

The role of advertising in Spain in the press and radio during Franco's regime: The birth of consumer society

El papel de la publicidad en España en prensa y radio durante el franquismo: el nacimiento de la sociedad de consumo

O papel da publicidade na Espanha na imprensa e no rádio durante o regime franquista: o nascimento da sociedade de consumo

ANA SEBASTIÁN MORILLAS, University of Valladolid (Segovia campus), Spain [anaseb@hmca.uva.es]

ABSTRACT

This qualitative research examines the influence of social media and advertising on consumption habits and lifestyles of the Spanish of Franco's regime (1939-1975). The analysis of more than 400 advertising pieces in the press and radio, as well as of interviews with experts in the subject, brings real, abundant and novel data on this subject and the conclusions allow to reaffirm the idea that—through the media—advertising changed habits of consumption and lifestyles in the Spanish of the epoch, thus arising the consumption society.

Keywords: social media; press; radio; advertising; Franco's regime; consumer habits; lifestyles; consumption society.

RESUMEN

Esta investigación cualitativa examina la influencia de los medios de comunicación social y la publicidad en los hábitos de consumo y estilos de vida de los españoles del franquismo (1939-1975). El análisis de más de 400 piezas publicitarias en prensa y radio, y de entrevistas a expertos en el tema, aporta datos reales, abundantes y novedosos sobre esta materia y las conclusiones permiten reafirmar la idea de que la publicidad, a través de los medios, cambió hábitos de consumo y estilos de vida en los españoles de aquella época, dando paso al nacimiento de la sociedad de consumo.

Palabras clave: medios de comunicación social; prensa; radio; publicidad; franquismo; hábitos de consumo; estilos de vida; sociedad de consumo.

RESUMO

Esta pesquisa qualitativa examina a influência das mídias sociais e da publicidade sobre hábitos de consumo e estilos de vida dos espanhóis durante a ditadura de Franco (1939-1975). A análise de mais de 400 peças publicitárias na imprensa e rádio e entrevistas com especialistas no assunto traz dados reais, abundantes e novos sobre esse assunto, e as conclusões permitem reafirmar a ideia de que a publicidade, através da mídia, mudou hábitos de consumo e estilos de vida do cidadão espanhol da época, dando lugar ao nascimento da sociedade de consumo.

Palavras-chave: mídia social; imprensa; rádio; publicidade; Franco; hábitos de consumo; estilos de vida; sociedade de consumo.

How to cite:

Sebastián Morillas, A. (2017). El papel de la publicidad en España en prensa y radio durante el franquismo: el nacimiento de la sociedad de consumo. *Cuadernos.info*, (41), 209-226. <https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.40.1128>

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDIED PERIOD

After the end of the Civil War, Spain entered a long period characterized by a unique political system: the Franco regime. This system, which lasted until 1975, was based on the concentration of all political power in the hands of General Francisco Franco.

Spain lived around the ration cards. The lack of basic articles was such that the culture of the substitute was imposed. One of the concerns of young people in the decade of the 1940s was to find an apartment. In the year 1943, 50,000 couples were looking for a house where they could settle. The demand provoked an exaggerated speculation, increasing the rental price from 150 pesetas a month in 1939 to 1,000 pesetas in 1945 (Marchamalo, 1996, p. 207).

In 1940, the *Prensa del Movimiento* (Movement Press) was officially created and, by an order of May 1, 1941, it was exonerated from prior censorship. The information that occupied most of the newspapers were sports, the escape valve for the situation described above. But even in this section the freedom of the informants was not complete, since the passion, the incidents and even the economic pretensions of the soccer players had to be hidden.

The same thing happened on the radio, for which an order dated October 6, 1939, established prior censorship throughout the territory. Another one, from March 7, 1941, extended it to advertising, which from then on would have to be subjected to rigid conditions of content and even location in the programs, although not proportionally to the broadcast as a whole (Barea, 1994, p 45).

It was forbidden to broadcast announcements in the instants immediately preceding or following connections with the official station, interpretation of national anthems, performance of authorities and hierarchies or retransmissions of official acts.

Censorship fixed its objective fundamentally in the political, religious and moral contents. In some stations, the scripts had to be submitted 48 hours in advance, or 24 hours, at best.

At the end of the fifties, Spain had ceased to be an underdeveloped country to become a modest economic power. This factor produced accelerated changes in society, which had as a consequence that the differences between the quality of life in the countryside and in the city were accentuated. The decade of the 1960s appeared full of possibilities, open to amazing transformations, which responded to the vitalist perspective that dominated Spanish society.

On March 15, 1966, the new Press Law was approved in order to channel and stimulate the Spanish public opinion.

Public opinion begins to see, first with surprise, and very soon, naturally, that the real problems come out in print (...) there is an explicit awareness of change. People start to speak more clearly and, at least, fear gradually tends to disappear (Morodo, 1966, p. 12).

In political terms, the decade of the seventies begins with a persistent atmosphere of rejection of the regime. The social reaction begins to be noticed in the street, the first movements of consumers in Spain appear, associations, days of information, and even magazines begin to see the light. On November 20, 1975, General Franco dies: censorship has its days numbered and freedom of expression will occupy a privileged place in the country's scale of values.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ADVERTISING DURING THE FRANCO REGIME AND THE BIRTH OF THE CONSUMER SOCIETY.

To understand the present, we must analyze the past; that is why our object of study is analyzed from different perspectives and media such as the work of Mercedes Montero (2012), which examines the role of advertising during the Franco regime, in which it is stated that in the 1940s, advertising denounced the autarky that was sinking the country. The decade of 1950s opened the mind of the Spanish towards products of consumption and ways of life usual in other markets. And from 1960 until the end of the Franco regime, it managed to get the public to associate the different products with values far from those of the official Spain. Marchamalo, in the book *Bocadillos de delfín* (1996), shows us the announcements and everyday life in postwar Spain. Abella (1985, p. 109) reveals official data that estimated the housing deficit in more than half a million houses, and Vázquez Montalbán (1986, p. 42) corroborates that Spanish acquire a philosophy of cynical life reflected in the song of Piquer: "I do not want to know, do not tell me, neighbor, I prefer to live dreaming than to know the truth". This is the reality of the period studied.

We must also mention the academic studies on the history of advertising, related to consumption and the media, highlighting the contributions of González Martín (1996) and Eguizábal Maza (2007), which reflect that advertising is a commercial, social and cultural

fact that allows consumers to be encouraged to buy a product or use a service. Pérez Ruiz (2001, 2003), explains advertising in Spain from the point of view of advertisers, agencies and media, and Caro (2014) helps us understand advertising as a way to transform society.

The most relevant contributions on the evolution of consumption in Spain have been developed by Luis Enrique Alonso and Fernando Conde (1994), José Castillo (1987) and María Luisa López Vargas (1994), who explain the shift from traditional consumption to the modern consumption model.

With its intervention –especially from the Stabilization Plan of 1959– the Franco regime not only built the economic foundations of the consumer society, but, as a perverse and initially undesirable effect, it also generated optimal cultural, ideological and motivational conditions for the development throughout the sixties of a strongly consumerist model. “Consumption is an active way of relating (not only to objects, but to the community and the world), a mode of systematic activity and global response on which our entire cultural system is based” (Baudrillard, 2009).

In the decade of the 1950s, a series of changes occurred both in the international context of Spain and in the country's own society, which were decisive for the take-off of the consumer society. The considerable increase suffered by the industrial sector, parallel to the decline of the agricultural sector, whose active sector population fell from 51.9% in 1940 to 41.7% in 1960, and five years later fell to 34.8%, is noteworthy. In that same period, the industry increased its participation from 24% to 31.7%, reaching 33.4% in 1965 (INE, 1965, p. 470, 1970a, p. 289).

In terms of consumption, this is manifested in an increase in goods, so per capita income also increased in those years. However, between 1940 and 1950 there was a decline in per capita income due to the slow recovery of the postwar period. The reduction in the standard of living and consumption was reflected in an increase in cases of malnutrition. In 1950, the lowest value of per capita income of the decade was reached: 9750 pesetas (Alonso & Conde, 1994, p. 30). However, there was a considerable increase in per capita income from 1940 to 1963: it went from 11,042 pesetas to 20,557 pesetas, almost the double (Castillo, 1987, p. 54).

The birth of the Spanish consumer society was characterized by a strong development of the new middle classes. The recent and very present memory of the hunger caused that the society of subsistence started an accelerated consumption in the decade of the sixties.

The consumption of the most immediate and essential products and goods, will ‘mark’ the strong voracity of consumption of these years. Thus, the satiation and not the feeding, the mere possession as a distinction (beyond the quality and functionality of the products), the irreflexive purchase (in fact, the use of expressions that nobody understood but that connoted the foreign, the modern, etc., became a fashion in the advertising of those years), are the main characteristics of our model of consumption and consumers of those years (Conde, 1994, p. 147).

The social change that Spain was experiencing is also reflected in the figures that show the scarcity of food and resources in the years after the Civil War. Over the years, new products were introduced into the market, there was a growth of the national economy (still slight, but that allowed many to leave the most absolute poverty) and spending in provincial capitals skyrocketed. Thus, according to the data of the General Bureau of Statistics (1943, pp. 1145-1146) and INE (1960, p. 598), the general index of consumption between 1939 and 1959 (based on July 1936=100) increased from 153.6 to 866.7, with the most notable cases being food (177.7 to 1141.8) and clothing (190.1 to 1094.9).

From the point of view of consumption, these are years in which products and brands begin to be introduced in a minority way, although the most remarkable thing is that they bring with them expectations of easy access to their consumption. It will be in the sixties when the economic recovery will start, which will be more evident as the decade comes to an end. A faithful reflection of this dynamic will be the acquisition by Spanish families of all types of products impossible to buy until then (from household appliances to automobiles); for example, in 1960, 4% of the Spanish population had a refrigerator and in 1966, 28% had one (Andrés, 1968, p. 39).

The Spanish reached a standard of living that they enjoyed with frenzy to recover from the bad old years. The new middle class imitated in its way of life the high bourgeoisie or the aristocracy. There was a struggle to have a bigger apartment, more central and better equipped. Abella (1990, p. 101) comments that busy housewives (of which, at the end of the sixties, 25% also maintained a job outside the home) saw in these new utensils a solution to endless hours in the kitchen, while the rest of the family, especially the husband, complained that things did not taste the same.

In these context, the Spanish economy entered a period of recession. The monetary dream faltered and

the average citizen stopped posing questions about social, political or other problems as they were faced with the (much immediate) concern to get to the end of the month. In 1969, the minimum wage was 102 pesetas a day (3,162 pesetas a month) (Abella, 1990, p. 122).

At the beginning of the 1970s, Spanish citizens were moving rapidly towards a well-defined mass consumption society. The citizen, fully integrated in its role as a consumer, chose in what to spend its budget beyond basic needs. There was a growth in the acquisition of basic household equipment, and a development of patterns of consumption and purchase of new products. Maybe a vacation at the beach was not within their reach, but the comforts that were available in their home each day were greater, there were more and more households with bathrooms and hot water: in 1970, the family homes with paid hot water 154,817 (INE, 1970b, p. 55). There was also a spectacular growth in the percentage of homes with refrigerators, which in 1975 was 73.7% (INE, 1975, p. 86).

In those same years, advertising investment in Spain suffered a major setback, from 17 million in 1968 to 19 million in 1970 (its peak). In 1971, it fell to 18,310,500 pesetas, a general decline from which only television was saved (Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación, 1998, p. 30).

Even so, new products were coming from abroad that were entering in this new period with more force. It was the new generation of refrigerators, cosmetics and washing machines, whose true evolution took place in the world of ideas, since in many cases its only change was to present a series of new attributes of the product. This is clearly observed in the washing machines, which became symbols of modernity, almost of futurism, forming part of a utopian panorama in which machines would rid us of the most painful home chores.

Spanish were already fully trained consumers, who went from buying and using products because of their utility to acquire them based on what they meant. "The things that people buy adopt personal and social meanings in addition to their own functions", explains María Isabel Martín (2002, pp. 43-44), and she recalls: "Products are seen as psychological objects, as symbols of personal attributes". Logically, only well-to-do classes could afford to devote their money to buying symbols, opening the way to the new and broad bourgeois middle class, according to Orizo (1977, p. 123).

Advertising thus begins to play a fundamental role of social cohesion in the new consumer society.

The Spanish lifestyle level is still based on having more than enjoying, consuming the substitute products of the new mass-produced civilization with the privilege of still having some of the services of a traditional society. For some, the living standard in Spain is reflected on having domestic service. More books are bought than they are read and a holiday apartment is bought, although it is hardly enjoyed (De Miguel, 1973, p. 25).

It should also be added that, in many cases, the purchase was more about the symbol than the product. The aim was to have a washing machine, even if it was not the best. The need was to prevent the neighbor from commenting that in the other house they still washed by hand. Asking for a higher level of consumption may be too much, when talking about the economic hardship still suffered by many Spanish. In short, the concept of a consumer society was installed earlier than its reality.

The expenditure for food, clothing or leisure also changed. The arrival of new products to the market meant a restructuring of the budget. In particular, the item of miscellaneous expenses increased considerably, from 3711 pesetas in 1967 to 7426 pesetas in 1974, which shows that it was a society in which basic needs were covered to a large extent (INE, 1978, p. 308).

The Spanish of that period can be considered as adult consumers, in the sense that they had experience when valuing between different offers, and bought and used products not because of their possibilities or benefits, but because of what they meant. The decade of the seventies arrived between *chiaroscuros*, with the definitive consolidation of the Spanish consumption model described in the development plans: an aggressive, unequal model whose dysfunctions and imbalances lasted for several years.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used consisted in the analysis of more than 400 advertising pieces through a questionnaire that reflects the different items related to advertising, social aspects and ideology.

The newspapers chosen for the analysis of the announcements were *ABC* of Madrid and *La Vanguardia Española*, since in these years they were the ones with the highest circulation according to OJD of 1965 (194,000 and 203,000 average diffusion, respectively) (Barrera, 1992, pp. 453-454). Regarding the daily press, two major periods determined by the legal framework can be established throughout the Franco period. The first, between 1939 and 1966, is an extensive period,

but necessary for the study, since the Press Law was in force until 1966, and entailed prior censorship for all periodical publications. For this reason, the analysis of all the advertising of the printed media was governed by the same mechanisms. In this period, we analyzed fifty advertisements in each of the selected newspapers.

The second period begins in 1967 and covers up to 1975. In this period, the censorship ceased to apply to periodicals publications after the Francoist courts approved, on March 15, 1966, a new law recognizing freedom of expression in printed media and eliminating prior censorship; the media then began to feel free to publish content unthinkable a short time ago. For this period, we analyzed the same number of announcements as in the previous one –fifty per media, 100 in total–, so that the results and conclusions could be comparable.

For radio, the first period comprises between 1939 and 1959, an extended period for a double reason: on the one hand, the commercial songs (because at this time they still cannot be called advertising spots) had a very slow evolution, and on the other, it was a difficult time, full of hardship, in which the radio was the faithful mirror of how much the Spanish had lost in previous years, so it deserves to be studied carefully. Despite the fact that the birth of radio spots as such can be dated around 1949, the small number that has survived means that we only have commercial songs in the analysis, the only 110 advertising pieces currently in existence. The second period covers the years 1960 to 1975. It is the era in which radio spots consolidated as the standard radio advertising format, with characteristics almost identical to the current ones. It is the golden age of radio. For the first time, the analysis will have advertising spots, the first ones that are preserved. The 100 radio spots corresponding to the sample of this period are the only ones in good condition to which this research could access.

In order to follow a univocal criterion, the field work conducted is reflected in a self-created analysis sheet, which includes the same main items, although due to the particularities of each medium it has been necessary to suppress or incorporate others.

In the press announcements, items 5, 6, 7 and 8 are eliminated and two sections are included:

The field work was sufficient to achieve a global and multidisciplinary view of the object of study, but we considered necessary to gather additional information from different sources, which completed the results of the field work and, in many cases, was key to

understanding the results of the study analysis. Thus, we conducted 21 personal interviews with different professionals of the sector: creative directors, executives of advertising agencies, heads of advertising of radio stations, presidents of advertising agencies, directors of advertising studios, directors of producing companies and sound technicians, creative directors of radio stations, advertising announcers, dubbing actresses and expert teachers-researchers in the field. The selection and conduction of the interviews of this investigation responds to three main interests: first, to obtain an impression of the object of study from different points of view, choosing carefully the interviewees to represent the different groups of professionals who collaborate in the advertising process. Secondly, access to first-hand information, often unpublished, about the object of study and, finally, the important contribution that these interviewees make to the research presented to reinforce the most sensitive aspect of the advertising-consumer relationship. Books, reports and yearbooks of the analyzed period were also consulted, as well as specialized magazines. All this allowed the research to establish reliable conclusions about the object of study.

RESULTS

PRESS: FIRST PERIOD 1939-1966. ABC AND LA VANGUARDIA ESPAÑOLA

We analyzed 100 ads belonging to those years, 50 for each newspaper. The analysis reveals a clear distinction between the two newspapers: in *La Vanguardia*, the most advertised products were hygiene and beauty products (22%), medicines (18%), alcoholic beverages (10%) and household appliances (8%), while *ABC* focused on alcoholic beverages (26%), hygiene and beauty (22%), jewelry (12%) and household appliances (6%). In both newspapers, the same product categories coincide in the first positions, although not in the same order. There are two categories that seem almost exclusive to each publication. In the case of *La Vanguardia* are the medicines, which barely appear on *ABC*, and in the latter are the jewels (almost entirely luxury watches), which appeared among the most advertised, while in the Catalan newspaper they had a much less relevant appearance.

It is clear that not everyone could access the advertised products. Salaries did not begin to take off until the end of the 1960s, as can be seen in the table number 3.

The national economic situation was precarious, so it is evident in most cases of the analyzed ads that they

1. Product categories: food, hotel industry, medicines, stores, household appliances, electronic products, institutions, culture, alcoholic beverages, non-alcoholic beverages, cleaning supplies, media, means of transportation, accessories, home, others.

Social aspects and ideology

2. Social class: upper, upper middle, middle, lower middle, lower, unspecified.

3. Target audience: women, men, women-men, adolescents, children, the elderly, unspecified.

Formal aspects

4. Product brand.

5. Duration of commercial song/radio spot.

6. Description of the radio spot: spoken, sung, mixed.

6.1. Interpreter of the commercial song: woman, man, woman-man.

6.2. Radio spot voice: woman, man, woman-man, celebrities.

6.3. Number of voices used: one, two, several.

7. Genre to which the advertising piece belongs: monologue, dialogue, testimonial, piece of life, humor, musical, mix, other combinations.

8. Description of the sound background. Music used in radio spots: no music, adaptation, original, music library.

9. Possible reference to the price of the product: there is a reference, price is told, it is not mentioned.

10. Product attributes: physical, functional, emotional, mix, do not appear.

11. Type of argument used: persuasive, informative, implicative, humorous, suggestive, mix.

Table 1. Items for radio analysis

Source: Own elaboration.

1. Type of format: full page, half page, double page, 2/3 page, 1/8 page, 1/4 page, others.

2. Situation in the newspaper: front cover, back cover, interior cover page, interior back cover page, other.

Table 2. Items for press analysis

Source: Own elaboration.

Professional activity: textile	1940	1952	1964	1969
Men	13.96	17.34	22.89	49.09
Women	6.81	11.46	16.03	27.89

Table 3. Maximum remunerations per day (in pesetas)

Source: Dirección General de Estadística, 1943, p. 1179; INE, 1955, p. 524; 1965, p. 292; 1970a, p. 285.

were directed to wealthy people, both in the newspaper *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*.

Most of the advertised products were intended for women, although in *ABC* the percentage was lower due to the large number of advertisements for high-alcoholic beverages.

The explicit call the housewives aimed to shape a new model of woman, responsible for her home, to replace the traditional housewife. The transformation would take place thanks to the new consumption equipment, a new quiet life, free and with enough time to go out for a walk and shopping, leaving behind their old and painful past life. This is reflected in the following example, an advertisement for BRU washing machines published in *La Vanguardia* in 1957:

It will not be hard to convince him.

Your husband will not deny you an auxiliary element so necessary for the home.

Let him know you your desire and the advantages that it will report: less work for you, less troubles, more comfort at home, more cleanliness and you can take better care of him.

This will be enough for your husband to give you a BRU washing machine

(Friday, June 7, 1957, p. 32).

While *ABC* advertising used more obviously a more emotional communication (24%) –in which elegance, distinction and exclusivity prevailed–, advertisements in *La Vanguardia* addressed an audience with more modest economic possibilities, so the functional attributes stood out (30%), as well as the explanation of the advantages of the product in terms of quality, durability, savings, and its national origin. After a few years of almost absolute shortage of the most basic survival products, new products and brands began to enter the market, which meant the promise of a better tomorrow. This translates into the use of persuasive arguments (50%) with informative touches (16%), in the case of *La Vanguardia* advertisements, while in *ABC* pages that persuasive argument (34%) was often accompanied by suggestive images and emotional and suggestive arguments (20%). A good example of persuasive argument is found in the Kaloderma Gelee cream ad:

A cigarette, miss?

You appreciate the kind offer. But wouldn't you feel uneasy if in the dim light of the match your hand appears haggard?

Well-cared hands will always give you security and will demonstrate your personality and distinction.

Take care of your hands with "Kaloderma Gelee".

A brief massage before going to bed, during a minute, will return all of its freshness and charm.

Buy a tube of "Kaloderma Gelee" and start this simple treatment of beauty today.

(Saturday, January 23, 1954, p. 2)

The price of the product did not appear in most of the announcements of both newspapers, being mentioned only in 6% of them. These ads were mainly published on the front cover and back cover page, the two places most desired by the advertisers. In the case of *ABC*, in particular, it was full-page. In this regard, *La Vanguardia* had an evolution over the years from formats of 1/4 or 1/8 page to the full page. On the other hand, the censorship did not miss any opportunity to prohibit or correct advertising texts: the censors controlled from the maximum space that the newspaper could dedicate to advertising until every word of the advertisements published.

The results show that the Spanish consumer society forged in the sixties was born with the desire to spend, as an effect of the years of hardship and shortages experienced in the last twenty years.

RADIO: FIRST PERIOD 1939-1959

We analyzed 110 commercial songs. These offered a double solution to their listeners: emotional and financial. The postwar advertising ranged from the joy hidden under the make-up of the sad clown and the need to continue living despite scarcity. At the time of rationing, to which alcoholic beverages were not subject, the most advertised products in the sample were hygiene and beauty products (27.9%), followed by cleaning products (19%). Almost all the commercial songs of this last category belong to insecticides. There was a varied range of annoying insects to exterminate. The advertising offered a greater number of brands with assured effects:

Hasty and harmful, cockroaches leave their den and they go with caution and in a ladino way to pantries and kitchens

But Doña Inés sprinkled the corners with Cucar-ex.

She is a happy woman, because she manages to cockroaches dead.

(1950s). (AAVV, 1993, p. 153).

Stores (9%) were also frequently advertised in the commercial songs of that time, especially highlighting their low prices and payments in installments, which were an added value, as reflected by the following brand:

Do not put yourself in front

Shut up, it's Laureano!

What brings to this row?

I am getting married, and I buy the furniture here. They are good and cheap. Also, with the advantage of installment payments, without guarantor, without front pay and without limit. A gift that Muebles Ramón makes ...

... Muebles Ramón are my illusion because they are good, they are beautiful and cheap.

(1940s). (AAVV, 1993, p. 196).

Half of the commercial songs analyzed did not expressly address a defined social class. The other half sought, on the one hand, the most modest sectors and, on the other, made a call to the well-off consumer. A clear case was that of dolls, which during these years were an element of social distinction. In this artificial environment, of forced joy despite hardships, the possession of luxury dolls like Mariquita Pérez or Lolita allowed their owners, even having sacrificed more than they could in them, to maintain their appearances in front of the neighborhood.

Lolita, Lolita, the fine and expensive doll

That means for girls

A whole world of illusion.

The ladies admire the hairstyle and dresses of Lolita

And, therefore, placed in a thousand positions

in the house, it is the best decoration.

I will have a suit and slippers, and pajamas and an apron,

And suitcases and uniform and even a colossal room

(1940s) (AAVV, 1993, p. 210).

An expensive whim that was not available to most consumers, according to the data on table 4.

It is important to note that the social structure of Spain in the 1940s was practically the same as before the Civil War, which led it away from a modern society of mass consumption, especially because the Spain of the 1940s was basically agricultural. With these salaries, it seems really difficult to buy a Mariquita

Perez doll, which began selling at 95 pesetas—the same cost than a custom suit—, while the classic *pepona* doll could be purchased for 5 pesetas (Marchamalo, 1996, pp. 114-115).

Again, in almost half of the pieces analyzed, the public to whom the advertising messages were directed were women, with an important nuance: advertisements for children (9.1%) appear for the first time. Military marches are the most used musical style, by a wide margin (22%), in these commercial songs, followed by the Spanish *pasodoble* (14.2%). Martial rhythms were for national products, with Spanish stamp, such as cognac, dyes or coffee substitutes.

In the commercial songs, the restrictions imposed by the musical theme was more and more disregarded in order to be able to freely explain the virtues of the product. Although the only-sung songs were the most numerous (68%), the first only-spoken commercial songs appear. They maintain in general lines the structure of the typical commercial song, but its interpreters put the background before the form. The goal is not to create a piece of music in which commercial content is included, but rather not to break the musical structure to which the audience is accustomed, while at the same time ensuring that it clearly receives the persuasive content of the message.

The emotional attributes (23.7%) are those most frequently found, within a persuasive argument (52.7%), although—as expected—there is also a presence of the humorous argument (11.8%), remarkable for two reasons: because it responds to the cathartic function against everyday pain and because its use would grow from then on, increasingly.

The stereotypes that can be found in the advertising of the forties and fifties have a decidedly popular origin. The characters that appear represent their role as they should, according to the rules of the society in which they are framed. Details such as the role reserved for women in this lifestyle are clearly reflected, as well as the obvious social division existing in society, which causes curious contrasts in the messages analyzed.

PRESS: SECOND PERIOD 1967-1975. ABC AND LA VANGUARDIA ESPAÑOLA

We analyzed 100 ads belonging to those years, 50 for each newspaper. In the last years of the sixties and first of the seventies, Spanish citizens were walking rapidly towards a well-defined society of mass consumption. This is clearly reflected in the analysis of the advertising of the selected newspapers.

Professional activity	Maximum		Minimum	
	1940	1952	1940	1952
Textile: men	13.96	17.34	9.15	13.75
Glass and crystal: men	15.98	21.70	10.29	13.50
Agricultural: man	12.10	16.30	7.77	10.40

Table 4. Maximum and minimum nominal wages per day (in pesetas)

Source: Dirección General de Estadísticas, 1943, p. 1179; INE, 1955, p. 524.

Categories	1967	1973-1974
Food	7778	10,097
Clothing and footwear	2077	1651
Household	1969	3523
Household expenses	1688	3548
Miscellaneous expenses and vacations	3711	7426
Total consumption	17,223	26,245

Table 5. Evolution of average annual consumption per person according to expenditure categories. National level (in pesetas).

Source: INE, 1978, p. 308.

In the newspaper *La Vanguardia* there was a greater variety of advertising. The main category was means of transportation (28%), followed by household appliances (10%) and jewelry (10%, all watches). The category "other" includes advertisements referring to car radios, heating systems and photo machines. The case of *ABC* is different. In its advertising, we do not find much variety of products. Basically, they are the same as in the previous period, but changing their order in the ranking of the most habitual ones. In the pages analyzed, there is hardly any representation of the category of means of transportation (which goes into the "miscellaneous" section), despite the fact that in those years it was a booming industry, along with that of home appliances. The most advertised products according to the study were jewelry (30%, always watch ads), followed by alcoholic beverages (22%) and hygiene and beauty (14%).

This arrival of new and varied products on the market meant a restructuring of the spending plan, in which the amount destined for the most elementary (clothing and food) in favor of leisure and miscellaneous expenses was adversely affected, as shown in table 5.

The readers of the Madrid newspaper belonged

mainly to the upper class (78%), so it is not surprising that most of the ads were directed to the wealthiest society of the time. Only the well-to-do classes had the ability to buy symbols, instead of products, although they would soon be followed by the great middle class. In the analysis was found that the newspaper *La Vanguardia* published a good number of ads offering middle class cars, along with numerous advertisements for other products mentioning the ease of financing or delayed payments.

Say yes to Mini!

Mini increases its power and maintains its mini-price and consumption. So, you can still overtake with more security...

(...) Mini does something that could only be expected from a car so generous: increase its power, increasing its mini-price and consumption.

(...) In addition, Mini is presented in new and bright colors: yellow, lemon and tobacco. Mini is renewed, without changing its unique style. So, you can scream still higher "Yes to Mini". From 92,700 to 113,100 pesetas. Financing available.

(Wednesday, April 3, 1974, p. 2)

Although it refers to the price as a selling argument, it is not usual for it to appear in advertisements, or even to be mentioned, that is why 80% of the radio spots analyzed do not reflect the price of the product. Increasingly, advertising is directed indiscriminately to men and women, both in *ABC* (40%) and *La Vanguardia* (36%), due to the wide variety of products that appear in the market. It is worth noting that all the ads analyzed, in both newspapers, are full page. Advertisers inserted their advertising mainly on the back cover (56%) and on the interior cover page (42%). The products were adorned with all kinds of attractive and desirable attributes, but once the product lost its novelty value to the public, it had to be dressed with new attributes. Thus, it is noted that the term *nevera* changes to *refrigerador*, as in the following announcement of *La Vanguardia*:

These women knew how to choose ...

To know how to buy, you must look at the price and also, keep in mind that what you buy must be perfect, technical, practical, functional and profitable.

That's why they knew how to choose. Thus, they chose the more perfect, technical, practical, functional and profitable refrigerator: LEONARD.

(...) Compare, check, see up close and touch the quality of a Leonard. QUEEN FOR LIFE WITH ... LEONARD.

... Lord of the cold.

(Thursday, May 9, 1968, p. 79)

In the Catalan newspaper there are still numerous physical and functional attributes (30%), as happened in the previous stage. *ABC*, on the other hand, showed ads filled with emotional attributes (34%), which suggested lifestyles and environments in which to frame the product, usually luxury. It is observed that many advertisers began to appeal to new values, which move away from durability, economy or savings in favor of abstractions such as modernity. Everything was modern: from the latest car model to a washing machine that did the laundry alone. We can consider the Spanish who lived in this era as adult consumers, that is, experienced when evaluating between different offers and who bought and used products not because of their possibilities or benefits, but because of what they meant. We talk about symbolic consumption.

Tradition as sales argument seems more justified in the following case published in *La Vanguardia*, coinciding with the tenth anniversary of the birth of the national whiskey *DYC*, and uses the image of the aqueduct of Segovia to make the product look even more vintage:

DYC. A noble whiskey raised and aged next to millenary stones. Now at ten years of its birth it has more age, more flavor, more quality.

Check it out!

DYC, THE OLD SPANISH WHISKY.

(Thursday, December 4, 1969, p. 2)

That is why in *ABC* it is common to find suggestive (40%) and suggestive-implicative (20%) arguments, while in *La Vanguardia* there are more persuasive (34%) and persuasive-implicative ones (16%). Thus, a coherent general picture is formed, in which there are clear differences in the type of readers of both newspapers and the way in which the advertisers tried to reach them at this period.

The decade of the seventies will come between *chiaroscuros*, with the definitive consolidation of the Spanish consumption model described by the development plans: an aggressive, unequal model, whose dysfunctions and imbalances will last for a good number of years.

RADIO: SECOND PERIOD 1960-1975

We analyzed 100 radio spots; for the first time, this type of ads is analyzed, the first sound documents of this kind that have survived.

Consumerism, a word unknown in Spain until the sixties, causes interesting changes in the dynamics observed so far in the analysis data. This is due to the increase in per capita income, from the 1940s, which was 11,042 pesetas, to 1963, with 20,557 pesetas, more than double (Castillo, 1987, p. 54). The new consumption model makes new advertisers decide to invest in radio, so two new categories of products appear in the analysis: media and means of transportation. This last one will be especially relevant, since the automobile sector supposed strong investments in advertising and represented, for a good part of the population, success, social and economic power. Thus, brands such as Chevrolet, Buick, Opel, Renault, Simca or Ford announce, for the first time for the Spanish public, their virtues on the road:

Sobriety in the design and classic splendor. Not for much more money buy a better car of panoramic glass and powerful engine. Gazelle movements, its color is great and much cheaper. In its class is the best. It's the Buick of 59.

(1960s, personal file)

The three categories with the highest number of pieces in the previous stage (hygiene and beauty, cleaning

Group	1964-1965	1973-1974
Food	48.72	38.04
Clothing and footwear	14.89	7.70
Housing, heating and lighting	11.02	14.53
Household goods and services	5.59	8.13
Medical services and health	2.48	2.64
Transport and communications	3.71	9.36
Recreation, teaching and culture	4.31	7.11
Other expenses	9.28	12.49

Table 6. Percentages of the average annual consumption per person of each group, on total consumption. National level.

Source: INE, 1984, p. 316.

supplies and stores) now appear in the last positions. Advertising changed with society, and because the consumer acquired an economic capacity unthinkable ten years ago, he could afford to think about buying a car or prefer a certain brand of product. Along with the foreign cars arrived the American advertising agencies, another novelty element for society in general and advertising in particular.

In this period, the largest number of advertising pieces advertised non-alcoholic beverages (18%), food (17%), means of transportation (12%), alcoholic beverages (9%) and media (8%), while the remaining 36% corresponds to miscellaneous products.

At first, Spanish consumerism was marked by its quantitative nature, product of the situation of precariousness from which it comes. The previous era, of poverty and hunger, should be forgotten as quickly as possible, so that new consumers spent in a voracious manner. This trend in consumption varied as citizens had sufficient experience and devoted more percentage of their income to other categories beyond food, for example. Therefore, the percentage of average annual consumption per person for this concept decreased in the years 1973-1974 regarding 1963-1964, and others such as transportation and communications rose considerably.

Therefore, it is not surprising that advertising, as well as expanding its offer of products, also extended the range of public to which it is aimed. The same situation of economic bonanza that supposed the arrival of multinationals caused that the Spanish, in general,

had an acceptable level of life. Thus, the analyzed radios spots show a tendency to increase their targets: from a consumer with few resources to someone who already has savings to indulge.

Of all the radio spots analyzed at this time, none is directed in a special way to a lower-class public, neither in its argument nor by product category. And although 75% of the total did not specify this point, the rest did have clear (if not direct) intentions to influence the purchase decision of the upper class (25%).

For the first time in the analysis there are ads aimed at young people (14%), from Burger King to the Ministry of Health, in a campaign to prevent alcoholism:

Alcohol does not give strength. Alcohol acts on the brain as an analgesic, and thus conceals the sensation of fatigue. But it does not alleviate its effects, so in the long run fatigue increases. This is well known to the athletes, who do not consume alcohol when they have to make an effort. Alcohol is not the solution.

Ministry of Health and Social Security.

(1970s, personal archive)

Children, a sector that appeared timidly represented in commercial songs, continued to be a low percentage in this period (7% of the total), although soft drinks such as Pepsi and Mirinda put special emphasis on their benefits for the kids' organisms.

Only-sung advertising disappeared as the seventies approached. Only 11% of radio spots belonged to this category, compared to those that supported their message only in the voice of the announcer (76%). An

electronic device called synthesizer was used for the first time in the composition of jingles. The announcers specialized in advertising as the sung radio spots disappeared and –of the spots analyzed in this period– nine out of ten were spoken, with a predominance of one voice (38%), mainly male (61.8%). There was also a small percentage, 4%, of celebrities that commented the products:

Now listen to actor Arturo Fernández who tells us about Brandy Insuperable Solera Reservada de González Byass:

The best things in life are always true.

Appreciate that truth when you have a brandy glass in the hand. I recommend Insuperable, unsurpassed because it is for real.

Insuperable. Because it is true.

(1960s, personal archive)

The message in these radio spots was direct, with very few elements distracting from the main idea. When dividing the sample into genres, more than half (56%) of them are monologues, compared to 12% in which there is a dialogue. Deepening a little more, the most used genres were the piece of life (8%), the humor (6%) and the musical (4%). The outline of most of the radio spots could be summarized in a speaker, talking about a jingle, with some effect that would help to understand the message.

The best way to get a product sold is, without a doubt, to choose exactly which attributes should be highlighted. If in the previous stage the shortage made the emotional attributes essential (get class and distinction drinking a certain brand of anise, or make it clear to the neighborhood that one could spend a fortune in accessories for a doll), at this stage the physical attributes are highlighted, appearing in 41% of the radio spots as the only attribute. The emotional and functional attributes are found on fewer occasions, 13% each.

In the era of consumerism, of economic development, it is logical that consumers were tempted by physical attributes, but with what kind of argument did these attributes reach the receiver's mind? The analysis of the radio spots reveals that persuasion (60%) was still the most effective way to advertise, although there were also numerous (17%) ads that combined persuasive and implicative arguments.

The bases were established and the advertising spots were, at the end of this period, in a state of maturity that allowed them to reach the listener through multiple

channels. The resources were varied, although they encountered a difficulty: television.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reached after the confrontation of the results of social, political and economic research of the country throughout the period studied, as well as the follow-up of the evolution of press and radio advertising, allow us to affirm that the traditional media, through their advertising, contributed decisively to the formation of consumption habits and lifestyles in the Spanish of the Franco regime. Throughout this research work we have seen several advertising pieces that offer a clear picture of the social reality of the moment: the relationship between genders, political ideologies, economic situation, consumption habits and lifestyles. We have also seen how advertising introduced consumption models totally alien to Spanish society, so that in a short time they were accepted in a non-traumatic way by the majority of the population.

One of the most important factors that made advertising an essential weapon in the creation of a modern consumer model was the notoriety of each advertising message. Through press and radio, at first, and later also television, the messages possessed a quality that today, in the state of advertising saturation in which we live, has been lost. Obtaining the attention of the listener or reader was much easier than today. The simplest resources served to remain in the receiver's mind.

The products advertised most frequently in the press and radio in the first years of the postwar period (as can be seen in the following table) were feminine and upper class: personal hygiene and beauty.

But the image of women in many other product categories is that of the ingenious housewife with solutions for everything. A woman capable of getting treats or new clothes where there is only rationing and diseases. In the years of scarcity and self-sufficiency, this wise mother was able, with a coffee substitute and a good tint, to organize the most successful party with her neighbors.

The difference between the products advertised at the beginning of the 1940s and those that appear in the late 1950s or early 1960s is clear. In the first case, advertisements for drinks, medicines and personal hygiene and beauty products were common, while from 1957-1958 appliances, jewelry and means of transportation were added to these categories. The Spanish society of the forties learned to coexist with

penury. Despite the deprivations imposed by the postwar period (hunger, disease, rationing), a collective will prevailed, overcoming adversity. It was a time of survival, of homemade soap, socks patched one and a thousand times and food substitutes.

Thus, during the 1940s and 1950s, an emotional communication was predominantly used –in which elegance, distinction, exclusivity prevailed– aimed at an audience with economic possibilities. Among these emotional attributes used in the postwar period we must emphasize the exaltation of the Spanish. This is found in many of the commercial songs broadcasted and in the pages of national newspapers. On the other hand, and in a very special way in the press, a good number of products were also announced for a population without economic possibilities, always presenting functional attributes, in advertisements with a lot of text to explain the advantages in quality, durability, savings, etc., of

using the product. The type of argument employed by the advertiser was persuasive, emphasizing, when possible, the percentage of income that the purchase of a certain product entailed, especially if it was used often.

The second period analyzed coincides with an economic development that imply the appearance of more products ready to establish new lifestyles. Thanks to their publicity, people began to desire items whose existence they did not know until very recently. New products offered new consumption habits, which in turn translated into new lifestyles.

Product categories multiplied, means of transportation, jewelry, non-alcoholic drinks and food, among others, appeared, as can be seen in the table 8.

Advertising changes to facilitate the arrival of new products and services, which took advantage of the general economic improvement that the country was experiencing in those years. The brands increased and

	Press 1939-1966		Radio 1939-1959	
Products	Hygiene and beauty	22%	Hygiene and beauty	27.9%
	Alcoholic beverages	18%	Cleaning	19%
	Medicines	9%	Stores	9%
Social class	Upper	74%	Not specified	50%
	Not specified	26%	Lower	39.5%
			Upper	10.5%
Target audiences	Women	42%	Women	43.6%
	Men and women	25%	Men	25.5%
	Men	23%	Men and women	10%
Price	Does not appear	83%	Does not appear	82.7%
	Price appears	14%	Reference appears	15.5%
	Reference appears	3%	Price appears	1.8%
Attributes	Emotional	59%	Emotional	27.8%
	Functional	56%	Physical	20.4%
	Physical	40%	Functional	18.4%
Argument	Persuasive	64%	Persuasive	79.2%
	Informative	30%	Implicative	30.1%
	Suggestive	16%	Humorous	17.2%

Table 7. First period analyzed in press and radio: 1939-1959 / 1966

Source: Own elaboration.

	Press 1967-1975		Radio 1960-1975	
Products	Jewels	20%	Alcohol-free drinks	18%
	Transportation means	14%	Food	17%
	Alcoholic beverages	11%	Transportation means	12%
Social class	Upper	62%	Not specified	75%
	Not specified	38%	Upper	25%
Target audiences	Men and women	38%	Men	33%
	Men	33%	Women	24%
	Women	25%	Men and women	15%
Price	Does not appear	73%	Does not appear	84%
	Price appears	16%	Reference appears	10%
	Reference appears	11%	Price appears	6%
Attributes	Physical	56%	Physical	29%
	Emotional	53%	Do not appear	15%
	Functional	39%	Functional	11%
Argument	Suggestive	47%	Persuasive	83%
	Persuasive	39%	Implicative	22%
	Informative	31%	Humorous	14%

Table 8. Second period analyzed in press and radio: 1960 / 1967-1975

Source: Own elaboration.

diversified, the articles were framed for the first time in different symbolic and motivational universes. It is curious to see how jewelry was advertised in the press, while on the radio they talked about food. This is due, in part, to the somewhat elitist nature of the press, while radio consumption was more popular. The analysis demonstrates an evolution of advertising towards the democratization of attributes. All or none were used (as in the surprising case of the radio, where the model of many radio spots was limited to make an impression, without relation to the product, to then name the brand). Press advertising, for example, shows a balance in the use of emotional and physical attributes. It was the era of consumerism, of economic development, so it is logical that consumers were tempted by physical

attributes with psychological touches (the most elegant car makes its owner *more elegant*, in a relationship that, taken to the Freudian extreme, means that the most powerful car makes its owner *more powerful*). Regarding the type of argument used by advertising in all periods and in all media, the use of persuasive communication stands out.

The products advertised are a faithful reflection of the social change that was experienced in Spain. The way of selling changed. The arguments evolved, they were refined. The advertising presented in advance a social reality that was about to arrive, but that was not there yet so, somehow, it showed a fantasy that turned out to be a more faithful reflection of the American way of life than of the Spanish.

DISCUSSION

This research analyzes how the media selected, press and radio, through their advertising, contributed decisively to the formation of consumption habits and lifestyles in the Spain of Franco, giving way to the consumer society.

The results of the study show how the notoriety of each advertising message reaches the consumer through increasingly emotional attributes with persuasive arguments. The differentiation of social classes is clearly shown, with the appearance of new products that gave rise to new consumption habits and, therefore, to new lifestyles. Advertising changed to adapt to the new products, and the brands increased and diversified, which entailed new different symbolic universes.

The Spanish of the period studied were adult consumers in a society with an unequal consumption model, in which advertising played a fundamental role of social cohesion, and citizens bought products not because of their possibilities or benefits, but because

of what they meant. These results coincide with those found in Alonso and Conde (1994), Castillo (1987) and López (1994) regarding consumption and advertising.

Although this study is relevant, since it conducts an exhaustive descriptive analysis of the advertising material under study and of the criteria for classifying the material analyzed, it is not exempt from limitations. In the first place, it only analyzes advertising in the press and on radio, so that television does not appear, and it would be relevant to expand and reinforce the research. We hope that future research can cover these shortcomings and show new results. Likewise, it would be interesting to compare whether in Latin America in this same period (1939-1975) media advertising contributed to the formation of consumption habits and lifestyles in society, and what are the differences with the Spanish one. The challenge would be to be able to show these differences in the different countries and see what repercussions they had on the society of the moment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The compilation of the commercial songs of 1930-1950 has been possible thanks to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Madrid. I owe the material of the 1960s and 1970s -probably the only material preserved from that decade- to Guillermo Barea, from Cadena Ser. The rest of the radio spots have been collected thanks to different professionals who kept them in their personal archives and were kind enough to allow me to make copies for my analysis. I would also like to thank the National Newspaper Library, for authorizing me to access the newspapers of the epoch, and all those interviewed for their time and for sharing their experiences with me, allowing me to learn more about the period studied.

I also thank the three anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions to improve this article, transforming it into a more relevant contribution and conferring it a broader academic scope among the works related to the object of study.

REFERENCES

- AAVV. (1993). *Antología de las canciones publicitarias de los años 30, 40 y 50* [Anthology of the advertising songs of the 30's, 40's and 50's]. Madrid: Cámara de Comercio e Industria de Madrid.
- Abella, R. (1985). *Vida cotidiana bajo el régimen de Franco* [Daily life under Franco's regime]. Barcelona: Argos Vergara.
- Abella, R. (1990). *La vida cotidiana en la España de los 60* [The daily life in the Spain of the 60's]. Madrid: Prado.
- Alonso, L. E. & Conde, F. (1994). *Historia del consumo en España: Una aproximación a sus orígenes y primeros desarrollos* [History of consumption in Spain: An approach to its origins and first developments]. Madrid: Debate.
- Andrés Orizo, F. (1968). La evolución del consumo en España [The evolution of consumption in Spain]. *Control*, 69, 39.

- Andrés Orizo, F. (1977). *Las bases sociales del consumo y del ahorro en España* [The social bases of consumption and saving in Spain]. Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros.
- Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación (1998). Estudio General de Medios (EGM) (1968-1998) [General Media Survey (EGM) (1968-1998)]. Todos los medios de comunicación social. EGM 30 [All social media. EGM 30].
- Barea, P. (1994). *La estirpe de Sautier. La época dorada de la radionovela en España (1924-1964)* [The strain of Sautier. The golden age of the soap opera in Spain (1924-1964)]. Madrid: El País S.A./Aguilar S.A.
- Barrera del Barrio, C. (1992). *Historia del periodismo Español* [History of Spanish journalism]. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra S.A.
- Baudrillard, J. (2009[1970]). *La sociedad de consumo. Sus mitos, sus estructuras* [The consumption society. Its myths, its structures]. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España.
- Caro, A. (2014). Comprender la publicidad para transformar la sociedad [Understanding advertising to transform society]. *Cuadernos.info*, (34), 39-46. <https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.34.584>
- Castillo, J. (1987). *Sociedad de consumo a la española* [Consumption society at the Spanish style]. Madrid: Eudema.
- Conde, F. (1994). Notas sobre la génesis de la sociedad de consumo en España [Notes on the genesis of the consumer society in Spain]. *Política y Sociedad*, 16, 135-148. Retrieved from <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/POSO/article/view/POSO9494120135A/30291>
- De Miguel, A. (1973, August 18). Somos europeos, pero menos [We are European but less]. *ABC*, p. 25. Retrieved from <http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/blanco.y.negro/1973/08/18/025.html>
- Dirección General de Estadísticas. (1943). Remuneraciones máximas por jornada. Salarios [Maximum remuneration per day. Wages]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 1179). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- Eguizábal Maza, R. (2007). *Teoría de la publicidad* [Advertising Theory]. Madrid: Cátedra.
- González Martín, J. A. (1996). *Teoría General de la Publicidad* [General Theory of Advertising]. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). (1955). Remuneraciones máximas por jornada [Maximum pay per day]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 524). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE). (1960). Coste de la vida en las capitales [Cost of living in capitals]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 598). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE). (1965). Estadísticas de salarios [Wage statistics]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 292). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE). (1970a). Remuneraciones máximas por jornada [Maximum pay per day]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 285). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). (1970b). Censo de las viviendas en España [Census of housing in Spain]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 55). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). (1975) Encuesta de presupuestos familiares Equipamientos y condiciones de las viviendas familiares [Family budget survey Household equipment and conditions]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 86). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.

- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). (1978). Partida de gasto de los hogares españoles [Expenditure item of Spanish households]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 308). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) (1984). Encuesta de presupuestos familiares [Family Budget Survey]. In *Anuario Estadístico de España* [Statistical Yearbook of Spain], (p. 316). Madrid: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros. Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y de Estadística.
- López Vargas, M^a. L. (1994). El hombre y la cosmética: el modelo de consumo tradicional al modelo de consumo moderno [The man and the cosmetics: the model of traditional consumption to the model of modern consumption]. *Política y Sociedad*, 16, 201-209. Retrieved from <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/POSO/article/view/POSO9494120201A/30313>
- Marchamalo, J. (1996). *Bocadillos de Delfín* [Dolphin Snacks]. Barcelona: Grijalbo.
- Martín Requero, M^a. I. (2002). Consumo y publicidad en la España del primer tercio del siglo XX [Consumption and advertising in Spain in the first third of the 20th century]. *Publifilia*, (6), 37-48.
- Montero, M. (2012). La publicidad española durante el franquismo (1939-1975). De la autarquía al consumo [Spanish advertising during the Franco regime (1939-1975). From Autarchy to Consumerism]. *Hispania, Revista Española de Historia*, 72(240), 205-232. <https://doi.org/10.3989/hispania.2012.v72.i240.369>
- Morodo, R. (1966). De la Ley de Prensa a la Reforma Constitucional en España [From the Press Law to the Constitutional Reform in Spain]. *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, 32, 12.
- Pérez Ruíz, M. A. (2001). *La publicidad en España. Anunciantes, agencias y medios. 1850-1950* [Advertising in Spain. Advertisers, agencies and media. 1850-1950]. Madrid: Fragua.
- Pérez Ruíz, M. A. (2003). *La transición de la publicidad en España. Anunciantes, agencias y medios. 1950-1980* [The transition of advertising in Spain. Advertisers, agencies and media. 1950-1980]. Madrid: Alfaguara.
- Vázquez Montalbán, M. (1986). *Crónica sentimental de España* [Sentimental chronicle of Spain]. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Ana Sebastián Morillas, Ph.D. in Audiovisual Communication and Advertising, professor at the Faculty of Social, Legal and Communication Sciences of the UVA (Segovia Campus). She teaches in undergraduate and graduate programs. Her main lines of research are related to strategic brand planning, advertising, communication, and marketing. She has been a fellow of the RCC at Harvard University (Cambridge, Massachusetts). She is part of the research group Management of brands and communication processes.