Chapter 4

Al Amparo de Fecun

Hail, holy Queen,
Mother of Mercy!
our life, our sweetness, and our hope!
To thee do we cry, poor banished children of Eve;
to thee do we send up our sighs,
mourning and weeping in this valley of tears.
Turn, then, most gracious Advocate,
thine eyes of mercy toward us;
and after this our exile
show unto us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus;
O clement,
O loving,
O sweet Virgin Mary.

When I first interviewed Amparo in 1989, she was in her late thirties and already tenured and chair of the Geography department at the University of Granada. Never before had there been a woman chair and there has not been one since. She had intimidated me when I was one of her students in 1983 and still did. I remember her, a petite young professor commanding a crowded two hundred-seat auditorium, delivering succinct lectures on climatology and physical geography in a soft-spoken but firm voice. Her formidableness came, not from her stature or from an outsized personality (she is quite reserved), but from a sense of bedrock convictions rooted in faith.

Her name, popular for Spanish women of her generation, means protection. She was born in 1950 in a small village located in the Almanzora Valley in Almería. Her religiously conservative family moved to Granada when she was in high school, settling in the centrally located Realejo district on Calle Molinos. Her mother, against custom, continued to work as a teacher, even after she married and had a family—six children in all, Amparo the next to last. Her mother's not-so-small act of independence made a big impression on Amparo. She felt free to pursue her education without the typical resistance most of the girls in her class faced from home. In her house, the expectation for both the boys and the girls was that they would study and eventually have a career. "My mother worked as a teacher from the age of eighteen, and she thought that her children, both sons and daughters, must study, follow a career, and carve out a future for themselves," Amparo recalled. "Never was I told that my goal in life should be to find a boyfriend and marry. That was one thing that was totally eliminated from my household. What we were told was that we had to be independent, whether male or female."[1]

This egalitarian attitude in her family only went so far, though. With regard to housework, the females were expected to do the bulk of the work. "In the daily practice at home, there was this unwritten obligation for me to clean my brothers' room," shared Amparo. "I refused. I said I would not clean anyone's room. My parents and I used to fight about this. Growing up I was always the most rebellious, the one who caused problems. Even now my children ask me 'Mom, where did you come from?' With regard to social justice, I carried that same rebellious attitude."[2]

Her mother's rebellions carried over into the family's religious practices. Amparo remembers a very private, family-centered devotion. They never participated in the popular rotation of the Virgin effigies from home to home, and they did not attend the annual Holy Week processions on the city streets. Instead, the family observed an austere and private piety with the daily rosary prayer as their cohesive ritual.

The rosary prayer dedicated to the Virgin Mary represents the quintessential Catholic devotion to the Mother of God. The rosary diagram itself resembles the schema of the female symbol.

Amparo prayed the rosary every day at home, surrounded by her parents and five siblings: a Hail Mary for each of the ten beads that make up the so-called decade, repeated five times to complete a set of three mysteries dedicated to the life and Passion of Christ. Annunciation and birth constitute the Joyful mysteries to be prayed on Mondays and Saturdays. Christ's Resurrection and the crowning of the Virgin compose the Glorious mysteries prayed on Wednesdays and Sundays. Finally, the Sorrowful mysteries cover Christ's arrest and crucifixion were prayed on Tuesdays and Fridays.[3]

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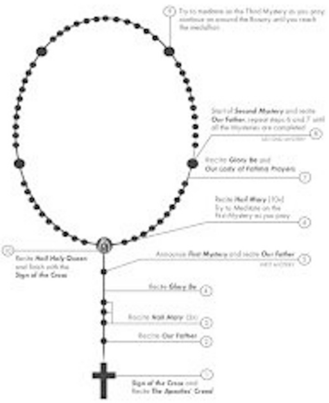
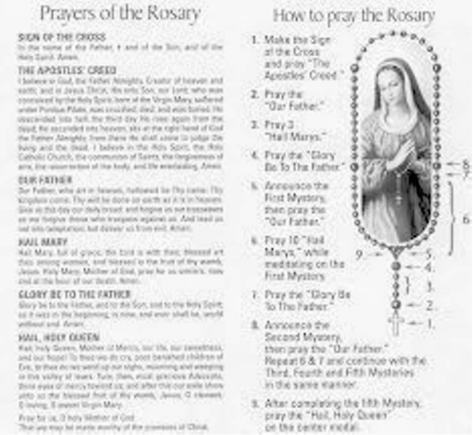
[1] Amparo, phone interview with author, January 8, 2018 (recording 1 hour and 34 minutes).

[2] Amparo, phone interview, 2018.

[3] The fourth are the Luminous mysteries instituted by Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) and dedicated to the miraculous adult life of Jesus Christ from his baptism until his consecration of the Eucharist.

Figure 7 (left): Rosary
Figure 8 (right): Prayers of the Rosary





Prayers of the Rosary

SIGN OF THE CROSS

THE APOSTLES' CREED

OUR FATHER

HAIL MARY

GLORY BE TO THE FATHER

HAIL, HOLY QUEEN

How to pray the Rosary

1. Make the Sign of the Cross and pray "The Apostles' Creed."
2. Pray the "Our Father."
3. Pray 3 "Hail Marys."
4. Pray the "Glory Be To The Father."
5. Announce the First Mystery, then pray the "Our Father."
6. Pray 10 "Hail Marys," while meditating on the First Mystery.
7. Pray the "Glory Be To The Father."
8. Announce the Second Mystery, then pray the "Our Father." Repeat 6 & 7 and continue with the Third, Fourth and Fifth Mysteries in the same manner.
9. After completing the fifth Mystery, pray the "Hail, Holy Queen" on the center medal.

The Rosary Prayer was a meditative communal prayer with a long Catholic tradition rooted in medieval times and particularly promoted during the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878–1903), known as the Rosary Pope. It established the Mariology tradition within the Catholic Church, making the Virgin Mary *Mediatrix* through her intercession between the faithful and Jesus Christ. The veneration to the Virgin Mary also provided young girls with a female divinity who nurtured their spiritual self-worth.

Amparo's mother would not allow her children to leave the house until this family ritual was completed. For her mother, the fifteen promises[4] derived from the rosary prayer represented a means to deploy protection over her family in the fraught times of totalitarian rule and persecution.

The family's religious fervor influenced Amparo's social consciousness in the mid-1960s. "I found my Christian beliefs supported completely in my student activism. That Christian combative attitude gave me the moral upper ground I was looking for. Unfortunately, my parents did not see the connection between opposing the government and Christian devotion the same way I did. My mother would say 'Where did my daughter learn these ways?' On occasion they went to talk with the Jesuit in charge of our FECUN community to figure out what was going on; what was I doing?"

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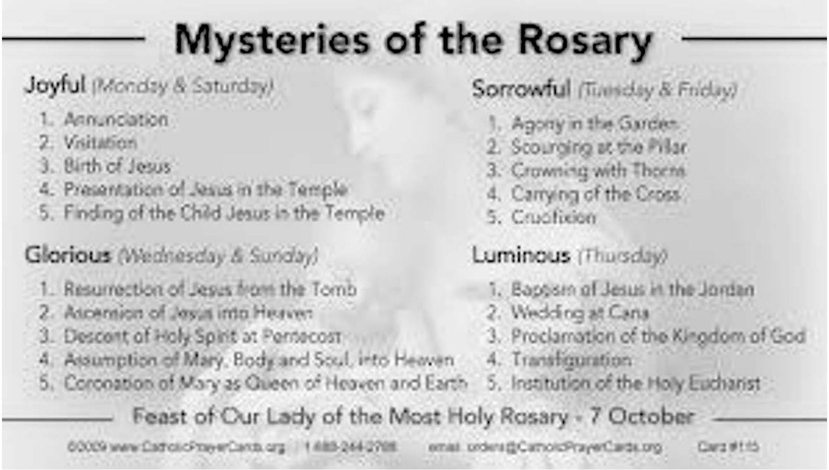
[4] "The Fifteen Promises Granted to Those Who Recite the Rosary," *The Most Holy Rosary*. http://themostholyrosary.com/15promises.htm.

Figure 9: Mysteries of the Rosary



Mysteries of the Rosary

Joyful (Monday & Saturday)

1. Annunciation
2. Visitation
3. Birth of Jesus
4. Presentation of Jesus in the Temple
5. Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple

Glorious (Wednesday & Sunday)

1. Resurrection of Jesus from the Tomb
2. Ascension of Jesus into Heaven
3. Descent of Holy Spirit at Pentecost
4. Assumption of Mary, Body and Soul, into Heaven
5. Coronation of Mary as Queen of Heaven and Earth

Sorrowful (Tuesday & Friday)

1. Agony in the Garden
2. Scourging at the Pillar
3. Crowning with Thorns
4. Carrying of the Cross
5. Crucifixion

Luminous (Thursday)

1. Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan
2. Wedding at Cana
3. Proclamation of the Kingdom of God
4. Transfiguration
5. Institution of the Holy Eucharist

Feast of Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary - 7 October

As they grew up, each of Amparo's siblings opted for their own particular religious understanding and commitment. While the oldest sister joined the ultraconservative Opus Dei, one of her brothers became an ardent militant in the labor movement through his membership in the HOAC and later joined the Brotherhood of Foucauld or Brotherhood of Jesus to live among the poor.[5] As demonstrated by the various religious paths taken by Amparo and her siblings, the Church's social doctrine inspired different movements from right to left ideologically. The increasing radicalization of the labor and student movements after World War II included many Catholics, particularly in Mediterranean Europe.[6] The Second Vatican Council unleashed a wave of leftist Catholicism[7] in the Western Hemisphere that has been better studied in the Latin American continent as Liberation Theology. Europe had its own leftist, Catholic theology starting as early as the 1910s, largely in response to increasing industrialization and the problems it wrought for poor and working-class families.[8] Founded in 1946 by the conservative curia, the HOAC[9] (Catholic Action) was the most important Catholic trade union in the Spanish labor movement. In Spain, Catholic Action received the impetus from the conservative pontificate of Pius XII (1939-1958); however, the so-called specialized groups among the youth in the labor and student movements became radicalized under the aegis of the new pope, John XXIII (1958-1963), after his launching of the Second Vatican Council in 1962.

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[5] The Brotherhood of Jesus was founded after Carlos de Foucauld (1858-1916), a French missionary who dedicated his life to live among the poor in the Algerian Sahara Desert. The communities live among the poor in urban areas and non-Christian countries and observe vows of poverty, obedience, and contemplative prayer.

[6] Gerd-Rainer Horn accurately points out the "general state of myopia within the historical profession," as there is little attention paid to the religious dimension of the social movements in the narrative of the "global 1968." What he defines as the Second Wave of Left Catholicism in Western Europe reached its peak from 1968-1975. Spain is key to understanding the Catholic left and the Liberation Theology better studied in the Latin American case. As Horn says: "The Spanish Left Catholicism, virtually unknown to the north of the Pyrenees to this day, was not only a pioneering venture, but it might stand as a powerful reminder that, in the last analysis, it is material conditions which gave rise to social movements, new theologies, and apostolic experiments, rather than new theologies spawning grassroots action as if by spontaneous generation." Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of the Vatican II: Western European Progressive Catholicism in the Long Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3.

A number of leftist Catholic organizations emerged in Spain in the 1950s. The Spanish New Left was represented by the Frente de Liberación Popular (FLP),[10] colloquially called "*Felipe*," with Madrid and Barcelona as epicenters. The *Felipes* read broadly beyond Catholic sacred texts, including philosophy, new sociology, and radical renditions of theology. They held small seminars outside their classrooms to educate themselves with diverse writings, from Mao to Lenin and to philosophers like Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. In addition to the FLP there were other organizations including the largely Catholic UDE (Unión Democrática de Estudiantes) founded in 1957 and the FUDE (Federación Universitaria Democrática Española) founded in 1961. All of them competed with the regime's Falangist Student Union SEU until its extinction in 1965. Especially important in the UDE was Catholic Action's JEC, which was dissolved in 1968 by the Church's conservative hierarchy due to its increasing radicalization. This empty space became occupied by FECUN, a student group sponsored by the Jesuits.

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[7] I am utilizing here the terminology put forward by Gerd-Rainer Horn who establishes the first wave as 1924-1959 in his book, *Western European Liberation Theology: The First Wave 1924-1959* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[8] In 1924 Joseph Cardijn established the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrètienne (JOC) which expanded rapidly to Spain and Italy. The Belgian priest Cardijn moved to the northern suburb of Laken in 1912 where, during his six years of residence there, he established a *sui generis* Catholic organization. The area had a population of 25,000, predominantly from working-class families who lived under precarious economic conditions. He first launched a local needlework trade union for young seamstresses in his parish. His goal was to strengthen the Christian trade unions. By 1917 he established a trade union organization specifically for young people, the Jeunesse Syndicaliste, acknowledging the needs of youth in the labor force. Horn, *Western European Liberation Theology.*

[9] The head of HOAC was Guillermo Rovirosa who had worked as an engineer during the Spanish Civil War on the Republican side and who had gained some consciousness about the dismal conditions of the workers in Madrid. Also important was Tomás Malagón, a former priest who joined the Communist Party during the Spanish Civil War. For more on the history of the HOAC see: Basilisa López García, *Aproximación a la historia de la HOAC, 1946-1981* (Madrid: HOAC, 1995), cited in Horn, *The Spirit of the Vatican II,* note 36, 230.

[10] Gerd-Rainer Horn points out that that the inspiration for the FLP acronym came from two organizations: the Algerian FLN (Front de Libèration National) and the French MLP (Mouvement de Libèration Populaire). The Felipe thus was "Locating its intellectual and activist traditions within Third World liberation movements and European Left Catholicism." Horn, *The Spirit of the Vatican II,* 190-91.

Amparo joined FECUN in 1967 and fell in love with Arturo, a fellow student. Just like everything in her character, her love was devotional. She saw in Arturo a kindred spirit fighting society's ills with the same righteous indignation she had felt when she refused to clean her brothers' room. Their love was heated by the religious home fires of their upbringings but also by the idealistic fervor that their faith engendered. FECUN implied not only a religious but also a "political and social engagement," she recalled, "understood in diverse ways by the many individuals who came together under its guidance."

The Society of Jesus founded the Marian Congregations to promote the devotion to the Virgin Mary in the mid-1500s, and FECUM experienced a global expansion. By the mid-1960s FECUM was no longer just a religious organization but also a political one.

The transformation towards a social and political outlook brought FECUN closer to the JEC[11] objectives but with the added benefit of the Jesuits' know-how for turning faith into action.[12] FECUM, meanwhile, transitioned into what was called Comunidades de Vida Cristiana (Christian Life Communities).

Amparo's devotion to the Virgin Mary and her growing self-confidence as a young woman made her a great fit within the FECUN community. Encouraged by a young friend, Fermina, who was active in the HOAC labor movement, Amparo joined the FECUN community during her last year in high school, along with Pili, a schoolmate. There they met Pedro, who had just left the priesthood and entered the student movement along with Arturo, who proved to be the most radical of them all. "He [Arturo] was singularly intelligent," remembered Pedro, "brilliant in his oratory, well read in political and social matters, but very funny and extremely mischievous in everyday life. He also played the guitar, always singing Raimon and Serrat's songs in Catalan. He taught me the ins and outs of anti-Franco politics and, above all, the intricacies of the university movement."[13]

FECUN's meeting facility was located at the corner of Marqués de Falces and Elvira Streets in "a five-story building in which the top three floors were reserved for the Jesuits," described Pedro. "FECUN occupied the first floor which was divided into several meeting rooms. On the ground floor there was a room large enough for assemblies. The spacious basement spread the entire length of the upper level[14] There the students printed different pamphlets and anti-establishment propaganda materials. On many occasions they had to move the printer and propaganda for safekeeping to the Colegio Máximo in the Cartuja.

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[11] Aurora Morcillo, "In their Own Words: Women in Higher Education," in *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 129-61.

[12] Amparo Ferrer, interview by author, Granada, May 15, 1989.

[13] Pedro Ruiz Morcillo, "Con la FECUN y contra Franco en los pasillos de Puentezuelas (1968-1973)" [unpublished mss.; pdf essay provided], 10.

The Jesuits established the Colegio Máximo in the late nineteenth century. The Colegio, a College and Novitiate of the Society of Jesus, was built between 1891 and 1894, following the design of the architect Francisco Rabanal Fariña. The design called for a central courtyard and four interior patios with a cross structure of galleries on three floors. The building's style featured elements of Granada's Hispano-Muslim tradition, what could be described as Arabic revival. Between 1916 and 1917, an allegory of the Eucharist was added to the top half of the front façade. The peaceful and ordered monastery proved to be an oasis in the hectic, modernizing city of Granada at the time and a good hiding place for the student activists.

This architectural treasure is part of my childhood memories as well. In the spring of 1969, when the FECUM students were hiding contraband documents in the priory, I was making my First Communion in the church's chapel. All through the winter my classmates and I had prepared for this rite of passage. The nuns of Jesús María measured our little bodies and ordered for each girl a plain white tunic and matching head cover.

The Jesuits ran the boys' school adjacent to ours and supplied the grooms to our brides. Every afternoon for months we marched up the hill towards the Colegio through the elaborate English gardens and into the chapel. Our thoughts were turned to our eternal salvation, not to the young priests on the premises risking their mortal selves.

The lives of the student activists followed a circular rhythm, like the rosary prayer—daily circuits of sorrowful, glorious, and joyful mysteries. The students spent their days at the College of the Arts (or Philosophy and Letters, as it is referred to in Spanish) attending classes and their evenings meeting in the Jesuit facilities on Marqués de Falces Street.

The college was located in a small palace on Puentezuelas street, on the corner of Obispo Hurtado, in front of Carril del Picón and Tablas Street.[15] Built at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Conte de Luque, and acquired by the Ministry of Education in 1946 to house the Faculty of Arts, its neo-classical style alternates brick wall flanks with stone in the corners. Imposing classical columns announce the main entrance. The two-story building contains a large interior patio with tall trees and manicured gardens where the students spent time hanging out between classes.

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[14] Ruiz Morcillo, "Con la FECUN," 21.

[15] The Puentezuelas site was what Concha and Amalia remembered as called "panties-ville."

Figure 10: The College of the Arts. The College of the Arts was located in the magnificent nineteenth-century palace of the Counts of Luque on Puentezuelas Street. This was the site of student activism from in the 1960s until the mid-1970s, when the college was relocated to a new facility built outside the city center in the northern part district of Cartuja.

The patio is also where students gathered for assemblies. This did not go unnoticed by the local authorities, whose Plaza de los Lobos police station was located close by. The police also had their informants, like the lowly administrator the students derided as "El Foca" (seal), keeping an eye on what the students were up to.

Amparo vividly takes us back into the building in her retelling. "The stairs were on the right side. They led down to the basement and up to the upper floor into the galleries through a big iron double door, almost always adorned with political posters. The halls ran around the patio where the classrooms and the library were located. Going down the staircase we accessed the basement. On the patio level, the stairs consisted of two sections divided by a wide landing where a huge corkboard displayed hundreds of advertisements of all kinds, including subversive posters against the regime, some erotic poems by Sabina[16] and the occasional crudely drawn cartoon. The lower section faced the cafeteria, a small rectangular space with the bar on one side and a bench with tables on the other."

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[16] She refers to Joaquín Sabina, today an internationally renowned songwriter, singer, and poet, who was one of the fellow students in the College of Arts. Sabina exiled himself to England when the State of Emergency was enacted in 1970-1971.

Granada's FECUN community had almost a hundred members, most of whom had been recruited during their high school years. Some joined the mountain club *El Sadday* and the Congregation of the Stanislaus that one of the Jesuits, Father Ferrer, directed from the upper floors of the house on Marqués de Falces street, the so-called Intercollegiate Center.

In 1968, FECUN experienced a profound radicalization. Many of the members came from the city's lower middle classes and many others from rural areas who had gained access to the university through scholarships, as in Arturo's case. They were acutely aware of the plight of the poor and working classes. They also had roots in the communities where unrest with the regime was percolating.

FECUN students came from different colleges but Philosophy and Letters contributed the greatest number and the most active members. Known as "the Christians," in the resistance against the regime FECUN represented a counterweight to the Communist Party among the students at the University. For those who were not ready or able to identify with the socially ostracized Communist Party, FECUN offered a more palatable alternative.

FECUN's tactics and strategies drew inspiration from the HOAC Brotherhood of Christian Workers, but they made their distance from the anti-Franco political opposition parties explicit. Some of the members were more radical than others. Those less engaged in the collective fight found inspiration in French theologian Emmanuel Mounier's (1905-1950) personalist movement that took a stand midway between liberalism and Marxism and focused on the cultivation of self-affirmation rather than collective action. Still, there were others within FECUN who Amparo considered more radical because of their socialist and anti-fascist feelings. Her boyfriend Arturo was one of them. Though she was not as outwardly radical as Arturo, Amparo, in her own way, was just as steadfast in her opposition to the regime. Her opposition was more tied to her gender and the indignities she felt at being told what she could and couldn't do. Though fighting against the regime was the stated goal, many of the women in the movement were also fighting for themselves.

It wasn't all "sturm und drang" in the student movement. The FECUN students also enjoyed a rich social life. Amparo described the FECUN headquarters at Marqués de Falces Street as "a boisterous hotbed" all year round, except during the summer academic break. Some of their activities included courses on religious or political matters, book discussions, and debates on social, political, or cultural issues. Once a week they celebrated a "very simple" mass, participating with authentic fervor, without sacred vestments (perhaps only the stole), and with ordinary bread and wine. The meetings followed a prearranged agenda. The debates and decisions on the fundamental issues were adopted in a monthly assembly. Mass on Sundays ended with a party in the basement with music, dancing, flamenco, singing, and poetry readings.[17]

FECUN was organized around small “Life Revision” teams, which met weekly. Larger committees, in which members of those different groups participated, were in charge of putting into practice the community activities: studies, training, organization, treasury, information, external relations, publications. Elected democratically, representatives of each of the committees formed FECUN’s Board of Directors. The Board of Directors elected a secretariat, president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. The secretariat represented the group in national assemblies. The *Comunitas*, a newsletter written by the militants themselves, was their official mouthpiece.

At the beginning of each academic year, FECUN held a retreat in Fuente Grande in the Alfaguara Mountains, seven kilometers north of Granada. The purpose of the retreat was to prepare their academic year activities. In the retreat of 1968/69, Pedro and Arturo shared sleeping quarters and soon became fast friends. Pedro remembered, “As always, we began the meeting with a presentation on some important issues to later discuss with our Life Revision teams. Ours was composed of Luis, Mayte, Arturo, Amparo, Pili and me.”[18] The six members, three men and three women, became a tight group of friends who, in a form of social mitosis, split into three couples: Luis and Mayte, Arturo and Amparo, and Pedro and Pili. What began as a largely Christian commitment to fight the regime’s injustices turned into a very personal commitment to each other.

The three couples went everywhere together. On one beautiful November day, they borrowed a van from Juan F., the leader of the HOAC, and took off to visit another FECUN member, Felipe, who was serving his mandatory military service in Cadiz. Pedro related, “We took the old road from Andalucía to Cadiz. The weather was good, so we had no reason to worry, but on one of the open lanes around Aguadulce the car hit a muddy patch and flew off the road into an olive grove. Everyone had some bruises and a few small scratches on our hands and faces, but Arturo got the worst of it. He fractured both his tibia and fibula. We quickly buried a bunch of pamphlets that we had hidden inside a guitar case. I don’t know why we were carrying a guitar case full of propaganda on that trip, but in those years we were like that. The Civil Guard took us to an emergency room where they put Arturo’s leg in a cast. We left the van in a garage for repairs and returned to Granada on a bus. In the following weeks we had to borrow money from friends and family to pay for the repairs. Arturo spent a month with his leg in a cast after a few days of surgery and hospitalization.”[19]

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[17] Ruiz Morcillo, “Con la FECUN,” 40-41.

[18] Ruiz Morcillo, “Con la FECUN,” 52.

[19] Ruiz Morcillo, “Con la FECUN,” 40-41.

The Spanish student movement, which had its beginnings in the crisis of 1956,[20] when it helped oust the Minister of Education Joaquín Ruiz Giménez (1913-2009), gained strength and momentum in the mid-1960s. With the disappearance of the SEU in 1965, university students founded autonomous democratic unions, first in Madrid and Barcelona, and then in the rest of the universities. These new student platforms operated outside the control of the regime, which inevitably led to friction with authorities and later repression. The Professional Students Associations (APE), which replaced the SEU, lasted only a short time and was used mainly as a cover for the clandestine unions. The PCE, which dominated the student anti-Franco movement, used the student groups to promote its Pact for Freedom.

The student resistance groups throughout Spain wanted to unify through a Democratic Student Congress (Reuniones Coordinadoras Preparatorias). This was a tactic that had already been carried out by the CCOO in the labor movement. Their members might have come from different factions, like Catholic Action and the outlawed Communist Party, but they were united in opposing the government.

The University of Granada joined the national student movement in 1968. "The atmosphere of camaraderie and 'coffee talks,'" as Amparo recalled, "intensified with the founding of the Democratic Union of the University of Granada."[21] The electricity was palpable in the dark cafés and dingy bars where students gathered. The Bimbela, the Natalio, the Síbari, the Enguix, and the bodegas de Puentezuelas, located on the side streets of the Bibarrambla Plaza, gave silent witness, in the words of Pedro, "to the secret accumulation of many hopes and utopian dreams of the precociously anti-Franco youth of those years."

In January 1968 the SDEUG was formally constituted and the first District Assembly took place. The Declaration of Principles, the Statutes, and a manifesto of solidarity with repressed students at other universities and protest against government repression, were approved.

The union structure was straightforward: division by Colleges, and within them assemblies per year cohort, cohorts' council, branch council, Faculty Chamber, functional departments, and delegates at different academic levels. The appointment in the summer of 1968 of a thirty-four-year-old Biochemistry professor, Federico Mayor Zaragoza (1934), as the new Rector, was received by FECUN members with hope. Zaragoza was a young and open-minded professor willing to entertain reforms. But the appointment of Antonio Gallego Morrell (1923-2009), a regime figure, as Dean of Philosophy and Letters was a disappointment.

The two appointments were made by the new Minister of Education, José Luis Villar Palasí (1922-2012), who was trying to walk the tightrope between the demands of the students and the dictates of the regime. The new minister was an unimaginative technocrat whose goal was to adapt the educational structure to the government's new economic plan, "desarrollismo" (economic development policies).

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[20] See Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 77-101.

[21] Ruiz Morcillo, "Con la FECUN," 40-41.

In Philosophy and Letters, FECUN's group had a natural leader in Arturo. Amparo was also very involved in activism, although she did not hold a leading office in the SDEUG.

Figure 11: Amparo, 1968

Even though she was not visibly out in front, Amparo worked tirelessly behind the scenes. That is the way she liked it. When Arturo was arrested, she went to the rector to lobby for his release. Later, during the transition, Amparo was one of the founders of the Socialist Party of Andalucía (PSA).[22] She was always the first to comfort the other students or organize their Christian community to help out where they were needed. Pedro remembers her as someone with "fortitude," who was undaunted by the challenges facing the movement. "She would confront anyone, the police or Dean, if she thought she was right," remarked Arturo. It was that unflappable demeanor that had intimidated me as an undergraduate in her class. I now understood what made this tiny woman such a force of nature. When I interviewed Amparo in 1989, she talked about Arturo's arrest more in depth. She recognized the radicalization of some of the members of FECUN, like Arturo himself, who accepted Marxism as a form of Christian praxis. That was difficult to accept for her and her conservative family. "There were many shifts in our beliefs that caused us serious moral dilemmas. My now husband,[23] was arrested twice…and well, one of the things I…remember with horror, was that…they were accusing him of being a Communist! That was really hard for me, for anyone…." She spoke in the third person, as if trying to gain some distance from the events she had brought to mind: "One could understand that it was not so bad, but even socially, if it was bad enough that they had arrested him, the fact that they could also accuse him of being a Communist became the gravest of charges against a person."

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[22] The PA was founded in 1976 when the Socialist Alliance of Andalusia, created in 1971, adopted the name Socialist Party of Andalusia (PSA). Later, in January of 1979, during the course of the II PSA Congress, the name of the Andalusian Socialist Party-Andalusian Party (PSA-PA) was adopted. In February of 1984 it adopted its current name: Andalusian Party. Historically, the PA has held the office of mayor in important urban centers of Andalusia such as Sevilla, Jerez de la Frontera, or Algeciras.

To the members of the opposition, the differences between Christian militancy and Communism were mostly semantic, but to the larger world they were profound. Pedro explained the tension between the Communist and Christian militants in the student movement as follows: "Certainly, there were people who criticized Marxist-Leninist strategies, the Marxist theoretical principles as a whole or in part, and/or the tactics of the PCE, but not because of our Christian principles, but because some among us had other theoretical foundations and considered other strategies and political tactics more effective or better, or at least as legitimate as those of the PCE. The FECUN community as such was not anti-Marxist or anti-Communist. And, I am fully convinced that those who left FECUN did so because of a crisis of faith, not because those of us who stayed in it might have been anti-Communists. The 'reds'[24] did not go leaving the rightists behind; at least some of us who stayed in the community continued being 'red.'"[25]

Women endured greater social shame when they were publicly recognized as leftists, and for many it cost them in their professional and personal lives. That was the case for Concha, or Mari Carmen Sanmillan, the Latin professor who lent her home to hide the young Communist students during the State of Exception in 1970-71. Amparo remembered Mari Carmen with affection but also great sadness: "She was a serious person but was socially ostracized after it was found out she helped the student movement. She was one of those women who I have always believed was mistreated in the University. Imagine, the University, being a place where supposedly there is a progressive community, right? And I think she was misunderstood, and serious obstacles to professional advancement were put in her way. She was an excellent person. Few people, in truth, were like her. She nurtured all the students, regardless of their belonging to one faction or another. For example, we, FECUN I mean, got along with her perfectly, and she got along with PCE militant students as well. Harassed and abused by her department, she left academia to become a high school teacher…."[26]

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[23] Arturo and Amparo separated in 1998. These are Amparo's remarks in 1989.

[24] "Red" is the term used to refer to communists.

[25] Ruiz Morcillo, "Con la FECUN," 118.

Mari Carmen Sanmillan died in the mid-1980s, and Amparo recalled the tribute that the University organized to her: "Last year [1988] they organized an homage to her at the university. I kept thinking of her, and telling myself 'Look at this, a tribute to her by the university, how ironic….'"[27]

Amparo was no stranger to gender discrimination herself. She recalls her memories of the male-centered university on my second interview with her thirty years after the first one. She passionately conveyed over the phone how she still subscribed to everything said in 1989, though she had some revealing insight into her journey. "I do not consider myself a leader of the feminist movement in the University," she remarked emphatically. "I was a person, involved in all the political and professional actions, but not a leader. I remember sometimes arguing with feminists…sometimes I thought they were confused in their approaches. For example, I often argued with some of the leaders like Marga B…Maribel L., or Candida M. especially in the adjunct's assemblies…because they would propose to include in our demands things like…'recognition of divorce,' and I said, 'But let's see…let's focus…divorce? This is not the place to demand such a thing, this is an adjunct professor's labor meeting.'"[28]

Even after the transition, the male-centered university took advantage of many of the academic women. They were cheap labor who did the bulk of the work. For all their struggle they had to accept a lesser prize than their male counterparts. While the men in the movement transitioned into the more highly paid and respected tenure lines, the women became less well compensated adjuncts with heavy teaching loads. "It was not until 1984 that I became a permanent professor," Amparo recalled. "I had started in 1974 with a research fellowship. Note that I had been working as an adjunct for ten years. By 1976, I was in charge of at least three prep course assignments. Most of the faculty who taught you [in the early 1980s] for sure were non-permanent faculty or adjuncts. We were the sole teaching body. There were no opportunities for permanent contracts with better pay for women…."

Even though Amparo was relegated to adjunct professor, she didn't stop fighting for what was right. "Remember Villegas, the catedrático? …He frequently asked adjuncts to teach his class with no notice, out of the blue. So, I told him one day that I was not going to do it…and I was not going to do it, I said, because I considered that it was not my responsibility, and I had no obligation to do so. I said, if the rector wrote me a letter saying that I had the obligation to replace him [Professor

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[26] Amparo Ferrer, interview, 1989.

[27] Amparo Ferrer, interview, 1989.

[28] Amparo, phone interview, 2018.

Villegas] then I would do it. But it would have to be by an order of the rector himself. That.... Well! That was...! Imagine!! ...From that day onwards...Villegas hated me to death!! Standing up for myself may have hindered my advancement, but in the end, I was recognized as a consequential, independent person, who never sold myself short to anyone."[29]

One of the most difficult times in Amparo's career came when she had her three children. In hindsight, she regretted not having had access to maternity leave. "That's one of the things that at this point in my life I blame myself for, because I did not ask for maternity leave in any of the pregnancies. I kept on working. And I reproach myself for putting myself through such an ordeal.... My oldest daughter was born in 1974 when I was still teaching high school in Montefrío.[30] So it happened that she was born on a Palm Sunday and I started classes the following week on Monday after Resurrection Sunday. That is to say, within eight days of giving birth I went back to work. But it also just so happened that I received a university research grant, which meant I had to teach some classes at the University of Granada as well. I will never forget, for example, the first class I taught at the university on cartographic projections, which is a very difficult lecture! So...I profoundly dreaded all of it. As a new mother, of course, I breastfed my baby and since we lived nearby Montefrío's high school, I brought her with me and had a young girl babysit while I was teaching. So, you see, I tried to combine everything, at a great cost to me personally. The men did not have to do that."[31]

Amparo was never afraid of working extra hard and certainly never used her condition as a woman in academia to gain advantage. Like most of the other women at the university, she endured extra burdens and struggled against a male-dominated hierarchy. "As years go by, I am conscious of the fact that there was a lot more gender discrimination than I was ready to admit or acknowledge," she concluded.

Certainly, the self-worth and defiance in Amparo's professional life found its roots in the Catholic leftist community within FECUN. Her radical sense of justice derived also from her profound Christian beliefs. Her praying of the rosary and veneration of a female divinity, the Queen of Heaven, impressed in young girls this sense of being equal in the eyes of God. Amparo may not think of herself as a leader in the feminist movement of the University of Granada, but in many ways, she was. It is not only the one who holds the banner or the megaphone who leads, but also individuals like Amparo, who thoughtfully and methodically direct the action from the rear. Amparo was a leader who showed a younger generation like mine the possibilities in our own lives.

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[29] Amparo, phone interview, 2018.

[30] Montefrío is a municipality located to the northwest of the province of Granada, bordering to the north with Priego and Almedinilla (Córdoba) and with Alcalá La Real (Jaén); and on the south with Illora, Villanueva de Mesía and Loja (Granada); on the east with Illora; and on the west with Loja and Algarinejo (Granada). It is part of the region of Poniente Granadino, occupying much of the north of the area.

[31] Amparo, phone interview, 2018.