

*Review***BUSTO  
MIRAMONTES,  
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Santiago de Compostela:  
Através Editora. 2021. 165 pp.  
ISBN 978-8-416-54551-3

*Un país a la gallega.  
Galiza no NO-DO  
franquista.*

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Beatriz Busto Miramontes's book, *Un país a la gallega. Galiza no NO-DO franquista*, masterfully addresses folkloric Galiza conveyed by the state-controlled NO-DO (Noticiarios y Documentales, News and Documentaries) during the Francoist dictatorship. Throughout the book, the author argues that folklore contributed to legitimizing Franco's regime, subordinating the Galician people to Spanish centralism, and commercializing Galician culture to promote the tourism industry (41; 53).

*Un país a la gallega* should be understood against the backdrop of the last decade's interest in gender as a decisive folklore category under the patriarchal regime of Franco's Spain. Since Estrella Casero's *La España que bailó con Franco* (2000), there has been interdisciplinary scholarly research on Coros y Danzas, the troupes organized by the women's branch of Falange Española, Sección Femenina, and how they became a vessel for folk production and reproduction. Some examples of works dealing with Coros y Danzas in the Galician context are Carolina Hernández Abad's doctoral dissertation, *La agrupación de Danza de Sección Femenina de A Coruña* (2014), and more recently Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas's *Imperios e danzas* (2021). These academic studies share a focus on the importance of folkloric production as a political tool under Francoism.

Busto Miramontes's book is preceded by Elias Torres's prologue, wherein he highlights the author's training in anthropology, a discipline that cannot be pursued as an academic degree at any of the Galician

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universities. Indeed, the book is the result of Busto Miramontes's dissertation in the Departamento de Antropología Social y Pensamiento Filosófico Español (Department of Social Anthropology and Spanish Philosophical Thought) at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. In *Un país a la gallega*, the author openly acknowledges her subjectivity as Galician and as part of its folk community, and she delivers her study in casual prose that dispenses with academic writing constraints. I suggest that the author embraces what Jack Halberstam provocatively calls 'low theory' in *The Queer Art of Failure* (2011). Low theory is a mode of thinking and writing that functions in multiple layers by challenging notions of vertical knowledge. As Busto Miramontes puts it, her book rejects 'essa ideia positivista e cientifista de que o conhecimento rigoroso só se atinge com a pretendida distância objetivista' (32). Using postcolonial and post-structural methods, the author delves into primary sources, including the NO-DO newsreel materials, fieldnotes, and official documents at the Archivo General de la Administración (General Administration's Archive). This exhaustive analysis lends her the legitimacy to explore a new locus of enunciation: 'Agora escrevo num lugar posicionado, encarnado e subjetivo' (32).

The book opens with Busto Miramontes's narrating how estranged she felt when watching alleged Galician traditional dances in the NO-DO newsreel for the first time. In this preface, the author describes how Francoist propaganda manipulated and detached traditional music and dances from their socio-cultural roots. This detachment drove her to study folklore in the first place. From there, the book splits into two parts: the first part affords a historical background of the Francoist dictatorship, encompassing chapters one and two, and the second part combines hermeneutical and anthropological readings of primary sources, in chapters three to five.

In Chapter 1, 'E fez-se o NO-DO', Busto Miramontes fleshes out the history of the series of documentaries and news known as NO-DO, paying attention to different programs as well as how the series evolved throughout the dictatorship. She emphasizes that NO-DO assisted the regime in educating bodies (42). As bodies perform in front of the camera, they give meaning to their gestures and movements, and over time they condition the way people move their bodies and interact with one another at a societal level. In the next chapter, 'A Nueva Espanha e o seu Nuevo Folclore', Busto Miramontes contextualizes the repression of Galician nationalists following Franco's seizure of power. The rest of the book offers a fresh account of the implications a stereotypical Galician representation in the NO-DO films had for processes of identity formation.

The next three chapters follow a chronological order. In Chapter 3, 'A Galiza "legitimadora". Anos 40 e demonstrações sindicais', the author argues that folklore legitimized Franco's regime by operating in institutional events, diplomatic missions, and ritual ceremonies (58–59). Francoism instrumentally used and manipulated folklore to match its interests. As Busto Miramontes observes, since synchronized sound recording at the time of filming was often too expensive, the NO-DO movies mixed folk dances and music from different time periods and locations to accommodate folklore to the regime's propaganda needs. Thus, a dance production by Coros y Danzas filmed in 1943 was accompanied by 'Alalá das curuxeiras', a *muiñeira* recorded by the Coral de Ruada (De Ruada Choir) in 1929 (62). In addition, these performances reenacted taxonomical gender roles employing gestures, movements, and traditional garbs. When folk dance

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productions were exclusively performed by women, the female-type or male-type dressing evoked patriarchal power dynamics and helped the audience internalize differentiated gender roles: 'Assim vestidas como "mulheres" ou como "homens" começaram a dar-se relações de dominação de género entre corpos femininos. Estabeleceram-se diferenças estéticas oportunas a fim de que, dentro do baile e só de maneira ritual, umas exercessem domínio sobre as outras' (64). To draw her conclusion about folklore as a legitimization tool, Busto Miramontes relies on other examples from fieldnotes, Rafael García Serrano's travelogue *Bailando hasta la Cruz del Sur* (1953), and NO-DO images of workers dancing during the feast of their patron, Saint Joseph Artisan on 1 May.

Chapter 4, 'A Galiza "subalterna". Anos 50', centers on the construction of the Galician subaltern. Based on the concept of Orientalism coined by Edward Said to define Western accounts of the East as a dominated, gendered, and exotic other, Busto Miramontes suggests the term '*galaiquismo*'. Thus *galaiquismo* – a concept that she also explores in the article 'La Arquitectura del Estereotipo Cultural en el Cine del Régimen Franquista: el Galaiquismo' (2020) – is a discourse that reduces Galiza to its folkloric image as a result of the symbolic violence Spain exerts over it in the context of colonial relationships (103). The author points out that Galician picturesque and gendered representation is much alive in today's media, as shown by commercials of Gadis, the popular groceries and general merchandise retailer. Busto Miramontes exegetically analyses the documentary *Galicia y sus gentes. Ayer y hoy de las tierras meigas* (1951), by Alberto Reig and Christian Anwander, as an example of *galaiquismo*. The documentary explores the notion of Celticism as a cultural and socio-historical attribute of the Galician people. Resting upon Helena Miguélez Carballeira's *Galiza, um povo sentimental?*, Busto Miramontes concludes that the regime turned Celticism into a 'gendered' concept: 'É operado um uso perverso e consciente da diferença, direta e explícita, para que fique assimilada e desativada, debaixo do próprio discurso franquista' (117). Precisely, Francoist propaganda controlled the narrative of Galician ontology, allowing for its Spanish domestication and colonization.

Chapter 5, 'A Galiza a la gallega. Anos 60 e 70', focuses on the figure of Manuel Fraga Iribarne after he joined the Franco cabinet as Minister of Information and Tourism in 1962 and his propaganda campaigns to transform Spain into a touristic destination. Here, the author analyses how Galiza became a privileged spot for tourists to have an 'experiência etnotemática' (143). The author constantly moves the argument back and forth to connect the past to present times, when tourists can actively experience a stereotypical Galicianness through its dances and songs. Towards the end, she invites the reader to question tourist consumption and consider the ways in which we, as tourists, cement stereotypes in pursuit of an exotic experience (147).

In the last chapter, 'O passado no presente, sem futuro', Busto Miramontes lists a series of events showing how *galaiquismo* continues to function as a regressive discourse of Galicianness. The NO-DO images echo present-day representations of Galician ontology as a country encapsulated in a rural setting inhabited by subaltern people: 'a imagem da Galiza silenciosa, calada, rural, primitiva e conservadora continua a reproduzir-se, hoje em dia, em grande quantidade de discursos' (152).

Recent success within the Galician folk community, as shown by the phenomenon of Tanxugueiras's popularity, makes Beatriz Busto

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Miramontes's book a fundamental reading. *Um país a la gallega* incisively propels critical analysis and theoretical tools, such as the term *galaiquismo*, to help one understand new cultural events and their relationships to the past. Moreover, combining her ethnomusicological training with an interdisciplinary approach, Busto Miramontes builds an instructive yet eclectic work for scholars and laypeople alike interested in diverse topics, including — but not only— music, performance, gender, and visual arts. The book deserves to be celebrated, read, and even brought to Galician *foliadas* to create better spaces for social and cultural recognition outside the clutches of commercial reification.

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