

The first radio presenters in Catalonia, from the invention's beginning to the early days of Franco's regime

SÍLVIA ESPINOSA

Associate lecturer at the Faculty of Communication Sciences at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

silvia.espinosa@uab.cat

Abstract

This article examines the major role of female radio presenters in Catalonia as pioneers in creating new programme formats: magazines. The study highlights the major influence of the way radio was presented by these women, who lived exclusively from their radio work and, in many cases, for example during the Civil War, were the only presenters that were heard. The history of radio in Catalonia has always been explicitly related to the names of certain individuals who were considered pioneers of the invention. The first radio entrepreneurs were men, as were the engineers that constructed the radio transmitters and receivers. But communication, the important element that linked radio to its audience, had many female voices, many of which had been long forgotten in Catalonia until they were reclaimed by this research, and these represented veritable bastions of their radio stations, especially in the Civil War period, when male announcers were fighting or in exile.

Key words

Radio presenter, history of radio, presenter, radio, magazine, radio presenters, radio stations.

Resum

Aquest article posa de manifest el paper preponderant que tingueren les locutores en les emissores de ràdio que operaven a Catalunya sota l'epígraf EAJ durant els anys vint i trenta del segle XX.

Les locutores foren les primeres professionals del mitjà que crearen programes (els femenins) amb un format que més endavant es coneixeria com a magazín, en un moment històric (anys vint) en el qual la ràdio estava plena de conferències i xerrades. La segona gran aportació de les dones a la història de la ràdio l'hem d'ubicar durant la Guerra Civil. Elles, en moltes estacions catalanes, foren les úniques veus que sortien en antena, a causa de l'exili i la incorporació a files de molts dels seus companys. La tercera clau que cal atribuir a les locutores per entendre bé el seu pes en la història de la ràdio de Catalunya és que per a elles aquesta feina era el seu únic modus vivendi, mentre que per a molts dels locutors la ràdio era un afegit a les seves feines principals d'advocats o professors.

Paraules clau

Locutor/a, història de la ràdio, presentador/a, ràdio, magazín, locutors, emissores.

The aim of this article is to reconstruct a fragment of our unknown past based on the contributions of female radio presenters concerning their work at the stations in operation in Catalonia from 1924 under known as EAJs, identifying local, commercial and limited range broadcasters operating in Catalonia until the end of the Civil War.

The work of female radio presenters, never before studied or acknowledged, shows that they were not a complement to male presenters, something that has very often been believed due to historical contamination coming from Franco's regime. The contribution of this research, which places female radio presenters of Catalonia in a central role at the start of radio broadcasting in Catalonia, undeniably means rewriting the Catalan history of radio as we have known it.

Female radio presenters were already significant for the history of radio in Catalonia at the very beginnings when, through Ràdio Barcelona, EAJ-1, the first professional station broadcast here, we could hear a programme with the format we would understand today as a *magazine programme*.

The first radio programme was for women by women

In the twenties of the last century, on the programming grids of the stations that operated very few hours in Catalonia, Ràdio Barcelona and Radio Catalana, we could only hear music, adverts and talks that were normally about science and technology or sports and the stock market. Radio was elite (Balsebre 2001), directed by a few wealthy people that invested in a new invention in order to please their peers, who would have to buy radios and pay the relevant duties to be able to listen to music programmes offered on the radio or broadcast from places related to Barcelona high culture, such as the Liceu opera house and the Palau de la Música.

The first business opportunity spotted by owners of Catalan radio stations with the wireless was related to the sales of receivers, as many radio station owners had exclusive commercial relations with radio brands sold at their establishments (Fernández Sande 2005-06). It is therefore quite logical that the first kind of programme on the radio in Catalonia was run

by an elite and aimed at another elite: a kind of audience that could afford a radio, paying the tax for owning one and appreciating the content that would hardly be appreciated by a textile worker in Terrassa, who couldn't even imagine the family expense involved in buying a radio and maintaining it.

In the midst of this scarce radio programming in the twenties, starring deep, male voices, when even a man, Joaquín Arraràs,¹ held talks aimed at women, a critic from the magazine published by Ràdio Barcelona, Salvador Raurich, asked in an article for female voices to be put on Ràdio Barcelona, something which, from his point of view, would help to embellish the broadcasts of the doyen station.

This is the launch pad for the reasons explaining why women started on radio, but it's not the only one. There is not a single reason that explains why women should have arrived on the radio during those early years. It was a natural process. In fact, on the radio stations operating in Europe and the United States during that period there were already female presenters working and, if programmes and even the technical broadcasting models from these foreign countries were copied in Catalonia,² it's logical to think that having female presenters was another of the foreign characteristics that also had to be imported here.

During the twenties, radio was mainly listened to at home (in the few homes that had a radio) and in some public places, such as casinos and radio listener clubs. At those times of the day when there were programmes, midday and evening to coincide with mealtimes, it was women who were mainly at home (the ladies of the house and maids) and, therefore, this early radio had a significant female audience that station owners wanted to please for two reasons: to have loyal listeners and open up an easily exploitable line of business. Listeners who had a radio at home had purchasing power and were also cultivated women who read women's magazines full of adverts for products that only they could buy. The maids didn't have the same purchasing power but they did have the enthusiasm and interest to mark their status within their field of employment. This economic motive helped, to a great extent, the inclusion of female presenters who, with their programmes, made a radio version of what their listeners were accustomed to reading: female content stuffed with adverts and advice of interest to the mistresses of the house.

With the change in decade, radio broadcasting was seen as a new field of employment for women in the Second Republic, who took advantage of the new political atmosphere to go to work in places where it had not previously been possible: the post office, prisons... and radio. At the beginning of the thirties, on Ràdio Barcelona, for example, there were more women than men working in the administrative area. It is therefore no surprise, with the creation of new EAJ stations, those covered by the decree of December 1932, that women should enter the world of radio presenting,³ which in the thirties already had a well-established precedent, that of Ràdio Barcelona and Maria Cinta Balagué.

Maria Cinta Balagué was a civil servant working for Barcelona

Council in the twenties and a member of the Institute of Culture and Popular Library for women. She arrived at EAJ-1 when the station asked this important and renowned women's institution to make a programme for women. In this way, and under the direction of Balagué, a journey started that would end with the creation, first, of a radio format, something which had not been customary until that time and, afterwards, with the consolidation of this format, which would go down in posterity as one of the emblems of radio: the magazine programme.

In 1926 on Ràdio Barcelona, in the evening programming period, the "section of fashion and useful themes" started. This was a choral space within a programming practically made up of monologues. It was presented by Maria Cinta Balagué, who was able to surround herself with a group of stable collaborators specialising in various female themes. Women of a high cultural and economic level who, moreover, used to write on the same themes they talked about on the radio in the magazines of the time: fashion, useful topics and "domestic science". It was a fixed programme, always on at the same time, identified with a name and with a similar structure for each broadcast, and would be the equivalent today of what we know as a *magazine programme* (Martí 1991).

These pioneers of *modern* radio programming included in their programme a novelty of undeniable interest. For the first time, listeners had the chance to become participants in a communication process, as Balagué and her aristocratic colleagues allowed listeners who were interested, and after a "prior voice test", to put their own writings or poems on the radio, something contained in the Ràdio Barcelona magazine. Thanks also to this smart move by a female programme, radio broadcasting in Catalonia started a process of relating with its audience that would make it grow (help make it popular) and would contribute to the fact that, in the thirties of the last century, we can already start to talk of a medium for mass communication.

Female voices on the radio during the war

The second great contribution of women to the history of radio we have placed in the Civil War, right in the decade of the thirties. Female radio presenters, on many Catalan stations, were the only voices that were broadcast because many of their colleagues were in exile or had joined up.

Although in Barcelona the financial capacity of the two stations operating, Ràdio Barcelona and Ràdio Associació de Catalunya, meant that they could have pairs of presenters to enhance the broadcast, in the rest of Catalonia it was normal to find only one person whose voice was on the air.

As the months passed, the Civil War became bloodier and when the Republican troops started to advance towards the French border, there were also related changes in the radio stations. The male presenters and also the directors of the stations⁴ abandoned their work, so that communication with listeners was left almost entirely in the hands of the female pre-

senders who kept the broadcasts going. Sometimes they had the support of a collaborator, from actors who would accompany them on the air, but very often it was the young female presenters who warned of bomb raids, called for blood donations on behalf of institutions and broadcast the council's announcements. They were the ones in charge of going to the Catalan government to read the announcements issued by the Propaganda Service and of broadcasting cries for help to find missing relatives.

At the stations outside Barcelona, female radio presenters had to find records to keep the broadcasts active, as the war made it difficult for couriers to come from the capital to their stations (branches) in the other counties of Catalonia, as they had done on a daily basis before the war, as explained to this researcher by the Republican presenter on Ràdio Lleida and Ràdio Girona, Maria Tera.

Female radio presenters were the mainstay of their respective radio stations, in spite of the fear of being bombed, as the presenter from Ràdio Associació de Catalunya remembers, Francina Boris, when asked by the author. They were very young women. Few were over 30 by the time the war ended and they had got used to working in the midst of bombings without their voices trembling. Doing all these tasks helped to maintain a veneer of normality required by a society that depended on the radio to know what was happening. Towards the end of the Civil War, radio had become a hegemonic medium in Catalan society, as explained and justified in my thesis *Les locutores de ràdio a Catalunya 1923-1939*. It was even easy for many listeners to hear the radio on the sly, to be able to hear broadcasts by the other side and get a real picture of how the armed conflict was going. These clandestine listenings were banned by the Republican government but it is nonetheless easy to find, even now, Catalan citizens who used to listen to Radio Sevilla during the last few days of the war, who remember the inflammatory speeches by General Queipo de Llano.

Introducing records, presenting proclamations and warnings, introducing serious political speeches and reading the orders from the different governments went to make up the daily work of the female radio presenters on the Republican stations in Catalonia, especially in Barcelona, where Rosalia Rovira, Francina Boris and Carmen Espona worked at Ràdio Associació until the new directors from Franco's regime took over.

Female radio presenters also faced reprisals under Franco's regime

The best known case of reprisals under Franco's regime against a female radio presenter during this temporary period is certainly that of the *first presenter* of Ràdio Associació de Catalunya, Rosalia Rovira. Her status as a political figure (supporting the Catalan State) meant that Franco's supporters sent

her to jail for three months and ultimately removed her from the world of radio forever, so that she even had financial problems for the rest of her life. Until democracy was restored, and thanks to the efforts of Teodor Garriga, an old colleague of hers from Ràdio Associació who died recently, Rovira's name was not cleared.

Her peers at Ràdio Associació also suffered from the change in regime and got a taste of prison life, albeit sometimes just for a night. Francina Boris was relegated to working as a secretary for two years after the end of the war, after which she was allowed to present again but in her home town of Girona, something that cannot at all be seen as giving her back her previous employment status. Carmen Espona, who, because she was so young, had a tough time withstanding her "purge" and time in prison, moved away from presenting but not from radio. She dedicated herself to opera and went to radio stations to sing and take part in the numerous concerts that filled radio broadcasts in the early days of Franco's regime.

Things were different at Ràdio Barcelona because the station wasn't operating that winter early in 1939. At the end of the war, a bomb had forced Ràdio Barcelona out of its premises and one of the company's engineers, Joaquín Ruiz Golluri, took advantage of this time to dismantle part of the broadcasting centre. The staff at Ràdio Barcelona went to work at the studios of Ràdio Associació, as the Catalan government had confiscated all the radio stations. So Ràdio Barcelona stopped and its staff dispersed until they were told to *present themselves* once again with the start of the new regime. Before this happened, however, M. Carme Nicolau used to go, whenever necessary, to the offices of the Catalan government to read its proclamations and took turns with her colleagues at Ràdio Associació. Nicolau, the only female journalist working on Catalan radio before Franco's dictatorship, and Rosa Cotó, more moderate but also with a very different political profile from that of the new regime, had to avoid the order to *present themselves* at Ràdio Barcelona and couldn't return to the station for some time. M. Carme Nicolau had to go into exile and Rosa Cotó dedicated herself to the theatre. M. Carmen Martínez-Illescas, another presenter at Ràdio Barcelona, was the presenter who returned, but very soon she stopped being a presenter and became an actress and announcer, together with the soprano Enriqueta Benito, who in 1939 would be removed from the station by the new regime.

In Girona, the programming at the end of the Civil War was carried out by Maria Tera, who also lived with her parents at the station as a war refugee. When Franco's forces entered the city, she left radio forever. In Vilanova, Núria Fraire and Candelària Simón took turns until the radio stopped broadcasting. In Lleida, the station was no longer in operation at the end of the conflict, as happened with Ràdio Reus after Antònia Sol, the first presenter, disappeared (the presenter, Enric Corretger, had to leave to do his military service) and left the microphones in the hands of Adelaida Òdena, who stayed there until the station stopped broadcasting in 1938 and returned when it start-

ed up again, after having been investigated by the new regime, which never took its eyes off her. In Sabadell, Merceneta Sorribas, the youngest female presenter in Catalonia in the 1930s, continued with her work even while the new regime was "purging" her colleagues; as happened at Ràdio Terrassa, where the presenter Antolina Boada continued to broadcast programmes and even provided technical support, as she was broadcasting on her own. Boada was the presenter for Ràdio Terrassa from 1932, when she took the tests held by the station to find presenters, until she retired in the 1970s.

In Manresa, Tarragona and Badalona there are some exceptions. Women didn't broadcast here during the war for quite different reasons. Ràdio Manresa was the only Catalan station that didn't have female presenters until well into Franco's regime. Broadcasts were by the station's male presenters who, together with other workers, also ran the station. The situation remained the same until well into 1938 when they closed because they could no longer afford to expense of running the station. In Badalona, the Barbosa brothers, who were the presenters, had already left their jobs when war broke out. The female presenter, Ana Badosa, once again became relevant in her town's society with the arrival of Franco's regime, as she was the opera singer invited by the new regime to inaugurate different social and civic centres in the town. So, without female presenters, the broadcasts by Ràdio Badalona at the end of the war were by the Vidal's (father and son), owners of the station, until it was broken up and re-established in January 1939 on the order of Franco's officials.

In Tarragona, the legendary presenter, Josep M. Tarrasa, worked alone as his broadcasting companion, Montserrat Parés, had left the station when the war had become particularly bloody and her family was severely persecuted and they had to hide. Tarrasa broadcast until the radio station was destroyed during the retreat, which he witnessed, as recalled in his memoirs (Tarrasa 1995).

Female radio presenters were veritable professionals of the radio and gender did not determine salary

The third key element to understanding the important role played by female radio presenters in the development of radio as a means of communication in Catalonia must be attributed, in my opinion, to the professional presenters' dedication to radio.

While this work was their only *modus vivendi* for many female presenters, for many male presenters who were their broadcasting colleagues at the time, radio was *in addition* and in many cases not their main job. Many male presenters working in Catalonia before the war, at stations outside Barcelona, had other jobs which provided them with their main income. They were lawyers, lecturers, shopkeepers, teachers and even soldiers, and their work on the radio was more a pastime than a full-time job, unlike the situation of the female radio presen-

ters. Many of the male presenters working for local stations ended up in such a position through theatrical links and often became presenters after being amateur dramatists due to their interest in the medium.

At the Barcelona radio stations, both male and female presenters were veritable radio professionals, in the sense that this was their only job. In the city, Ràdio Barcelona and Ràdio Associació de Catalunya had enough budget to pay presenters that *acted as couples* when the station wanted them to. To give just one example that highlights the economic power of radio at that time there is Ràdio Associació which, before the war, used to maintain an orchestra with 80 musicians, something totally incomparable with the trios or quartets maintained by some stations outside the city.

Female radio presenters at that time were not actresses; they were presenters of the programmes broadcast by their radio stations. There is one exception: Ràdio Barcelona, which had actresses (who joined the station when they were already established) who both acted and presented on the radio, but this did not happen at the rest of the Catalan stations. Female radio presenters only worked as anchor presenters and if they had been actresses before, such as Rosalia Rovira when she joined Ràdio Associació, the station turned them into presenters and they stopped working as actresses from that time on.

A female presenter in the 1930s was a professional voice who linked content and programmes in the broadcasts of her radio station. They never used to write scripts but were the guarantee of a text being read well, even when it contained foreign words. They were presenters, *speakerines* or *diceuses*, according to the publications of the time, who introduced social acts, music, talks, information, read poems or stories and ran the programmes for women. They earned a salary and their living from this work.

At this time, radio presenters had a salary according to the employment category the station had registered them under. The *first presenters* were more renowned and more prestigious and better paid, occupying the best time bands for broadcasting. The *second presenters* or substitutes were apprentice presenters. Normally they were being trained, were younger than the *first presenters* and did the less important shifts on the air.

Small stations only had one presenter on their staff, often female, as a woman was more versatile and therefore more profitable for the station than a male, because "for the same salary they would sweep up, if necessary", in the words of the former sound technician for Ràdio Vilanova, Enric Harris, remembering, on our request, the work of presenters at his station during the Second Republic. In fact, not with these words but with similar ones, many presenters of various stations interviewed agreed with this statement; female presenters were the workers at the station that, if necessary, put on the records, changed the needles and also answered the phone and opened the door, and male presenters were collaborators that weren't on the staff and didn't used to do all these jobs.

After studying this division of labour, we have established that

there were many female presenters who earned a higher salary than their colleagues, as they were *first presenters*. This is the case of Rosalia Rovira at Ràdio Associació, who earned more money than Teodor Garriga, who was not a *first presenter* even though, at the end of the thirties, he was the Catalan government's delegate at the station, and Maria Tersa at Ràdio Lleida. She was the first presenter and Maties Olivé was a collaborator from radio's the broadcasting staff who often used to work with her. At Ràdio Girona, the presenter Jacint Carreras, in addition to earning a salary as such, also carried out administrative tasks to be able to get a higher wage than his female colleague, the presenter M. Lluïsa Figa, who only worked as a presenter and lived off her salary for this.

These examples, which are not the only ones, illustrate a new field of employment, that of radio broadcasting, that paid without taking gender into account, a new and interesting aspect that places radio in a different dimension in labour terms than was customary in the 1930s. In spite of the policy of the Second Republic in Catalan society, men used to earn higher salaries than women, as it was considered that women's wages were in addition to men's, who were the head of the family. On radio in the thirties, gender was not taken into account when determining salaries, which were paid according to professional value and dedication. Neither was it taken into account if it was a male or female presenter talking on the radio, it was simply a professional voice, sometimes male and sometimes female, talking to the listeners.

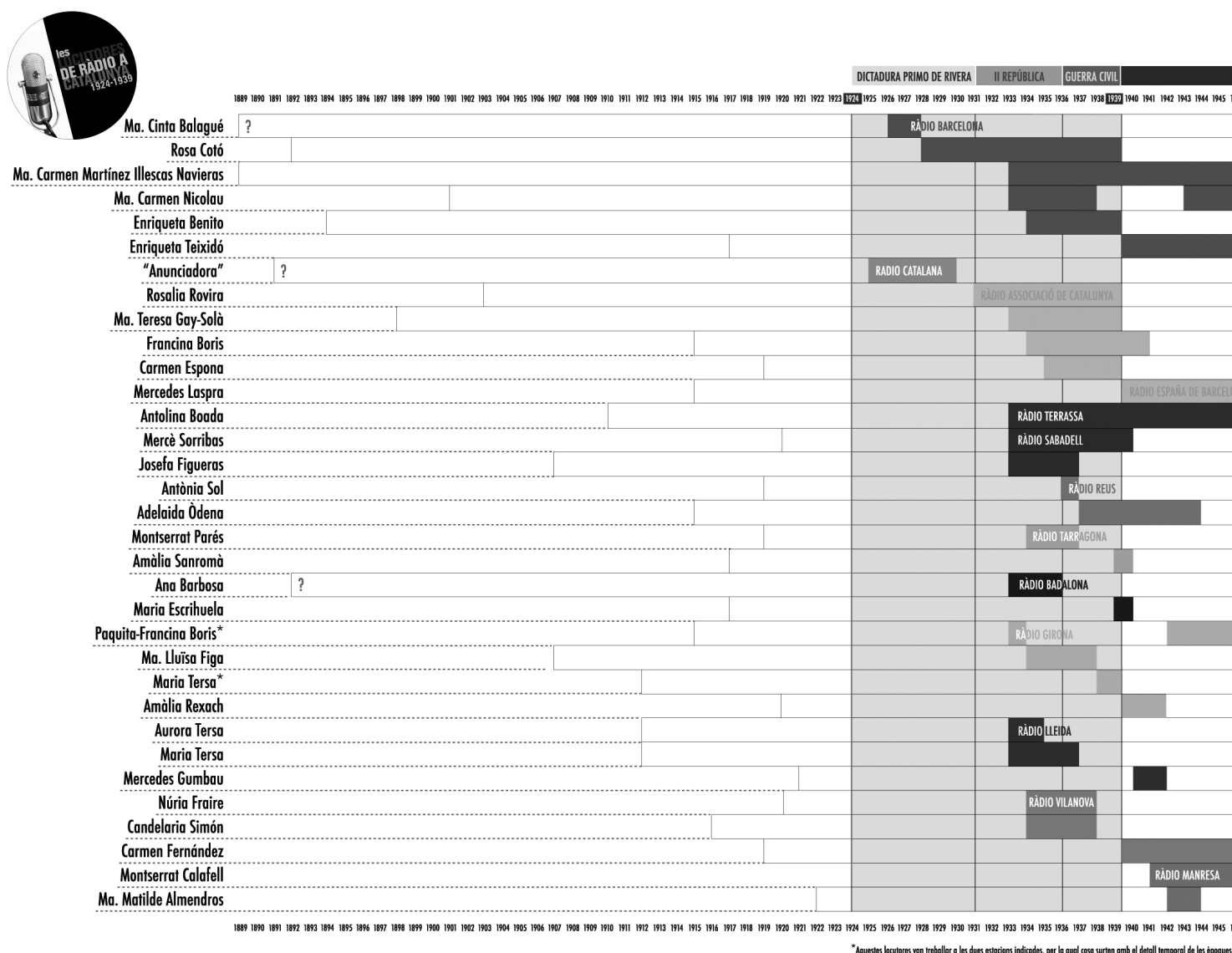
Based on a discussion group produced *ad hoc* from listeners of Catalan radio in the thirties, we observed that male and female presenters did exactly the same work on the radio, according to the perceptions of their listeners.

It's curious and symbolic to see how these former radio listeners from the years of the Republic found it hard to understand why the researcher thought it was relevant to ask about this point. Exactly the same surprise was shown by the former male and female radio presenters, sound technicians, secretaries, musicians and actors we were lucky enough to interview for this research, many of whom have died while my doctoral thesis was being produced. These radio professionals, veritable pioneers in shaping the radio we still have today in Catalonia, worked by creating formats and sub-genres that never managed to become established as they had been designed, as the unfortunate events of 1939 went about placing female radio presenters at a noticeably secondary rank and gave the lion's share of presenting to male presenters who, from the time Franco came into power, shaped the attributions and roles of the new society.

Notes

- 1 This journalist would become the war correspondent for the national side during the Civil War.
- 2 My doctoral thesis duly argues this statement.
<<http://www.tesisenxarxa.net/TDX-0331109-152709/>>
- 3 In the research carried out we have been able to confirm also that, on radio stations from other towns outside Barcelona, very often there was a single person responsible for presenting and it was a woman, as it was more profitable for the company because, apart from being a presenter, if necessary, she could also order the records and answer the telephone. In the thirties men were far more unlikely to offer such availability.
- 4 Many collaborators, musicians and actors who used to work on the radio, as with other positions and jobs in the most democratic society of that time in our history, some of which had had to go to the front and others who had died, had to hide or go into exile. It is also opportune to note that there were women who went through this same situation. The presenter and journalist for Ràdio Barcelona, Maria Carme Nicolau, also had to go into exile.

Table 1. The female radio presenters in Catalonia (1924-1939)



*Aquestes locutores van treballar a les dues estacions indicades, per la qual cosa surten amb el detall temporal de les èpoques.

In this bar diagram can be observed the vital and professional paths of the diverse female radio presenters who worked at Catalonia from the beginning of the first emissions of 1924 until Franco's regime was fully consolidated (1942) and he could leave the microphones in the hands of relatives, friends and near to the regime people. Chronologically and categorized by radio stations, these are the professionals who works at the Catalan radio at those years of the 20th century

- **RÀDIO BARCELONA:** M. Cinta Balagué, Rosa Cotó, M. Carmen Martínez-Illescas Naveiras, M. Carme Nicolau, Enriqueta Benito, Enriqueta Teixidó.

- **RÀDIO CATALANA.** Va tenir una anunciadora que lamentablement no hem pogut trobar.

- **RÀDIO ASSOCIACIÓ DE CATALUNYA:** Rosalia Rovira, M. Teresa Gay-Solà, Francina Boris, Carmen Espona, Mercedes Laspra.

- **RÀDIO TERRASSA.** Antolina Boada.

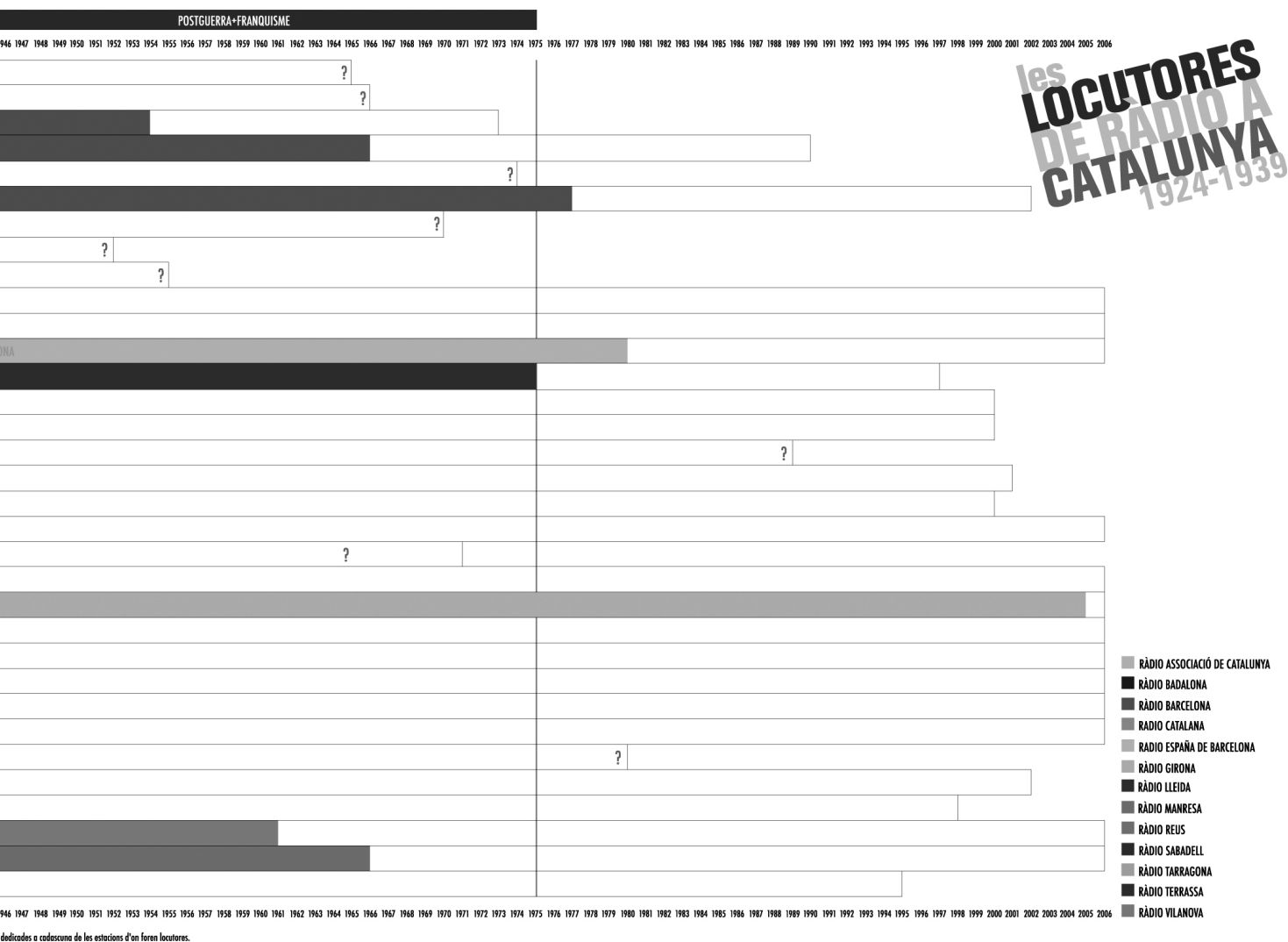
- **RÀDIO SABADELL.** Mercè Sorribas, Josefina Figueras.

- **RÀDIO REUS.** Antònia Sol, Adelaida Òdena.

- **RÀDIO TARRAGONA.** Montserrat Parés, Amàlia Sanromà.

- **RÀDIO BADALONA.** Ana Barbosa, Maria Escrihuela.

- **RÀDIO GIRONA.** Paquita Boris, M. Lluïsa Figa, Maria Tera, Amalia Rexach.



- RÀDIO LLEIDA. Aurora Tersa, Maria Tersa, Mercedes Gumbau.

- RÀDIO VILANOVA. Núria Fraire, Candelaria Simón, Carmen Fernández.

- RÀDIO MANRESA. Montserrat Calafell, M. Matilde Almendros.

References

- ARIAS CARDONA, J. *Guía de las emisoras de radio de toda España*. A curious and useful book. 1933.
- ARIAS RUIZ, A. *50 años de radiodifusión en España*. Madrid: RTVE, 1973.
- BALSEBRE, A. *Historia de la radio en España*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2001, 1st edition. ISBN 8437619408, 8437619653 (vol. 2)
- EZCURRA, L. *Historia de la radiodifusión española*. Los primeros años. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1974. ISBN 842761201X.
- FAUS, A. *La radio en España (1896-1977)*. Madrid: Taurus, 2007, 1st edition. ISBN 9788430606504.
- FERNÁNDEZ SANDE, M. *Los orígenes de la radio en España*. Madrid: Fragua, 2005-2006, 1st edition. ISBN 8470741829.
- FRANQUET, R. *Història de la ràdio a Catalunya al segle xx: de la ràdio de galena a la ràdio digital*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2001, 1st edition. ISBN 8439354509.
- GUILLAMET, J. *Història de la premsa, la ràdio i la televisió a Catalunya 1641-1994*. Barcelona: Edicions La Campana, 1994. ISBN 8488791089.
- LOWY, A.; CRESPO, E. et al. *La imagen de la mujer en la radio*. Análisis. Manuscrit. UAB, 1985.
- MARTÍ, J. M. et al. *70 anys de ràdio*. Annals del periodisme català. Barcelona: Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya, 1993.
- MARTÍ, J. M. *Modelos de programación radiofónica*. Viladecavalls: Feed-Back, 1991, 1st edition. ISBN 8487799000.
- MUNSÓ CABÚS, J. *Tiempo de radio (1978-1990): memorias de cadena catalana*. Barcelona: L'esfera dels llibres, 2006. ISBN 8497344014.
- NASH, M. *Dona i família a la Catalunya contemporània*. Barcelona: Institut Català de la Dona de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1999.
- PÉREZ PUJOL, R. (dir.) *Anuario de la radio*. Barcelona: Ed. Barcelona, 1936.
- PÉREZ VILAR, R. *El triomf de la ràdio a Catalunya*. Barcelona, 1933.
- RÀDIO ASSOCIACIÓ DE CATALUNYA. *RA de C*. Barcelona, 1935.
- SALILLAS, J. M.; RAFEL LLENA, A. *50 años de EAJ 15. Radio Associació de Catalunya, Radio España de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Picazo, 1980. ISBN 8436102398.
- SOLÉ SABATÉ, J. M. (dir.) *Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil, dia a dia. Els anys de la Segona República (1931-1936)*. Barcelona: Edicions 62 and La Vanguardia, 2006. ISBN 8429757635.
- VIVANCO, J. *Guerra Civil y Radio Nacional. Salamanca 1936-1938*. Madrid: Instituto Oficial de Radio y Televisión RTVE, 2006. ISBN 8488788630.