

WHAT DO THEY PORTRAY? GENDER MODELS IN CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS FROM THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR*

*¿Qué retratan? Los modelos de género en los dibujo infantiles
de la Guerra Civil Española*

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Abstract: During the Spanish Second Republic, there were significant changes in women's roles and gender relations, in peace and in war. Specialist historiography has analysed these changes, emphasising the importance of considering the dual dynamics of changes-advances and limits-continuities.

The purpose of this text is to analyse the gender models represented in the drawings made by boys and girls who were evacuated to the children's colonies in the Republican rearguard during the Spanish Civil War. These drawings serve as a primary form of expression and understanding for these minors. From a qualitative point of view, particular attention is paid to female models.

To achieve this, we have selected a sample for interpretive analysis from three repositories: the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the University of California-San Diego, and Columbia University. The analysis is structured by classifying the drawings into three main categories: games, war and everyday life.

The principal conclusion is that the children's drawings convey a message of limits-continuities, highlighting the differentiation of spheres,

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roles, and stereotypes based on the masculine or feminine gender of the figures depicted.

Keywords: Drawings; Spanish Civil War; Spanish Second Republic; Women; Genre.

Resumen: *La Segunda República, tanto en periodo de paz como durante el contexto bélico posterior, fue un contexto de transformaciones para las mujeres y las relaciones de género. La historiografía especializada ha analizado estos cambios remarcando la necesidad de atender a la doble dinámica de cambios-avances y límites-continuidades.*

El objetivo de este texto es observar los modelos de género proyectados en los dibujos elaborados por los niños y las niñas evacuados a las colonias infantiles de la retaguardia republicana durante la Guerra Civil Española, como principal forma de expresión y comprensión de estos menores.

Se atiende especialmente a los modelos femeninos desde un enfoque cualitativo. Para ello, se ha seleccionado una muestra para su análisis interpretativo procedente de tres repositorios: la Biblioteca Nacional de España, la Universidad de California-San Diego y la Universidad de Columbia. Este análisis se estructura con la clasificación de los dibujos en tres grandes categorías: juegos, guerra y cotidianidad.

La principal conclusión es que el mensaje que nos transmiten estos dibujos infantiles es de límites-continuidades, con diferenciación de esferas, roles y estereotipos en función del género masculino o femenino de las figuras representadas en ellos.

Palabras clave: Dibujos; Guerra Civil Española; Segunda República; mujeres; género.

INTRODUCTION

The school environment plays a pivotal role in the formation of gender identities during childhood and adolescence. Here, boys and girls learn and internalise values, principles, and customs,¹ as well as assume the gender roles that the school disseminates, represents, and prioritises.² This

¹ Alejandro Mayordomo, *Socialización, educación y clases populares* (València: PUV, 1995). Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, *Educación, socialización y legitimación política. España, 1931-1970* (València: Tirant lo Blanch, 1998). M^a del Mar del Pozo, *Curriculum e identidad nacional. Regeneracionismos, nacionalismos y escuela pública (1890-1939)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000). Alejandro Mayordomo and Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, *Patriotas y ciudadanos. El aprendizaje cívico y el proyecto de España* (València: Tirant lo Blanch, 2008).

² Marina Subirats, «Entorn de la discriminación sexista a l'escola», *Papers: revista de sociologia*, 9 (1978): 33-53; in particular pp. 40-46. Pilar Ballarín, *La educación de las mujeres en la España contemporánea (siglos XIX-XX)* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2001).

issue is pertinent throughout the contemporary period, and it became even more significant during the Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War (1931-1939). During this period, efforts were made to challenge the long-standing gender norms that had been in place since the end of the Ancien Régime.

The Republican government implemented various initiatives during the war to protect and educate both boys and girls.³ The experiences of these children in the centres have been well-documented through official records, teachers' memoirs, manuals, notebooks, and letters.⁴ Furthermore, their drawings have been utilised to analyse various aspects of their time in the school, including daily life, evacuation, bombings, feelings, and politicisation.⁵

However, it has been less common to use these drawings as a reflection or projection of the gender models they were internalising and expressing. Adults, including their teachers, largely influenced the models. Although the children were the ones drawing, adults were also present. They not only encouraged the children to draw and influenced the messages being conveyed, but also used the drawings for political-propagandistic purposes or for pedagogical and psychological research.

³ Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, *Educación y cultura en la Guerra Civil (1936-1939)* (València: Nau Llibres, 1984). Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, «La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil: las colonias escolares», *Historia de la Educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 6 (1987): 83-128. Juan Manuel Fernández Soria and Alejandro Mayordomo (eds.), *Educación, guerra y revolución, Valencia, 1936-1939* (València: PUV, 2007). Rosalía Crego, «Las colonias escolares durante la Guerra Civil», *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie V. Historia Contemporánea*, 2 (1989): 299-338. Alicia Alted, «Las consecuencias de la Guerra Civil en los niños de la República: de la dispersión al exilio», *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie V. Historia Contemporánea*, 9 (1996): 207-228. Carlos Salinas, «Lugares de memoria de la guerra civil. Las colonias infantiles en la provincia de Alicante», *CLIO. History and History teaching*, 40 (2014).

⁴ Verónica Sierra and M^a del Mar del Pozo, «Desde el “paraíso” soviético. Cultura escrita, educación y propaganda en las redacciones escolares de los niños españoles evacuados a Rusia durante la Guerra Civil Española», *História da Educação*, 28 (2009): 187-238. M^a del Mar del Pozo and Sara Ramos, «Ir a la escuela en guerra: el reflejo de la cotidianeidad en los cuadernos escolares», *Cultura escrita y Sociedad*, 4 (2007): 129-170. Verónica Sierra, *Palabras huérfanas. Los niños y la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 2009).

⁵ Alicia Alted and Roger González, *A pesar de todo dibujan... La Guerra Civil vista por los niños* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 2006); in particular pp. 27-39. Núria Padrós et al., «The Spanish Civil War as seen through children's drawings of the time», *Paedagogica Historica*, 51-4 (2015): 478-495. Ed. Rose Duroux and Catherine Milkovitch-Rioux, *J'ai dessiné la guerre. Le regard de Françoise et Alfred Brauner* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2011). Juri Meda, «Propaganda a mano libera. I disegni dei bambini spagnoli durante la Guerra Civile», *Storie in Movimento. Rivista di storia della conflittualità sociale*, 10 (2006): 74-81. Sergio Valero, «Educación republicana y politización: los dibujos infantiles durante la Guerra Civil», *Historia social*, 94 (2019): 97-113.

The purpose of this text is to analyse the gender representations depicted in children's drawings, with a particular focus on female models, using a qualitative approach. The goal is to reflect on the gender discourses and practices prevalent among the youngest children of the Republican rearguard, as expressed through their artwork. The aim is to determine whether schools, during a crucial period for questioning traditional gender roles, reinforce codes of conduct and models of masculinity and femininity, or contribute to transforming them. According to Pilar Ballarín, education is "a crucial tool for transforming gender relations".⁶ The drawings offer insight into how this tool was used during a significant period for challenging traditional gender roles.

Children do not only adopt these models at school, which highlights the importance of considering the political and social context. The school is not merely a transmitter of pre-existing discourses in their environment. By examining the children's strokes, we can assess the potential transgressive role of the classrooms and provide an additional perspective to reconstruct the trajectory of school culture in the Republican rearguard. This will complement the analyses already conducted using other official and school-related materials.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION: FROM SEGREGATION TO ATTEMPTS AT COEDUCATION

Since the late 18th to early 19th century, when national education systems were established and political values such as citizenship and nationality spread, the task of promoting principles of social order inherent to the previous ones was imposed. Gender ideals were no exception. It was already established during that period that schools were to be male-dominated spaces. This included a model of domestic education for girls, in which they "would learn the duties of their gender, alongside their mothers", focused on home and private life.⁷ In Spain, the Quintana Report (1813) emphasised this division: "The Board understands that

⁶ Pilar Ballarín, «La educación de la mujer española en el siglo XIX», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 8 (1989): 245.

⁷ Françoise Mayeur, «La educación de las niñas: el modelo laico», in ed. Georges Duby y Michelle Perrot, *Historia de las mujeres*, vol. 4. *El siglo XIX* (Madrid: Taurus, 1993), 279.

the education of men should be public, while the education of women should be private and household-centred”.⁸

During the 19th century, schooling expanded, but it was a segregated and unequal system. Girls were taught different content in separate locations, and religious principles significantly impacted on their education. As Jovellanos noted in 1809, the goal was to “form good and virtuous mothers of the family”.⁹ However, this type of schooling was only proposed as a potential option in legislation. The Draft Decree of 1814, the Draft General Regulations for Primary Education of 1822, and the Law of 1838 are clear examples of the historical context. However, the Moyano Law of 1857 made education compulsory, but did not prioritise promoting knowledge and learning among women. Instead, it aimed to “legitimise the household-centred model through schooling”.¹⁰

Since the mid-19th century, European women have been receiving better education through private initiatives, without reducing levels of inequality. The Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE, Institution for Independent Teaching) in Spain is a notable example of progress, showcasing the coexistence of maintaining traditional female roles and increasing gender equality. It is essential to recognise the educational efforts of the workers' movement, as it promoted more egalitarian models, particularly in the context of anarchism.

In the late 19th century, there was a growing demand for equal educational opportunities, challenging the existing asymmetry. In 1892, Emilia Pardo Bazán confidently pointed out that “unfortunately, in Spain, the provision that authorises women to receive the same education as

⁸ Pilar Ballarín, «La construcción de un modelo educativo de utilidad “doméstica”», in ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, *Historia de las mujeres*, vol. 4. *El siglo XIX* (Madrid: Taurus, 1993), 625. Pilar Ballarín, «La escuela de niñas en el siglo XIX: la legitimación de la sociedad de esferas separadas», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 26 (2007), 154.

⁹ Pilar Folguera, «Las mujeres en la España contemporánea», in ed. Elisa Garrido, *Historia de las mujeres en España* (Madrid: Síntesis, 1997), 429.

¹⁰ Pilar Ballarín, «La escuela de niñas», 153. Also Consuelo Flecha, «Políticas y espacios para mujeres en el origen y desarrollo del sistema educativo español», *Bordón*, 65 (2013): 75-89. Irene Palacio Lis, *Mujeres ignorantes: madres culpables: adoctrinamiento y divulgación materno-infantil en la primera mitad del siglo XX* (València, PUV, 2003). Irene Palacio Lis, «Mujeres aleccionando a mujeres. Discursos sobre la maternidad en el siglo XIX», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 26 (2007): 111-142.

men [...] is a dead letter in customs".¹¹ In the new century, private initiatives rapidly adopted equal treatment of boys and girls, with mixed classrooms and identical programs. Some even proposed coeducational models, such as the Escuela Moderna (Modern School) funded by Francisco Ferrer.¹²

New initiatives were implemented to gradually eliminate obstacles and promote educational equality between boys and girls in public schools. In 1901, a new Primary Education Plan was approved, establishing common programs for both genders.¹³ However, differentiation in roles and objectives persisted, with girls continuing to receive classes in household chores. In 1911, the government allowed mixed-gender classrooms to expand graded schooling. The responsibility of implementing this policy fell on local boards of education, inspectors, and teachers, which in practice limited the extension of the measure.¹⁴

In secondary education, mixed-gender classrooms became a reality earlier on paper. Initially, this occurred out of necessity due to the arrival of the first female students. The construction of segregated high schools did not align with this development, except for the brief experience during the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930). Later, due to political will, the Second Spanish Republic eliminated segregation in 1931, which had been approved in 1929. As a result, all institutes returned to being coeducational.

The Republican period, including the Civil War in the Republican rearguard, was a crucial time for education, as well as for women and gender relations. However, it is important to avoid presenting non-problematizing or mythologizing explanations. Comprehending their significance for women involves addressing dual and oscillating dynamics of

¹¹ Folguera, «Las mujeres en la España contemporánea», 464.

¹² Victoria Robles, «Dos siglos de conquistas por la igualdad. La educación de las mujeres en los siglos XIX y XX», *Andalucía en la historia*, 3 (2015): 14-17.

¹³ On the subject, Geraldine M. Scanlon, «La mujer y la instrucción pública: de la Ley Moyano a la II República», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 6 (1987): 193-208. Folguera, «Las mujeres en la España contemporánea». Laura Sánchez Blanco, «La educación femenina en el sistema educativo español», *El futuro del pasado*, 3 (2012): 255-281.

¹⁴ Decree of 25 February 1911, *Gaceta de Madrid*, 28 February 1911. Pilar Ballarín and Ana Iglesias, «Feminismo y educación. Recorrido de un camino común», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 37 (2018): 37-67. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14201/hedu2018373767>

changes-advances and limits-continuities. Additionally, it is important to consider factors such as the heterogeneity of female collectives, which encompass a range of experiences and perceptions. Furthermore, the short period of the republican context, while highlighting these advances, may not allow for changes in long-term processes such as mentalities.¹⁵

Since its establishment, the Second Spanish Republic has been committed to promoting equality and addressing women's rights issues. This commitment can be seen in various legislative reforms, including the granting of women's suffrage for the first time in Spain's history. Moreover, the government introduced new laws related to civil rights and individual liberties, which helped to partially reverse the prevailing situation of legal and labour-related inequalities faced by women.

For instance, the Second Republic introduced significant changes regarding the family in the private sphere. Specific legislation was enacted to regulate the family institution and the marriage contract. The Constitution established a model of civil, secular, and egalitarian marriage, ensuring equality between legitimate and illegitimate children, joint responsibility for property and children, and divorce.

In the field of employment, additional measures were implemented, including prohibiting termination of contracts due to marriage or maternity, providing paid maternity leave, and guaranteeing reintegration into the company. Likewise, the new context increased women's visibility in the public sphere and led to a process of politicisation, mobilisation, and participation in public affairs, particularly through women's publications and associations. This reached its peak after the July 1936 coup d'état.

These changes-advances had limits-continuities. The legislation retained the husband's authority as the wife's legal representative in matters of marriage and family regulation. It also required married women to obtain permission from their husbands to enter into employment

¹⁵ Ana Aguado and M^a Dolores Ramos, *La modernización de España (1917-1939): cultura y vida cotidiana* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2002). Mary Nash, «Republicanas en la Guerra Civil: el compromiso antifascista», in ed. Isabel Morant, *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina. Del siglo XX a los umbrales del XXI* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006). And in the same work directed by Isabel Morant: Mercedes Yusta, «La Segunda República: significado para las mujeres».

contracts, a fact that was consistently criticised by women's advocacy groups. The discourse and the legislative and political practices were permeated by paternalism that went beyond mere legislation. Despite these conditions, resistance flourished, including opposition to egalitarianism in the workplace. Furthermore, women remained a minority in political organisations, especially in executive and public positions.

There were also few changes in family practices, in the hierarchical valuation of masculinity and femininity, and in the moral norms constructed from various spheres such as legislation, education, religion, science, or medicine, with deeply rooted patriarchal ideological references. This has made it possible to change patterns of intimacy, privacy, or affective relationships. In practice, however, alternative models of family, sexuality, and love were in the minority and almost exceptional. The dominant moral position was a new secular morality, distinct from Catholic morality, but the traditional family remained the reference point, with asymmetrical relationships not being challenged.¹⁶

Similarly, as previously stated, the Republican period was also crucial for education. It implemented numerous measures, such as building schools, hiring new teachers, and improving their training, which benefited both girls and boys. However, the period did not prioritise achieving equal education compared to the previous era, despite the elimination of segregation in secondary education. Although there was a greater institutional push for mixed-gender classrooms, it was never mandated by law. Therefore, coeducational schooling was considered to be postponed. Additionally, the number of female students in high school increased significantly during this period. This increase was partly due to the mandatory requirement of a diploma for entry into feminised professions such as teaching (since 1931) or nursing and midwifery (since 1926).¹⁷

¹⁶ Aguado and Ramos, *La modernización de España*. Ana Aguado, «Familia e identidades de género. Representaciones y prácticas (1889-1970)», in ed. Francisco Chacón and Joan Bestard (dir.), *Familias: historia de la sociedad española: del final de la Edad Media a nuestros días* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2011), 743-808. Mary Nash, *Mujer, familia y trabajo en España (1875-1936)* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1983). Nash, «Republicanas en la Guerra Civil». Yusta, «La Segunda República: significado para las mujeres».

¹⁷ Consuelo Flecha, «Profesoras y alumnas en los Institutos de Segunda Enseñanza (1910-1940)», *Revista de Educación*, número extraordinario (2000): 269-294.

The Spanish Civil War, like any conflict, caused a significant disruption to everyday life. However, it also presented the prospect of social revolution in the Republican rearguard. The role and experiences of women in war, and their impact on gender relations, have been extensively researched and debated. The First World War, for instance, and the Spanish Civil War share similarities in terms of women's and gender history, especially in the analysis of the Republican rearguard.

Françoise Thébaud posits that the Great War afforded women an experience of unprecedented freedom and responsibility. They were able to live independently, venture out alone, and assume familial responsibilities that had been previously deemed impossible and dangerous. This context offered them new opportunities, particularly in terms of profession and education, as well as the recognition of their work. At the same time, they became aware of their capabilities and appreciated their new-found economic independence.

Despite the changes brought about by the war, traditional gender roles persisted. With national nuances, the total war unfolded on two fronts: the predominantly male front line and the mostly female rearguard. Moreover, the male-dominated front line was bestowed with economic, social, and cultural primacy through entrenched symbolism. Gender norms remained strong, particularly in workplaces. Furthermore, women often found their sexuality confined to narrow roles as either mothers or prostitutes. The issue is further complicated by the fact that individual experiences varied greatly, and female suffering was often disregarded in public memory.¹⁸

Similarly, the Spanish Civil War precipitated changes in gender relations and the cultural identity of women. The historical time accelerated, and profound transformations occurred regarding the mobilisation of women and their presence in the public sphere, thereby reshaping customs, norms, and behaviours.

In addition to these activities, women also occupied previously forbidden or unthinkable workplaces and engaged in a wide range of

¹⁸ Françoise Thébaud, «La Primera Guerra Mundial: ¿la era de la mujer o el triunfo de la diferencia sexual?», in ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, *Historia de las mujeres*, vol. 5. *El siglo XX* (Madrid: Taurus, 1993), 31-90.

activities, including healthcare, assistance, education, and journalism. In this context, the wartime context intensified the visibility and presence of women in the public sphere, with a significant mobilisation and the development of intense activity by women's organisations, of which the Agrupación de Mujeres Fascistas (Antifascist Women's Group) and Mujeres Libres (Free Women) were particularly noteworthy.¹⁹ Furthermore, the distinction between the public and private spheres became less distinct, resulting in a "shift in attitudes towards women and the social roles they were expected to fulfil". Their traditional roles as mothers and homemakers took on a new public dimension, projecting themselves onto the entire civilian population; and the value of their work was increasingly recognised by society, which bestowed upon them a sense of public esteem and identity.²⁰

In this double dynamic, however, traditional gender models persisted, especially in the symbolic realm. A paradigmatic example of this relationship between change-advances and limits-continuities is the rapid evolution of the symbolic representation of women in the Republican rearguard. Initially, the image of the anti-fascist female fighter, the militia woman with a rifle on her shoulder, was propagated. This initial myth gradually disappeared in the autumn of 1936, and the Republican government ordered their withdrawal from the front for reasons of military efficiency, while also resorting to sexist arguments of disqualification and moral condemnation.

Their presence at the front quickly took on negative connotations, and the model of the militia woman soon changed to that of the fighting mother in the rearguard. As mentioned earlier, motherhood was given a new function and public recognition, and women were portrayed as mothers more than ever before. This image was disseminated through posters and proclamations, in contrast to the previous dangerous image of the militia woman.²¹

¹⁹ Mónica Moreno, «Republicanas y República en la guerra civil: encuentros y desencuentros», *Ayer*, 60 (2006). Mary Nash, *Rojas. Las mujeres republicanas en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999).

²⁰ Nash, «Republicanas en la Guerra Civil», 125.

²¹ On this subject, see Nash, «Republicanas en la Guerra Civil», 142-148. More extensively, by the same author: Nash, *Rojas*, in particular pp. 61-71 y 109-132. A general work on the role of the militia women in the war: Lisa Margaret Lines, *Milicianas: women in combat in the Spanish Civil War* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012).

As in the First World War, there was a division of roles — men at the front, women in the rearguard — and women's work focused mainly on helping tasks, in line with the characteristics attributed to femininity: social assistance, collecting and distributing food, cooking, cleaning, and making clothes. Despite the insistence of women's organisations, resistance from political parties and trade unions continued to oppose their full access to the labour market. In fact, they were ridiculed when they took part in masculinised jobs such as building shelters or driving.²²

In the field of education, the wartime Republic continued the processes that had already begun in previous years. For example, efforts were made to improve the educational and cultural level of the population, especially those who were still illiterate (Milicias de la Cultura [Cultural Militias], Brigadas Volantes [Flying Brigades], schools for soldiers at the front and in hospitals for the wounded).²³ The government and civil society, including political parties, trade unions, women's, youth, and student organisations,²⁴ took initiatives to achieve this goal. These initiatives included increasing the number of school buildings, recruiting more teachers and creating school colonies.

Among the educational initiatives, efforts to promote women's literacy and training were widespread in the rearguard. Women's organisations mobilised intensively in a strong offensive against female illiteracy and ran campaigns aimed at adult women. Educating them culturally and politically, as well as providing professional training, was considered a priority.²⁵ However, despite these efforts, the traditional models of motherhood and domesticity persisted, reinforcing the supportive and

²² Examples in Antonio Calzado and Bernat Martí, *Revolució i guerra a Gandia* (València: Edicions La Xara, 2017).

²³ In 1930, a year prior to the proclamation of the Spanish Second Republic, the illiteracy rate in Spain was 36.92% for men and 47.51% for women (in a province such as Valencia, the relative figures are comparable: 38.45% of illiterate men, 49.64% of illiterate women). Luis Miguel Lázaro, «Las universidades populares de la FUE como modelo de educación popular en la España republicana (1932-1938)», in ed. Javier Navarro and Sergio Valero, *Y Valencia fue capital de España. Vol 2. La ciudad de los sabios. Valencia, capital de la educación y la cultura* (Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch, 2020), 97-98.

²⁴ See Fernández Soria, *Educación y cultura*.

²⁵ Ed. Carmen Agulló, *Educación en tiempos de guerra (II). Conferències, relatories i homenajes* (València: Tirant lo Blanch, 2018). Sara Ramos, «La educación de la mujer durante la Guerra Civil en contextos rurales y urbanos», *Sarmiento*, 7 (2003): 99-128. Laura Sánchez Blanco, «Free Women in the Spanish Civil War: Cultural and Professional Training in the Region of Catalonia», *HSE-Social and Educational History*, vol. 6, 3 (2017): 290-313. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17583/hse.2017.2940>.

secondary role of women in society compared to the heroic prominence of men.

The government had two main concerns regarding minors. Firstly, ensuring the continuity of the school system in areas far from the conflict. Secondly, guaranteeing the safety of minors in the most dangerous places by evacuating them to safer areas.

The government's first concern involved ensuring the continuity of school operations. To achieve this, it decided to proceed with school openings, restructurings, and constructions; to expand the availability of school places, particularly in rural areas; and to fill teaching vacancies. These vacancies arose from increased school infrastructure and new educational initiatives, as well as from military mobilisation. In October 1936, the approval of implementing "a double shift in existing school premises" was granted in areas where establishing new schools was challenging. The initiative aimed to "double the attendance of school-age children" by accommodating two shifts in the same school facilities.²⁶

The second concern involved the evacuation of children, which required transferring and relocating thousands of minors to loyalist rear-guard areas, known as school colonies. Although exact figures are difficult to establish, sources indicate that between 30,000 and 50,000 children were evacuated to over 500 colonies. Additionally, around 15,000 children were taken to other countries, such as France, Belgium, England, Denmark, Mexico, and the USSR.²⁷

Minors could be relocated to colonies either with host families or in collective residences. The teachers responsible for the group of evacuated children supervised the host families. In collective residences, pupils and teachers lived together and continued their schooling.²⁸ For this,

²⁶ Decree of 14 October 1936, *Gaceta de Madrid*, 15 October 1936

²⁷ Alted, «Las consecuencias de la Guerra Civil». José Ignacio Cruz, «Valencia, capital de la infancia evacuada», in ed. Javier Navarro and Sergio Valero, *Y Valencia fue capital de España. Vol 2. La ciudad de los sabios. Valencia, capital de la educación y la cultura* (Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch, 2020), 47-69. M^a del Mar del Pozo Andrés, «La infancia en peligro: Las colonias escolares en Valencia (1936-1939)», in ed. Manuel Aznar, Josep L. Barona and Javier Navarro, *Valencia capital cultural de la República* (València: PUV, 2008), 514. Antonio Ballesteros Usano, «Instrucción pública», en *Labor educativa de la República Española durante la guerra* (València: Gráficas Vives Mora, 1937), 581.

²⁸ Salinas, «Lugares de memoria». Fernández Soria, «La asistencia a la infancia».

“the colony must be the child’s home in the strictest sense, providing a family atmosphere where the young resident receives affectionate and paternal care from the teacher, along with their technical competence”.²⁹

In this context, women educators took charge of schools, school colonies, educational inspection, and literacy tasks. They did so from their usual positions and from vacancies created by the military mobilisation of men. However, the gender discourse remained unchanged in educational institutions. Although the Republican Government at war approved the compulsory nature of mixed classes and the implementation of coeducation in September 1937,³⁰ the Decree highlighted the need to consider methodological, procedural, and vocational differences based on gender. In this regard, the social role of motherhood was not questioned, and domestic training, as a specific complementary education for women, provided them with the resources they needed to be both homemakers and professionals. Therefore, sewing instruction, exclusively for girls, persisted.³¹

DRAWINGS AS CHILDREN’S EXPRESSION AND AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Drawing has been a part of social culture since the early 20th century. Initially, it was used in specific contexts, but later it was adopted throughout the school system as a part of new educational trends and practices advocated by some representatives of the progressive education movement, such as John Dewey.³² In some cases, it was promoted to foster students’ creativity and freedom, while in others, it was used to enhance theoretical learning and demonstrate the students’ comprehension. Illustrative drawings were often included alongside the theoretical explanations.

²⁹ Fernández Soria, «La asistencia a la infancia», 102.

³⁰ In Catalonia, it had been approved earlier, in October 1936. See Esther Cortada Andreu, «De las escuelas de niñas a las políticas de igualdad», *Cuadernos de Pedagogía*, 286 (1999), 43-47.

³¹ Ana Aguado, M^a Carmen Agulló and Luz Sanfeliu, «Mujeres y Guerra Civil: política, cultura y educación en la Valencia capital de la República», in ed. Javier Navarro and Sergio Valero, *Y Valencia fue capital de España. Vol 1. La vida en la capital del antifascismo (1937-1937)* (Valencia: Tirant Lo Blanch, 2020), 129-151.

³² Ana Hernández Merino, «Las hebras para hilvanar la vida: el dibujo del dolor», *Arteterapia. Papeles de arteterapia y educación artística para la inclusión social*, vol. 1 (2006): 82.

In Spain, the most notable use of this method can be found in the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. Their teaching approach, which did not rely on books or manuals, emphasised incorporating drawings into the notes that each student had to prepare. By the late 1930s, this approach was no longer considered innovative. During the Spanish Civil War, the significance of this method persisted and was even officially endorsed by the Ministry of Education for classroom use.³³

Thus, drawing has always been an essential aspect of play for children, enabling them to express their emotions, desires, and opinions. It is also a fundamental element of pedagogical traditions that promote active participation in the teaching-learning process. Through drawing, children can acquire valuable skills, values, and principles, while gaining insight into their inner selves without relying solely on verbal communication.³⁴ Studies suggest that drawing can assist children in externalising singular events or traumas and fostering acceptance.³⁵ Additionally, it allows children to express their world and the discourses that surround them. Therefore, drawing is an excellent tool for comprehending children's universes and environments, particularly concerning gender roles.

However, the drawings were never spontaneous. They were made in a specific context, mainly at school, under the supervision of an adult who sometimes provided instructions. This formality is apparent in the external features, such as the name, age, date, and place of production. Even when depicting home life, daily routines, or war experiences without explicit political commentary, it is crucial to remember that, as previously mentioned in the case of children's compositions and essays, "the opinions, feelings, and ideas of adults are present".³⁶

These necessary precautions do not invalidate drawings as a historical source. On the contrary, using iconographic sources such as photographs and paintings, or audio-visual sources like cinema, for studying

³³ Cristina Escrivá and Rafael Maestre, *De las negras bombas a las doradas naranjas. Colonias escolares, 1936-1939* (Tavernes Blanques, Valencia: Eixam Edicions, 2011), 94-95.

³⁴ David Widlöcher, *Los dibujos de los niños. Bases para una interpretación psicológica* (Barcelona: Herder, 1988).

³⁵ See the aforementioned work by Widlöcher. David Widlöcher, *Los dibujos de los niños*.

³⁶ Sierra and del Pozo, «Desde el "paraíso" soviético», 233. Véase también Sierra, *Palabras huérfanas*. Del Pozo and Ramos, «Ir a la escuela en guerra».

the past is quite common and recognised in historical research. However, like all historical sources, drawings must be subjected to criticism, and precautions must be applied.³⁷

It is important to understand the author's objective and not assume that drawings are spontaneous,³⁸ or the result of a child's clean and uncorrupted mind, which reflects the past world more directly and truthfully than intentional adult creations. Instead, we should consider adult interference, as well as the institution where drawings were made, as mentioned earlier, and whether the product was autonomous, requested, or imposed.

For this study, we consulted the drawings held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (1,171),³⁹ the University of California-San Diego (632),⁴⁰ and Columbia University (153).⁴¹ The total number of drawings amounts to almost 2,000, from which we selected a sample of 267 for interpretative analysis. This sample includes 144 drawings from the Biblioteca Nacional de España, 80 from the University of California-San Diego, and 43 from Columbia University. We did not prioritise any specific profile of authorship based on age, gender, or institution of origin. We aimed to obtain a diverse sample of authors, including individuals of

³⁷ Manon Pignot, «Postface. Le dessin, source incontournable pour renouveler l'histoire de l'enfance en guerre», in ed. Rose Duroux and Catherine Milkovitch-Rioux, *J'ai dessiné la guerre. Le regard de Françoise et Alfred Brauner* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2011), 147-150. Peter Burke, *Visto y no visto. El uso de la imagen como documento histórico* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001). Ian Grosvenor, «On Visualising Past Classrooms», in ed. Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn y Kate Rousmaniere, *Silences & Images: The Social History of the Classroom* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 83-104. Sjaak Braster and M^a del Mar del Pozo, «Education and the children's colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939): the images of the community ideal», *Paedagogica Historica*, 51-4 (2015): 455-477. Juri Meda, «Sgorbi e scarabocchi. Guida ragionata alle collezioni storiche di disegni infantili», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, II-1 (2007): 349-372.

³⁸ Burke, *Visto y no visto*. Rose Duroux, «Dibujar en tiempos de guerra y exilio», in ed. Carmen Agulló, *Educación en tiempos de guerra (II). Conferencias, relatorios i homenajes* (València: Tirant lo Blanch, 2018). Rose Duroux, «El dibujo infantil en las guerras del siglo XX», *Travaux et Documents Hispaniques - TDH*, 7 (2016).

³⁹ Hereinafter BNE. Complete reference of the collection: Colección Dibujos de los niños de la guerra. Upon consultation, the drawings could only be viewed in the centre's room. However, the collection is now available online via the following link: <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/Search.do?destacadas1=Dibujos+de+los+ni%C3%B1os+de+la+Guerra&home=true> (last access September 2023)

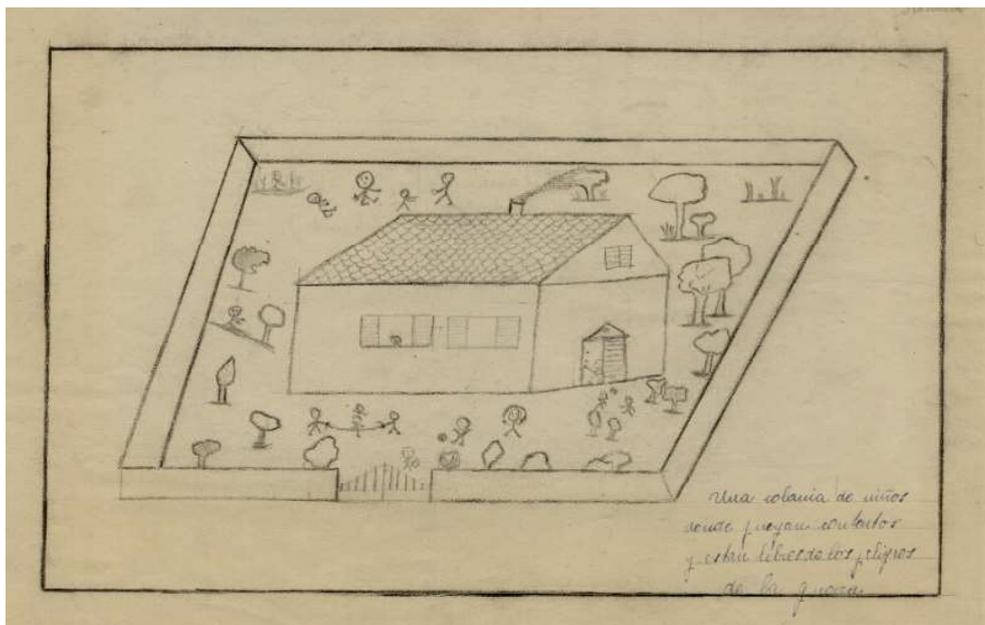
⁴⁰ Hereinafter UCSD. Complete reference of the collection: Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection: *They Still Draw Pictures*, Mandeville Special Collections Library. Online consultation: <https://library.ucsd.edu/speccoll/tsdp/frame.html> (last access June 2024).

⁴¹ Hereinafter UC. Complete reference of the collection: Colección *Children's Drawing of the Spanish Civil War*, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University. Online consultation: <https://exhibitions.library.columbia.edu/exhibits/show/children/collection> (Last access June 2024).

varying ages and backgrounds, and a balanced gender ratio for a more comprehensive approach.

The sample was extracted and organised from all consulted drawings in three phases. In the first phase, we reviewed drawings from the three repositories and separated images containing clearly identifiable gendered human figures. Consequently, we excluded three types of compositions. Firstly, those lacking human figures. Secondly, drawings depicting fantastical characters, often found in tales or allegories, such as the Republic represented by a female figure. Lastly, drawings featuring human figures without gender-indicating elements, making it impossible to determine the sex-gender attributed to them by the author due to the simplicity of the drawing. This category is a minority and typically consists of less detailed stick figures, composed of a few lines and a circle.

Image 1. Example of stick figures



Juana López, "A colony of children where they play joyfully and are safe from the dangers of war"⁴²

During the second phase of compiling the sample, we selected all images featuring at least one female human figure, in line with our

⁴² BNE, DIB/19/1/56, 1937.

specific focus on female models. These figures may appear alone, with other female figures, or with male figures. We also added a selective set of images featuring men or boys in recurring subjects or themes for comparative purposes to enrich the analysis.

In this second phase, there was a concern that the gender of the drawer might bias the sample. This was because girls tended to draw more female figures, and vice versa. However, it was found that the balance between male and female drawers was less complex than initially expected, and no corrections were necessary. The balance was maintained through the drawings that depicted both male and female figures, as well as the inclusion of a set of standard images featuring only male figures. Thus, the sample comprised 129 drawings by girls (48.1%), 120 by boys (44.94%), and 18 of undetermined authorship (6.74%). The latter are anonymous or by unknown authorship, indicated only by an initial followed by a surname or a name that does not reveal the author's gender.

During the third phase, we classified the selected drawings into three categories based on their scene or thematic content, which sometimes had porous or overlapping limits. The first and most important category is games, which are sometimes depicted in drawings of everyday life in or outside the colony. Despite their numerical significance and importance for childhood development, they have been classified as a distinct type/category.⁴³

The second category comprises war scenes, which are drawings depicting battles or the front, neither of which the children have witnessed firsthand. Additionally, there are rearguard scenes that allude to the effects of war on the civilian population.

The third and final category pertains to everyday life, excluding the previous types. These drawings are more diverse, although they relate to daily life inside and outside the colonies. They evoke daily routines before the conflict or the environment of the colonies, highlighting three spheres: the world of work, home and family, and leisure. This diversity helps to understand how these worlds are portrayed from a gender perspective.

⁴³ Games are a fundamental reading of the world of children and have been integrated into their education since the end of the 19th century. For further reading, see Andrés Payá, «Consideraciones pedagógicas sobre los valores y posibilidades educativas del juego en la España contemporánea», *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 26 (2007): 299-325.

GENDER MODELS THROUGH DRAWINGS

Before analysing the categories, it is important to note that clothing is often used to differentiate between genders. The authors aim to emphasise sexual differences through clothing, which is more significant than hair in distinguishing between boys/girls or men/women. Skirts, dresses and trousers are frequently used for classification.⁴⁴ In some cases, particularly in depictions of females, skirts or dresses may be accentuated with embellishments (frills), decorations, or bright colours.⁴⁵ It is rare for the illustrations to feature a female wearing trousers.⁴⁶

Image 2. Skirt



*Domingo Chamón, "Woman with a bird"*⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See Figures 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10.

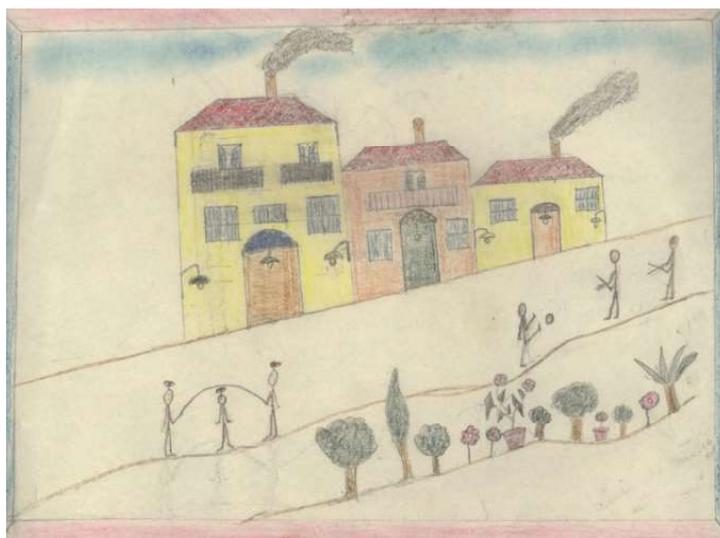
⁴⁵ Figure 2. Also Teresa Vergara, «Niña», BNE, DIB/19/1/768, 1937. In other cases, the emphasis is so much on the fact that they are women that the stick figures are drawn with painted skirts. Pilar Bonet, «Mercado», BNE, DIB/19/1/654, 1937.

⁴⁶ For instance, in Anonymous, «Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza Calderón de la Barca», BNE, DIB/19/1/588, 1938, a female figure can be observed in an urban setting. Similarly, Rosario, «Niña», BNE, DIB/19/1/987, 1937, a girl is depicted in a rural setting, wearing trousers.

⁴⁷ BNE, DIB/19/1/495, 1938.

Regarding these clothing items, the hair bows are also noteworthy. They are even painted on stick figures to indicate gender, instead of relying on long hair as a symbol of femininity.⁴⁸

Image 3. Stick figures with hair bows



Luis Martínez⁴⁹

Gendered Games

During children's playtime, two situations commonly arise that reflect how play is used to construct and reproduce gender roles and separate spheres from an early age. The first situation involves physically separating boys and girls, even when they are depicted in the same drawing sharing spaces. This separation and lack of interaction are emphasised.⁵⁰ The drawings typically depict two separate worlds of distinct play, with boys and girls rarely sharing games or interacting.⁵¹

⁴⁸ See Figure 3.

⁴⁹ Untitled, undated. Residencia Infantil de El Alba (Ontinyent), UC, n. 130. For further reading on the symbolism of hair a marker of femininity throughout history, see Michelle Perrot, *Mi historia de las mujeres* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), in particular pp. 40 and 42.

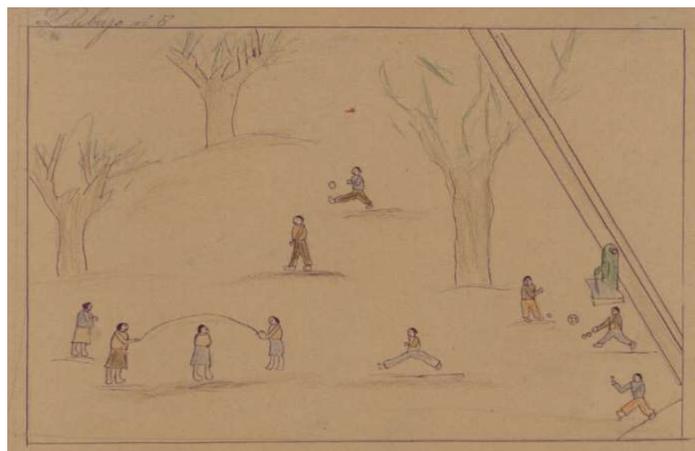
⁵⁰ See Figures 3 and 4.

⁵¹ For example, a boy and a girl play tennis or appear in a beach scene, with buckets and shovels in the sand. Ángeles Elizalde, «Vida en la colonia», BNE, DIB/19/1/971, 1937; and Paquita Serra, «Niños en la playa», BNE, DIB/19/1/927, 1937.

The second situation highlights the gendering of games and toys. Soccer, in particular, is the most commonly depicted male game. Only twice has a representation been found of two girls with a ball, coincidentally from the same female author.⁵² In contrast, jump rope is the primary game associated with girls.

Furthermore, other toys are also gendered and offer greater diversity. Male games are typically more active and related to sports and physical activity. Boys enjoy playing with marbles, arrows, skateboards, hoops, sticks, bowling, spinning tops. They also play tag, “horsey”, or billiards, run in fields or forests, climb trees, swim, and participate in sports such as boxing, vaulting, javelin throwing, or handball. Meanwhile, girls’ games are less diverse and active than those played by boys. Except for hopscotch and jump rope, they often involve aesthetics (flowers) or motherhood (dolls and baby carriages)⁵³. Occasionally, girls may also play on a seesaw or in a pool.⁵⁴

Image 4. Differentiated games



Pedro del Rincón, “Children playing”⁵⁵

⁵² Conchita Muñoz Jiménez, n.d., Centro Español Cerbère, UCSD; ídem, «Niñas jugando», BNE, DIB/19/1/945, 1937.

⁵³ On this genderization of games, see also Figures 3 and 4.

⁵⁴ Domiciana Cabezón Camarero, n.d., Centro Español Cerbère, UC, n. 93; Miguel Gómez, «Playing billiards», n.d., Masarrochos (sic), UCSD; Ana María Ruiz, «Colonia y juegos», BNE, DIB/19/1/823, 1937; Pedro del Rincón Palé, «Niños jugando», BNE, DIB/19/1/961, 1937; and Francisco García, «Juegos en la colonia», BNE, DIB/19/1/776, 1937.

⁵⁵ BNE, DIB/19/1/961, 1937.

War is Not for Women

In the second category, the drawings once again show a clear separation of spaces and roles based on gender. They reflect the gendered distinction between the frontline and the rearguard, as highlighted in the historiography of the Great War or the Spanish Civil War.⁵⁶ The front is a male space, masculine and masculinised, and is occupied almost exclusively by male soldiers or militiamen, with depictions of battles and weapons at the forefront. Occasionally, men are depicted at the front performing tasks such as cooking or making fire.⁵⁷

Female characters are rarely shown on the front line, and when they are, they are often portrayed as victims, either wounded or dead. Alternatively, they are shown in the role of nurses, assisting in the medical department. This portrayal is in keeping with traditional gender roles that associate femininity with the ethic of care.⁵⁸

On the contrary, the rearguard is mainly occupied by women and children. The scenes depicted in these drawings are very varied and show the effects of war on the civilian population, with the figures typically playing a passive role. They show evacuations, bombings, or destruction, with women and children as victims or fleeing to shelters. Scenes of evacuation are also depicted.⁵⁹ Long queues for food are common, with children of both sexes playing an active role here.⁶⁰ In contrast to the usual passive role of women and children, there are images of men actively confronting the effects of war, appearing to rebuild damaged buildings after a bombing.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Nash, *Rojas*. Nash, «Republicanas en la Guerra Civil». Thébaud, «La Primera Guerra Mundial».

⁵⁷ Pilar Marcos, «Campamento de milicianos», BNE, DIB/19/1/576, 1938.

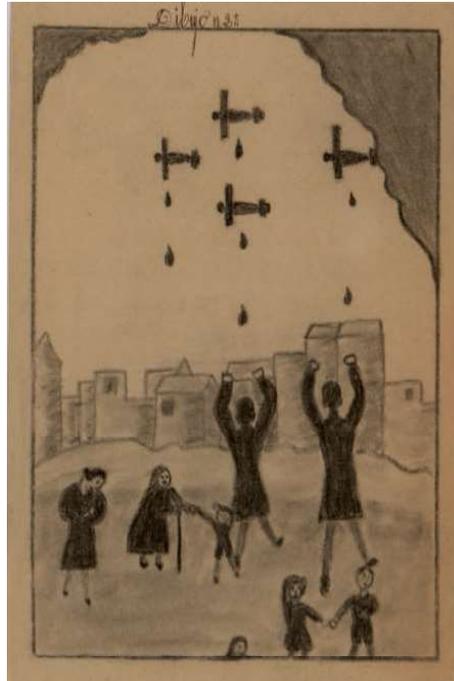
⁵⁸ Aguado, «Familia e identidades de género», especialmente p. 769. Amparito Montalbán, n.d (Alcira), UC, n. 112; Lucía García Núñez, «Evacuación de heridos», BNE, DIB/19/1/574, 1938; Anonymous, «Evacuación de heridos», BNE, DIB/19/1/587, 1938; Inés Millán, «Escena en el frente», BNE, DIB/19/1/876, 1937.

⁵⁹ An example in Figure 5.

⁶⁰ Two examples in: Antonio Prat Ocariz, n.d., Colonia Mas-Eloi (Francia), UC, n. 75; y Anonymous, «Refuge in case of bombings, 2nd», n.d., n.p., UCSD.

⁶¹ Pedro del Rincón Pials, s.f., Centro Español Cerbère, UCSD.

Image 5. Bombing Scene



Mercedes Comellas, "Bombing"⁶²

Finally, a common representation of war is the use of two figures as an allegory or symbol: a man, depicted as a dead soldier or militiaman, a martyred hero; and a woman, depicted as a mother mourning the loss of her son. In the drawing, the children express that the "consequences of war" are the "death of a hero and the pain of a mother". Furthermore, identical figures can appear in very different settings. For example, a mother saying goodbye to her son as he leaves for the battlefield.⁶³

⁶² BNE, DIB/19/1/881, 1937.

⁶³ See Figure 6. Also Félix Sánchez del Amo, n.d., Escuela Hogar (Antella, Valencia), UC, n. 107. Julio Barniol, «Paisaje con casa», BNE, DIB/19/1/479, 1937.

Image 6. Symbol-Allegory of War



Concepción Rodríguez, "Consequences of the War, Death of a Hero and the Pain of a Mother"⁶⁴

Although some children may have been direct witnesses to certain events, many of the drawings are likely to have been guided compositions by adults with political or propagandistic intentions. As a result, they bear a striking resemblance to other iconographies, such as posters.⁶⁵ Therefore, they can be considered as fantastical drawings or allegories, which, as mentioned above, would have been excluded from the analysis. In this case, however, their inclusion is relevant because of the strong gendered imagery of the war context underlying these allegories: frontline-rearguard, action-victim, mother-son. As such, these compositions encapsulate the persistence of traditional gender models and roles.

Everyday Life

As already mentioned, the third and final category consists of drawings with more varied compositions, all related to everyday life, and focusing on three significant areas: the world of work, the home and family, and leisure.

⁶⁴ Undated. Massarrochos (sic) n. 11, UCSD.

⁶⁵ On this regard, see Valero, «Educación republicana y politización».

In the first case, the world of work is closely linked to the school environment of children. In the colonies, the work of adults was combined with the learning of minors. In these scenes, figures are often depicted as either male or female, depending on the activity or task being performed. Girls are shown in sewing workshops with their teachers or alongside women cooking,⁶⁶ while boys and men are the main figures in carpentry or pottery workshops.⁶⁷

This gender difference in the activities depicted is also present in other drawings where adults are the protagonists. The teachers are usually female. For example, in the section entitled “Scenes from Life in the Residence”, a man is shown working on a building site, while a woman is depicted working at a typewriter in an office.⁶⁸ In addition, the only drawings found are of girls cleaning with brooms or buckets.⁶⁹

Image 7. Life in the Colonies



Pilar Marcos, “Scenes from Life at the Children’s Residence in Bellús”⁷⁰

⁶⁶ María Pascual Valladolid, n.d., Colonia Lobosillo (Murcia), UC, n. 13; Anita Ayestarán, n.d., Colonia infantil de Bayona, UCSD; Francisca Bravo Gómez, «Cosiendo en la colonia», BNE, DIB/19/1/657, 1937; Manolita Gurruchaga, «En mi taller de modistas», BNE, DIB/19/1/660, 1937; Gloria Boada, «Madre planchando», BNE, DIB/19/1/840, 1937.

⁶⁷ Alfonso González, «Después de la guerra», n.d., Massarrochos (sic) and Miguel Solana, «Our pottery workshop», n.d, n.p., UCSD; Pompeyo Menéndez, «Los niños trabajan», BNE, DIB/19/1/533, 1937.

⁶⁸ See Figure 7.

⁶⁹ Asunción Acín and Pilar Muro, n.d., Colonia Escolar Estadilla (Huesca), UC, n. 23 and 40.

⁷⁰ BNE, DIB/19/1/579, 1938.

However, unlike in play scenes, physical segregation and role distinctions are not predominant. It is more common for boys and girls to share the same space and activities. For example, depictions of classrooms show both genders sitting together at desks. Similarly, in outdoor settings, boys and girls are often shown working together in gardens or carrying buckets of water on field trips.⁷¹

Mary Nash emphasises that childcare was an area where new models could have been introduced. However, despite the creation of mixed homes, the socialisation and education of children followed traditional patterns and adhered to gender roles, reinforcing behavioural norms and traditional social values. The author cites the gender division of roles reported in documents and graphics of the time, where girls were assigned domestic tasks and boys were assigned manual labour.⁷²

As well as depicting the work inside the colonies, the drawings also reflect the children's observations of the world outside, or their previous living environment before the evacuation. Scenes depicting agricultural work, related to animal husbandry are quantitatively prominent.⁷³ These scenes clearly show the gender division of labour.

The most common image is that of a farmer ploughing a field.⁷⁴ Men are shown sowing, pruning trees, picking olives, or working in rice fields and vegetable gardens. Men in children's drawings also perform other agricultural tasks such as preparing firewood (felling, splitting,

⁷¹ For the excursions, Carmen Horcajada Rojas, n.d., Residencia Infantil n. 3 in Villajoyosa (Alicante), UCSD. Schools in Jorge Planas and M^a Teresa Lloveras Trébol, n.d., Centro Español Cerbère, UCSD; and Victoria del Rosario, «Escuela», BNE, DIB/19/1/1145, 1937. Garden scenes in Eufemia Rincón «Jardín», BNE, DIB/19/1/533, 1938.

⁷² Mary Nash, *Rojas*, in particular p. 156.

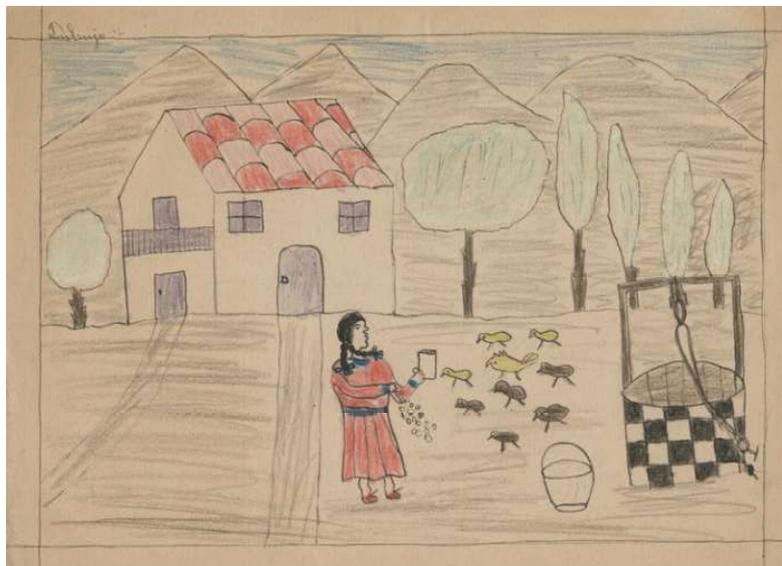
⁷³ Some of the images depict the surrounding area of the colonies where the schoolchildren lived. Consequently, the agricultural and architectural landscapes typical of the Mediterranean coast are frequently depicted. Antonio Esteban, «Barracas de la huerta», BNE, DIB/19/1/533, 1937; and F. Bodeguero, «Cosas que veo en El Perelló», BNE, DIB/19/1/687, 1937. Only one image of fishing has been identified. Manuel López, «Pescadores», BNE, DIB/19/1/671, 1937.

⁷⁴ Some examples: Plácido Ruiz, «Vida en el pueblo», BNE, DIB/19/1/677, 1937; Luis Bermejo, «Preparando la tierra», BNE, DIB/19/1/129, 1937; Pepita Casado Gauderats, n.d., Colonia Familiar Grupo Alfredo Calderón de Madrid, Chirivella (Valencia), Juan Verdaguer, n.d., Centro Español Cerbère, and Pablo Márquez Martínez, n.d., Colonia Lobosillo (Murcia), UC, n. 103, 88 and 46; and Alejandro Chilian, «In times of peace», n.d., Instituto-Escuela de Valencia, UCSD.

transporting), and, to a lesser extent, shepherding in both the same and other scenes.⁷⁵

Conversely, women and girls are responsible for feeding animals, which is a complementary task associated with the domestic sphere. The drawings often emphasise this domestic work, either by explicitly associating it with other household tasks, such as laundry hanging in the background, or by depicting it in a domestic setting (indoors, or in a courtyard or farmyard) or adjacent to the house.⁷⁶

Image 8. Feeding Chickens



Carmen Viñals Llorella Fuente, UCSD⁷⁷

The reversal of gender roles in the rural world is anecdotal in quantitative terms. However, it does exist and allows us to observe the porosity between masculine and the feminine, which are the most diffuse

⁷⁵ Eugenio Gurruchaga, «Trabajando en la huerta», BNE, DIB/19/1/1083,1937; Ramón Martínez, «Poda de árboles», BNE, DIB/19/1/121,1937; Carmen Sierra, «Hombre con leña», BNE, DIB/19/1/23,1937; Justo Antigüedad, «Preparándose para el invierno», BNE, DIB/19/1/128,1937; and Manolita Gurruchaga, «The rice-fields», n.d., Massarrochos (sic), UCSD.

⁷⁶ See Figure 8. Manolita Moreno, n.d., Colonia Infantil de Bayona, UCSD; Manolo Moreno, «La masía», BNE, DIB/19/1/1120, 1937; Ángeles Arnáiz, «Corral», BNE, DIB/19/1/879,1937; Fermina Díaz, «Niña con vaca», BNE, DIB/19/1/476,1937.

⁷⁷ Untitled, undated. Centro Español Cerbère, UCSD.

boundaries in this context. For example, we can see a shepherdess with three sheep, a boy feeding the animals while a woman sews, or a woman carrying firewood with a mule loaded with branches in its saddlebags.⁷⁸ This is perhaps a more realistic image of rural work, closer to what the children may have experienced, where men, women and children could perform the same task depending on the time of day or year, or other complementary, linked, and related tasks. In fact, the presence of women at times of peak workload — for example, during the harvest — was quite common.⁷⁹

In urban areas, the division of labour is even more pronounced. Men tend to work as bus drivers, bricklayers, or in coal furnaces,⁸⁰ while women are often employed as street or market vendors, or in garment workshops. Women who work as secretaries or clerks are often accompanied by a male supervisor, emphasising their subordinate position.⁸¹

In addition, female figures, whether women or girls, are often depicted performing domestic tasks, traditionally associated with the household, the domestic sphere, and considered feminine. Historically, these activities were not recognised as work when performed within the family. When undertaken outside the home, these activities were often temporary and precarious, involving multiple part-time jobs and not recognised as professions. They were perceived as supplementing men's wages.⁸²

⁷⁸ Adela Márquez, «Pastora», BNE, DIB/19/1/511, 1937; Juan Miragall, «Barracas valencianas», BNE, DIB/19/1/815, 1938; Marcos Domínguez, «Mujer con caballo», BNE, DIB/19/1/1068, 1937.

⁷⁹ Teresa M^a Ortega, «¡No vayáis a la ciudad!». El éxodo rural femenino en España (1900-1930): Aproximación a sus causas y a sus consecuencias», in ed. Teresa M^a Ortega, *Jornaleras, campesinas y agricultoras: la historia agraria desde una perspectiva de género* (Zaragoza: PUZ, 2015), 171-214. However, the appearance of a female figure in a harvest scene is anecdotal. In this regard, the image of a male peasant (wearing trousers) picking fruit from the trees, next to a female figure (wearing a dress and with long hair) holding an orange on a box, is particularly noteworthy. It is difficult to tell if the female figure is also picking fruit or if she is just watching the work, and could be the drawer herself. Maruja Barrera, «Orange Harvest», n.d., Massarrochos (sic), UCSD.

⁸⁰ José López, «Un horno de carbón», BNE, DIB/19/1/782, 1937; Manuel Ferrer, «Altos hornos en Bilbao», BNE, DIB/19/1/986, 1937.

⁸¹ Juan Ezquerro, n.d., Residencia Infantil de Onteniente (Valencia), UC, n. 144; Conchita Rodríguez, «El trabajo de la mujer en la retaguardia», BNE, DIB/19/1/662, 1937; y Luisa García, «Vendedoras ambulantes», BNE, DIB/19/1/1075, 1937.

⁸² Nash, *Mujer, familia y trabajo*. Eider de Dios, «Abnegadas, monárquicas, intelectuales, sindicalistas y delatoras. Las trabajadoras del servicio doméstico, sus representaciones y movilizaciones», *Hispania Nova: Revista de historia contemporánea*, 18 (2020): 517-550. Teresa M^a Ortega and Ana Cabana, «Haberlas, haylas»: *campesinas en la historia de España en el siglo XX* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2021).

The drawings show many scenes of women, including girls, mainly engaged in washing, hanging, and ironing clothes, as well as fetching and carrying water from wells or springs.⁸³ As with the agricultural tasks performed by the female figures, the domestic aspect is sometimes emphasised by placing the scene in a courtyard or on a balcony, or by including other elements such as a house in the background or nearby, or some other activity.

Image 9. Woman and Home



Eduardo Vicente⁸⁴

The association of women with motherhood and childcare is also direct. The drawings repeat the moment of entering and leaving schools and institutes, going to and returning from them, with children always accompanied by women.⁸⁵ It is also women who push prams or hold children by the hand.⁸⁶

⁸³ See Figure 9. María Sánchez Ruíz, 19/1/1938, Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza Lagasca (Madrid) and Arcadio Selma, January 1938, Valencia, UCSD; Luis Castro, «Casa rural», BNE, DIB/19/1/1055, 1937; Pilar Marcos, «La vida en la Residencia Infantil de Bellús», BNE, DIB/19/1/578, 1938; Antonia Terra, «Niña tendiendo ropa», BNE, DIB/19/1/929, 1937.

⁸⁴ Untitled, undate, unplaced. UCSD. Other examples in: María Durán, «Mujer lavando ropa», BNE, DIB/19/1/955, 1937; and M^a Luz Escudero, «Pueblo», BNE, DIB/19/1/21, 1937.

⁸⁵ Miren Gárate, n.d., Colonia infantil de Bayona, UCSD; Antonio Domínguez, «Edición de mi vida antes de la guerra», BNE, DIB/19/1/729, 1937.

⁸⁶ Guillermo García Montaña, n.d., Bellús (Valencia), UC, n. 143; F. Pozo, January 1938, Valencia; Adoración de Alba, 14 October 1937, Guarderías Infantiles del Socorro Rojo; José Ayestarán, n.d.,

This division of roles culminates in the depiction of the family as a whole. Inside the family home, the compositions distinguish three types of figures with differentiated roles: the men returning from work or resting while reading the newspaper; the boys and girls playing; and the women putting food on the table, sweeping or cooking.⁸⁷ The same differentiation can be seen in scenes of the family outside the home. In scenes set in the countryside, for example, the men are resting or drinking, while the women are preparing food or looking after the children.⁸⁸

Image 10. Division of Tasks

Inés Millán Romero, "Life before the War"⁸⁹

Finally, the one exception to this general trend is when children draw leisure scenes in the city, where there is no explicit gendering of spaces or roles. Men, women, boys and girls all go to the cinema or to a musical or theatre performance together. The only element used to differentiate between the sexes is clothing, as mentioned at the beginning of this section.⁹⁰

Colonia infantil de Bayona; and M^a Dolores Sanz, n.d., Centro Español Cerbère, all of them in UCSD; and Carlos Sanz Herranz, «Evacuación en tren», BNE, DIB/19/1/581, 1938.

⁸⁷ See Figure 10. Manolita Ruvio (sic), n.d., Guarderías Infantiles del Socorro Rojo, Cuenca, UCSD; Magdalena García Hernández, «Labores domésticas», BNE, DIB/19/1/959, 1937; Ricardo Prat, «Mi madre la mañana de mi evacuación», BNE, DIB/19/1/976, 1938.

⁸⁸ Rafaela López Mora, «Comida en el campo», BNE, DIB/19/1/665, 1937. Alejandro Manjón, «La familia pasa la tarde en el campo», BNE, DIB/19/1/537, 1937.

⁸⁹ BNE, DIB/19/1/874, 1937.

⁹⁰ Juan Ezquerro, n.d., Residencia Infantil de Onteniente (Valencia), UC, n. 144; Julián Rodríguez, n.d., Bayona (Francia), UC, n. 148; Pilar Marcos, «Banda de música en el parque», BNE, DIB/19/1/577, 1938.

CONCLUSIONS

Drawings remain the primary means of expression and understanding for children. They use them to reveal their inner world, their likes, desires, and preferences. Adults use these drawings both to gain a deeper understanding of these children and to teach them certain concepts or ideas. For this reason, these drawings are a historical source of great importance. They allow us not only to explore the perspectives, desires, and influences of adults on children, but also to analyse the world that surrounds these children and which they depict.

In this case, the drawings have allowed us to observe and reflect on the gender order that boys and girls project: what roles and stereotypes they reproduce, or whether there is a distinction between masculine and feminine spheres. Although they show less adult intervention than in other cases, they provide us with a specific image of children's world: that which adults demand and on which children imprint both their will and their desire to please those adults. For this reason, they are an excellent way of both observing the reality of the separate spheres in which they live and analysing how these children internalise and reproduce the gender stereotypes that surround them, that they learn from and that influence them.

The Second Spanish Republic facilitated certain trends that were necessary but not sufficient conditions for a significant change in gender relations. This transformation led to a more egalitarian framework for political and social action, but it did not bring about changes in mental structures. The war acted as a catalyst, accelerating changes and even ruptures in social relations, including gender relations. However, the main actors in the republican rearguard primarily supported traditional patterns, while alternative patterns were conspicuously absent.

The effort to maintain the gender order is reflected in the virtual absence of drawings reflecting alternatives, which were present to a lesser extent in both posters and photographs. Despite legal and political changes, the message conveyed by the children's drawings produced during the Spanish Civil War is one of limits-continuities: the models and their representation had not been substantially altered.

In this sense, the quintessential image of the breaking of traditional stereotypes at the beginning of the Civil War, the militia woman, is conspicuously absent. Her image embodied the revolution in the Republican rearguard after the coup d'état from different perspectives and was reinforced by propaganda, appearing frequently in publications and photographs by both supporters and opponents.

Children of the war may have had an image of female soldiers as part of the conflict. However, they do not appear in the drawings studied. The children did not draw militia women, suggesting a desire to hide these subversive images from a gender perspective. In response to the argument that not everyone could see them, it must be argued that this was more due to the will of the adults, who did not witness many of the scenes or weapons of war that they reproduced — they had to see images and photographs of them in order to be able to draw them.

In addition to this absence, the analysis identifies other elements, such as the gendering of games and toys, the portrayal of women as passive victims of war, or the gender differentiation of activities represented in everyday life. Also noteworthy is the lack of recognition of the mobilisation and the significant contribution of women to the war effort from the rearguard, which was politically and socially recognised by the war context itself. The drawings made no allusions or attempts to reinforce the idea of active women as indispensable to work, war, and victory.

In conclusion, the drawings allow us to continue to observe and reflect on the double dynamic already pointed out by historiography: although one of the fundamental characteristics of the Second Republic was the changes it brought about for women and gender relations, the persistence of social conceptions of masculinity and femininity and other limits held back progress. In this respect, the school could function as a mechanism for reproducing traditional roles and stereotypes, perpetuating boundaries and continuities, rather than fostering change, subversion or transgression. Thus, the children's drawings analysed suggest that even in a context of widespread change and social, political, economic and cultural ruptures with the past, it was not possible to challenge these models; nor did it seem that these new forms of femininity and masculinity were accommodated within the school system.

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