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***Noi Donne* and *Famiglia Cristiana*: Communists, Catholics, and American Female Culture in Cold War Italy**

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Placing its analysis in the context of Italy's social and cultural Cold War between the Catholic Church and the Italian Communist Party (PCI), this article examines how the Catholic magazine, *Famiglia Cristiana*, and the female Communist magazine, *Noi Donne*, responded to the challenges posed by the increasing presence of American consumer culture, specifically that of beauty products and models, entertainment, and celebrity, in Italian women's lives in the post World War II period. The article illustrates the similar moderate, yet diverse positions adopted by both publications in dealing with this "American invasion" and explains the reasons behind these positions.

The events between 1943 and 1946—the defeat of Fascism, the end of World War II, and the end of the Italian monarchy—represented a break with the past and ushered in aspirations and hopes for a different and brighter future for Italians. This rupture with the past also set the stage for a cultural, social, and political battle in the country that would last for most of the second half of the twentieth century. The struggle for political control primarily involved the Christian Democratic Party (DC) and the PCI, both former members of the anti-Fascist coalition that had fought against Fascists and Nazis in the last two years of the war. On the cultural and social level, the PCI, whose party policy had a significant cultural component, remained a primary protagonist. On the opposite—and conservative—end of the spectrum, the Catholic Church, through its institutionalized political party, assumed primacy in this struggle for social and cultural dominance in postwar Italy. The PCI and the Church promoted diverse visions of Italian society. On one hand, the Catholics endorsed the family as the cornerstone of society, while on the other hand, the Communists promoted socialism and collectivism as the sound foundation for Italian society.

Initially, this social and cultural battle remained an internal struggle for creating order in a ruined country and constructing a postwar national Italian identity.¹ However, the invasion of American culture in the form of consumer capitalist models and products in the mid-1950s transformed this internal, bipolar struggle into a tripolar one between the Catholic Church, the Communists, and the United States.² From this point on, the primary struggle during the Cold

War period for the Church and Communists was not with each other, but rather with the growing presence of American consumer culture in the country, its perceived detrimental influence on Italians, and the social and cultural changes it engendered. Consequently, Catholic and Communist leaders were now faced with the challenge of determining how to make sense of these rapid changes for themselves, and most importantly, for their followers.

The leaders used their popular cultural publications, in particular magazines, as a forum for discussion, as well as a guide for readers, on how to deal with the new consumer products and models in Italy. It became especially important for the Catholics and Communists to reach the female readership of their respective magazines since much of the American consumer culture was targeted at women. Furthermore, these Italian women were encountering the new culture on an ever more frequent basis, which was due to several factors: the end of the Fascist regime and its restrictive nationalist policies, the subsequent exportation of American consumer products to Italy by U.S. companies, and Italian entrepreneurs' importation of these products and American consumer culture to the country. Because of this increased exposure, the Catholics and Communists used the magazines *Famiglia Cristiana* and *Noi Donne*, respectively, to instruct women, who were at the forefront of the country's consumer revolution, on how to deal with the new models and behaviors of consumption that they encountered.

This article examines how *Famiglia Cristiana* and *Noi Donne* responded to the challenges posed by the presence of Mrs. Consumer—the white, middle-class, modern suburban American housewife who represented American female consumer culture in the postwar period—in the areas of beauty, entertainment, and celebrity. Far from an outright rejection, the two publications included American consumer modernity into their pages and adapted it to fit their visions of the ideal postwar Italian woman. They mediated the influence and novelty of American consumer culture by offering selected criticism and praise that were in line with important Catholic and Communist beliefs: modesty and religious morality for Catholics; collectivism, equality, and financial morality for Communists. The women that emerged in these two magazines were modern, consuming women that remained loyal to the core ideological beliefs of the Church and Communists.

ITALY AND THE COLD WAR

The unique political and cultural situation in Italy—a country rebuilding from war while simultaneously engaging in an internal struggle between the conservative forces of the DC, Catholic Church, and the PCI—made the country a strategic game piece in the international Cold War chess match that was developing at the same time.³ The two superpowers fighting the Cold War battle, the United States and the Soviet Union, took a strong interest in postwar Italy. For the United States, which was seeking to ensure a capitalist democratic Europe,

this interest meant providing Italy with financial aid in the form of UNRRA and Marshall Plan funds in addition to supplying comestibles and other desperately needed material goods to the country and its people.⁴ For the Soviet Union, which, in contrast, was looking to build a Communist Europe, this interest meant maintaining a connection with the PCI and making the party a member of the Cominform, the alliance of Communist parties. As a result of this external interest in Italy's domestic situation, the country increasingly became part of a larger, international Cold War struggle.

The internationalization of Italy's political, social, and cultural struggle made the United States and the Soviet Union, and their respective ideologies, increasingly significant presences in Italian society. Each superpower became a reference point for specific groups in Italy. For example, the Italian business class viewed the U.S. as the land of modernity, progress, possibility, and above all, prosperity. For Italian entrepreneurs and industrialists looking to rebuild their companies, the U.S.'s consumer capitalist enterprises were *the* model to follow.⁵ In contrast, Italy's working class considered the Soviet Union to be the land of peace and social justice; a society in which the collective good was prioritized over the individual's good.⁶ But American consumer capitalist models, products, and ideas came to have a greater presence in Italian society and culture than those coming from the Soviet Union for two reasons. First, the combination of the DC's political power and its alliance with the United States, which itself was not lacking in economic strength or desire to export its products to war-ravaged Europe for political and economic reasons, gave American consumerism more visibility. Second, the absence of commercial competition from the Soviets also contributed to its prominence.

American products, such as makeup and domestic appliances, appealed to many Italian women because they represented a lifestyle that contrasted sharply with the deprived lives they led during the war and under the Fascist regime. They wanted to begin living in a modern and prosperous world and thus purchased American products in order to achieve this goal. Purchasing these objects also meant buying the ideals of freedom of choice, affluence, and individualism that the objects contained, ideals that diverged from those endorsed by the Soviet Union. Whereas before this "American invasion" the Communist threat and the Catholic threat were the primary themes of the Catholics' and Communists' propaganda respectively, American consumer capitalism added a new element to this bipolar struggle, with American consumerism becoming a new preoccupation for both Catholics and Communists.⁷ However, this is not to say that the two groups abandoned their criticisms of each other and rallied together under a united banner to defeat the American threat. Although the Communists and Catholics shared a common enemy, their criticisms of American consumer culture showed their divergent societal visions for postwar Italy. In this way, the Communists and Catholics were still threats to each other and still served as motivation for their

attacks on each other in their respective popular and non-popular publications. Therefore, the arrival of American consumerism did not end the adversarial relationship between the Communists and Catholics.

Italians' acquisition of American consumer products and the subsequent gradual "Americanization" of Italian society became new concerns for the two groups because American consumerism contained capitalist ideals that undermined core aspects of Catholic and Communist ideology. The Church feared that purchasing American consumer products and their attendant ideals, such as individualism and materialism, would "cancel [Catholics'] faith and [morality]," undermine the family and thus lead to the deterioration of Italian society.⁸ On the other end of the ideological spectrum, the Italian Communist critique concentrated on American consumer culture's perceived ability to undermine the collective nature of Communism, as well as the ideological purity of the party.

Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the PCI, considered culture, specifically outputs of Italian intellectuals connected with the PCI, to be very important for constructing and maintaining social order and thus, gave it an active role in the PCI's struggle for socialism to become the governing system in Italian society.⁹ Initially, the party leader brought intellectuals into the PCI to "confound the bourgeois impression that the [PCI] comprised uncultivated barbarians and hotheads."¹⁰ The ideas produced by Italian Communist intellectuals became part of the Party's program for educating its working-class members. In this way, the Communists tied together their political platform with the culture of its members, and constructed a socialist society with a strong intellectual, cultural foundation.¹¹ However, popular American culture—films, music, comics, and material goods—threatened to dilute this purity as idealized by the PCI. Watching films or listening to rock and roll music that promoted the individualistic, materialistic, and avaricious "American way of life," and buying products belonging to this lifestyle, also threatened the collective nature and action inherent to the PCI's identity and ideology. Therefore, Communist leaders feared that the U.S.'s mass consumer society would seduce the Party's members, "erode the bases of left-wing support," and mark the end of the PCI's socialist vision for Italy.¹²

Both Catholic and Communist critiques of American consumer capitalism in the early years of the postwar period contained an apocalyptic tone. According to these groups, this new culture, its ideas, and its models would obliterate Italian morality, destroy Catholic and Communist visions of Italian society, and drag Italy into a religiously and financially immoral Dark Age. By viewing American consumer culture, and its harmful and detrimental effect on women's morality in particular, as a common enemy, both the Catholics and Communists expressed a similar fear of women's changing societal position in the postwar period. For Catholics, the fear was based on the fact that the cultural and social changes engendered by the "economic miracle" allowed women to become more independent and detached from the familial unit.¹³ While Communists viewed

women's growing independence and participation in the work force as positive, their fear was based on the capitalist ideology that lay at the basis of these changes, which threatened to distort women's financial and social morality. These changes and women's apparent approval of them, evident in their embrace of the new consumer culture, in turn necessitated a response by Catholics and Communists to the American "invasion."

In the early postwar period, each group had a different relationship with the growing mass media market in Italy. The Catholic Church was more receptive to this market and more adept than the PCI at using mass media and popular culture to spread its message. In contrast, the PCI's cultural strategy, as discussed earlier, consisted primarily of eschewing the new mass media and instead, using intellectual writings, a much more limited avenue, to connect with potential members. In response to the growing power of mass media and the Church's increasing control of the market, the PCI changed its cultural strategy, moving away from a dependence on intellectuals and towards a greater reliance on popular culture to spread its message.

Magazines were used by both groups to maintain their relevance among Italians in the country's modernizing and increasingly consumerist society, and to combat the "invasion" of American consumer capitalism and the changes it brought to Italian society. Specifically, the Catholic magazine, *Famiglia Cristiana*, and the magazine *Noi Donne*, published by the Unione delle Donne Italiane (UDI, a collateral organization of the PCI for women), became important cultural weapons in this three-way struggle for the hearts and minds of Italian women.¹⁴

FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA AND NOI DONNE: A HISTORY

Famiglia Cristiana, still in existence today, was first published on December 25, 1931 by the Catholic foundation Pia Società San Paolo, which had been founded some sixteen years before by Don Alberione in the northern Italian town of Alba. The magazine was primarily directed at women, providing information for readers in the areas of the home, cooking, economic and farming matters, and religious life. In fact, *Famiglia Cristiana's* subtitle was "weekly magazine for women and daughters."¹⁵ After a brief suspension during the war, the publication returned and aimed at reaching a broader audience consisting of women, men, daughters, and sons. The magazine's subtitle was changed to "weekly magazine for families" and its content now included issues relevant to Italy's male population. Despite the broadened scope, women still remained the target audience. The majority of the magazine's readers resided in the northern Italian regions of Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Veneto, and belonged to the urban middle class or rural class.¹⁶

The first issue of *Noi Donne*, which also still exists, was published in July 1944 in Naples by female members of the Resistance who were united and organized "in the fight for the defense of their men and children, against the roundups and hunger, for the end of the war, of massacres, and of bombing."¹⁷ The publication

soon came under the direction of the UDI, which had been founded in Rome just two months after the release of *Noi Donne*'s first issue. In the first years of publication, *Noi Donne* was mainly a bulletin of the UDI, providing news, political, and organizational information to readers. In this manifestation, the magazine sought to inform readers on "what women in progressive democratic countries had accomplished," as well as to "democratize [Italian women's lives] by clarifying [their] problems and the method and the will to resolve them."¹⁸

Beginning in the 1950s, *Famiglia Cristiana* and *Noi Donne* underwent changes in layout, content, and overall aims that made them less informational brochures and more vehicles for endorsing their particular viewpoints in response to the perceived Communist and Catholic threats, respectively, and more importantly, to Italy's rapidly modernizing and Americanizing society. *Famiglia Cristiana* wanted to shape its readers' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors in line with Catholic doctrine in order to combat the threat of the "American way of life." As Stephen Gundle notes, the publication became a "type of printed sermon rather than one pronounced from the pulpit."¹⁹ The magazine's "sermons"—its articles and responses to readers' letters in the advice column "*Colloqui le risposte del Padre*"—instructed readers on how to use Christian doctrine as their guide to living in Italy's modernizing society. The magazine facilitated the diffusion and permanence of the Catholic message among the country's population. The increasing circulation figures—27,000 in 1938, 384,000 in 1955, 1 million in 1960, and 1.7 million by 1973—indicate that *Famiglia Cristiana*'s "sermons" were reaching more Italians as the postwar period progressed. When taking into consideration the growing dual presences of American consumerism and the Cold War during this same period, the circulation increase illustrates the importance given to a popular cultural item by Catholics as a means of competing with these foreign influences.

Noi Donne also underwent layout and content changes in the 1950s that transformed it from an informational bulletin into a publication that resembled the glossy, popular weekly women's magazines. The revised *Noi Donne* featured color photos of celebrities and contained sections devoted to fashion and beauty. The magazine's transformation, on one hand, signaled a partial acceptance of an increasingly consumer-oriented society. On the other hand though, it allowed for *Noi Donne*'s editors and journalists to highlight the injustices of consumer capitalism and to promote their socialist vision for Italian female society. In so doing, similarly to *Famiglia Cristiana*, the Communist magazine provided readers with a guide on how to make sense of and live in Italy's changing society.

FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA, NOI DONNE, AND AMERICAN FEMALE CULTURE

La bellezza

One of the most noticeable changes in the Italian female culture during the postwar period regarded women's increasing use of American or

American-inspired makeup so as to imitate their favorite Hollywood film stars. Prior to this period, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, makeup use among Italian women was limited as a result of traditional beauty ideas that associated women who wore cosmetics—typically the few visible in the public sphere, such as prostitutes and actresses—with “dubious morals.”²⁰ According to these norms, which also prevailed in the United States at the same time, women were supposed to display an “authentic” or “natural” appearance that represented their moral and true selves.²¹ Beauty products such as lipstick, nail polish, and face powder that became staples in women’s bedrooms after World War II were not originally part of everyday Italian female culture.

Another important factor limiting the wider use of makeup among Italian women in the 1920s and 1930s was the Fascist regime’s construction and propagation of its ideal Italian woman—the *donna madre*, or “the mother woman.” This robust, fertile, and rural Italian woman was a traditional image of womanhood that contrasted with the modern and increasingly popular images of the Modern Girl and Hollywood actresses—the independent, thin, cosmopolitan, and “decadent” women who used cosmetic products—that were circulating in Italy at the time. The Fascist regime referred to these images as *donna crisi*, or “the crisis woman.”²² While these more modern, cosmopolitan images remained popular among young Italian women, makeup use remained restricted to this sector and did not spread beyond it. However, after the war, it was these young women of the *ventennio* that would lead the country into transforming its notions of beauty by readily consuming American beauty culture.

The American beauty ideal—youth, radiant personality, elegance, and the ability to attract the opposite sex—was dominant in postwar Italian society. Its prevailing position was due to the postwar revival, growth, and immense popularity of Italian women’s weekly magazines, whose advertisements were dominated by American cosmetics and their attendant images of beauty. Defining factors of Italy’s “economic miracle”—unprecedented internal migration from South to North and from rural to urban areas, the economic reprisal and subsequent rise in incomes, and the development of mass consumerism—also facilitated the spread of the American beauty ideal throughout the peninsula. Additionally, these factors contributed to increasing the social capital of beauty and hence, its importance among Italian women. As such, obtaining an ideal standard of beauty based on U.S. models became an increasingly important desire among Italy’s upper to middle-class female population.

Thus, the topic of beauty, *la bellezza* in Italian, became one of the areas in which *Famiglia Cristiana* and *Noi Donne* provided a partial resistance to the invasion of American female consumerism, which promoted a more visible, public and perhaps “morally dubious” woman, as a means of protecting its readers’ Catholic and Communist integrities, respectively.

Famiglia Cristiana urged its female readers to demonstrate “Christian elegance”—an American beauty model subdued by Catholic morality—in their outward appearance. This idea contrasted with the heavily made-up woman featured in beauty advertisements and fashion spreads in the popular women’s weekly magazines, such as *Grazia* and *Annabella*. The ideal modern Catholic woman, according to *Famiglia Cristiana*, could wear makeup so long as she had a modest appearance that aligned with Catholic morality. The promotion of this ideal could most often be found in the magazine’s beauty and advice columns. According to *Famiglia Cristiana*, cosmetic products had to be used to enhance, not disfigure, one’s features, for practical reasons, or to “correct evident defects.”²³ For example, the article “L’ABC della bellezza” told readers to use face powder to cover pimples or acne and lipstick to keep lips soft.²⁴ The *Vi voglio tutte belle* columnist told readers that eye makeup was meant to enhance the wearer’s soul, not to make her eyes appear “impersonal and ridiculous like a doll, or worse like a clown.”²⁵ In another issue, the columnist warned readers that using cosmetic products to drastically change one’s features—hair color and skin tone—would not bring happiness, adding that “there is nothing more depressing, anonymous and dull than a brunette camouflaged as a blond or vice versa.”²⁶ Cosmetics, such as lipstick, eyeliner, and hair dye, could not be applied in a showy and excessive manner that distorted a woman’s physical features, nor her personality. Therefore, *Famiglia Cristiana*’s beauty columns and articles promoted a Catholic woman whose made-up face was simple, decent, and of good taste, not gaudy, exaggerated, and false.

This same ideal was promoted in the advice columns of Padre Atanasio, which responded to readers’ letters that expressed concern with the increased usage of makeup among Italian women and how it affected their characters. In one letter, P.V. from Naples told the Padre that when “[he] found himself in front of a made-up girl, [he] felt a sense of repugnance because he considered her to be a woman of bad taste.”²⁷ Padre Atanasio’s response echoed sentiments found in the beauty columns discussed above. He told P.V. that a woman’s “sentiment is revealed more by [her] behavior than by makeup” and thus, “makeup, understood in the right manner, is lawful.”²⁸ He also added that an excessively made-up woman was someone who “lacked an *aesthetic sense* or more so *good sense*. Nothing else.”²⁹ Thus, makeup use did not reflect poorly on a woman’s character.

However, Padre Atanasio did acknowledge that beauty products and models contained a negative aspect—the fact that cosmetic products could be used in an insincere way that solely benefitted oneself. He told readers that “makeup should never be a trick, but a magic touch that gives brightness to reality” and that a woman who uses beauty products “to seduce men, sins gravely.”³⁰ By making these statements, the Padre warned against the materialism, greediness, and artificiality of the consumer-based “American way of life” which accompanied the diffusion of American beauty products and models throughout Italian society.

Another letter raised the question of whether engaging in a beauty routine was at odds with Catholic doctrine. Specifically, the letter writer asked if it was lawful for “a woman who observes all of the duties of a good Christian life [...] to put into practice all of the suggestions that one reads in *Vi voglio tutte belle*.” Once again, the Padre advocated for an understated makeup use that improved one’s inner personality and/or concealed defects. He responded: “a reasonable and moderate use of beauty products, is not unlawful [...] [and that] it could be part of a Christian elegance, without extending to coquetry or vanity.”³¹ Similar to the previous response discussed, the Padre also used his answer to discuss and condemn the negative aspects of engaging in an extensive and excessive beauty routine. He advised readers that they should not invest too much money in making themselves appear beautiful and elegant, insisting that “a lot of money [used to buy] cosmetic products would be put to better use if donated to the hungry.”³²

The financial aspect of adopting an American influenced beauty routine was another topic of concern amongst *Famiglia Cristiana*’s readers. In the letter of the week in the magazine’s May 28, 1961 issue, a reader expressed concern over the fact that Italian women were spending money on unessential cosmetics and other superfluous material products, rather than using that money in an unselfish way such as providing assistance for one’s family or the needy. In his response, the Padre expressed similar worry over the greed and materialism that accompanied Italy’s developing mass consumer society. He also agreed with the letter writer’s analysis that this materialistic self-indulgence was eroding the good sense and morality of Italian women, and more generally, Italians. He wrote: “the mania of the exaggerated and wasteful *bella figura* was possessing the powerhouse of good sense: the family...and this is the gravest danger.” Continuing, the Padre advised the letter’s author and *Famiglia Cristiana* readers that “one will need, then, to still take into account that, even when all the possible materials to put one on show are available, it is only right to limit oneself, if only in respect for the poverty of others or if only not to humiliate those who know and love us.”³³

The responses to these letters illustrate that *Famiglia Cristiana*, and the Church, promoted an ideal of beauty that adapted the popular American beauty model so that it aligned with Catholic expectations of a woman’s appearance, character, and societal responsibilities as a dedicated and morally upright mother and wife. The Church permitted women to adopt American beauty routines, but only to a certain extent. A modest, practical, and reasonable makeup use was approved by the Church, while an excessive use that demonstrated vanity, self-indulgence, and greed was condemned. The Catholic woman had to exercise restraint and modesty in her makeup use in order to achieve Christian elegance and ultimately, “to make [herself] worthy of being introduced in the reign of eternal splendor and magnificence.”³⁴

Noi Donne supported Italian women’s use of cosmetics, but in a way that did not conform to the standardized beauty models that were created as a result of

the introduction of the American beauty ideal into postwar Italy. Grazia Cesarini, the author of an article on the world of Italian beauty entitled “Il caro trucco,” maintained that all women should be able to use makeup. She declared that “beauty should be for everyone, not an exclusive privilege of those who possess millions.”³⁵ However, she advised readers that beauty product use “should be limited to the essentials of maintaining clean skin, for neutralizing the harmful effects of makeup, [and] for camouflaging defects.”³⁶ Therefore, trying to imitate the makeup styles featured in Hollywood films or on models in the popular women’s magazines, did not, in reality, make one beautiful. Instead, women who followed these models were left with a false beauty and false identity. Thus, the magazine provided the following advice: the “more [women] refuse to follow a standard of beauty imposed by fashion or a commercial launch of a ‘star’, the better [their] probability of being beautiful is.”³⁷ In this manner, *Noi Donne* expressed similar guidelines and ideals for makeup use as did *Famiglia Cristiana*—practical, restrained use that highlighted one’s individual outer and inner beauty.

Whereas *Famiglia Cristiana* criticized the negative effects that American beauty models had on Italians’ sense of morality, *Noi Donne* pointed its criticism at the negative societal consequences that the elevation of a standardized notion of beauty created for Italian women. In several articles on the relationship between Italian women and beauty, *Noi Donne* investigated the barriers that beauty created for women seeking work in the service sector. The labor sector was important to the UDI since it was viewed as an avenue towards women achieving emancipation and formal equality.³⁸ In the article “La bellezza non si copia” the magazine examined the increasingly widespread requirement that a woman should be beautiful in order to be hired for a job that put her in constant contact with the public, such as a supermarket clerk, a department store saleswoman, or an airline hostess.³⁹ The author of the article posed the following question to readers: “Is it possible that, at the expense of other intellectual and cultural gifts, beauty is an essential factor for success, prestige, and fortune?”⁴⁰ According to her interviews with women working in the service sector, *la bellezza* was indeed a problem. A female supermarket employee said that at the supermarket where she worked, “[the] managers looked at everything from head to toe and the beautiful ones had a job, the others not.”⁴¹ A department store clerk also confirmed the bias towards employing women who represented the popular homogeneous beauty ideal. She told *Noi Donne* that

until two years ago, before being hired, it was obligatory to attend short courses of *maquillage*. They consisted of four or five makeup lessons [...] The problem was not [having to take the classes], more so it was the fact that they expected us to come to work always [looking] perfect and very made-up.⁴²

Even though the beauty courses were no longer required, the clerk affirmed the fact that female employees were still expected to “represent *la donna*, that with a capital ‘D,’” the woman who personified the standardized ideal of femininity.⁴³ Thus, in the world of female service sector work, beauty was prioritized over intellectual and cultural capabilities in the hiring of employees. A comment from the supermarket employee perfectly illustrates this unfair reality: “If you are ugly, you can go around for a year, without finding a job.”⁴⁴

In addition to the employment challenges Italian women faced, *Noi Donne* asserted that “the obligation to be beautiful” denied women their own individual identities and autonomy turning them into “objects born to be possessed by someone.”⁴⁵ The magazine claimed that the standardized models of beauty, influenced by the American beauty ideal and products that proliferated in postwar Italian culture, made women dependent beings. They were dependent on the popular press for advice on their appearance, and on shallow employers for work opportunities and their financial security. The “obligation to be beautiful” created by the “new morals” of a consumer, capitalist system devalued women and their capacities, made them slaves, and created the conditions for an unjust society based on “brutal and non human values.”⁴⁶

This analysis reflects the rhetoric of oppression and liberation used by the burgeoning Italian women’s movement of the 1970s. Moreover, it signals Italian women of the left’s growing disillusionment with American consumerism and the changes it brought to Italian society. *Noi Donne*, in the early to mid-1970s, began to turn away from American consumer models. Instead, the magazine offered harsh criticism, in place of the partial acceptance promoted in the previous decades, for the ways in which consumer culture had perpetuated women’s secondary status in Italian society. In contrast, *Famiglia Cristiana*, in the 1970s, continued to present a viewpoint similar to that which it expressed in the previous decades.

HOLLYWOOD AND CELEBRITY

Hollywood actresses and other celebrities were representatives of the latest beauty and fashion trends coming from the United States. Following the end of World War II, the transformation in Italy’s class structure in addition to the migration and increasing mobility of Italians combined with the country’s rapidly developing mass media and commercial markets put these glamorous women in much closer proximity to the public than ever before. Actresses, prominent female figures, and their luxurious lifestyles became reference points for many Italian women seeking to close the door on a past characterized by deprivation. Hollywood actresses’ and American celebrities’ growing influence over Italian women posed another danger to Catholic and Communist influence on Italian female society. As a result, the so-called *dive americane* came to take a place in the

Catholics' and Communists' struggle with American consumer products, models, and ideals.

The popular Hollywood actresses of the postwar period, such as Marilyn Monroe and Rita Hayworth, were a sort of "artificial product" manufactured by the studio system.⁴⁷ These women did not represent organic, natural beauty. Furthermore, according to the Church, they lived an immoral lifestyle and worked in an amoral business. For example, Padre Atanasio wrote in *Famiglia Cristiana* that the entertainment business "in general is too often subservient to human passions" and that if one develops an admiration for entertainers "[one will] experience a deformation of conscience and Christian living."⁴⁸ For this reason, the Catholic magazine did not endorse these women as did the popular weekly women's magazines. In fact, they were rarely featured in the publication.

When they did appear in the magazine, *Famiglia Cristiana* used Hollywood actresses and celebrities and their lifestyles as examples of what was wrong with the "American way of life." For example, the letter of the week in the September 2, 1962 issue examined the lifestyle, personality, and afterlife prospects of one of the most iconic film stars of the postwar period, Marilyn Monroe. The star's sensuality—her voluptuous body, the nude photos of her, which became the centerfold for the first issue of *Playboy*, and her "allure of the pin-up"—went against Catholic principles regarding appearance and behavior.⁴⁹ Moreover, the star represented the promotion and selling of sex, which, in Catholic opinion, was a deplorable component of the U.S.'s consumer, capitalist society. In the letter, which appeared in the magazine approximately a month following the star's death, Eva Rinaldi harshly criticized Monroe. She wrote:

I read the sad story of Marilyn Monroe and I had to conclude a terrible thing. A woman that continually lived in sensuality, that was married three times, that worked in exclusive films, that just a few weeks before her death made completely nude photographs, that died in an artificial sleep caused by barbiturates, cannot merit anything but hell. This seems to me a logical conclusion, is that not true?⁵⁰

While the Padre, in his response, acknowledged that Monroe "was not a saint" and "had a tendency to undress herself more than dress herself, to prostitute herself more than preserve herself, to change husbands more than form a family," he did not condemn the blonde actress as did Rinaldi.⁵¹ Rather, he placed the blame on that which produced and promoted this immoral lifestyle and behavior—the Hollywood film industry. In trying to place the blame on Hollywood, the Padre posed the following questions to readers: "Who can say how much movie producers' [to whom he referred as "the true chameleons of human exploitation"] flattery influenced her, a substantially elementary creature, [an] orphan without means?" and "Is movie magnates' stubbornness to want to eternally consider

her a doll not one of the explanations for the tragedy of Marilyn Monroe?"⁵² After providing examples of the industry's exploitation of Monroe, he came to the conclusion that the "delusions from the world, from cinema, and in front of the shameless pretense of film producers to continue to consider her a creature without a soul and as meat on display" were some of the causes of her untimely death.⁵³ In other words, she had been a victim of the excesses and artificiality of a consumer-based society.

Additionally, in his response to Rinaldi's letter, the Padre called into question the public's participation in Italy's growing commercial, consumer, and hence, immoral society. He reprimanded Italians for going to films that had "shameless and scandalous 'scenes.'" He also added that by paying to see these films, Italians were "[prostituting] their consciences."⁵⁴ Thus, he advised readers to reflect on the role they played in "constructing myths" that promote behaviors and models in opposition to Catholic teachings.⁵⁵ The Padre's comments illustrate not only the Church's negative view of the Hollywood film industry, but also the Italian public's willingness to participate in and adopt the models and behaviors of this "American way of life."

Unlike *Famiglia Cristiana*, *Noi Donne* featured Hollywood actresses in a positive light. In the first decade after the war, the magazine endorsed socially conscious and "real" actresses whose political and social beliefs and actions aligned with those of Italy's left. For example, Lauren Bacall was featured on the cover of *Noi Donne* with the headline: "The actress Lauren Bacall declares herself against the use of atomic energy as an instrument of war."⁵⁶ Katharine Hepburn also became one of the magazine's "cover girls" since she was "for peace."⁵⁷

Beginning in the mid-1950s, the Communist magazine featured popular American actresses that were not noted for their political stances. For example, the magazine contained articles on Elizabeth Taylor and Kim Novak.⁵⁸ The inclusion of Hollywood actresses illustrates the fact that Hollywood and its promotion of an affluent, materialistic "American way of life" came to be seen as not as severe a threat to Communist influence in Italian female society as it was immediately following the end of the war.

For *Famiglia Cristiana*, this lifestyle remained a genuine threat as American consumer culture and its ideals became a significant and even permanent part of its readers' lives by the 1960s, and consequently, denied the Church the ability to completely reject them. Due to this growing menace, the Catholic magazine sought to find a female celebrity that represented the perfect combination of American consumer modernity and Catholic moral ideals to positively discuss in its pages. The magazine would thus promote this celebrity as the ideal modern Catholic woman—an example for its female readers after which to model themselves.

Famiglia Cristiana found its role model in the new First Lady of the United States, Jacqueline Kennedy. Kennedy's gracious personality, elegant appearance,

cultured background, her Catholic faith, as well as her role as mother and wife, made her the Catholic magazine's prime example of Christian elegance. She projected a glamorous, aristocratic, and reserved image that contrasted sharply with the artificial and sexualized film stars of the period.⁵⁹ As Stephen Gundle writes, Jackie—as she was also called—was “distinct from the erotic ideals of consumer society.”⁶⁰ *Famiglia Cristiana* praised her clothing choices, commenting that she was always fashionably and respectably dressed.⁶¹ Additionally, articles highlighted her notable educational background and cultural interests and talents. For example, one article noted that she had studied in France, could speak multiple languages, including Italian, and played the piano. Moreover, the article also noted that she attended museum exhibitions, appreciated modern art, and painted in her free time.⁶²

Beyond Jackie Kennedy's cultured, worldly, and distinguished aspects, it was her status as mother and wife, as well as her Catholic faith, that endeared her to *Famiglia Cristiana's* editors and readers. The magazine portrayed Jackie as *the* image of the “‘angel of the hearth’—mother first and then wife, tutor of morality and affection” that was promoted by the Church.⁶³ Several of the Catholic magazine's articles spoke of Jackie's difficulty in having children, including the dangers that childbearing posed to her life. In discussing this topic, the First Lady was depicted as being determined to perform God's role for her—that of loving mother. Instead of expressing fear, doubt, or even, abandoning this responsibility, she faced the challenges that came with fulfilling the role of loving mother with courage. For example, articles included comments from Jackie that spoke to her fortitude and bravery. In one article she was quoted as saying: “I will have all the children that God wants to give me. And one knows that I will make the necessary sacrifices” while another article included the following comment from the First Lady: “I do my duty.”⁶⁴

In regard to her role as a wife, Jackie was described in *Famiglia Cristiana's* articles as devoted to and supportive of President Kennedy. One article noted that she had been a “tireless nurse” in taking care of her husband when he was ill, constantly making sure that the president did not smoke an excessive amount of cigarettes.⁶⁵ The qualities discussed made Jackie Kennedy, according to *Famiglia Cristiana*, the perfect representation of the Church's ideal modern Catholic woman—a woman who, displaying Christian elegance, adapted to the growing consumer society while preserving her primary role as “angel of the hearth.” For this reason, the magazine used Jackie Kennedy as a role model for the publication's readers.

However, Jackie did not maintain this distinction for the entire decade of the 1960s. Her 1968 marriage to Greek billionaire shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis brought an end to *Famiglia Cristiana's* reverence for and elevation of the former First Lady. The marriage went against two important Catholic principles. The first regarded the character of her new husband. The Catholic magazine

viewed him as a greedy, womanizing, and dishonest billionaire that had made his money by “violating more than one civil and moral law.”⁶⁶ Further, the magazine claimed that he had not won Jacqueline over with genuine, natural affections of love, but rather with the “weapons of the rich”—jewelry and extravagant gifts.⁶⁷ This method of courting Jackie revealed, according to the magazine, that Onassis wanted Jackie not because he loved her, but rather because his “ambition, [...] cunning, [...] exhibitionism” made him desire her, or “maybe even for business.”⁶⁸ Therefore, Onassis represented a system and set of ideals—consumer capitalism—that destroyed a person’s virtuous, genuine, modest, and gracious qualities.

The second principle to which the magazine took offense regarded the issue of divorce, which, by the late 1960s, had become a major topic of debate in Italian politics and society. The Church was adamantly opposed to divorce. In fact, at the time of the marriage between Jackie and Onassis, divorce was illegal in Italy.⁶⁹ The Church considered Jackie’s marriage to the Greek shipping magnate to be invalid since Onassis was divorced, having been granted a divorce from his first wife in 1960. While some Catholics questioned whether the marriage was legal since the Catholic Church and Greek Orthodox Church each had their own rules regarding divorce, *Famiglia Cristiana* made the Church’s position clear, providing the following comment from Mons. Vallaine of the Vatican press:

If Jacqueline Kennedy is an adult and was *campus sui*, in other words capable of understanding and wanting, she should have been able to know, at the time of her marriage to Onassis, what the Church’s law is around marriage to the divorced. There are firm points, and among these, the prohibition to marry someone who has already been married. Knowing this, she knew to be going against a precise norm of the Church.⁷⁰

Therefore, in the eyes of *Famiglia Cristiana* and the Church, Jackie had abandoned her Catholic morality and virtue for a perceived indulgent life with an immoral, greedy playboy. In becoming an Onassis, Jackie “migrated from taste to waste and joined Liz [Taylor],” making her no better than the Hollywood actresses that the Catholic magazine looked down upon.⁷¹ Therefore, “the most shocking marriage of the year,” represented for the Church and the magazine the coming to fruition of their worst fears of American consumer capitalism—money, materialism, and greed triumphing over Catholic modesty, morality, and elegance.⁷²

In contrast to *Famiglia Cristiana*’s original position on Jackie Kennedy, *Noi Donne* did not shower the First Lady with praise. Instead, it provided a mix of admiration and criticism for its readers. On one hand, the magazine acknowledged that Jackie was indeed a gracious, refined, cultured, and sympathetic woman.⁷³ In particular, it hoped that her intelligence, distinguished cultural education and knowledge, and ties with “some of the most progressive American

intellectuals” would, perhaps, help to bring “proper culture” to America. In other words, to promote and popularize intellectual, “high” culture in the States.⁷⁴

On the other hand, *Noi Donne*’s articles questioned, rather than endorsed the image of perfection that was attributed to Jackie by the popular press. The article “Ritratto di Jacqueline dal vero” examined the verity of three characteristics of Jackie constantly publicized in and praised by the media: “[her] incarnation of the typical American girl, . . . [her being an] exquisitely feminine creature, perfect mother and wife, [and being] the tranquil and sweet element of the Kennedy couple.”⁷⁵ According to *Noi Donne*, Jackie’s privileged upbringing, educational background, experiences abroad, and cultural knowledge made her exceptional and thus, very different from the majority of American women. In no way could she be the “incarnation of the typical American girl.” Additionally, her exceptionality made it difficult for the Communist magazine to believe that she was just the “passive or decorative element” of the Kennedy couple.⁷⁶ Because of these contradictions between the real and the popular image, *Noi Donne* presented both a positive and critical opinion of the First Lady.

This approach is evident in the Communist magazine’s discussion of her second marriage. Jackie’s transformation from the First Lady of the United States to second wife of jet-setter billionaire Onassis did not receive the same harsh criticism from *Noi Donne* as it did from *Famiglia Cristiana*. This fact can perhaps partly be contributed to women of the Italian left’s support of divorce. As such, her marriage to the divorced Onassis was neither a grave nor significant issue for the Communist magazine.

Instead, the point of contention for *Noi Donne* was the financial immorality permitted by American consumer capitalism as exemplified by her new husband’s extraordinary wealth and tactless personality. Whereas American consumer capitalism’s erosion of Catholic morality was the most prominent fear expressed in *Famiglia Cristiana*, *Noi Donne* viewed this system’s financial immorality, more specifically, monopoly capitalism and worker and consumer exploitation, as the greatest threat to Italian society. Consequently, the United States frequently appeared in the Communist publication as the “land of the dollar”—a capitalist society that encouraged the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few and the financial and labor oppression of the majority. For example, in an article profiling the U.S.’s most modern city, New York, the author asserted that in “a socialist society man is truly, ‘the prized capital’ [...] in the capitalist society, of which New York is the faithful mirror, man counts for nothing except that he can be exploited for the benefit of a few. His life is worth nothing.”⁷⁷ Therefore, in the magazine’s opinion, the major American commercial, financial, and media corporations’ consolidation of wealth and power through unjust and exploitative methods made the United States anything but a country of equality.

For *Noi Donne*, Onassis represented this exploitation and financial immorality inherent to consumer capitalism. Similarly to *Famiglia Cristiana*, the Communist

magazine did not paint a pretty picture of the shipping magnate. He was depicted as an avaricious, ruthless, and heartless playboy that was a product of a corrupt, immoral consumer society. For example, the magazine called him a man that had “harshly exploited thousands and millions of other men in his life, drawing money from their hard work, [and] from their aching poverty.”⁷⁸ The magazine also contended that the marriage between Jackie and Onassis was nothing more than “a business contract.”⁷⁹ Therefore, *Noi Donne’s* criticism of Jackie’s second marriage fell in line with Italian Communist opposition to the corrupt consumer capitalist system that valorized inequality, rewarded greed, and promoted decadence.

CONCLUSION

Italy’s Cold War cultural contest for the hearts and minds of Italian women was a three-way struggle between the Catholic Church, the Italian Communists, and the United States. Initially, this was a polarized struggle between the Catholics and Communists, in which each group criticized the other’s ideas for Italian society, arguing that their vision provided the brightest future for the country and its people. The arrival of American consumer products and models in postwar Italy and their growing influence on upper to middle-class, and eventually working-class women, provided the two domestic groups with a new common enemy—the materialistic, immoral, and avaricious consumer capitalist “American way of life” that provoked changes to women’s traditional societal roles and their morality. As such, the Catholics and Communists directed their attention towards combatting the American threat while still remaining enemies of one another.

Both the Catholics and the Communists employed popular culture publications, their magazines *Famiglia Cristiana* and *Noi Donne*, respectively, in the struggle with American consumerism. Each magazine incorporated, rather than rejected, this new culture into its pages, interpreting its novelty and mediating its influence for readers. The magazines advised Catholic and Communist women on how to adapt to and adopt aspects of American female consumer culture while still maintaining core Catholic and Communist beliefs. In so doing, *Famiglia Cristiana* and *Noi Donne* exhibited a partial acceptance of American female consumer culture. They permitted readers to take part in an American-influenced beauty routine and to be inspired by appropriate Hollywood actresses or celebrities. This was done so as not to lose relevance and influence in Italy’s modernizing, secularizing, and increasingly consumerist society. However, this acceptance was only partial; there was much of American consumerism with which Catholics and Communists found fault.

Despite having a common enemy—the United States and its consumer, capitalist society—*Famiglia Cristiana* and *Noi Donne* expressed diverse critiques of this society, which is reflective of their divergent overall visions for Italian society. This difference becomes evident in the examination of each magazine’s

discussion of beauty and the world of entertainment and celebrity. In their critiques of these two categories, *Famiglia Cristiana* focused more on the erosion of Catholic morality while *Noi Donne* concentrated on the financial immorality that permitted social inequality and the exploitation of workers and consumers. By discussing these negative aspects, both magazines put restraints on Catholic and Communist women's participation in the postwar consumer-driven female "American way of life" that invaded Italy in the postwar period. These restraints were established in order to prevent the dilution of Catholic and Communist ideology, as well as the erosion of each group's support bases. Therefore, the limits created by each publication served to define for readers the ideal modern Catholic and Communist woman of the postwar period—a woman who participated in Italy's growing consumer society in a manner that fell in line with each group's core beliefs.

Notes

1. Rosario Forlenza writes that the decades-long battle between the Church and the Communists was an internal development, based on a historical relationship between the two entities, rather than an external development imposed on Italy due to the development of the Cold War. Rosario Forlenza, "In Search of Order: Portraying the Communist in Cold War Italy," (Unpublished paper, 2015).

2. Angelo Ventrone, "L'avventura americana della classe dirigente cattolica," in *Nemici per la pelle: sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. Pier Paolo D'Atto (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1991), 147.

3. The postwar deterioration of the anti-Fascist coalition between the Communists and Christian Democrats marked the beginning of a political, social, and cultural contest for Italian society fought between the DC and the PCI that came to define Italy's First Republic. The DC opposed the PCI's notion of a progressive democracy with a platform that contained a "commitment to the capitalist system, anti-communism, and [the promotion of] Catholic morality." The platform's last component linked the DC with the Catholic Church, which itself exercised a long and significant influence over Italians, thus establishing a special relationship between the conservative political party and the religious organization. Both the DC and the Church shared a hatred of Communism and emphasized the importance of Catholic morality and the family as bulwarks against the spread and entrenchment of atheistic and socialistic Communist ideals among the Italian people.

The end of the anti-Fascist alliance and the start of a polarized struggle between the DC, Catholics, and Communists occurred with the crucial elections of 1948 and 1953. The 1948 elections to determine the composition of the country's new constituent assembly saw the DC win 48.5% of the vote as well as an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies while the Popular Front coalition of the PCI and the Socialists (PSI) won 31% of the vote. This outcome initiated the DC's political domination. Although the

left lost the election, the PCI managed to increase their number of deputies, at the expense of their Popular Front partners, the PSI, thus making the Communists Italy's dominant party of the left. The election results divided Italy into two distinct political, social, and cultural formations: a conservative alliance between the DC and the Church, and a leftist coalition of the PCI, and minor partners the PSI.

In the 1953 election, the PCI once again increased their number of parliamentary representatives whereas the DC's numbers decreased despite the conservative party winning the overall election. Specifically, the DC percentage of votes declined to 40.1% while the PCI gained 22.6% of the vote. The PCI's percentage combined with that of the Socialists, which was 12.7%, was a 4.3% increase from the two parties' combined result as part of the Popular Front in 1948. As a result, the Communists remained a constant presence and threat to the DC's and the Church's control over Italian society. Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics 1943-1988* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 83, 118, 143.

4. Italy received a total of \$5.5 billion between 1944 and 1954 from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), in which the U.S. played a leading role, Interim Aid, the Marshall Plan, and Mutual Security military aid. D.W. Ellwood, "Italy, Europe and the Cold War: The Politics and Economics of Limited Sovereignty," in *Italy and the Cold War: Politics, Culture, and Society 1948-58*, ed. Christopher Duggan et al. (Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited, 1995), 34.

5. The United States' postwar mass consumer society had its roots in World War II. Eric Foner writes that in 1942 and 1943 U.S. government economic thinking began to shift from "seeking to reform the institutions of capitalism" to "[relying] on government spending and fiscal policy to secure [the goals for a peacetime economy]—full employment, social welfare, and mass consumption, while leaving the prerogatives of employers intact and the operation of the economy in private hands. The government's job was to stimulate economic growth and create a floor below which no American would fall." This shift in thinking would lead to an "era of unprecedented economic expansion, ... rising living standards," and prosperity in postwar America. Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 233, 264.

6. Stephen Gundle, "Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: *Vie Nuove e Famiglia Cristiana* dalla Guerra Fredda alla Società dei Consumi," in *Nemici per la pelle: sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. Pier Paolo D'Atto (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1991), 239.

7. Forlenza; Jeff Pratt, "Catholic Culture," in *Italian Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. David Forgacs and Robert Lumley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

8. Bruno Wanrooij, "Pro Aris et Focis. Morale cattolica e identità nazionale in Italia 1945-1960," in *Nemici per la pelle: sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. Pier Paolo D'Atto (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1991), 199.

9. Stephen Gundle, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture, 1943-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 12, 6.

10. *Ibid.*, 2.

11. *Ibid.*, 21.

12. *Ibid.*, 76, 82–83.

13. The “economic miracle” was Italy’s rapid and dramatic economic, social, and cultural postwar transformation from a primarily rural, agricultural based country physically and emotionally devastated from the war to a modern, industrialized, consumer capitalist one with an increased standard of living. It lasted from 1958–1963. For more information see Ginsborg and Guido Crainz, *Storia del miracolo italiana. Culture, identità, trasformazioni fra anni cinquanta e sessanta* (Rome: Donzelli editore, 2005).

14. Other magazines from this period that were associated with the Catholic Church and the Italian Communists are *Cronache* and *Vie Nuove*, respectively. *Cronache* was a publication of the *Centro Italiano Femminile*, a Catholic women’s association, that presented a traditional model of femininity based on the “strong mother, who was dedicated to her family without neglecting her wider social responsibilities within the Church’s associations” and whose role was “[defender] of the family, of traditional values and particularly during the Cold War, against communism.” *Vie Nuove* was the Italian Communists weekly popular magazine that sought to “[render] its [socialist] campaign for peace and social progress more credible and more attractive to larger sections of the population.” Nina Rothenberg, “The Catholic and Communist Women’s Press in Post-War Italy—An Analysis of *Cronache* and *Noi Donne*,” *Modern Italy* 11:3 (2006): 291; Gundle, “Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: *Vie Nuove* e *Famiglia Cristiana* dalla Guerra Fredda alla Società dei Consumi,” 240.

15. Gundle, “Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: *Vie Nuove* e *Famiglia Cristiana* dalla Guerra Fredda alla Società dei Consumi,” 244–245; “La nostra storia,” *Famiglia Cristiana*, 20 dicembre 1970, 20–22.

16. Gundle, “Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: *Vie Nuove* e *Famiglia Cristiana* dalla Guerra Fredda alla Società dei Consumi,” 260.

17. “5 anni fa,” *Noi Donne*, 24 luglio 1949. All translations from Italian mine unless otherwise noted. No authors for individual columns in *Noi Donne* and *Famiglia Cristiana* available unless expressed in the text.

18. “Che cosa leggono le donne? Il pubblico femminile preferisce il rotocalco,” *Noi Donne*, 20 marzo 1945, 13.

19. Gundle, “Cultura di massa e modernizzazione: *Vie Nuove* e *Famiglia Cristiana* dalla Guerra Fredda alla Società dei Consumi,” 245.

20. Emanuela Scarpellini, *Material Nation: A Consumer’s History of Modern Italy*, trans. Daphne Hughes and Andrew Newton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 152.

21. Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) xvi, 153, 84, 88, 194; Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America’s Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998), 166.

22. Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 73, 211.

23. "Come mai la Chiesa non parla più di rossetto?," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 19 aprile 1964, 3.
24. *Vi voglio tutte belle* was *Famiglia Cristiana's* beauty column. *Vi voglio tutte belle*. "L'ABC della bellezza," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 18 ottobre 1964, 42.
25. *Vi voglio tutte belle*. "Buon gusto e no per la bellezza degli occhi," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 31 maggio 1964, 42.
26. *Vi voglio tutte belle*. "Un caso tra tanti," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 29 novembre 1964, 56.
27. "Fin dove è consentito truccarsi," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 7 ottobre 1962, 3.
28. *Ibid.*, 3.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, 3-4.
31. "Colloqui le risposte del padre. È lecito farsi belle?," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 5 settembre 1965.
32. *Ibid.*
33. "Troppi sacrifici per far bella figura," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 28 maggio 1961.
34. "Colloqui le risposte del padre. È lecito farsi belle?," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 5 settembre 1965.
35. "Il caro trucco," *Noi Donne*, 31 agosto 1963, 22.
36. *Ibid.*, 20.
37. "La bellezza non si copia," *Noi Donne*, 24 agosto 1963, 9.
38. Perry Willson, *Women in Twentieth-Century Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 140-141, 157.
39. These occupations were direct outgrowths of the Americanization of the Italian economy.
40. "La bellezza non si copia," *Noi Donne*, 24 agosto 1963, 8.
41. *Ibid.*, 6.
42. "Rossetta e stanchezza," *Noi Donne*, 29 agosto 1971, 21.
43. *Ibid.*, 21.
44. "La bellezza non si copia," *Noi Donne*, 24 agosto 1963, 6.
45. "La bellezza obbligatoria," *Noi Donne*, 29 agosto 1971, 18.
46. *Ibid.*, 17; "La bellezza non si copia," *Noi Donne*, 24 agosto 1963, 9.
47. Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 142.
48. "Colloqui con il padre. Siamo ammiratrici delle dive, degli attori, siamo matte per i cantanti," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 9 ottobre 1960, 7.
49. Lois Banner, *Marilyn: The Passion and the Paradox* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012), 4.
50. "Marilyn Monroe è andata all'inferno?," *Famiglia Cristiana*, 2 settembre 1962.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*

55. Ibid.

56. *Noi Donne*, 19 settembre 1948.

57. In regard to Hepburn, *Noi Donne* appreciated her authenticity and anti-conformity to popular Hollywood norms. For example, the article “Un giorno con Katharine Hepburn” told readers that while on the set of her latest film, the actress wore pants and barely any makeup most of the time. In light of the article’s discussion on the relationship between Hollywood actresses and beauty, Hepburn’s fashion choice and natural appearance contrasted with those of the majority of her contemporaries. She was, in the eyes of *Noi Donne*, a “simple and cordial woman” and thus, a role model for all women. *Noi Donne*, 1-15 dicembre 1947; “Un giorno con Katharine Hepburn,” *Noi Donne*, 12 settembre 1954, 8-9.

58. Maria Casalini, *Famiglie comuniste. Ideologie e vita quotidiana nell’Italia degli anni Cinquanta* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2010), 292.

59. Gundle, *Glamour: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 269.

60. Ibid., 273.

61. “Jacqueline la Prima Signora D’America.” *Famiglia Cristiana*, 19 febbraio 1961.

62. Ibid., 18.

63. Luisa Tasca, “The ‘Average Housewife’ in Post-World War II Italy,” *Journal of Women’s History* 16:2 (2004): 94.

64. “Jacqueline la Prima Signora D’America,” *Famiglia Cristiana*, 19 febbraio 1961, 17; “Personaggio alla ribalta Jacqueline Kennedy,” *Famiglia Cristiana*, 5 marzo 1963, 29.

65. Ibid.

66. “Ma perchè Onassis,” *Famiglia Cristiana*, 3 novembre 1968, 17.

67. Ibid., 18.

68. Ibid.

69. Legislation that legalized divorce was first passed in 1970. The legality of divorce was reconfirmed in 1974 by the Italian government.

70. “Jacqueline è scomunicata?” *Famiglia Cristiana*, 3 novembre 1968, 3.

71. Sarah Bradford, *America’s Queen: The Life of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis* (London: Viking, 2000), 71, quoted in Gundle, *Glamour*, 302.

72. “Ma perchè Onassis,” *Famiglia Cristiana*, 3 novembre 1968, 18.

73. “Jackie e l’America,” *Noi Donne*, 18 giugno 1961, 9.

74. “Ritratto di Jacqueline dal vero,” *Noi Donne*, 5 febbraio 1961, 7.

75. Ibid., 6.

76. Ibid., 7.

77. “Dopo Mosca ho visitato New York,” *Noi Donne*, 19 marzo 1950.

78. “Jackie: Vedova tutta d’oro,” *Noi Donne*, 6 aprile 1975, 47.

79. Ibid.