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## Female Entrepreneurship in Spain during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Structural changes during the past two centuries shaped Spanish women's economic activity in firms, family businesses, and self-employment, reflecting women's adaptation to a social system that assigned gender-specific roles and rights. In response to the discriminatory effects of labor segregation, Spain's female workers specialized in the service-sector jobs that were available to them. Until the twentieth century, Spanish women's business initiatives in this sector were mainly in domestic service, retail distribution, and social services. During the 1900s, the cumulative impact of rapid industrialization, the growth of service industries, legal reform, and the shift to a democratic system in Spain during the 1970s paved the way for women to enter public and private firms as professionals. As a result, more women became self-employed or helped to run family businesses related to tourism, the hotel and restaurant industries, design, fashion, and the arts.

In this article, we will address women's participation in the service sector of the Spanish economy from the early nineteenth century through the twentieth, evaluating the implications of women's historical roles as managers, collaborative partners, and self-employed business owners and workers. Service activities and nonproprietary entrepreneurship represent the two main areas of female economic specialization in Spain, as they do throughout the Western world.<sup>1</sup> In fact, we argue that

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<sup>1</sup> Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* (New York, 1998).

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the work of female service providers within firms has been essential to the historical development of corporate capitalism.

By the mid-1800s, Spain had become a peripheral player in the European process of industrialization, despite the fact that its growth indicators were better than those for either Sweden or Greece and development in some of its dynamic regions was equal to growth in Europe's most advanced areas. A century later, by the mid-1900s, Sweden's economic growth and welfare statistics had surpassed those of Spain, which by then had become entrenched in economic backwardness. This situation continued until the golden years of the 1960s, when rapid integration into the world economy enabled Spain to catch up with the other developed economies.

Although this article is an overview of the relation between business and gender in Spain within the service sector during the past two centuries, much of the evidence presented applies only to the twentieth century. There are two basic reasons for this imbalance. First, the sharp growth in business possibilities for women in the service sector in the 1900s, especially during the last three decades, has produced a rich store of information that is not available for earlier historical periods. Second, until recently there was little interest among Spanish academics in women's economic activity. Even now, Spanish business historians tend to focus on industrial activities and proprietary industrial capitalism, ignoring or downplaying the tertiary industries and nonproprietary forms of capitalism. Moreover, historians who use gender as a category for historical analysis have mostly done so in studies of labor management, only rarely applying it to general discussions of business history.<sup>2</sup>

In Spain, as in other areas of the Western world, women typically occupy the service niches of wholesaling, retailing, food and clothing provision, cleaning, personal care, leisure, tourism, and industrial and agricultural support. Most of women's family-business work has been performed without contracts, wages, or social benefits, and when women have received a wage and/or have been given a contract for their work, they have been paid at a consistently lower rate than their male counter-

<sup>2</sup> For a labor-management perspective, see Cristina Borderías, *Entre Líneas: Trabajo e Identidad Femenina en la España Contemporánea: La Compañía Telefónica Nacional de España, 1924–1980* (Barcelona, 1993); Lina Gálvez Muñoz, *Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 1887–1945: Cambio tecnológico y empleo femenino* (Madrid, 2000); and the contributions to *¿Privilegios o Eficiencia? Mujeres y Hombres en los Mercados de Trabajo*, eds. Carmen Sarasúa and Lina Gálvez Muñoz (Alicante, 2003). For a family business approach, see Paloma Fernández Pérez, *El rostro familiar de la metropolis: Redes de parentesco y lazos mercantiles en Cádiz, 1700–1812* (Madrid, 1997). From a women's history perspective, see Angels Sola, "Las mujeres y sus negocios en el medio urbano," unpublished paper, Conference on Women's History, Facultat d'Història, Universitat de Barcelona, 2007. For a theoretical approach, see Lina Gálvez Muñoz, "Logros y retos del análisis de género en la historia económica de la empresa," *Información Comercial Española* 812 (2004): 77–89.

parts. This wage inequality cannot be attributed to any difference between female and male productivity rates. Rather, it has been linked to women's historical tendency to work in "dead-end" jobs. Furthermore, women traditionally have been willing to do jobs that men deem unacceptable.<sup>3</sup> Unlike in Germany, the United States, and other countries, the large corporation is rare in Spain.<sup>4</sup> Instead, most Spanish firms have been family-owned small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), which are characterized by an autocratic, highly personal style of management. In this model, an individual worker's chances of promotion to top managerial positions and/or ownership depends primarily on his or her blood ties to male relatives. Loyalty, rather than merit, is often the source of entrepreneurial stability and improvement.<sup>5</sup> Within this familial context, women's unpaid service work and leadership have generally gone unnoticed in the official record.

In this article, we reinterpret economic activity in Spain based on the available data on women's occupations and activities. We argue that the relatively late occurrence of structural changes in Spain's economy, and the restrictions that the country's institutionally backward system imposed on women's business activities until the late 1970s, might explain Spanish women's historical tendency to gravitate toward service-sector jobs. While in many countries the foundation for gender equality was established after World War II, institutional conditions arising from the existence of a dictatorial regime between 1939 and 1975 blocked such an evolution in Spain. The Franco administration officially authorized women to fill only traditional female roles in the economic and political spheres.

### Gender, Economic Activity, and Education

According to census data, the number of women engaged in economic activity in Spain came to only slightly over 18 percent in 1900.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Angélique Janssens, "The Rise and Decline of the Male Breadwinner Family," *International Journal of Social History* 17 (Dec. 1997): suppl. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, "Spain: Big Manufacturing Firms between State and Market, 1917–1990," in *Big Business and the Wealth of Nations*, eds. Alfred D. Chandler Jr., Franco Amatori, and Takeshi Hikino (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 277–304. On the relation between firm size and management style, see Mauro Guillén, *Models of Management: Work, Authority and Organization in a Comparative Perspective* (Chicago, 1994); for the Spanish case, Lina Gálvez Muñoz, "Contamos Trabajadores o Contamos con los Trabajadores: Trabajo y Empresa en la España Contemporánea," in *Los Novísimos en la Historia Económica en España*, a special edition of the *Revista de Historia Económica* (2001): 201–27.

<sup>5</sup> See Andrea Colli, Paloma Fernández Pérez, and Mary B. Rose, "National Determinants of Family Firm Development? Family Firms in Britain, Spain and Italy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Enterprise & Society* 4 (2003): 4, 28–64.

<sup>6</sup> Rentiers were considered an economically active population, even though they were not engaged in productive work, whereas women active in their family businesses or on

*Table 1*  
 Percent of Women Engaged in Economic Activity out of  
 Women Aged 16 to 64, 1950–2001

	1950	1960	1969	1979	1989	2001
France	34.1	33.4	47.6	53.5	56.2	61.8
Germany	n.a.	37.0	48.0	49.6	54.8	63.8
Greece	18.0	32.8	31.2	32.8	43.5	48.8
Ireland	26.3	26.2	34.6	35.2	37.5	56.0
Italy	25.5	24.9	33.6	37.6	44.3	47.3
Japan	n.a.	n.a.	55.6	54.7	59.3	60.1
Netherlands	24.4	22.3	n.a.	33.4	51.0	66.9
Portugal	22.4	17.7	27.2	57.0	59.7	64.6
<i>Spain</i>	<i>15.8</i>	<i>20.1</i>	<i>29.2</i>	<i>32.6</i>	<i>39.9</i>	<i>51.6</i>
Sweden	29.7	29.8	57.8	72.8	80.5	77.1
United Kingdom	n.a.	32.4	50.4	58.0	65.4	67.6
United States	27.5	32.1	48.2	58.9	68.1	70.5

Sources: Authors' compilation based on United Nations historical statistics (1950 and 1960) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development *Labour Statistics Bulletin* (1969–2001). All years are not exactly the same for all countries, especially in the early decades, and should be read as approximate values.

By 1940, it had dropped to around 13 percent, rising again in 1950 to about 16 percent. After 1950, the Encuesta de Población Activa (a poll taken of the economically active population, or EAP) provides more accurate information and its international comparisons are more reliable.<sup>7</sup> Between 1950 and 2001, Spain's rate of female economic activity was the lowest among thirteen nations. However, by 2001, the country was registering higher rates than either Greece or Italy.

The relatively slow evolution of female economic activity in Spain has sparked a number of academic debates. Female economic and business activities have left little trace in the official record, making it difficult for analysts to evaluate them using traditional neoclassical economic models, which rely on data collection. At the same time, new institutional and evolutionary approaches to the economy have called into question the neoclassical reliance on perfect information and rational

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their family farms were not usually considered to be economically active. See the works published in Carmen Sarasúa and Lina Gálvez Muñoz, eds., *¿Privilegios o Eficiencia? Mujeres y Hombres en los Mercados de Trabajo* (Alicante, 2003). Also see references in Josefina Cuesta Bustillo, ed., *Historia de las mujeres en España: Siglo XX*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 2003), 1: 189–96.

<sup>7</sup>EAP is a panel of data compiled in all OECD countries. It is more accurate than the census data, since it is designed to analyze the labor market rather than to compile a demographic record.

choice in studies of entrepreneurial development.<sup>8</sup> Angel Kwolek-Folland, Mary Yeager, Mary Nash, Margaret Walsh, Lina Gálvez Muñoz, Katrina Honeyman, Cristina Borderías, Lena Andersson-Skog, and Carmen Sarasúa, among others, have demonstrated the connection between the institutional framework and women's ability to gain access to market information. In addition, women have typically enjoyed less access than men to critical entrepreneurial support mechanisms, including property, education, formal or informal business clubs and associations, credit, and legal services and protection. Their economic activities have also received less recognition in Spanish law.<sup>9</sup> Finally, the topic of job segregation must be part of any consideration of female business activity in Spain, as Spanish women were barred from many economic sectors and hampered by educational inequality.

Women's education was restricted in nineteenth-century Europe, but by the early decades of the twentieth century, their situation had improved and the educational gap between men and women had diminished. However, differences lingered, both nationally and regionally, alerting us to the complex issues that exist at the crossroads of business activity and education. Educational inequality represents a supply problem, because it affects the allocation of resources by state, public, or private institutions; it also poses a demand problem, because the demand for education varies according to the economic specialization or income distribution of a geographic area. In Spain, as Clara Eugenia Nuñez has shown, gender differences in education among regions were greater in 1860 than in 1930, when Spain achieved almost complete literacy for its population.<sup>10</sup>

The educational gap between the sexes began to close after 1910, when women were legally granted the opportunity to earn university degrees.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, in 1915 and 1916, most university women were pursuing liberal arts degrees that qualified them for professions within the service sector, a fact that scholars have tended to overlook. During this period, women overwhelmingly entered degree programs linked to

<sup>8</sup> The evolutionary approach in economics is a theoretical one that takes into account previous accumulated resources for analyzing firms' behavior.

<sup>9</sup> From medieval through modern times, many women helped to run the family workshop or commercial house, despite the fact that commercial laws forbade women to engage in such activity. The laws remained in effect for centuries, even after changes had occurred in women's economic behavior.

<sup>10</sup> Clara Eugenia Nuñez, *La Fuente de la Riqueza: Educación y desarrollo económico en la España Contemporánea* (Madrid, 1992), 132.

<sup>11</sup> The Escuela de Institutrices and the Escuela de Comercio para Señoras were born in response to a strong impetus from the Asociación para la Enseñanza de la Mujer (1871). In 1909 coeducation in Spanish primary schools became a universal and compulsory requirement for all girls and boys under the age of twelve. The first Spanish women's institutes for secondary education were created in 1929.

professions that were an extension either of their work as mothers, such as midwifery, teaching, nursing, and charity work, or of their adjunct roles in the family business. Thus, for example, women who kept the books for their family businesses might seek a degree from one of Spain's *escuelas de comercio*, or schools of commerce. The number of degrees held by women in Spain grew from 319 in 1915–16 to 10,436 in 1929–30.<sup>12</sup> The increase in female enrollment in higher education continued during the Second Republic, which lasted from 1931 to 1939. During those years, primary education was free and compulsory for all children, and there was a strong push both to increase the number of students in secondary schools and to promote coeducation. However, the civil war of 1936–39, especially the political and economic conditions imposed by Franco, delayed further progress, particularly in rural areas. As a consequence, Spain did not achieve universal education until the 1960s.

Although during the 1960s the gender gap in Spain's primary education system closed, at least when it came to attendance levels, qualitative differences between male and female schooling continued in its secondary system through the late 1970s and in its universities through the late 1980s. Even today, the university degrees earned by Spanish women are concentrated in medicine, the humanities, and the social sciences, while men earn proportionally more degrees in the sciences, engineering, and technology. Three decades ago, Spanish men and women did not enjoy equal access to university education, and the schools were usually segregated by gender. A century ago, the contrast between male and female education was even more pronounced. Not only did fewer girls attend Spanish primary and secondary schools, but they received a different kind of schooling than that given to boys. Girls were taught according to a model that defined sewing, knitting, lacemaking, and embroidery as the most appropriate occupations for women. The years a girl spent in school were devoted to developing these skills, which explains why female illiteracy rates in Spain continued to be high, despite greater female enrollment in school. Following the Moyano Law of 1857, which regulated primary education in Spain during the country's transition into literacy, subjects such as agriculture, industry, and commerce were taught only to boys, while girls received schooling that was considered "sex appropriate."<sup>13</sup> During their crucial learning years, Span-

<sup>12</sup> Natividad Ortiz Albear, "Las mujeres durante la Restauración," in *Historia de las mujeres en España*, 1: 242.

<sup>13</sup> Gender differences and female exclusion were more evident in technical schools during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Joaquim Cuevas and Lina Gálvez Muñoz, "Technical Education, Institutional Change and Regional Development in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Spain," proceedings of the European Business Historians Association conference, Oslo, 2001.

ish girls and boys were taught the occupations that would come to define them socially as adult men and women, and their family upbringing often reinforced these teachings.<sup>14</sup>

Because educational reform has a delayed impact on the realm of economic participation, previously established differences in educational models will continue to shape gender differences in the labor market and in business activity for many decades. Thus, we must examine the differences in how boys and girls have been educated, in order to understand the occupational segregation that has led to the existence of professional and wage differentials between women and men.<sup>15</sup>

The relation between educational and business opportunities is clearly visible in the historical evolution of women's patenting activities in Spain. Registration of patents by women in Spain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries increased at a rate similar to the rise in other countries. Before 1878, female patent applications represented around 0.6 percent of the total for Spain. From 1878 until the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in 1936, the rate rose to 1.1 percent. By contrast, current figures on Spanish patent registers show female patent holders accounting for around 13 percent of the total in Spain, a rise that reflects women's greater access to university education and research training and their increased participation in scientifically oriented family businesses. An analysis of women's patents between 1865 and 2003 indicates that a good 40 percent of these protected inventions are objects associated with "everyday needs": personal or household objects, such as textiles and foodstuffs, and items connected with health care and education. Another 20 percent of these patents were designed to facilitate "various industrial techniques"; 11 percent are related to the textile and papermaking industries; and 8 percent are linked to chemistry and metallurgy. In contrast, inventions connected to mechanics, physics, and electricity represent a tiny percentage of the total patents registered to women. Thus, women's inventions in Spain are concentrated in areas—housekeeping (furniture care, kitchen activities, cleaning), the supply and care of clothing, and agriculture—in which they have received the traditional education designed for Spanish schoolgirls.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Carmen Sarasúa, "Aprendiendo a ser mujeres: las escuelas de niñas en la España del siglo XIX," *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 24 (2002): 281–97. An exception to this segregated educational system were the Anarchist schools that were founded all over Spain during the first third of twentieth century.

<sup>15</sup> Francine Blau, Patricia Simpson, and Deborah Anderson, "Continuing Progress? Trends in Occupational Segregation in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s," *Feminist Economics* 4 (1998): 29–71.

<sup>16</sup> From the Official Spanish Register of Patents and Trademarks (Oficina Española de Patentes y Marcas). We acknowledge Patricio Sainz and Francisco Cayón for providing these unpublished data.

### Legal Restrictions on Entrepreneurship

Recent Spanish history has been characterized by the slow, troubled advance of liberalism, which has had to overcome the resilient conservative forces that originated in the ideologies of the Old Regime and have continued to dominate the country's politics.<sup>17</sup> It was not until the Second Republic (1931–39) that Spanish women finally earned the right to vote. Only within the past thirty years has Spain launched a defense of women's and worker's rights and established a modern tax system, two defining features of Western European democracy. Spanish historians have debated whether the nation's lack of energy resources, its fragmented markets, and its failure to invest in human capital have impeded Spanish entrepreneurship. Yet they have ignored gender considerations, overlooking the impediments that women experienced until 1975, when legislation ended discrimination against women.<sup>18</sup> New institutional theories have clearly shown that although legal codes and property rights do not determine economic and entrepreneurial activity, they go a long way toward conditioning it.<sup>19</sup> Women's legal rights have always determined both their availability as workers and entrepreneurs and the type of work they choose to perform in Spanish businesses. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and particularly from the late 1880s until 1975, a number of laws were passed that had a direct impact on women's economic activities. These included legislation regulating women's access to education, protecting female workers, differentiating between male and female salaries, restricting women's access to particular branches of economic activity and their ability to sign contracts, and prohibiting them from holding management positions in public administration.

Property and inheritance laws in Spain are a case in point. Historically these laws have varied greatly among regions, especially before the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, a more comprehensive legal system began to be adopted on a regional basis throughout Spain, a devel-

<sup>17</sup> Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971). See also Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal* (Madison, Wisc., 1973). In Spanish, see the recent textbook by Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, *Historia Económica de España* (Barcelona, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> One of the latest examples of this debate was published by Gabriel Tortella in the newspaper *La Vanguardia*, 4 July 2004, in which he reiterated his belief in the scarcity of male entrepreneurs, an argument he first put forth in the late 1990s.

<sup>19</sup> Douglass C. North, "Institutions, Transaction Costs, and the Rise of Merchant Empires," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires*, ed. J. D. Tracy (New York, 1991). See also several essays in the special issue on institutions published by the *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 47, no. 1 (1999).

<sup>20</sup> James Casey et al., *La familia en la España mediterránea (siglos XV–XIX)* (Barcelona, 1987); and David S. Reher, *La familia en España* (Madrid, 1998).

opment that restricted women's access to capital and entrepreneurship. In general, despite important regional exceptions, women's legal right to become entrepreneurs in Spain was restricted under the "liberal state" that governed during the nineteenth century. Except in Catalonia and other regions where traditional inheritance laws protected women against loss of economic autonomy, most women in the country were disempowered by the new liberal laws, which transferred the father's traditional authority to the husband.<sup>21</sup> Married women and widows fared particularly badly, as the new laws stripped them of their property rights. The Civil Code of 1889 granted husbands full control of the assets they shared with their wives (called *gananciales*), reduced women's right to serve as the legal guardians of their offspring, and prohibited women from engaging in entrepreneurial activities without their husbands' consent.

These laws restricting married women from controlling both their own and their children's property lasted for almost a century, from the time of their enactment in 1889 until new ones were passed, first in 1958 and, most critically, in 1975.<sup>22</sup> During the long intervening period, Spain's civil codes discriminated against married women and prevented them from managing their properties and salaries as independent economic agents.<sup>23</sup>

Following the Spanish civil war (1936–39), the few advances that were made in the early part of the twentieth century were reversed. The *Fuero del Trabajo* of 1938 prohibited married women from doing salaried work.<sup>24</sup> In certain state-owned firms such as *Red Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles* (RENFE), *Tabacalera*, and *Telefonica*, women who married were fired and given little compensation: the equivalent of a

<sup>21</sup> See Fernández Pérez, *El rostro familiar de la metrópolis*; and Paloma Fernández Pérez, "El declinar del patriarcalismo en España: Estado y familia en la transición del Antiguo Régimen a la Edad Contemporánea," in *Familia, Parentesco y Linaje*, eds. James Casey and Juan Hernández Franco (Murcia, 1997), 379–403.

<sup>22</sup> *Código Civil* (Madrid, 1889). For an analysis of the implications of this legal trajectory, see Cuesta Bustillo, *Historia de las mujeres en España*, 1: 217–19. On the 1958 and 1975 legal changes, see 2: 211–12.

<sup>23</sup> Until the appearance of the royal order dated 2 Sept. 1910, women with academic titles could not join professions that were under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The *Ley de Bases* of 22 July 1918, in its treatment of civil servants, limited women's jobs to the category of "auxiliary" and clearly defined the tasks they could and could not perform. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923–29), nine women were appointed to the National Assembly in the *Junta Superior de Beneficencia*, but new prohibitions restricted capable women from occupying certain professions, such as those of real-estate registrars, officers, notaries, tax inspectors, auxiliary officers in the governmental institutions of the Spanish isles (see the royal orders of 14 Apr. 1924 and 31 Dec. 1924, and the royal decree of 20 Mar. 1925). Women were, however, allowed to occupy the lower-level jobs in feminine educational centers, and women with university titles had the recognized right to participate in the public entrance exams for the Department of Technical Law, which was associated with the Spanish Ministry of Justice and Faith (royal decrees of 2 June 1924 and 17 Nov. 1928).

<sup>24</sup> The laws that have governed Spanish labor contracts market since 1938.

month's salary. The Ministry of Labor recommended that the public sector lay off all female workers, except widowed heads of households, military wives, or single women without economic resources. The 1944 Ley de Contrato de Trabajo discriminated against female workers until its repeal in 1962. Public and private discourse perpetuated notions of women's inferior talent and creativity, elaborating on their supposed inability to take risks and their biologically determined disposition to perform unpaid services within the domestic sphere.<sup>25</sup> Beginning in 1939, an unemployed woman living with a male relative who had been formally designated as the "head of the household" was no longer allowed to register in any public employment office. Until 1961, most of the ordinances drawn up by Spain's public and private businesses contained the requirement to fire women employees if they married. Despite these infringements on women's legal rights, the Francoist regime did not acknowledge the existence of any contradiction when it signed Agreement 100 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva on June 29, 1951, which recognized an individual's right to equal pay regardless of sex. Salary discrimination persisted, and few women were able to perform the jobs for which they had been trained before the war as politicians, writers, journalists, lawyers, and judges. Thus they were prevented from helping other women workers to benefit from the provisions of the 1951 agreement.

In the inflationary climate of the 1940s and 1950s, the decision to keep women in their homes represented a money-saving strategy devised by the state (and imitated by private businesses), as the gross domestic product did not return to the 1929 levels until 1953. The Francoist legislation restricting women's rights to receive payment and recognition for their work was finally overturned in the early 1960s, coinciding with the Stabilization Plan of 1959 and the dawning recognition that the nation had to change its economic policies of the previous twenty years. During the golden period of growth that followed, the demand for female labor was relatively high. Legal employment activities among salaried and unsalaried women rose dramatically, as reflected in the official statistics, and approximately 50 percent of the registered jobs were in the service industries.<sup>26</sup> As was the case under other dictatorships of

<sup>25</sup> The female president of the Francoist Sección Femenina commented in 1943 that, according to the new regime, "Women never discover anything, they lack, of course, the innovative talent reserved by God for male brains. We women can only interpret, for better or for worse, what men have done to us," Luis Otero, *La Sección Femenina: De cuando a la mujer española se le pedía ser hogareña, patriota, obediente, disciplinada, abnegada, diligente, religiosa, decidida, alegre, sufrida y leal* (Madrid, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> The need to define legally the newly registered and salaried situation of women workers was behind the law of July 1961 (which responded to the political, professional, and working rights of women) and the 1962 decree protecting women's right to salaried work in the case of marriage.

the 1950s and 1960s, such as those in Greece, Portugal, Chile, and Argentina, the legal changes in women's status as workers had more to do with Spain's goal of proving its "modernity" vis-à-vis international institutions than with a desire to make any real social progress.<sup>27</sup>

Only in the early 1960s was gender-based wage discrimination finally outlawed in Spain, and in May 1975 the old civil laws requiring women to obtain their husbands' permission before engaging in legal or economic activities were overturned.<sup>28</sup> In that same year, Spanish women were granted legal parity with men in the realms of education, training, and job security, regardless of their marital status. The enormous legal gulf between Spain and other Western European countries, which had been widened by Franco's conservative ideology, at last began to close.<sup>29</sup>

### Female Entrepreneurship in Family Business and Self-Employment

Before the 1970s, the legal and educational climate made the service sector the only economic niche available to women. In the nineteenth century, it was common for women to provide services and help run family agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial businesses without contracts, salaries, or public recognition. These unpaid services provided by widows, older unmarried women, and some married women were essential to the smooth running of such firms. At the same time, marriages between economically or socially powerful families created strong familial networks whose political influence gave them a strong advantage in the business world. Well-known families like the Ybarras, the Gonzálezes, the Rocas, and the Godós established powerful circles of influence, enabling them to move into highly politicized commercial markets.<sup>30</sup> In these large family firms, wives like Jerónima Gutiérrez de Cabiedes provided social connections while daughters contributed human capital, since sons-in-law often played an essential role in the development of the family business. Less frequently, women appear in the historical record as adjunct service providers who catered to clients and employees, attended to public relations, and helped to manage the

<sup>27</sup> See the comparison with other dictatorships in Judith Carbajo Vázquez, "Las mujeres en el franquismo (1965–1975): Estructura y roles familiares femeninos," in *Historia de las Mujeres en España*, 2: 193.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 211–15.

<sup>29</sup> See Cuestra Bustillo's recent, authorized overview. For the period before the civil war, see also works by Gloria Nielfa, Consuelo Flecha, and Angel Pascual in *¿Privilegios o Eficiencia?*

<sup>30</sup> Javier de Ybarra e Ybarra, *Nosotros, Los Ybarra: Vida, Economía y Sociedad, 1744–1902* (Barcelona, 2002), 58. Paloma Fernández Pérez, "Challenging the Loss of an Empire: González & Byass of Jerez," *Business History* 41 (Oct. 1999): 83; Vis Molina, *Los Godó: Los últimos 125 años de Barcelona* (Madrid, 2005).

family business. Angela Roca Soler, for example, was responsible for the accounting and bookkeeping in her family's businesses between 1913 and 1921.<sup>31</sup> She ran the firm independently for six years until her younger brother Josep joined her, and she continued to manage its affairs for three more years while the company made the critical transition from a steam-powered workshop to a large modern factory associated since 1929 with the American Radiator Co. (Roca Radiadores S.A.).<sup>32</sup> In another case, Antonia Lallana took over the leading Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia* after the death of her husband Carlos Godó Pie in 1897, and she continued to provide strategic managerial services until her son Ramón took control of the business two years later.<sup>33</sup> Another case was that of Francisca Aina Fluxà, the only daughter of a liberal shoemaker from Mallorca, who founded the firm that would later create the Lottuse brand of shoes. Francisca Aina was well educated and, unlike many of her working female contemporaries, was given exactly the same training that a son would have received in a traditional shoemaking firm (though this training stopped when her brother was born).<sup>34</sup> She kept the account books and performed a variety of commercial activities, such as traveling to meet clients.

Despite their many responsibilities, none of these women was registered as an owner or worker in the businesses they helped to run, and none received specific payment of any kind for their work in the firms. While their help was vital to the family enterprises, especially during crucial moments of transition, their participation was entirely dependent on the wishes of their male relatives. We know of their existence only through private correspondence and documents from family business archives.

Women who worked outside the home could enjoy greater independence, better incomes, and perhaps more job satisfaction than those employed in family businesses. Despite women's educational and legal disadvantages, they benefited from Spain's long tradition of autonomous female employment in jobs bearing little or no relation to their husbands' or fathers' occupations. Alone or in groups, they often found employment in cities as bankers, bookkeepers for textile firms and workshops, and merchants. In spite of legal and educational restrictions, some

<sup>31</sup> The family began by producing iron parts used for machinery in the textile industry. After 1917, it switched to making parts for iron and steel radiators.

<sup>32</sup> Paloma Fernández Pérez, "Ángela, Matías, Martín y Josep Roca Soler, Innovación y triunfo de una empresa familiar catalana: Compañía Roca Radiadores S.A.," in *Los cien empresarios españoles del siglo XX*, ed. Eugenio Torres (Madrid, 2000), 278–83.

<sup>33</sup> See Molina, *Los Godó*, 61, and second plate of photographs between pp. 128 and 129.

<sup>34</sup> Miquel Pieras Villalonga and Baltasar Perelló Carrió, "La formación de Francisca Aina Fluxà," in *Antoni Fluxà Figuerola, 1853–1918: Família, indústria i formació*, eds. Martí Pieras and Bartolome Perelló (Inca, 2004).

women did engage in business. There have been many examples since early modern times. Thus, Beatriz de Sampayo served as a royal banker for King Philip IV during the early 1600s.<sup>35</sup> And Josefa Casas y Clavell, an illiterate woman, was appointed *cajera* (the person directly responsible for the deposits) at the *Compañía de Banco en Cambios de Barcelona* in 1777.<sup>36</sup> During the early modern period, self-employed women from the upper and middle classes figured among urban and rural *rentiers* in Spain, as revealed by case studies drawn from seventeenth-century Madrid, eighteenth-century Cádiz, and late-eighteenth-century Salamanca and Jaén.<sup>37</sup> In Barcelona in 1849, 44 percent of all jobs and professions were performed by single or married women.<sup>38</sup> Hundreds of white-lace makers, or *blondistes*, worked during the eighteenth century in small villages on the Catalan coast and in the Catalan regions of Baix Llobregat and Barcelona during the nineteenth century, creating a dynasty of female white-lace makers that extended over five generations.<sup>39</sup> Independent female artisans sometimes received support from their husbands or the craft guilds, although many guild ordinances contained provisions that explicitly prohibited promoting women to the high rank of masters, as Mary E. Perry has noted in describing the Sevillian silk guild in the sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup> A royal decree dated September 12, 1784, entitled “*Facultad General de las mugeres para trabajar en todas las artes compatibles con el decoro y las fuerzas de su sexo*” (“General provision allowing women to work in all the arts compatible with the decorum and strength of their sex”) seemed to pave the way for a new female professional class, but, in practice, the decree opened the door only to professions deemed compatible with women’s perceived weakness. While this decree only allowed for new employment opportunities relating to domestic manufacture, in specialized professions, and in small-scale or local enterprises, it encouraged the work of female

<sup>35</sup> Carlos Alvarez Nogal, *Los banqueros de Felipe IV y los metales preciosos americanos (1621–1665)* (Madrid, 1997), 94, 97–98.

<sup>36</sup> Josefa was illiterate, so a witness had to sign her name for her in the Barcelona bank register. She appointed a man to do the real banking work, although she received 1,500 libras as a salary and was fully responsible for her own properties and for any losses. She also paid the salaries owed to those who kept written records of the bank’s activities. Archivo Histórico Protocolos Notariales, 4 Feb. 1777, *Constitución de la Compañía de Banco en Cambios de Barcelona*, Escribano Ramón Font y Alier, and the Junta de Comercio, vol. 58. The authors thank Yolanda Blasco for contributing this reference.

<sup>37</sup> Alvarez Nogal, *Los banqueros de Felipe IV*; Fernández Pérez, *El rostro familiar de la metrópolis*; and Richard Herr, *Rural Change and Royal Finances in Spain at the End of the Old Regime* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

<sup>38</sup> Sola, “Las mujeres y sus negocios in el medio urbano.”

<sup>39</sup> Angels Sola, “Les puntaires del Baix Llobregat: Primeres notes per a un estudi socio-econòmic,” in *Les dones i la història del Baix Llobregat*, ed. Cristina Borderías (Barcelona, 2002), 1: 315–30.

<sup>40</sup> Mary E. Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, 1990).

artisans, which was critically important, as the research by Angels Sola on the Brusi family of printers and publishers in Barcelona reveals.<sup>41</sup>

Domestic-service jobs provided lower-status women with an income that enabled them to guarantee the liquidity of their own family businesses, which were often located elsewhere. Thus, in the eighteenth century, women from the Northern Pas Valley routinely found work in Madrid as wet nurses for upper-class families. Like today's South American immigrants who leave husbands and children in order to accept temporary domestic service work in Spanish cities, eighteenth-century women earned money that would be used to bring more resources and sometimes new technologies and innovations into their families' businesses, which mainly involved cattle raising.<sup>42</sup> Female employment even led to practical and local changes in the application of the Spanish civil code. Thus, the large number of female owners in Barcelona's food markets during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries created a more permissive climate for married women, who began to use their own properties for entrepreneurial ends, regardless of what their husbands thought of the matter. This more open environment developed despite the fact that women had been legally required to obtain their husbands' permission for such transactions since 1889.<sup>43</sup>

Unrecorded and largely unpaid work in family businesses and self-employment are two paths that Spanish women have traditionally exploited. While local municipal archives (in the case of lower-class women) and private family archives (in the case of middle- and upper-class women) offer enlightening, but spotty, information, the plentiful supply of modern source materials reveals the continued existence of this pattern in modern-day Spain. Today, most of Spain's female workers are self-employed in service-sector SMEs. Recent data indicate that, in Spain as in other Western European countries, self-employed women tend to seek work in the same types of activities that their female predecessors performed free of charge, with the exception of a few nontraditional services. These jobs encompass a wide range of venues: rural tourist enterprises, hotels, restaurants, art galleries, freelance photography studios, hair salons, small grocery stores, clothing shops and services,

<sup>41</sup> Sola, "Las mujeres y sus negocios"; Juan José Romero, "La maestría silenciosa: Maestras artesanas en Barcelona en la primera mitad del siglo XIX," *Arenal: Revista de Historia de las Mujeres* 4 (1997): 275–94. See also "Familial Strategies of Artisans during the Modernization Process: Barcelona, 1814–1860," *History of the Family* 6 (2001): 203–24.

<sup>42</sup> Carmen Sarasúa, *Criados, nodrizas y amos: El servicio doméstico en la formación del mercado de trabajo madrileño, 1758–1868* (Madrid, 1994).

<sup>43</sup> Montserrat Miller, *Feeding Barcelona: Markets, Policy, and Consumer Culture, 1714–1975* (forthcoming). See also the published references in Miller, "Mercats nou-centistes a Barcelona: Una interpretació dels seus orígens i significat cultural," *Revista de l'Alguer: Anuari acadèmic de cultura catalana* 4 (Dec. 1993): 93–106.

and the popular (and increasingly immigrant-run) Chinese import shops. Franchising is a niche that is increasingly popular among women seeking self-employment, particularly in the commercial sector. Here, shops owned and run by women benefit from the marketing campaigns of large corporations, such as Benetton or Maurice Messegué.

While the Spanish government has never appointed a commission to investigate the existence of the “glass-ceiling,” the foundation of the Instituto de la Mujer (Institute of Women’s Affairs) in 1983 and the creation of women’s-affairs departments within the regional autonomous governments have helped to expose the situation. These public initiatives have instituted programs to encourage women’s participation in political and economic life, have organized campaigns to raise Spaniards’ consciousness of sex discrimination, and have promoted workshops on female entrepreneurship. The groundswell of interest in issues of gender inequality created pressure on recent democratic administrations to appoint women to top political positions. The Socialist government has been campaigning for revolutionary initiatives, such as the 2007 Ley Organica 3/2007 22 Marzo para la Igualdad Efectiva de Mujeres y Hombres (Law for Effective Equality between Women and Men), which requires women to be represented equally on the boards of directors of the country’s major firms—a law most firms are so far ignoring because there is not enough political strength to enforce it.<sup>44</sup>

### Women’s Occupational and Managerial Activities in the Service Sector

Service-sector occupations and activities prior to the twentieth century are difficult to quantify. Despite women’s general exclusion from the historical record prior to the Spanish civil war, the 1900 census indicates that 5,669,730 women were engaged in unpaid “domestic labor,” while the census of 1910, differentiating between servants and nonservants within that same category, listed servants as comprising 249,202 of the total, most of them unmarried. The 1930 census recorded 148,187 female and 22,781 male servants. These figures reflect a division of labor based on the segregation of the sexes by law and education. Before the civil war, a number of other professions, including nursing, midwifery, teaching, and retail work, also attracted women workers. Public servants, on the other hand, were overwhelmingly male (52,636 male, compared with 275 female, functionaries in 1900). Beginning in the 1880s, large

<sup>44</sup> The most recent of such appointments took place under the new Socialist government, elected in March 2004, which assigned a cabinet that was 50 percent male and 50 percent female (excluding the president).

public transportation and communications companies slowly began to bring women into their ranks.<sup>45</sup>

The period of the Second Republic (1931–39) could have been a turning point for Spanish women in the spheres of work, home, and education, just as the era during and after World War II was for their sisters in most other Western countries. But it was not. A white-collar job market took longer to emerge in Spain than elsewhere. Secretaries, stenographers, bookkeepers, and clerks of all types—“female” professions in great demand in other countries—were less sought after in Spain because of the relatively small scale of Spanish businesses. Still, a gender shift within these professions did take place that met a great deal of resistance within SMEs. In the early 1920s, the same Catholic entrepreneurs who had introduced modern production methods and structures within Spanish family firms were initially reluctant to hire women for office work, fearing that women’s presence would have a negative impact on the productivity of male employees.<sup>46</sup>

“Big businesses” in twentieth-century Spain were small compared with those of other European countries.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, studies of the Spanish telephone, railway, and tobacco sectors show a clear pattern of sex segregation in these public enterprises.<sup>48</sup> While women generally enjoyed better conditions and higher wages than women in the private sector, they were systematically blocked from moving up the corporate ladder (except in the tobacco industry before it became mechanized). Beginning in the 1940s, married women were subjected to bans against employment at a time when other Western countries were lifting such restrictions, and they were excluded from all the top jobs available to women in early Francoist Spain. Not until the 1960s did Spain’s rapid economic growth and improved educational standards begin to stimulate the supply of, and demand for, qualified female employees. The majority of these women found their jobs in the service sector. According to official censuses, the working female population employed within the service sector was 26 percent in 1900, nearly 50 percent in 1950, and about 72 percent in 1991.

<sup>45</sup> Natividad Ortiz Albear, “Trabajo, salarios y movimientos sociales de las mujeres en la Restauración,” in *Historia de las Mujeres en España*, 1: 275–80.

<sup>46</sup> F. L. Rivière Manén, unpublished memoirs, vol. 2. Historical Archive of Francisco Rivière Ribas in Barcelona. On Rivière, see Paloma Fernández Pérez, *Un siglo y medio de Trefilería en España: Moreda (1879–2004) y Rivière (1854–2004)* (Barcelona, 2004), ch. 5.

<sup>47</sup> See Carreras and Tafunell, “Spain: Big Manufacturing Firms between State and Market,” 277–304. Even in capital intensive sectors, such as that of metal mechanics, the large private firm was not the norm in Spain before the Spanish civil war. Fernández Pérez, *Un siglo y medio de trefilería*, ch. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Borderías, *Entre Líneas*; Pilar Domínguez Prats, “Trabajos iguales y condiciones desiguales: Las guardesas y los guardabarreras en RENFE, 1941–1971,” in *¿Privilegios o Eficiencia?* eds. Sarasúa and Gálvez, 357–78; and Lina Gálvez Muñoz, *Compañía Arrendataria de Tabacos, 1887–1945: Cambio tecnológico y empleo femenino* (Madrid, 2000).

Within this sector, female employment has clustered in two areas: the retail, restaurant, and hotel industries (19 percent); and activities associated with education, research, culture, and health (almost 16 percent).<sup>49</sup> These specialties conform to women's traditional role as caretakers while reinforcing low-value-added services. In 1995, 80 percent of Spanish women employed in the service sector were salaried workers, and business owners represented a small minority (2 percent) of the total. A few prominent large firms in the international fashion arena were created and owned by women, such as those belonging to Ágatha Ruiz de la Prada and Toton Comella (TCN).<sup>50</sup> The relatively few female co-owners and managers of large family firms appear in sectors with high export or marketing and advertising components, where public relations and human resources are critically important. This is true of Anna Bosch of Embutidos y Jamones Noel S.A. (pork cold cuts); Cristina Cebado of Peluquerías Cebado (hairdressing products); Adriana Casademont of Embutidos Casademont (pork cold cuts); Marimar Torres of Marimar Torres Estate in California (wines); María del Mar Raventós of Codorniu, which produces Cava, the Catalan "champagne"; Chon González of González & Byass (wines); and the four Tous sisters, Rosa, Alba, Laura, and Marta, of the Catalan Tous family jewelers (whose workforce is 90 percent female).<sup>51</sup> Businesses related to human resources, such as academies and schools, have attracted female workers in Spain since early modern times and continue to do so. A recent example is E.A.D.A., a private business school in Barcelona and one of the most important in Catalonia, founded and run by Irene Vázquez.<sup>52</sup> More rarely, some women have created firms with a high concentration of R&D services, and it is still unusual to find women serving on Spain's most important private business councils.<sup>53</sup> Two notable exceptions are María

<sup>49</sup> José Manuel Cabrera Díaz, "El trabajo de las mujeres en la España democrática," in *Historia de las mujeres en España*, 3: 40–43.

<sup>50</sup> An amalgam of the name of the owner, Toton Comella, and the abbreviation for Barcelona, BCN.

<sup>51</sup> For most of these women entrepreneurs, see *Cien empresarias: Testimonios de 100 mujeres que lo han conseguido* (Madrid, 2003). For the Tous family firm, see *La Vanguardia*, 23 Mar. 2003, 79.

<sup>52</sup> Before the civil war, Vázquez attended secondary school, and her knowledge of the French language and typewriting turned out to be of great use to her as a French exile, when she served as a translator for Spanish refugees. Back in Barcelona, she studied to be a nurse and obtained a Ph.D. in psychology in La Habana. The strong influence of her background in social Catholicism and of Pope Leo XIII's doctrine, which held that employers had to care for their workers, led her and her family to found the Barcelona business school E.A.D.A. in 1957, one of the most important private business schools in Catalonia. Now eighty-one years old, she still works in her office. *La Vanguardia*, 28 Mar. 2004, 67.

<sup>53</sup> Also of note are the small Independent Container Agency S.L. founded by Coral Ortega, and Consignaciones Cuyàs S.L., founded by Caridad Cuyàs Jorge in the field of maritime and land transport, as well as the Laboratorios Biolab S.L. (a chemical lab), founded by Ana Escario García-Trevijano. See *Cien empresarias*.

del Mar Torres, who plays an active role in the Penedès association of cava wine producers, and Núria Basi, one of only four women among fifty-six men to serve on the management council of a major Catalan entrepreneurial association, Fomento del Trabajo Nacional.<sup>54</sup>

Except for the first two decades of the Franco regime, women's participation in the management of public and private firms, either as salaried workers or as self-employed entrepreneurs, has increased over the course of the twentieth century, especially after the 1960s. At the beginning of the twentieth century, few cases could compare with that of María Espinosa de los Monteros, manager of a subsidiary firm of the U.S. multinational Yost Typewriter Co., Ltd., which manufactured and sold typewriters in Spain. Over the course of the past three decades, women's access to business schools and universities in Spain has opened opportunities for them to become managers within large corporations. Amparo Moraleda Martínez, chief executive officer of IBM Spain, Portugal, Greece, Israel, and Turkey, is one such example. In a study of the founding of new firms, which gathered data from a sample of eight hundred firms created in 1998 and still in business in 2001, 34 percent of the partners were women and 66 percent were men. Women who founded new firms reported that they did so in order to be their own boss, a motivation that other research links to the desire to escape unfavorable working conditions and avoid the limits imposed by the glass ceiling.<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, according to a recent study by the Deloitte consulting firm, women in Spain today face obstacles to the attainment of top management positions.<sup>56</sup> Patricia Botín, chief executive officer of the major bank BANESTO, is a rare exception. According to official statistics found in the Encuesta de Población Activa (Working Population Poll) published by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Institute of Statistics), of the total number of female managers in public and private firms in 2003, only 18 percent managed firms of ten or more workers. In the

<sup>54</sup> *La Vanguardia*, 26 Jan. 2003, 67. Another interesting example is Amparo Moraleda, president of IBM Spain.

<sup>55</sup> Data from the Confederation of Spanish Chambers of Commerce are cited by Berta Moreno in the Centro de Estudios Económicos Tomillo, "Mujer y Empresa en el siglo XXI: El papel de la Consolidación Empresarial," seminar at the Cámara de Comercio de Madrid, held in Madrid, 29 Apr. 2003.

<sup>56</sup> The conclusions of the Deloitte study have been summarized by Enrique de la Villa, partner of Deloitte and the person responsible for the firm's human capital section, in "Políticas de conciliación: ¿La familia? Bien, gracias: Equilibrar vida profesional y privada es un deseo legítimo pero casi imposible de alcanzar," in the "Dinero" section of *La Vanguardia*, 11 July 2004, 26. In the same section, Carlos Obeso, Escuela Superior de Dirección y Administración de Empresas (ESADE), professor and director of the Instituto de Estudios Laborales, declared that the increase in the number of working hours per day among top managers is not the main factor in the struggle to combine a job with personal and family life; rather, it is the need to work on weekends, during school vacation, or on holidays.

same year, women represented less than 5 percent of the total number of managers working for firms included in the IBEX stock market (a comparable figure for the United States would be 20 percent). Of the ten most important IBEX companies, only two had women on their boards of directors in 2002.<sup>57</sup>

A few Spanish women, one example being María Marced, work for large foreign corporations. In 2002, Marced was the general director of Intel in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, and international vice president of Intel in sales and marketing. Her success and Spanish women's recent access to jobs that require university and business-school degrees suggest that globalization and the arrival of transnational corporations are opening up fresh opportunities for Spanish businesswomen.<sup>58</sup> At the Women's World Summit of Barcelona in 2002, a proposal was made to form female lobbies that would advocate for women's presence in top entrepreneurial leadership positions.

### Conclusions and Agenda

Both theoretically and empirically, the view that the past two centuries of Spanish business history represent the work of the country's "most audacious and creative men," to quote the former International Monetary Fund president, Rodrigo Rato, is simply inaccurate.<sup>59</sup> For at least two centuries, service-directed work in agriculture, industry, and in the service sector itself in Spain have been shaped by women's participation.

The long period of economic growth and industrialization in Spain coincided with the years during which firms hired inexpensive female workers to perform service tasks. Archival sources, such as notarial records, tax registers, newspapers, and private business records, contain valuable accounts of this process. Women worked as accountants in small family businesses, managed the education of their younger male siblings and trained them to take over the work of older family members, acted as nurses for relatives and coworkers, dealt with human-resource issues, and generally collaborated in their families' businesses, but they were not formally identified as partners in these endeavors. In large mercantile cities, when their businesses required men to travel

<sup>57</sup> Cited by Rosa Culler in her report to the Twelfth International Women's Summit of Barcelona of 2002, and in *El País*, 13 July 2002, 53. In 2003 the total active working population in Spain was almost 17 million (6.5 million women). Only 5.41 percent of the presidents and 2.56 percent of vice-presidents of IBEX35 companies were women. Data from the Web page of the Instituto de la Mujer, based on EPA (Encuesta Población Activa) figures.

<sup>58</sup> On Marced, see *El País*, 28 July 2002, 15.

<sup>59</sup> Rodrigo Rato, in his prologue to *Cien empresarias*, 9.

frequently, women temporarily took charge of affairs until their male relatives returned home.<sup>60</sup>

During the 1980s, the globalization of the economy and the growth of an information society stimulated demand for qualified personnel. The incorporation of women into higher management positions was not the consequence of a feminist insistence on equality but was, rather, the response to a perceived competitive advantage. It occurred despite the existence of considerable resistance to women's advancement, which manifested itself in cultural restrictions on association membership, institutional failure to allocate resources for the care of children and the elderly, and barriers to women's participation in decision making.<sup>61</sup>

The care of children and the elderly was not a priority for the new Spanish welfare state, which extended the working hours in a way that was clearly discriminatory against women. The lack of child and elder care created problems for female employers and employees during the "baby boom" years of the 1960s. The Spanish state still offers little support for women seeking to reconcile job and family responsibilities. Since the 1990s, informal networks of grandmothers and female relatives have helped women employers and employees juggle the conflicting demands of job and family. Women's access to the labor market was not matched by changes in expectations for household arrangements. Because men have been slow to take up household and family responsibilities, women have had to cope with their normal domestic duties as well as their new job responsibilities. Women without families, however, enjoy more "free time" than their predecessors.

A "zero deficit" policy within the European Community and the persistence of traditional notions of gender have precluded social investment in the work–family dilemma. Many midlevel female executives and SME employees experience a real burden in dealing with this double responsibility. Spanish women today often become trapped in syndromes that affect their productivity, such as imperatives to be the "good girl," the "superwoman," or the "ideal wife and mother."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Fernández Pérez, *El rostro familiar de la metrópoli*, and "Mujeres y burguesía en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII," in *La burguesía española en la edad moderna*, ed. L. M. Enciso Recio (Valladolid, 1996), 280–98. For sixteenth-century Seville, see also Mary Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*.

<sup>61</sup> William Lazonick, *Business Organization and the Myth of the Market Economy* (New York, 1991); Louis Galambos, "Identity and the Boundaries of Business History: An Essay on Consensus and Creativity," in *Business History Around the World*, eds. Franco Amatori and Geoffrey Jones (Cambridge, U.K., 2003), 11–30; Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology* 91 (1985): 481–510.

<sup>62</sup> See Maria Pallarés, "Una carrera de obstáculos: el lastre de los estereotipos de género," at <http://www.emprendedoras.com/article854.html>.

Spanish academics are still learning to incorporate women's issues into the field of business studies. We need to learn—and teach—more about women's business activities and to look closely at women's consumption patterns, their access to credit, and their behavior in different geographic areas and economic sectors. We also need to know more about how the state and other public and private institutions, such as the Catholic Church, have inserted traditional gender ideology into the formal and informal education of Spanish schoolchildren and how such indoctrination has affected women's entrepreneurial development. Our analysis has shown, first, that the work of women as service providers within firms has been essential to the historical development of corporate capitalism, both on a global level and in Spain itself, and, second, that the gender ideologies of the country's institutions have determined the nature of women's participation in the economy.