitude to politics, for his invariably unconditional admirers, Almodóvar's cinema—with its emphasis upon 'desire' and 'id'—has been delightfully seized upon precisely because, while self-consciously proclaiming its own radicality, it eschews more meaningful engagement" (53).

It is precisely this fluidity though that allows them a potentially real liberation from the oedipal model. Other contemporaries of Almodóvar such as

Guy Hocqueghem, Jacques Deleuze and Felix Guattari, discussed the liberating potential of desire as a truly radical force. In his monograph *Homosexual Desire,* Guy Hocquenghem discusses the connection between homosexuality, which he considered a fundamentally fluid and amorphous sexual identification, and the undermining of the patriarchal order: "So when homosexuals as a group publicly reject their labels, they are in fact rejecting Oedipus, rejecting the artificial entrapment of desire, rejecting sexuality focused on the Phallus" (39). It is important to understand the way Hocquenghem defines sexuality in order to understand the relevance it has for Almodóvar's characters' pan-sexuality. In essence they both reject the idea that desire is locked into a fixed relationship to its object. Hocquenghem writes:

> Homosexual desire--the expression is meaningless. There is no subdivision of desire into homosexual and heterosexual. Properly speaking, desire is no more homosexual than heterosexual. Desire emerges in a multiple form whose components are only divisible *a posteriori*, according to how we manipulated it. Just like heterosexual desire, homosexual desire is an arbitrarily frozen frame in an unbroken and polyvocal flux. (49)

Almodóvar adopts this anti-oedipal vision of sexuality that was further described by Deleuze and Guattari, and which was truly revolutionary in the sense that it made Oedipus irrelevant, little more than the butt of a joke as it turns out to be in *Laberinto de pasiones.* In that film Sexi's self-professed "Lacanian" psychoanalyst helps her to create a prototypical origin narrative in which her

promiscuity is seen to be the direct result of her father's rejection one day on the beach when she was a child. The explicit references, obvious symbols and cinematically conventional flashback technique undermine any power a psychoanalytical analysis might have. Almodóvar's vision of desire reflects not so much desire-as-lack, as we have seen in the Freudian context, but rather desire-as-productive-force which was proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Their rejection of the Oedipal family and its repression of desires is reflected in Almodóvar's characters who operate within a system of "deterritorialized" desires or rather desire that is apart from a rigidly imposed, hierarchical context and that is not directly linked to a particular object. For Deleuze and Guattari the psychoanalytic model reproduces the patterns of the repression of desire in accord with the needs of the capitalist machine: "Hence, instead of participating in and undertaking that which will bring about genuine liberation, psychoanalysis is taking part in the work of bourgeois repression at its most far-reaching level, that is to say, keeping European humanity harnessed to the yoke of daddy-mommy and making no effort to do away with this problem once and for all" (211). Thus the anti-oedipal model is more closely suited to analysis of Almodóvar's work in the 1980s and explains why lack is not seen as negative in his films.

Almodóvar goes further than any other Spanish director in rejecting the representation of the Oedipus complex in the creation of his characters. His rejection of the nuclear, patriarchal family can be seen in his second widely-released feature film, *Laberinto de pasiones*. This camp melodrama/comedy has

a large cast and follows various protagonists--Sexilia (Cecilia Roth) a supposed nymphomaniac, Sadec (Antonio Banderas), a gay Islamic terrorist, Riza (Imanol Arias) the son of the emperor of Tiran, and Queti, the daughter of a dry-cleaner. When Riza discovers that Sadec and his colleagues are after him, he disguises himself as a punk rocker, and after a couple of gay trysts (including one with Sadec who falls deeply in love with him) falls in love with Sexilia, his first straight relationship. Meanwhile Queti, Sexilia's "biggest fan," escapes her home where her demented father has been mistaking her for her mother and raping her regularly, and undergoes plastic surgery to become an exact copy of Sexilia whose place she assumes, including beginning a would-be incestuous relationship with Sexi's previously sexually frigid father who shows no signs of knowing that he is not in bed with his own daughter. In this film the patriarchal family is undone through the representation of incestuous, unnecessary or obsessive fathers, absent or destructive mothers, and children who are either victims of their parents or resigned witnesses to their progenitors' foibles. Liberation comes from escape as the final scene shows Sexi and Riza leaving on a comically phallic-shaped airplane as it heads for a tropical island. Their orgasm is heard off screen as their friends and relatives left behind in the airport look on in wonder.

This film, seemingly methodically, violates every taboo with its largest victim being the patriarchy. Characters in the film refuse to adopt a specific role within their family or their social environment, changing identities and sexual partners with ease. Sexuality is seen as something that can be played with, altered, tried-on or cast off, picked up in an open-air market or at the corner bar.

The opening scene shows Sexi walking through an open shopping area in "El Rastro" flea market while her gaze along with the camera's, shifts from one man's crotch to another as if she were window shopping. Riza is seen to do the same and engages Almodóvar collaborator Fabio McNamara for a sexual meeting after sending over a drink and casually exchanging a few introductory comments. Sexuality is specifically linked with consumerism in various instances in the film. In the case of Queti and her confused father, his "deviant" behavior is thought to be the result of a drug. He regularly takes some sort of medication designed to increase sexual vitality, just as she attempts to counteract the effects of this drug with yet another, surreptitiously added to his coffee. She names the product "Vitapens" and reads the recommendations, trusting that the proper blend of pharmaceuticals can solve her problem. In another scene the character played by Fabio McNamara is seen in a photo shoot for a graphic novel "enjoying" the violence of a power drill which is captured for sale. Consumer society now demands that sexuality is mediated and directed by its dictates.

The themes observed in these films—apparent apoliticality, identity mobility, absence or ridiculization of the hierarchy and the pursuit of one's desire as a valid purpose in life—all mark Almodóvar as the quintessentially relevant director of Spain's transition from a hierarchical, patriarchal past to a hedonistic, self-indulgent future. By recognizing desire and its expression as the fundamental difference between the dictatorship model of masculinity and the more liberal democratic model, Almodóvar did more than any other director to represent and promote the "modern" Spanish identity to Spaniards and to the world. His work

addresses the issue on its most basic level—that of the fundamental construction of identity based on desire rather than prohibition.

III. "Modern" Nation and the "Feminized" Male

As the Transition wore on, figures in film from the later 1980s and early 1990s pursue pleasure and individual advancement without regard for society as a whole, a trend that mimicked the general movement of Spanish society itself. Under the Socialist party booming economic growth during the latter half of the 1980s elevated in visibility what was referred to as "la cultura del dinero" (Jover Zamora 824) as economic neo-liberalism came to dominate. It was a time when wealthy bankers and businessmen and their doings—both professional and personal—became the subject of great interest and dissemination in Spanish society at large. It was a movement that elevated personal advancement and can be seen as damaging to the collective: "La cultura de enriquecimiento, el *glamour* del dinero y del éxito, dañó sutilmente, sin embargo, la ética y provocó al tiempo admiración y rechazo social" (825 Jover Zamora). It was a trend that gave rise to a culture of corruption and personal gain among the Socialist Party—a fact that contributed ultimately to their election loss in 1996 to the Partido Popular. In the films studied in this section personal satisfaction, economic and sexual, is seen as the prime motivator for human behavior and takes center stage in the plots of many films in the late 1980s and 1990s. Politics are almost wholly absent from many of the most-watched films of the era as a reflection of the waning interest of young people in the topic as "pasotismo" or the disdain for politics becomes firmly embedded at this time. Male protagonists in many of the films of this era

appear to accept and embrace female sexuality as well as their own more "feminine" side, but there is generally a consolidation of male power at the end that reestablishes the white, male heterosexist prerogative. "Subaltern" groups including foreign, gay and effeminate men appear in a number of Spanish films of the 1980s and early 1990s, but they are generally relegated to a peripheral or subordinated position while highly specularized heterosexual male bodies dominate, now as points of identification as well as objects of consumption. The individual's personal sexual satisfaction is seen to trump all other needs and considerations and many films from the period are characterized by disintegrating or unstable personal relationships.

Vicente Aranda's successful and critically acclaimed film *Amantes* serves as an example of the "feminization" of the male through his subjection by desire, but in which, finally, desire is merged with a hyper-masculine form of heterosexuality that triumphs in the end. In this film Paco (Jorge Sanz) is established as the product of a religious-military background in the opening scene, a church ceremony marking the end of his service in the "mili" under Franco. He is portrayed at the moment when he is transitioning out of the lifestyle represented by these disciplines and into the civilian world. Rather than return to his family in Segovia, he stays in Madrid finding lodgings in the home of an attractive widow, Luisa (Victoria Abril) with whom he soon becomes sexually involved, though still maintaining his relationship with his virginal girlfriend, Trini (Maribel Verdú). He is presented initially in a feminized position—seduced by an older woman, specularized by a camera that dwells on his body rather than hers, even "violated"

by the pink handkerchief that his lover inserts into his anus during sex. Passion soon becomes linked with corruption and personal gain as Paco participates in a scam to swindle a farmer at Luisa's urging. He is completely dominated by his passion for Luisa and only reluctantly returns to Trini to celebrate Christmas eve as was their custom. The cigar that she offers him as the "señor de la casa" symbolizes the role prepared for him in the patriarchal hierarchy as she promises to serve him as his wife and partner in the small business she would like to open with him. However, the patriarchal hierarchy and the deferred benefits it implies pales in comparison to the immediate gratification and *jouissance* available to him with Luisa. He feels driven to return to his sexual relationship with her despite the fact that he is risking all—future, reputation, personal safety, economic stability—to do so. McGowan comments on this movement away from a society that respected the symbolic distance implicit in the society of prohibition: "As the symbolic receeds we are forced to confront the obscene, primal father who commands *jouissance* rather than a symbolic father who prohibits it" (xxiv). Rather than choosing the sexually conservative Trini who is constantly rejecting his sexual advances, he chooses Luisa and immediate gratification. Finally in her desperation Trini tries to convert herself into the passionate lover she thinks Paco desires, but rather than having the desired effect, the change empowers him to reject her as "the scheming female." Eventually the temptation of easy money and sex with Luisa proves too much and he returns to her, but now it is he who dominates the situation through his distant attitude as each becomes jealous of the other. Finally when Luisa needs money to pay an old debt, Paco proves capable

of murdering Trini and handing her life savings over to Luisa. It is as if in stealing the money he rejects again the future of the patriarchal, hierarchical family role that is laid out for him and opts instead for a self-absorbed individualism that is fueled by sex and easy money. The self-centered protagonist takes center stage and unlike older films like *Surcos* in which Don Roque, "el Chamberlain" the blackmarketeer, a conniving, two-timing murderer, played a peripheral and obviously evil character, Paco is very much the center of identification for the viewer. As a handsome youth, he is shown to be neither wholly evil nor particularly unappealing in any way. To the contrary, his dilemma seems reasonable given the circumstances and his decision does not apparently provoke excessive anguish in him.

Jorge Sanz plays a similar character in the Academy Award winning film *Belle epoque* by Fernando Trueba—an appealing if somewhat confused young man who struggles with a sexual dilemma. The film's title hints at a certain European orientation in which the focus on the Edenic home that bears little if any resemblance to Spanish society of the day nor of the period in which it is set: the brief time between the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931. Again the protagonist is in the process of shedding his military existence for the world of pleasure and self-indulgence. In this film Fernando escapes from the Republican army and into the midst of four beautiful and sexually liberated sisters from whom he can apparently choose and alternate without recriminations or repercussions. The film ostensibly highlights the joyful coexistence of the contented sisters who play with the bewildered Fernando and in

allowing the female characters to express their sexual desire, presents a façade of egalitarianism between the sexes. But, as this film demonstrates, a temporary "feminization" of the male protagonist does not ultimately result in a loss of power. As Kenneth MacKinnon suggests: "The softening of masculinity may have little to do with female emancipation or empowerment. The most cynical interpretation would be that, in order for masculinity to remain hegemonic, it must admit the feminine at certain historical moments" (15). Like Paco in *Amantes* who becomes the specularized "object" of the film, it is ultimately he who gains mastery in the situation by ultimately retaining the male prerogative, or rather the power to choose among the women. Ultimately the male protagonist's thematic importance and narrative focus along with the specularity of the images of those beautiful women presented as part of the Edenic background serves to propagate one more male fantasy. Chris Perriam has noted that Jorge Sanz's roles in these two films, "are by no means free of pornographic male fantasies" (31) and, regarding the earlier film discussed here, by Aranda, goes on to describe the triumph of male heterosexism: "The extreme eroticization of Sanz in Aranda's movie is underpinned—safeguarded—by the twin contexts of Aranda's gruffly unreconstructed male oeuvre and, we can see with hindsight, by other performances by Sanz which are emphatically heterosexist in their assumptions. In this sense virility resurfaces unscathed from the melodrama of extreme passion and objectification" (31). Despite the appearance of egalitarianism, Sanz's character never gives up his male prerogative.

The atmosphere of carnival that suffuses *Belle epoque* and is explicitly represented in the film serves as a metaphor for the gender play that is at work in this film that ultimately proves very little subversive. Festival itself has been indicated to have a connection with a liberal consumerist attitude as outlined by French social historian Bartolomé Bennassar: "For festival is simultaneously the absence of work, defiance of the spirit of saving and foresight, and a paroxysm of consumption" (qtd. in Garland 98). Thus the openness to self-indulgence and freedom are symptomatic of a consumerist society which elevates the idea of the importance of one's personal satisfaction. Furthermore Robert Stam's work with the Bahktinian category of carnival cautions that the apparent freedom and role-reversal can be merely a temporary masquerade and that the category itself is "most susceptible to co-optation" (Garland 99). Further David Garland explains how what Andrew Ross characterizes as "libertine fantasies of mobility" are ultimately premised on male power and privilege (99). The male is freed to adopt the feminine role as yet another means of taking pleasure. Rather than being truly subjugated, he plays with the "dominated" subject position in order to extract the pleasure that may be attained from such a move. Jan Jagodzinsky points out that the representation of feminized masculine bodies "enables patriarchal masculinity to reposition itself so as to occupy the conventional place of the feminine, effectively colonizing it" (30). Thus while Fernando is feminized to the extent that he cooks, serves at table and is the apparent sexual plaything of the sisters, it is he who ultimately chooses among them and regains, through marriage the patriarchal position.

The film's function as a vehicle of (especially male) wish fulfillment and the representation of the house as a sort of garden of Eden has been discussed by José Colmeiro in "Paradise Found? Ana/chronic Nostalgia in *Belle Epoque*" in which he compares Trueba's house to García Lorca's famous house in *La casa de Bernarda Alba*. The contrast between the two houses illustrates the contrast between the formerly prohibitive and religious Spain and the open, liberal, consumerist Spain. As Colmeiro describes it: "Against the painful austerity, the law of silence, and the delirious obsession with the cleanliness of honor, virginity, and the "virtues" of the old and intolerant Catholic Spain so well represented in *Bernarda Alba*, Belle Epoque represents the exuberance, the unleashing of repressed voices of joy, laughter, and pleasure, and the new *virtues* [italics mine] of tolerance and permissiveness, where sexuality is not only not forbidden but triumphantly celebrated" (137). Rather than locking her daughters behind closed doors, the mother in *Belle Epoque* encourages her daughters to enjoy themselves—serving as example by having sex with her husband while her lover waits outside the door. Whereas "Pepe el romano" was denied access to the sisters locked within the house, here Fernando is allowed to come and go at will and to engage in sexual relations with all of the four sisters. Thus Trueba's film represents the dominant morality of his times just as Lorca's play did his. The striking shift towards pleasure in this film shows no negative consequences, but rather promotes the equation of self-indulgence with happiness—the highest value in a consumerist society.

Thus in the two films discussed here the heterosexual gender norm is played with but not undone. In these films the obfuscation is very important in that masculinity *seems,* without actually *being,* substantially altered, and the final scene has Fernando, married to the youngest sister, receiving a parting kiss on the mouth from his ex-lover/sister-in-law indicating again that his masculine patriarchal privilege of sexual freedom remains intact. The Transition and its concomitant liberalization in the economic and the sexual sphere opened the field to new ways of playing with and exploring the topic of sexuality but the heterosexual masculine dominant ideal is reestablished in these films albeit now focused on the pursuit of pleasure.

IV. Unruly Ghosts of the Past

Despite wide-spread propagation, the "miraculous" story of Spain's transition from a dictatorship to a modern democratic nation with a common set of goals and motivations is subverted in various films of the period by the appearance of unresolved trauma that takes the form of a haunting from the past. Films from the mystery and horror genres as well as films from the periphery, most notably the Basque region, strayed markedly from the models represented earlier in this chapter. While the majority of films from the latter half of the Transition period employed realism and high production values to narrate self-contained stories such as has been seen in the many literary adaptations and historical-themed films, another, darker current brought the experience of trauma to the fore and resisted easy assimilation and resolution. The "miracle" of Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy was, of course, never seamless or

comprehensive and this is clearly evidenced in the three films discussed here—*La muerte de Mikel*, *Tras el cristal* and *Beltenebros*—in which the protagonists struggle with the effects of events from the past that clearly continue to drive their present in mysterious and unexplainable ways. Jo Labanyi's elaboration of the concept of "hauntology" in its Spanish context helps to elucidate the nature of these traumatic masculinities that are unable to "look forward" and to easily adopt society's glossing of history in its pursuit of a neater, cleaner future. In her article, "History or Hauntology?" Labanyi likens the artist to the historian who Walter Benjamin describes as a *bricoleur* that "rummages around in the debris or litter left by the past, and reassembles the fragments in a new "constellation" that permits the articulation of that which has been left unvoiced" (69). In all three of the films discussed here the male protagonist is haunted by a past that needs to be addressed and understood despite the fact that comprehension and resolution remain outside his grasp.

Because suppression of the Basque identity had been especially fierce during the dictatorship and its legacy has been carried over into the new democracy, films from this region do not tend to end in resolution or blameless melancholy as many of those produced in Madrid. While attention to resolving regional issues was a concern of the Adolfo Suarez government from the beginning, acceptance of a central authority located in Madrid continued to be highly problematic, especially in the Basque region. Unlike Cataluña which demonstrated a willingness to engage in dialogue and had a general desire to see the new democracy work, the Basque region's situation was much more

complicated. Tensions between Basque separatists, especially ETA, and the central government remained high throughout the transition period, aggravated by such events as the death in February 1981 by police abuse of an incarcerated member of ETA and reports of torture that surfaced in relation to the group GAL (Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación) and to state violence, while ETA in its turn continued to use violence and terror instead of political dialogue to address its concerns. It is not surprising then that films created in the Basque region in the 1980s often presented a much more sober and deeply traumatized vision of masculinity than did those coming out of Madrid at the time. In films like *La muerte de Mikel,* political violence continues to play a primary role in the lives of the individuals represented. The economic prosperity that served as focus or backdrop to many films from the 1980s was absent or treated with a degree of contempt in many Basque films while the struggle for mastery and self-identity makes this film more closely resemble many of those from the 1970s in which reconciliation with the past did not often occur.

In *La muerte de Mikel* Imanol Uribe, the first recipient of Basque film subsidies for his 1981 film *Fuga de Segovia*, continued to explore the political and sexual identity of the individual faced with a hostile environment. Mikel Miranda (Imanol Arias) struggles to come to terms with his own homosexuality, his disintegrating marriage and accusations about his past Basque nationalist political involvement. His marital problems reveal his unease with the forces that formed him—family, church and political environment--and recognition of its failure set him on a path to seek the truth. When his modern and newly

"Europeanized" wife returns from a long holiday abroad, he finds he is unable to desire her. One night after coming home drunk and initiating sexual relations, their encounter turns into a gruesome affair when he apparently bites or otherwise severely injures his wife while performing oral sex. Soon after he begins an affair with a transvestite night club performer and as a result, is dismissed from consideration as a political candidate by his Abertzale political party. Shortly thereafter he is picked up by the police for his alleged past association with ETA and interrogated. The end of the film depicts his funeral, his death remaining unexplained in the film. His strongly religious and anti-homosexual mother's enigmatic expression leads the viewer to believe that it could be she, last representative of the old dictatorship order (even the priest calls for respect of Mikel's choice), who kills her own son motivated by a desire to avoid the scandal that might be associated with his increasingly public lifestyle, though suicide or a politically motivated killing are not completely ruled out. The trauma is left unexplained and thus unassimilated in direct contrast to many contemporary films like *Tiempo de silencio* that sought to put an end to the issues treated.

As in *El diputado* and *Flor de Otoño*, from early in the film the connection between sexuality and politics is established through the juxtaposition of the arguing couple, Mikel and his wife, with another passing couple who is assassinated by the police who shoot at them and drive their car off the road almost immediately after the chance crossing. Mikel and his wife at this moment are discussing the need to cast off the masks of the past and finally tell the truth to one another. The ensuing politically-motivated violence can clearly be

considered a commentary on the need for honesty in the public sphere as well. Under duress, Mikel refuses to sign a police document confessing his guilt for some past offense, but rather endures torture for the sake of truth. In his personal life as well he comes to realize that his comfortable bourgeois lifestyle with his wife is a lie in itself and he casts it off to embrace the freedom of expression that his newly accepted homosexuality affords him. Unlike productions appearing out of Madrid, this film explicitly addresses the contemporary political and social situation and its continuing violence upon the individual. His conservative patriarchal "madre castrante" stands in, as in so many earlier films from the 1970s, as the representative of dictatorship values which continue to haunt the individual. Even his supposedly more liberal political associates reveal a reluctance to seek total honesty and it is apparent that political exigencies trump honesty in the political process. The only other male figures who represent truth are his apolitical fisherman friend who is shown to lack commitment and therefore to be unacceptable as a model, and Fama the transvestite, who by her very sexual honesty is shown to be one of the most admirable of all characters in the film. Though of course Fama is not adopted as a focal point for identification, the film does present her alternative lifestyle as morally superior to that of lying politicians and homophobic society as a whole.

However, despite their prominence in the press, regional politics was not the only issue "haunting" the new democracy. The rapid and supposedly smooth transition to democracy seemed to leave behind a feeling of unease that gave rise to a number of films and works of fiction in the detective and horror genres

including *Beltenebros* and *Tras el cristal.* Vicente Benet describes an ambient "atmósfera de pesadilla" (167) that infuses many of these works and links it to the effect of a confrontation with the past. In the detective films discussed he describes this confrontation in the following way: "un presente onírico cargado por las insistentes sombras del pasado [. . .] El cine español contemporáneo se ha distanciado de esa reflexión crítica con el franquismo pero permite, en filmes como los que nos ocupan en este trabajo, que las sombras de sus fantasmas y sus demonios se proyecten sobre el presente como un trayecto de descubrimiento que ha de conducirnos a una verdad esencial" (174). In the film *Beltenebros* by Pilar Miró, a professional hitman in the service of the Communist Party is sent to Madrid to eliminate a traitor who has been betraying the identity of party officers to the police. His journey mirrors a trip he made twenty years earlier, in the aftermath of the Second World War in which he executed a man he erroneously believed to be a leader of the resistance. It appears that a former Party leader turned fascist cop is the traitor and mastermind behind both events. The intricate plot and baroque structure (frequent flashbacks, voice-overs, doubled-identities, etc.) serve to occult the original motives and acts that would explain the present situation and allow the viewer to establish right from wrong, causes from effects, heroes from villains. This film like others of the genre create in the viewer a sense of unfinished business that does not allow for a neat resolution of events of the past.

And finally, there are few films as dark and unresolved as Augustí Vilaronga's *Tras el cristal* which escapes any totalizing narrative that may

comfort the viewer and provide contextualization. Leora Lev has commented on the significance of this film:

> This suggests that a dark reservoir of unprocessed recent history remains just below the surface of a "Westernized," post-Franco politico-cultural landscape. The fascist Spain excoriated by Buñuel and Saura might be buried under a new façade but consumerist technologies and economies have awakened new decadent desires as well as summoned evil energies from the past like so many returns of the repressed. (176)

The film rips open a traumatic fissure which reflects the pain that was wrought upon many under the dictatorship. The opening scene depicts a naked and bloodied boy hanging from a rope connected to the ceiling. His captor, an older man, takes photos of him, kisses him and finally kills him. From beginning to end, the film never relents in its indictment of the horrors perpetrated against the innocent, showing how innocence itself is easily corrupted and made complicit. The plot centers around the former victim of the ex-Nazi (now living quietly with his wife and daughter in the Spanish countryside) who comes back and obtains a position as nurse to his former tormenter, who is now confined to an iron lung as a result of a past accident. This former victim recreates scenes of torture and murder upon the bodies of young boys in full view of the old man as a way of bringing his horrible deeds back to face him. The film is painful to watch and resists any attempt to be assumed into the "miraculous" transition narrative. A bloody and repressive history, as Spain's was in the earlier part of the 20th

century, cannot simply be wished away as Fernando Trueba and others apparently tried to do in avoiding discussion of that violence. Nor could a "modern" vision of a progressive and liberal Spain do away with the psychological effects of those years. Villaronga's dark film rises up to present the unpresentable: "La política de consenso que organiza la producción cultural a partir de sus narraciones hegemónicas de tachadura de la memoria y de la homogeneización de lo diverso y lo plural—que de este modo pierde parte de su fuerza transgresora—presenta brechas, espacios de fisura por los que sale a escena la urgencia del afecto cancelado" (Moreiras Menor 40). This film is pointed out by Moreiras Menor as one of those films that escapes through the cracks. It represents the unrepresentable—that which could not be incorporated into the Transition's process of packaging the past. This film exaggerates and distorts those characteristics of masculinity such as mastery and dominance to grotesque proportions to show the reverse side of these characteristics--once highly-lauded under fascist regimes--and now exposed for the cruelty that resides in their foundation.

V. Conclusion

Consensus politics dominated cinematic production in the 1980s and early 1990s, a fact that led to an attempt to package Spain itself for internal as well as external consumption. As demonstrated, historical and literary films, along with films by Pedro Almodóvar, were supported by Miró Law subsidies and contributed to the fixing of a Spanish identity which was then exported to the world. A common characteristic of films of the period is their great reluctance to

address contemporary politics or to question in any serious way the reigning political order. In great contrast to the 1970s which saw an outburst of experimental and politically explicit productions, in the 1980s public opinion was being consolidated around the common goals of economic advancement and sexual gratification, and only a few films deviate from this path. The search for pleasure and the satisfaction of one's desire become a mandate that, though it might have the power to destroy lives, seems impossible to resist. Individualism and a concern for personal gain replace participation in a larger social structure and the individual is often seen as alienated or at odds with those who would thwart his attempt to enjoy. This shift toward isolated individualism reflects the movement toward a society of commanded enjoyment and the end of the social hierarchy based on prohibition—a trend that will become the norm in later years.

Chapter 5: Individualism and Alienation

Various trends in the representation of masculinity in Spanish cinema in the last fifteen years that are briefly treated here include the importance of image in a commodity culture as well as a rebellion against it, the rise of heightened individualism, especially of pleasure-seeking hedonism, and the alienation that results from a lack of connectedness with others. These changes are generally consonant with the rise of a heightened consumer-capitalist social structure in which the individual is increasingly seen as the focus of an omnipresent marketing scheme in which his consumer identity reigns supreme. Films from this period deal repeatedly with the process of acquiring wealth and personal satisfaction despite the cost to one's relationships with others. The threat of failure often looms large in the lives of male characters struggling to live as their imagination and ambition dictate while often being forced to recognize the ephemeral nature of their power within modern society. Spain has been characterized at this time as largely uninterested in politics or history as a new generation grows up without ever having known or cared about Franco or the dictatorship, and as the older generation (as seen in the case of Pedro Almodóvar) would prefer to leave the past behind as an unpleasant reminder of an archaic age that has nothing to do with the fast-paced, global and modern nation that Spain has become. The media, more than history, seems to dominate the lives of these post-modern subjects and the general absence of politics in cinema of this period reflects the interests of the populace. Moreiras Menor has characterized the individual in this period in the following way:

> El ciudadano español vive sumido en la más absoluta individualidad, bajo el dominio de la incertidumbre, de las lógicas de la comunicación de masas (la televisión, el vídeo y el ordenador sobre todo), y la desconfianza hacia el Estado, siendo simultáneamente testigo implicado o distanciado, pero siempre impotente, de importantes y novedosos procesos sociales que están cambiando la faz de la vieja Europa y con ella, de España. (19)

The conscious attempt to forget the past as seen in cinema of the latter part of the Transition seems to have yielded the desired end result—the past is unimportant in a world dominated by the constant unfolding of the present. Without a sense of history, films of this period often revolve around the individual's very specific circumstances, concerns and pleasures, and demonstrate a lack of solidarity of the protagonist with others in a world where competition is often the principal conflict. Oscar Guasch cites the constant barrage of images as a cause of instability as the individual finds him/herself unable to process emotions:

> La precariedad consagra el corto plazo, la instauracion social del *ahora es el momento*, y de disfruta ahora y empieza a pagar el año que viene, genera fenómenos tan dispares como el consumo basura, el endeudamiento familiar y el consumo grupal y festivo de estupefacientes (tanto entre jóvenes como entre adultos). Las sociedades occidentales viven deprisa en el presente, carecen de memoria histórica e insisten en no plantearse un futuro que sienten no poder controlar. (*Héroes* 54)

Within the context of the eternal present, as image takes precedence over substance and films of this period represent the ephemeral nature of masculinity, male characters who do not learn to forge new bonds with others become isolated and insecure. They seem stuck in a "callejón sin salida" and often turn to violence as a coping mechanism.

I. Image:

In the latter part of the 20th and early 21st centuries the concept of self is revised in the information age to increasingly include media images as a source of reference in a sort of Lacanian mirror identification. The subject turns ever more to media and computer generated images—images largely designed to interpellate the viewer as a consumer—in order to identify him/herself. Moreiras Menor describes this phenomenon regarding post 1992 Spain the following way: "Nace así el sujeto de la sociedad del espectáculo, aquel sujeto que se articula a partir de una total identificación con la sociedad del consumo y cuyas señas identitarias provienen de las que las grandes corporaciones internacionales favorecen" (65-6). The film *Por qué lo llaman amor cuando quieren decir sexo* (1993) by director Manuel Gómez Pereira demonstrates the commodification of the sexual identity though the body of it male star, Jorge Sanz. As in *Amantes* and *Belle Epoque*, Sanz's character, Manuel, is presented as a sort of beautiful but somehow naive explorer. He wanders into a stint as a successful peep-show star as if by accident, needing only to earn some quick cash to pay off a gambling debt. His female co-star, the more experienced Glori (Veronica Forqué), introduces him to the "art" of performing sexually in public and though she takes pains at first to point out that

it is purely a business transaction ("No hacemos el amor—follamos,") the two end up falling in love. The boundary between their "real" selves and their performing selves becomes blurred as the film progresses until finally they consummate their "real" relationship by "making love" ("Vamos a hacer el amor"). Ironically this union takes place within the confines of the peep-show booth while paying customers watch from behind mirrored glass thus merging the commodity identity of the body with the "real" identity both of the characters and of the viewers of the film who have been induced to identify with them. The purposely scopophillic arrangement of the film viewer peeking in on the viewers of the peepshow who peek in on the lovers, seeks to maintain the element of titillation, of the pleasure "just beyond" or "prohibited." However, the freedom with which the film shows all curiously seems to neutralize its eroticism. McGowan attributes a certain "domestication" of sexuality in a society of commanded enjoyment noting that: "Rendering the object present eliminates precisely what is appealing about it—its Real dimension, that dimension of the object that doesn't fit smoothly in our world of sense" (79). In this film the carefully negotiated business dealings regarding sex between the protagonists as well as an extremely transparent approach to sexual topics (sadomasochism is casually discussed on a television talk show) removes the distance once imposed by prohibition and unlike the stir created by Rita Hayworth removing her gloves, renders sex nothing more than a valuable commodity in a consumerist world.

While freeing the individual from the necessity to adopt a self-image based upon one's own body, identification with media-generated images can

create a sense of discontinuity with one's physical reality. Oscar Guasch notes that "El problema es que nuestras sociedades priorizan la imagen hasta llegar a confundirla con la identidad" (*Héroes* 135). Films like *Todo sobre mi madre* (1999) by Pedro Almodóvar and *20 centímetros* (2005) by Ramón Salazar represent individual subjectivities dissociated from their physical bodies. In these films, as in many others since the early Transition years, one or more characters seek to radically alter their body as a means of conforming to the ideal they hold for themselves. In both cases a biologically male character (interestingly the actors are both women) self-identifies as a woman and continues to "perform" as a female, claiming that it is important to physically resemble what you feel yourself to be. In *20 centímetros* the protagonist, a narcoleptic prostitute, hovers between wakefulness and dreams—two states that contrast markedly as her sordid reality, shot in muted tones in the poor neighborhoods where she lives and works, are transformed into clean and colorful theatrical sets resembling Hollywood dance films from the 1930s and 1940s in which she herself becomes the beautiful and graceful woman she dreams of being in real life. She believes that all that stands between her present reality and the realization of her dream is the sex change operation for which she is saving money. Likewise the transvestite, Agrado, in *Todo sobre mi madre* imagines herself in terms of media images claiming that she draws her inspiration from magazines from the 1970s and defending on stage her decision to spend large amounts of money on cosmetic surgery because, "una es más auténtica cuando más se parece a lo que sueña de si misma." The crowd heartily applauds her decision to have undergone reconstructive cosmetic surgery

on her eyes, nose, breasts and jaw; injections of silicone in her forehead, cheeks, hips and buttocks, and hair removal over her entire body—all of which came with a very specific price-tag which Agrado outlines in detail. Almodóvar avoids any presentation of risk or pain associated with such invasive procedures and presents rather, the svelte body of a young woman as the supposed end result of these many surgeries and treatments. By avoiding the reality of the process as well as falsifying the result, the film serves as an extension of a culture that promises that happiness and self-fulfillment can be purchased—and should be if one is to live "authentically."

The media image that is held up for consumption in films, television and especially advertising at this time shifts importance from substance to appearance and focuses on the immediate reality of the present over historical or traditional forms of power. Since the disbanding of the "band of brothers," and the return of the "anal father of enjoyment" who promotes pleasure at every instant, masculinity finds itself in constant need of reinforcement and is thus vulnerable to market forces in a way that it never was in the past. Moreiras Menor describes the temporal nature of subjectivity at this time:

> el sujeto espectacular y posmoderno, producto de la sociedad del mercado y la información pierde a su vez sus raíces históricas y se transforma en sujeto profundamente inmerso en la superficie de la contemporaneidad más radical—Es el dominio de la perspectiva del momento. (Moreiras Menor 69)

The "perspective of the moment" of which she speaks imposes an unforgiving set of requirements for adhering to a "successful" model of masculinity. Physical beauty, style and wealth must be maintained for the individual to retain his dominant position in many films from the era such as *Huevos de oro*, *Abre los ojos*, *Los lunes al sol*, *El crimen ferpecto* and others.

While many of the films from the period in question feature the attractive actors Javier Bardem, Antonio Banderas, Eduardo Noriega, Juan Diego Botto and others, the striking success of the Torrente series of films as well as others like *Acción mutante* that featured purposely unattractive leading male characters, or *Los lunes al sol* that featured realistic, average-looking males figures, constitutes a sort of backlash against the imposition of the buffed and polished consumerist image of masculinity in these other films. However, while some male protagonists express a longing for values of the past—an escape from the fast-paced, hyper-individualist, consumer-oriented present—the pursuit of personal gain to which they are drawn often undoes these nostalgic desires.

This science-fiction film *Acción mutante* presents the story of a ragtag group of "anti-superhero"/revolutionaries, all of whom bear some sort of obvious physical or mental disability--a hunchback, Siamese twins, one eye, subnormal intelligence, etc, as if to call attention to lack as a fundamental structuring characteristic of masculinity. Ramón, the strong father figure-leader who tries to invoke the values of the past--hierarchy, alliance among men and the explicit rejection of consumer products and the "beautiful people" he associates with them, ultimately betrays his men by killing them off in order to enjoy sole

possession of money and the "girl" thus destroying any chance of recapturing the lost brotherhood. A rejection of consumerist pressure drives the plot of *Acción mutante*: "Society, for these mutants, is controlled by advertising and the media that dictate a lifestyle based on a strict body discipline. For the mutants/terrorists, the act of refusing to follow the media edicts is subversive enough to marginalize them from mainstream society—a society preoccupied by the integrated elite of the posh, stylish and fashionable" (Fouz Hernández *Live Flesh* 87). However, as much as Ramón seems to want to revive the "band of brothers" and reject society's dictates, his intense individualism and selfishness lead him to kill each of his companions in order to escape with all of the ransom money collected from the kidnapping of an "hija de bien." By refusing to accept prohibition of any kind, Ramón and his treacherous companions lose any chance of recovering the object of their nostalgic desire—a pre-consumerist world where man is not subject to the laws of the market.

The *Torrente* phenomenon with its gross comedic appeal also taps into this latent desire to reconnect to a past where a man was not judged by his physical beauty or his wealth, but rather simply on his status as a man. The dramatic success of the Torrente films could be an indication of a desire to reject the pressure to conform to a physical ideal of beauty propagated in the media—the same pressure that women have been subjected to for years. As Triana Toribio describes Torrente's success: "[He demonstrates] the appeal of comic ordinariness and to add to this appeal that of the refusal to surrender to the media's imposition of the beautiful, clean and healthy body which other Spanish stars

display" ("Santiago Segura" 152). Torrente's performance of the anachronistic "macho ibérico" comes with a modern twist however—his utter disregard for the needs and desires of anyone but himself. He refuses to recognize any law outside of himself and seeks his own advantage at all times—outrageously disrespecting his own ageing father whom he forces to beg in the street and feeds waste leftover from the bar. The Torrente films offer the viewer an opportunity to identify with a sort of pre-consumerist model of masculinity but now without the restriction of prohibition. It nostalgically recalls a past model of masculinity that never existed—one that was free from the pressures of consumerism yet free from prohibition as well.

Other films that emphasize the ephimeral nature of masculine power are *Abre los ojos* (Alejandro Amenábar 1997) in which the protagonist appears to lose everything when he is disfigured in an automobile accident: "Losing his beauty in a car accident signifies an immediate disempowerment, a loss of phallic power" (Fouz Hernández *Live Flesh* 86); *Los lunes al sol* (Fernando León de Aranoa 2002) in which a group of unemployed dock workers struggle to find self-worth; and *El crimen ferpecto* (Alex de la Iglesia 2004) in which competition for the coveted "floor manager position" appears to define the entire self-worth of the protagonist who claims that he has no existence outside the department store where he works. Unlike in crusade cinema and many other films of the dictatorship, masculinity has no enduring value apart from its immediate and constant performance. A sudden change in circumstances seem to effect an

instant revaluation of the male individual based on consumer market forces—an instability that appears frequently in films of the era.

II. Individualism

The films discussed in this section reflect the secure establishment of the "anal father of enjoyment" instead of the "father of prohibition" as characters fail to demonstrate self-restraint, seeking to accomplish personal aims as any cost. *Huevos de oro* (Bigas Luna 1993) demonstrates some of the principal characteristics that dominate films from this period—a self-centered disregard for others, sexual hedonism including the use of sex as a commodity, and the fundamental insecurity of the masculine position in which external economic circumstances rather than personal characteristics are the measure of his worth. After his first love betrays him with his best friend, Benito (Javier Bardem), sets out to achieve material success at all costs. He eventually cheats his way to the top by marrying the daughter of a banker whose financing he needs for the construction of a tower-shaped hotel that he will build on the beach. He appears to have everything—a strong attractive body, a beautiful home, a rich and beautiful wife, a lover and financial success. However, when the tower proves structurally unsound (Bigas Luna does not concern himself with subtlety here—the film is filled with phallic symbols of various kinds) due to the use of inferior materials, he loses everything, soon after becoming paralyzed in a car accident and winding up in Miami, impotent, and supported by yet another girlfriend who is now having an affair with the gardener. The movie itself is filmed in brilliant

color with long and erotically charged close-ups of both male and female bodies displayed for visual consumption. The entire film is suffused with nostalgia as Benito sings cheesy old Julio Iglesias songs to camp effect, and thinks bitterly of his lost love—all the while cheating and conniving to achieve personal advancement and sexual satisfaction. He winds up utterly dependent on a woman he does not love in a place he despises—betrayed by his own desires and thus permanently estranged from the sort of patriarchal brotherhood that might have afforded him some power despite his circumstances.

Self-centered pleasure-seeking reaches a new extreme in the scathingly critical film *Hombres felices* (Roberto Santiago 2001) in which the protagonist is concerned only with his own happiness, a happiness narrowly defined as the constant experience of pleasure which he finds primarily through receiving oral sex. According to Antonio Lucas: "La idea original de la película le sobrevino al joven director cuando leía una encuesta sobre la calidad de vida de los españoles: único objetivo, la felicidad. Así que ideó una comedia ácida, sangrante por momentos, donde unos personajes van hipotecando el alma por la felicidad que nunca encuentran" (n.p.). This husband and father repeatedly disregards his obligations, paying and seducing women into having sex with him. His unwillingness to accept responsibility along with his incessant desire for pleasure position him as a sort of pre-oedipal infant-man who believes he can and should live exactly as he wishes. He embodies the maximum expression of the consumerist promise—pleasure without regard for consequences--and thus is an example of the subject produced in a society of commanded enjoyment. Guasch

discusses this tendency in society reflecting the spirit of what has become known as "Generation X": "Nuestra sociedad se ha infantilizado de forma dramática. Una sociedad de niños irresponsables que lo quieren todo y lo quieren ya" (*Héroes* 56). His extreme narcissistic pursuit of pleasure leads the subject to desire nothing but a constant passive, orgiastic state of being.

The hyper-individualist state of the late 20th and early 21st century Spain seems to have led to the alienation of male characters in various films which portray dinosaur-like relics from a bygone age who react with violence to the changes occurring around them. Guasch points to the instability of masculinity as a cause for this violence: "Hay que entender las epidemias de violencia masculina en el hogar como el resultado directo de la crisis de la heterosexualidad y de la redefinición de la identidad masculina" (*Crisis* 128). In the films *Celos* (Vicente Aranda, 1999), *Solas* (Benito Zambrano, 1999), *El Bola* (Achero Mañas, 2000), and *Te doy mis ojos* (Icíar Bollaín, 2003) alienated "macho" men resort to violence as a way to cope with their sense of irrelevance as their wives, girlfriends and children slip from their control. Lacking the patriarchal support provided by the dictatorship model of masculinity, and subject to the hyper-individualism of the period, they fail either to maintain patriarchal control or to establish the sort of interpersonal relationships that might redeem them. Like Antonio in *Te doy mis ojos* who struggles to express himself in a spousal abuse support group, these characters seem alienated from their own feelings, unable even to recognize them let alone express them constructively. Susan Hatty makes the following connection between violence and the self: "Violence in the service of the modern

self, preserves individuality and forestalls the possibility of fusion with the dangerous not self" (10). In these films the protagonists are represented as loners, devoid of friends and unable to relate to their partners or children. *El Bola* represents the two fathers--one physically abusive, alienated and unhappy, and the other kind, connected and communicative. The kind father's openness and extended social group of family and friends indicates that he has adopted a new construction of masculinity based on close interpersonal relationships and a certain fluidity of boundaries between family member roles. He is a caretaker as well as authority figure and recognizes Bola, another man's son, as his responsibility too, thus breaking with the concept of the strict nuclear family as socializing unit. This model of interrelatedness has been promoted by Hatty as way out of the hyper-individualist, violence-based model of masculinity as found in Western society: "it is imperative that we replace the violence mythos with another set of cultural discourses that turn on the construct of interdependence" (207). *El Bola* represents the two alternatives presented to men at this juncture—a self-destructive clinging to the remnants of a bankrupt patriarchal masculine model, or the acceptance of a masculine model based on shared power and responsibility.

Conclusion

By analyzing cinematic representations of hegemonic models of masculinity in Spanish film from the beginning of the Francoist dictatorship to the present, this dissertation observes as a fundamental organizing focal point the relation of the male individual to desire. A study of so-called art house as well as popular film traditions reveals a relation in the early dictatorship of "successful" masculinity with adherence to prohibition. The positive masculine model, as most vividly represented in dictatorship "crusade cinema," renounces personal pleasure and desire in favor of service as the patriarchal father demands obedience in exchange for a place in the masculine hierarchy. The oedipal narrative, first introduced by Freud and later expanded upon by Lacan, Silverman, Kinder, Jagodzinski, McGowan and others, serves as a descriptive paradigm to elucidate the transfer of power from father to sons. While early dictatorship film represents an orderly, clearly hierarchical power structure and the mutual renunciation by male characters of pleasure, later films introduce a breakdown of the hierarchy and a shift toward individualism and the pursuit of pleasure. This shift represents a fundamental alteration of the oedipal narrative in which the power of the "father of prohibition" as Freud referred to civilization's founding principal, gives way to the "father of anal enjoyment"--a theoretical construct that represents the ruler of the pre-oedipal horde. The "return" of this primal father reflects a transition toward consumerist values and is reflected on screen by the breakdown and rejection by male characters of a social organization founded on prohibition. The

father who had formerly imposed prohibition on his sons, now commanded that male characters enjoy.

This shift caused a disjuncture that is especially evident in films of the 1970s in which there appeared a profusion of "dysfunctional" male characters who were often represented as orphaned, infantilized, sexually "perverse," violent or self-destructive and who were almost universally unwilling or unable to adopt a normative patriarchal masculine role in the now destabilized masculine order. The waning in power of the dictatorship, beginning with the assassination of Carrero Blanco in 1973 and culminating in the death of Franco in 1975, deprived the oedipal system of its most important bulwark against incipient consumerist values that, at least in part, had been instigated by the dictatorship itself as a result of economic policy of the early 1960s. While popular film struggled to assimilate the changing emphasis from prohibition to consumption through humor and a focus on the consumption of female bodies, other films explored "deviant" and "subversive" masculinities in the aftermath of the dissolution of the prohibitive oedipal model.

A reorganization took place in the representation of masculinity in the 1980s and beyond as male characters came to be dominated not by prohibition, but by the injunction to enjoy as a modern progressive attitude in society came to be equated with consumption, and the antiquated dictatorship with prohibition. Male figures in films of this period are often esteemed for their physical beauty, financial success and ability to enjoy rather than their ability to serve. Miró-era films often promoted a non-controversial approach that covered traumatized

masculinities with a veneer of visual plenitude. High production values and beautiful scenery served to diminish the sense of loss or castration at the hands of the prohibitive dictatorship. The relatively conservative use of the film medium in the 1980s reflects society's reorganization not around divisive political themes and past trauma, but rather around consensus and common goals including the pursuit of personal satisfaction in the form of wealth and/or pleasure. The films of Pedro Almodóvar serve as an obvious exception in the 1980s in terms of their innovation and creativity, but his characters' fundamental organization around desire, as well as the rejection of divisive political themes inserts them securely into this trend.

Later, certain "reactionary" films belied the nature of the pressure exerted on masculinity in the wake of consumerism. The extremely popular Torrente series as well as the work of Alex de la Iglesia represent leading male characters who reject the consumerist ethos of cleanliness, fashion and beauty. A study of these "anti-heroes" reveals the pressures inherent in the system which thrusted upon male characters the pressure to compete in a consumerist market that did not recognize the inherent superiority of masculinity as the oedipal patriarchy had. Rather it demanded that male characters strived constantly for success, revealing a deep precariousness of masculine status within the consumerist system, while also demonstrating the impossibility of escaping the state of hyper-individualism and competitive pursuit of pleasure in which their characters live.

As discussed in this dissertation, the liberation of desire in the aftermath of the dictatorship did not free the individual to enjoy more completely than his

predecessors had. In the new context desire became ubiquitous and consumption a mandate. Constantly bombarded with images of plenitude and the promise of the satisfaction of one's desires, the male individual was encouraged to engage in a relentless pursuit of personal satisfaction—a search that seems to preclude in many cases the possibility of real enjoyment. Happiness often seems to depend on financial success, one more surgical procedure, or in Roberto Santiago's satirical vision in *Hombres felices*, a constant state of solipsistic, pre-oedipal, orgiastic bliss. Male characters often become unstable and isolated in their constant pursuit of enjoyment, seeing others as a source of competition or interference given their preoccupation with the self and with their own happiness in many films after the Transition. Many seem to long for a resurrection of the patriarchal hierarchy but lack the willingness or the ability to reconnect with other men as male characters had in the past. Perhaps the "good father" in *El bola* who is content to grant his own son a great deal of freedom, while caring for another's son as if he were his own, is an indication of the positive direction that personal freedom and the expression of desire can have. This father who passes on his patriarchal inheritance in the form of a tattoo he inscribes on his son's back, approaches his role with humility and respect for others including his son who appears not so much as a subordinated character reacting to his relationship with his father, but rather as a separate, self-aware and caring individual in his own right.

This dissertation has attempted to trace changes in tendencies in the representation of masculinity in Spanish film as a means of drawing nearer to an

understanding of how various factors, especially prohibition and consumerism, have acted to alter hegemonic models. Bearing in mind the important political, social and economic changes that have occurred in Spain, especially the transition from a social order based on prohibition (as was Franco's long dictatorship) to one based on enjoyment and consumption, radical changes are observed in the performance of successful masculinity. Attention to hegemonic masculine representations as well as deviations from these models, is meant as a means of drawing nearer to an understanding of general pressures exerted on the individual, but are in no way considered universal, nor is this focus meant to diminish the importance of the exploration and study of marginalized and minority representations of masculinity in Spain, nor of further study of issues related to the gaze, performance, and film consumption practices that explore the possibility of alternative and "subversive" readings. It is my contention that the transition from a society of prohibition to one of "commanded enjoyment" as is the media-dominated Spanish society of today, is the primary factor affecting masculine subject formation in the 20th and early 21st centuries and it is my hope that this dissertation provides a framework for further discussion of this extremely important area of inquiry.

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